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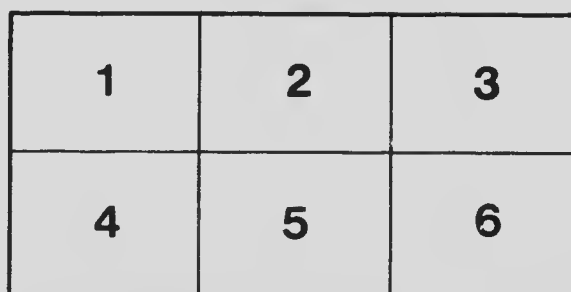
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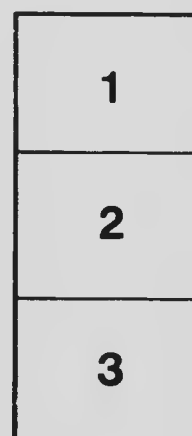
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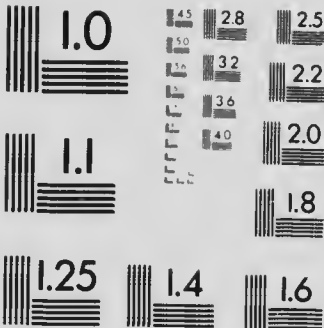
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THE ARCHÆOLOGY GEOGRAPHY
AND NATURAL HISTORY
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ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

APK	F. Spiegel, <i>Die alt-persischen Keilinschriften</i> , 1862, 81
Crit. Bib.	Cheyne, <i>Critica Biblica</i> (in preparation).
Ohnefalsch-Richter	M. H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, <i>Kypros, die Bibel, und Homer</i> , 1863
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E

EAGLE. The eagle of EV, the GREAT VULTURE of RV¹⁰⁴ (אֶרֶב; *ærós*), is identified by Tristram with *Gyps fulvus*, the Griffon, not a true Eagle but a member of the family Vulturidae. Griffons are still very common in Palestine, which is about the centre of their area of distribution, whence they spread across Asia, around the Mediterranean area and through Northern Africa.¹ They are noble birds of large size, and form conspicuous objects in the landscape as towards evening they perch on the peaks of rocks or cliffs (Job 39 28 29), or when soaring. The comparison of invaders to a swooping vulture is often employed in the OT (cp Dt. 28 49 Job 9 26 Hab. 18 Jer. 48 40 etc.). They are carrion feeders and sight their food from afar. Their head and neck are bald, a fact which did not escape the notice of the prophet Micah (Mi. 1 16). They nest in colonies, some of which contain a hundred pairs of birds. They are said to be remarkably long-lived, probably attaining a century or more (allusions in Ps. 103 5 and perhaps [see 6] in Is. 40 31). The Hymyarites had an idol *nasr* which was in the form of a Vulture (cp ZDMG 29 600), and the same worship among the Arabs is attested by the Syriac *Doctrine of Addai* (Phillips, 24).²

The Gr. *ærós* may be applied to vultures, and the Romans seem to have classed the eagle among the family *Vulturidae* (see Pliny, *HN* 10 3 13 23). Is there any connection between *ærós* and אֶרֶב (see BIRD, § 1)? Possibly the bird found on the Assyrian sculptures (see the illustrations in Vigonroux, s.v. 'eagle') and on the Persian (Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 1 4) and Roman (Plin. *HN* 13 23) standards is meant to represent not the true eagle but a vulture. In Christian art the Egyptian phoenix appears as an eagle and becomes a symbol of the resurrection (see Wiedemann, *Rel. of Anc. Egyptians*, 193). In the fifth century A.D. the eagle became an emblem of John the evangelist (see *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.*, s.v. 'Evangelists'). A. E. S.—S. A. C.

EAGLE, GIER. See GIER EAGLE.

EANES (מַנְחֵם [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 21 = Ezra 10 21 MAASEIAH, ii., 11.

EARNEST (אַרְבָּבֹנָן), the warrant or security for the performance of a promise or for the ratification of an engagement, is used thrice in NT (2 Cor. 1 22 5 Eph. 1 13 f.), but always in a figurative sense of the gifts of the Holy Spirit bestowed upon the apostles and Christians generally, as a pledge that they should obtain far greater blessings in the future. See PLEDGE.

EARRING. For Judg. 8 24 Prov. 25 12 etc. (אָזְנִי, *azni*) and Ezek. 16 12 etc. (אָזְנִי, *azni*) see RING, § 2, and for Prov. 1 1, cp BASKET. For Is. 3 20 etc. (אָזְנִי, *azni*) see AMULETS, RING, § 2, and MAGIC, § 3 (3).

The tip of the ear (אָזְנִי, *azni*) was specially protected by sacred rite (see SBOT on 1s. 66 17).

EARTH AND WORLD. The conception of 'universe' is usually expressed in OT by 'heaven and

earth' (e.g., Gen. 1 1 2 1 14 19), though there is a still more complete expression: 'heaven above, earth beneath, and the water under the earth' (Ex. 20 4, cp Gen. 49 25). So in Assyrian *elīti u šapātu* 'things above and things below,' or (Creation-tablet, i. 1 f.) 'the heaven above, the earth beneath,' to which 1. 3 adds 'the ocean.' There is also (Is. 44 24; cp 45 7) a general term אֵלֶּיךָ, 'everything' (πάντα), corresponding to Assyr. *kullatu, gimru*.

'Earth' of EV represents three Hebrew words. (1) אֶרֶץ (*éretz*), properly the earth, including Shēol; hence

1. **The 'earth.'** either the visible surface of our earth (Gen. 26, and often) or the nether world (e.g., Ex. 15 12 Is. 14 12 29 4). (2) אֲדָמָה (*ādāmāh*), [i.] the soil which is tilled, Gen. 25 3 17 etc., [ii.] the ground, Gen. 1 25 6 20 etc. (3) אֶפְרַיִם (*éphir*), properly earth as a material (Gen. 2 7), then the earth (Is. 2 19), then dust (Gen. 3 14), then the nether world (Job 17 16 Ps. 30 9 [10] etc.). 6 renders (but not universally) all three words by γῆ.

Whilst the AV uses 'world' as a synonym for 'earth' both in OT and in NT, it is only in NT (see below, § 3)

2. **The 'world.'** The reason is that Jewish writers had adopted a much more convenient term than 'heaven and earth' to express an expanded conception of the 'universe.'

First, however, let us note the Heb. words rendered 'world.'

1. אֵלֶּיךָ, *hēled*, Ps. 17 14 49 2 [1]. If the text is correct, we have here a singularly interesting transition from 'lifetime' to 'the world of living men'; for the primary sense of *hēled* (if the word exists at all) is 'lifetime' (Ps. 39 6 [5], 89 41 [47], Job 11 17 and emended text of 10 20).¹ Unfortunately *hēled* in Ps. 17 14 is certainly corrupt. 'From men of the world whose portion is in life' is an expression both obscure in itself and unsuitable to the context. In Is. 38 11 *hēled* is read only by critical conjecture; the text has *hēled*, which means neither 'world' nor anything else; there is no such word.² The true reading is doubtless *hēled* 'world,' and so too we should read in Ps. 49 2 [1]. Hymn-writers do not generally select the rarest and most doubtful words. There is but one pure Hebrew word for 'world' (see 3).

2. אֵלֶּיךָ, *hēled*, Is. 38 11, on the assumption that 'cessation' (the supposed meaning) is equivalent to 'fleeting world.' Many critics, with some MSS, including Cod. Bab., read אֵלֶּיךָ, *hēled*. See, however, no. 1.

3. אֵלֶּיךָ, *hēled*, 'mother-earth'?—a word of primitive mythological origin (Gunkel, Hommel), hence never occurring with the article. Once it is used in antithesis to *midbār*, 'desert' (Is. 14 17); but generally it is quite synonymous with אֵלֶּיךָ, 'earth.' Thus in 1 S. 28 (RV)—

¹ In Job 11 17 it is an improvement to read אֵלֶּיךָ, 'the days of thy lifetime (shall be brighter than noontide),' and in 10 20 אֵלֶּיךָ, 'Are not the days of my lifetime few?' but we should most probably read אֵלֶּיךָ and אֵלֶּיךָ, 'thy fleeting days.' (Che. *Exp. Times*, 10 381 [190]).

² Cp Ps. 30 5 [4], where EV has 'how frail I am,' lost where the Hebrew has, not 'frail,' but 'ceasing' (Dr. *Parallel Psalter*). אֵלֶּיךָ, *hēled*, too, is probably not a real word.

¹ For hieroglyphic picture of vulture see EGYPT, § 9, n. 12.
² Cp the Syriac name אֲדָמָה (''adāmāh'), and see We. *Heid.* 20 (*Heid.* 21), and WRS *Kin.* 209, *Rel. Sem.* 226, n. 3; ZDMG 40 186 [86].

EARTH AND WORLD

For the pillars of the earth are Yalwe's,
And he hath set the world upon them;

And Prov. 8:26 (RV).

While as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields,
Nor the beginning of the dust of the world.¹

In Job 37:12 RV we have the strange expression 'the habitable world' (AV 'the world in the earth'); and in Prov. 8:31 RV 'his habitable earth' (AV 'the habitable part of his earth'). The phrases are the same, and are due to corruption of the text. ² Impartially renders both ארץ and עולם sometimes by עולם sometimes by η οικουμένη.

4. עולם, 'olam, a difficult word, meaning (1) antiquity, (2) indefinite length of time. The etymology is doubtful. Most connect it with עָלַה 'to hide', but probably עֵלָם is a noun-ending (so Barth). Compare Ass. *ullu*, 'remote', in the phrase *ullu ullu* 'from of old'; *ullinu* 'far-off time', i.e., 'past time' (Del. *Ass. Heb.* 64 f.). For a less probable view, see Lag. *Ubers.* 115. Twice rendered 'world' in AV: Ps. 73:12, 'Behold these are the angfully, who prosper in the world.' RV (better) 'and being away at ease' (עֵלָם). Eccles. 3:11 (so also RV), 'Also he hath set the world in their heart' (עֵלָם). ³ *σύνπαντα τῶν αἰώνων*, a riddle which admits of more than one solution (see Che. *Job and Solomon*, 210). However, even if man is a microcosm we cannot expect to find this advanced idea in Ecclesiastes, and the occurrence of 'olam, 'world', in Sirach is improbable. *Olām* needs to be emended.⁴ We must give up the 'microcosm' and the 'desiderium eternitatis' and take in exchange an assurance that the 'travail' of the student of God's works is good: 'I have seen the travail which God has given to the sons of men to exercise themselves therewith. He has made everything beautiful in its time; also he has suggested all that travail' (אֵלֶּיךָ יָבִיאוּ אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לָנוּ). ⁵ ⁶ attests עֵלָם to the sons of men tread אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לָנוּ, not עֵלָם כְּנִי.

By NT times the word 'olam must have received the new meaning 'world', for αἰών = עֵלָם is used in this sense.

3. Meaning of 'olām in NT times.

We can doubtless trace this new development to the rise (under Persian stimulus) of a belief in 'new heavens and a new earth' (see Eschatology, § 88, and cp Che. *Intr.* 15, 370, *OPs.* 405), and the intercourse of educated Jews with Greek-speaking neighbours would confirm the usage. It is true the sense of 'time' is not entirely lost; but a new sense has been grafted on the old. 'This 'olām' is not merely 'this age'; but the earth which is the theatre of the events of 'this age', and 'the coming 'olām' is not merely the great future period initiated by the Divine Advent, but the new earth which will be the theatre of the expected great events. Hence the author of Hebrews can even say (Heb. 1:2), 'By whom also he made the worlds' (τοὺς αἰῶνας; Del. and Biesenthal *אֵלֶּיךָ יָבִיאוּ*), and again (Heb. 11:3), 'we understand that the worlds (οἱ αἰῶνες) have been framed by the word of God.' The phrase *οἱ αἰῶνες* means, not the ages of human history (as in Heb. 9:26, cp 1 Cor. 10:11), but the material worlds which make up the universe¹ (πάντα, Heb. 1:2; τὸ πνευμένον, 11:3).

On the Jewish references to the two 'olāmim see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (1883, pp. 121 ff.), where it is pointed out that the famous saying ascribed to Simeon the Righteous (circa 280 B.C.), respecting the three things on which 'the world' (עֵלָם) rests, cannot be authentic. Dalman also denies that Enoch 48:6 49:16 ff. 71:15, where the creation of 'the world' is referred to, belong to the original Book of the Similitudes. As to 71:15 there can be no question; chap. 71 is 'most certainly a later addition' (Charles). At any rate, 48:5 refers to the renovation

¹ The text needs emendation (see next note). Read probably, Ere he had made the land and the grass (אֵרְבָּא) And had clothed with green (אֵרְבָּא) the clods of mother-earth.

² See Che. *IQA*, Oct. 1897, pp. 16 f.

³ The latest commentator (Siegfried, 1893) holds that עֵלָם means 'the future'; but this is hardly to be proved by 2:16 3:14 9:6 12:5. Somewhat more plausible, but still improbable, is Dalman's paraphrase, 'die unabh. Weltzeit.'

⁴ Note also that οἰκουμένη in Heb. 2:5 corresponds to αἰών in 6:5 (Dalman).

EARTH (FOUR QUARTERS)

of the heaven and the earth, on which see above. In 72:1 73:3 82:1 5:7, the conception of the created world is doubtless, and in 4 Ezra 'saeculum' (Syr. *ܐܪܥܐ*) occurs frequently. From the end of the first century A.D. onwards עֵלָם is used so often in the sense of 'world' that we cannot doubt its universality. It has even penetrated into the older Targumim (cp *רִבְּרִי הַקֹּסְמוֹן* בַּסִּימָה (2 Mac. 7:9); *ܐܪܥܐ* *ܕܠܗ* *ܕܡܪܝܚܐ* (2 Mac. 13:14); *ܕܡܪܝܚܐ* *ܕܡܪܝܚܐ* *ܕܡܪܝܚܐ* (1 Mac. 2:2). 'Lord of the world' occurs in Enoch 81:2; Ass. Mos. 1:11; Jubil. 25:23. These and similar appellations are never found in N F (Dalman, 142).

In the NT we find (a) *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, (b) *ὁ κόσμος*, (c) *ἀἰῶνες*.

(a) *ἡ οἰκ.* is the habitable globe (Mt. 21:14 Rom. 10:18 etc.); also the Roman Empire (Acts 17:6); also *αἰών* (Heb. 2:3, see above (§ 3)).

4. Terms for 'earth' and 'world' in NT.

(b) *ὁ κόσμος* is the earth, or its inhabitants (e.g., Mt. 4:8 5:14, Mk. 16:15, Jn. 1:29); also the universe (*τὸ ὅλον τοῦτο*, Plat. *Gorg.* 403 A), as in *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* (e.g., Mt. 13:35 [not in best MSS.], cp 24:31); also with *ὅλος* 'this *olām*' (Jn. 1:12, opp. to *ὅλος αἰῶνος*; so Jn. 18:36 1 Cor. 3:19, 5:10 and Eph. 2:2, where note the strange comp. and phrase *κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου* *τοῦτου*). *ὁ κόσμος* without *ὅλος* in 1 Jn. 2:15 2:17; and in the derived sense of 'worldlings' (cp the phrase, too probably incorrect, *קָדָם בְּקָדָם* in Ps. 17:14). With *ὅλος* in Jn. 12:31 14:30 [not Tit. 16:11] 1 Cor. 3:19; without *ὅλος* in Jn. 7:7 1 Cor. 1:21 and often. Hence the adjective *κοσμικός*; in Heb. 9:1, *τὸ ἄγιον κοσμικόν* as opposed to the heavenly antitype of the tabernacle; Tit. 2:12.

(c) *αἰῶνες*, the universe (cp Wisd. 5:17 19:6, Mk. 10:13 13:19; 2 Pet. 3:4 Col. 1:15 Rev. 8:14). In Heb. 9:11 'this *αἰῶνας*', and in Gal. 6:15 2 Cor. 5:17, *κατὰ αἰῶνα*. The latter phrase, however, is applied morally and spiritually (cp Jn. 3:5 7 Rom. 6:4, and the phrase *κατὰ αἰῶνα* *ἀβυσσος*, etc., Eph. 2:15 1:21). In the sense of 'the coming 'olām' it does not occur in NT (but see Enoch 72:1 Jubil. 1:29; and cp Bar. 3:26 4 Ezra 7:54). We have the new heavens and the new earth, however, in 2 Pet. 3:13 Rev. 21:1; and if we had to render *ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ* (Mt. 19:28) into Aramaic or Hebrew we should have to follow Pesh. which gives 'in the new world' (ܐܪܥܐ). The Greek phrase, quoted in Dalman's words, 'the property of the evangelist.' On 'the elements of the world' (thrice in NT) see ELEMENTS.

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EARTH (FOUR QUARTERS).

Like the Babylonians, the Hebrews divided the world (i.e., earth and heaven) into four parts. We find the phrase 'the four skirts' (*אַרְבַּע*, *πτέρυγες*) of the earth, Is. 11:12 Ezek. 7:2, cp Job 37:33 13:1; and in Rev. 7:1 20:8, 'the four corners' (*γῶνιαι*) of the earth.' Probably, too, 'the four ends' (*ἄκραι*) of the earth' could be said; cp Jer. 49:6, 'the four ends of the heaven.' The four quarters could be described also as 'the four winds' (as in Ass.); see Ezek. 37:9 (especially), Dan. 8:14 Zech. 2:6 [10] 1 Ch. 9:24 Mt. 24:1. Similarly, 'to all winds' means 'in all directions' (Jer. 49:32 Ezek. 5:10 12, etc.).

The east was called 'the front' (*פָּנֵי*); the west, 'the back part' (*אָחֵר*); the south, 'the right' (*יְמִינִי*; *אֲרָב.* Sym., *δεξιάν* [Ps. 89:13]); and the north, 'the left' (*שְׂמֵאל*). The N. is called also *צָפֹן*, which is perhaps to be compared with Ar. *shaban* (from *shabawn*, east wind, E).² The S. is also *קֵדִים* (root uncertain); the E. usually *מִזְרָח*, 'the (region of the) sun-rising,' and the W. either *עַרְב*, 'the sea,'³ or *מַגֵּרֵב*, 'the (region of the) sunset'; sometimes also (e.g., 1 Ch. 9:24), improperly, *צָפֹן*, strictly the 'dry' S. region of Palestine; see, further, GEOGRAPHY, § 2. We now turn to the application and associations of the several terms.

2. North North and south are applied (a) to quarters of the heavens. So Job 26:7 (crit. emend.)—

¹ Cp the Ass. phrase *kippat samē irgiti*, usually, 'the ends of heaven and earth' (Del. *Ass. Heb.* 3:1, 7:2). The ideogram *SA-GU*, however, elsewhere = *sikkiru*, 'bar' (Del.) or possibly 'hinge' (Stucken). Perhaps the Ass. phrase means 'the bars (or hinges) of heaven and earth' (Stucken, *Astralmythen*, 138), and consequently the parallel Hebrew phrase 'the bars (or hinges) of earth.'

² So Barth, *Ehym. Stud.* 26; Kö. *Lehrj.* 2:128; but cp GEOGRAPHY, § 2. At any rate *צָפֹן* is 'to hide,' not 'to be hidden.' East in Hebrew may mean N. The interchange of *צָפֹן* and *עַרְב* is, of course, no difficulty.

³ ⁴ Nearly always renders *עַרְב* *θαλασσα*, even where 'west' is meant.

EARTH (FOUR QUARTERS)

(Before him) who had stretched the north region (of the heavens) upon space,
Who has suspended the earth upon nothing.¹

The passage has been well explained (after Del.) by Davidson:² 'The northern region of the heavens, with its brilliant constellations, clustering round the pole, would naturally attract the eye, and seem to the beholder to be stretched out over the "empty place," —i.e., the vast void between earth and heaven.' See DEAD, § 2 (1) for an explanation of the context. The N. region of the heavens is the 'station' of Bel.

Also Job 37.9 (crit. emend.).

From the chambers of the south (comes) the storm,
And from the north-star cold,
(When) by the breath of God ice is given,
And the wide waters are straitened.³

There is no 'south pole' in Babylonian astronomy corresponding to the north pole (cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 25); but there is a region of Ea, and this is called in Job 'the south,' as the region of Bel is called 'the north.' The constellations in the region ('path') of Ea are called 'the chambers of the south.'

EV has in *ṣ. qā*, 'And cold out of the north.' 'North' = *qā*, which Ges. Di. explain (after Kimhi) as 'the scattering'—a name for the north winds, which dispel clouds and bring cold. Not very natural. We evidently require a constellation. The Heb. *mišarim* may perhaps be the Ass. (*kakkab*) *mišri*. Read *mišarim*; the corruption was caused by a reminiscence of *mašarim*. The (*kakkab*) *mišri*, which we provisionally translate, with Hommel, the 'north-star,' was associated with 'cold, hail (?) and snow' by the Babylonians (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 50). Vg. *ab Arcturo*; *ṣ. arō akpurnaw* (read *akpurnaw*). On Ezek. 14 Eccles. 16, see WINDS.

N. and S. are applied (b) to quarters of the earth. Ps. 89.12, 'The north and the south, thou hast created them.' Here 'north and south' represent all the four quarters of the earth.

The N. was encompassed with awe for the Hebrew. (1) From the N. came the invaders of Palestine, and 'the north' is a symbolic term for Assyria (Zeph. 2.13), or Babylonia (Jer. 14 46.6 to 24 Ezek. 26.7 Judith 16.4). (2) Religious considerations added to the feeling of awe. In the mountainous north the people localised the 'mountain of Elohim,' of which tradition spoke (Ezek. 14 15 14.13; some would add Ps. 48.2[3]); and since God dwelt there, a poet says that manifestations of God's glory came from the N. (Job 37.22, crit. emend.; see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF, and cp BAAT-ZEPHON, 1). According to Ewald (*Alterth.* 59), this was the reason why sacrificial victims were to be slain 'before Yahwē' on the north side of the altar (Lev. 11). Yet, according to the older Israelitish view, which lasted into post-exilic times, the sacred mountain of Yahwē was not in the N. but in the S. The 'mountain of God' was Horeb (Ex. 3.1 4.27, etc.); Yahwē's progress into Canaan was from Seir (Judg. 5.4 cp Dt. 33.2), or, as a late Psalmist says, from Teman (Hab. 3.3). See WINDS.

Of E. and W. less has to be said. East and west, in Mt. 8.11, represent all the four quarters of the earth, like 'north and south' in Ps. 89.12[13]. 3. East and West. 'As far as the east is from the west' is a symbolic expression for an immense distance (Ps. 103.12). When all mankind unite in festivity, 'thou makest the outgoings of morning and evening to ring out their joy' (Ps. 65.8[a], Driver). The expression has been admired; but it is only the morning sun that 'goes forth.' The true reading, could we recover it, would probably be finer.⁵ The Babylonians believed that the celestial vault had two gates, one by which the sun 'went forth' in the morning, and another by which

¹ *ṣ. qā* is commonly taken to be a compound (Kö. *Lehrg.* 2.418), but without any adequate grounds. The right reading must be *ṣ. qā*; the plur., to express 'intense vanity' (cp Eccles. 12).

² Rudde and Duhm, perhaps unwisely, follow Dillmann.

³ Che. *JBL* 17.105 f. [198].

⁴ Ibn Ezra (and so Michaelis) identified *mišarim* with MAZZAROTH and MAZZALOTH (97.7). Ar. has *mušarim*.

⁵ See Che. *Ps.* 12, ad loc.

EARTHQUAKE

he 'came in' in the evening. In the E. was the isle of the blessed, with Par(t)-napisti, the hero of the Deluge-story; in the E., too, was the Hebrew paradise (Gen. 28). The W. had no such pleasing associations, for there was the entrance of the realm of the dead; there, too, the great Lightgiver disappeared. Still, a Psalmist in the full confidence of faith can declare (Ps. 139.9, crit. emend.),

If I lifted up the wings of the sun,²

And alighted at the utmost part of the west (E. lit. sea),

Even there thy hand would seize me,³

Thy right hand would grasp me.

He does not say (as MT and AV may suggest) 'would lead me to my own peace and happiness.' At any rate, it is much that he is not cut away from Yahwē's hand. He whom God grasps cannot go to destruction.

T. K. C.

EARTHENWARE. See POTTERY.

EARTHQUAKE (עַרְבָּ, עַיִסְמוֹס, קִינְעִיסְמוֹס).

Syria and Palestine abound in volcanic appearances (cp PALESTINE). Between the river Jordan and Damascus lies a volcanic tract, and the entire country about the Dead Sea presents unmistakable tokens of volcanic action and of connected earthquake shocks vaster and grander than any that are known, or can be imagined, to have occurred in the historic period. At the same time, the numerous allusions in the Bible to phenomena resembling those of earthquakes show that the writers were deeply impressed by the recurrence of severe seismic shocks. Not improbably some of these were recorded in the lost royal annals.

i. *Real or supposed historical earthquakes.*—(a) 1 S. 11.15 'And there was a terror in the camp, in the

garrison, and among all the people, and the raiders also were terrified.' 'This was on account of Jonathan's exploit. Suddenly 'the earth quaked,

whence there arose a supernatural terror.' Doubtful. (b) Am. 1.1 prophecy of Amos, 'two years before the earthquake.' Doubtful. On this and on (c) see AMOS, § 4. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 10.4) draws on his imagination. (c) Zech. 14.5 'Ye shall flee as ye fled before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah.' A post-exilic notice. (d) Arv. 4.11 'I have wrought an overthrow among you, as at the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah.' Historical. (e) Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5.2. In the seventh year of the reign of Aherod, there was an earthquake in Judaea, 'such as had not happened at any other time, and brought great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses.' The calamity encouraged the Arabs to acts of aggression (see HERODI). For later catastrophes see Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, 336.

ii. *Unhistorical narratives.*—(a) Gen. 19.25 'and he overthrew those cities.' Possibly implying a primitive tradition of an earthquake. See, however, Dillmann and cp SODOM.

2. *Unhistorical narratives.*—(b) The giving of the Law (Ex. 19.18). (c) Story of Korah (Nu. 16.31). (d) Elijah at Horeb (1 K. 19.11). It is the earthquake of the pious imagination constantly associates with a the. See ELIJAH, § 2. (e) The crucifixion. 'The earth quaked; and the rocks were rent; and the tombs were opened; and when Jesus 'yielded up his spirit' (Mt. 27.51 f.). Not in the other gospels. According to Mk., the cry which Jesus uttered when he gave up the ghost so impressed the Roman centurion that he exclaimed, 'Truly this was a Son of God' (Mk. 15.39 RVmg.). Mt., however, explains this confession as the result of fear at the earthquake and the accompanying phenomena. Similar portents are said to have marked

¹ Cp Karpe, *Journ. asiat.* 9.139 ('97).

² MT has *ṣ. qā*, 'the dawn'; but of a bird of the dawn we know nothing; and how does the dawn alight in the west? Read surely *ṣ. qā* (Job 9.7), and cp Mal. 3.20 [42].

³ Reading *ṣ. qā* (Gräv. Duhm).

⁴ The text is corrupt. See SUNG.

EAST, CHILDREN OF THE

EBER

the death of Julius Caesar, revered as a demigod (Virg. *Georg.* 1.471 ff.). However, the evangelist may have thought not only of the divinity of Christ but also of the exceptional wickedness of those who put Christ to death. 'Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein?' (Ant. 8.2). (f) Paul and Silas at Philippi (Acts 16.26). The essence of the story is that Paul and Silas were praying with such earnestness that all in the prison could hear, and that an extraordinary answer to prayer was granted. No stress is laid on the earthquake.

The references in prophecy and poetry are imaginative in character and symbolise the dependence of the earth on its Creator: Judg. 5.4 Am. 8.8 Hos. 4.3 Is. 29.6 Ezek. 38.19 f. Joel 2.10 Nah. 1.5 Hab. 3.6 Zech. 14.4 Ps. 187.8 [296 97.4 114.4 Rev. 6.12 8.5 11.13 16.18.

Jerome (on Is. 15) writes of an earthquake which, in the time of his childhood (c. 315 A.D.), destroyed Rabbath Moab or Amonoth (see AR). Medieval writers also speak of earthquakes in Palestine, stating that they were not only formidable, but also frequent. That of 1222 (or 1204) was among the worst. Ba'albek, being so near the Lebanon and Antilibanus, has always suffered much from earthquakes; that of 1759 did great damage to the ruins. In 1834 an earthquake shook Jerusalem and injured the chapel of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The great earthquake of 1837 (Jan. 1) did little harm at Jerusalem, which was not near enough to the centre of disturbance. Safed and Tiberias, however, were nearly destroyed. Cp Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 581.

T. K. C.

EAST, CHILDREN OF THE (בְּנֵי יָרֵם; ΟΙ ΥΙΟΙ ΚΕΔΕΜ [BNAQ]) is a general term for the people, whether Bedawin or pastoral tribes, of the country E. (or NE., Gen. 29.1 ΑΝΑΤΟΛΩΝ [ADEL]) of Palestine, who were regarded by the Israelites as near relations, descended from Abraham by Hagar, Keturah, and other concubines (Gen. 25.6 קְדָמֶיךָ אֶרֶץ יִרְמָה; ΕΙΣ ΓΗΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΩΝ [ADEL]). For textual criticism see REKEM.

In Ezek. 25.4 (קְדָמֶיךָ [ADEL]) to they appear to the E. of Ammon and Moab (cp Is. 11.14); in Jer. 49.28 they are mentioned with the Kedarites. In Judg. 8.10 (ἀλλοφύλων [B], υἱοὶ ἀνατολῶν [ADEL]) the phrase has a wider reference, including all the Bedouin (Moore), and in Job 13 (τῶν ἀπ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν [BNAQ]), i.e. K. 4.30 [5.10] (πατέρων ἀρχαίων ἀνθρώπων [BAL]) it seems to include the Edomites, for the Edomites of Teman were renowned for their wisdom. Cp MANOL.

T. K. C.

EAST GATE (יֶשַׁר הַמִּזְרָח), Neh. 3.29. See JERUSALEM.

EASTER (ΤΟ ΠΑΣΧΑ), Acts 12.4 AV. See PASSOVER, and cp FEASTS.

EASTWIND (רוּחַ צָפוֹן), Ex. 10.13. See WINDS, EARTH (FOUR QUARTERS), and GEOGRAPHY, § 1.

EBAL (עֵבֶל); plausibly connected with Bel by W. G. 1.120 n. 2; Gray, *Acad.* 20th June 1896; ΓΑΙΒΑΛ [BADEL]; cp EBAL, MOUNT).

1. One of the sons of Shobal b. Seir the Horite; Gen. 36.23 i Ch. 1.49 (γαββαλ [A], ουβαλ [L]).

2. A son of Joktan i Ch. 1.22 (where eleven MSS [Kenn.] and Pesh. read אֶבֶל; om. B, γαββαλ [A], ηβαλ [L], Jos. Ant. i. 6.4 ηβαλος; HEBAL). In Gen. 10.28 the name appears as Onal (עֵבֶל, Sam. עֵבֶל, om. ADE; eva [MSS; see HEP], γαβαλ [Compl. MSS], γαββαλ [L]; FRAT). Halévy connects with the local name 'Abil in Yemen (*MéL.* 86). Cp Glaser, *Skizze*, 2.26. The name may be a miswritten form of אֶבֶל, which follows (Che.).

EBAL, MOUNT (הַר עֵבֶל; ορος ΓΑΙΒΑΛ [BAFL]; Jos. Ant. v. 1.19 ΗΒΗΛΟΣ [v. 1 ΓΗΒΗΛΟΣ]; Ant. iv. 8.44 Βογλῆν; MONS HEBAL). Possibly Ebal should be Ebel; -bel may be a divine name, '... of Bel.' The dedication of a mountain to Bel in primitive times would not be surprising. Cp Ebal (above), Harael (Num. 34.11, see RIBLAH). There is of course no connection between Ebal (1, above) Ben Seir and Mount Ebal.

Ebal is a mountain 3077 ft. above the sea-level, which, with Gerizim (on the south), incloses the fertile valley in which Shechem lies. Both the mountains and the city were doubtless sacred from remote antiquity. There is an indication of this, so far as regards Ebal, in the

direction respecting the solemn curse to be deposited there, ready to fall on the disobedient (Dt. 11.29 cp 27.12) and respecting the placing of the great stones inscribed with the (Deuteronomic) Law and the erection of an altar to Yahweh on the same mountain (Dt. 27.4-8). The latter passage is specially important. As Kuenen (1.28) and Driver (Dt. 29.5) have pointed out, there was an injunction respecting a national sacrifice on Mt. Ebal the older work (JE) upon which the late Deuteronomist builds. The view that any disparagement of Ebal was intended by Dt. 11.29 is therefore in the improbable, nor can it be said that the mountain even now sterile to the degree which a popular prejudice demands.

Maudrell in 1697 observed that 'neither of the mountains has much to boast of as to their (its) pleasantness.' Cornhill on the southern slope, and there are traces of a thorough system of irrigation in ancient times. Mt. Ebal is 228 ft. higher than Mt. Gerizim, and commands a more extensive view, which is fully described by G. A. Smith (*HC* 149-152). Its position is thoroughly but not unnaturally misunderstood by Eus. and On this and other points, see GERIZIM. In the Pap. *Travels of an Egyptian in Syria, Palestine, etc.*, G. A. Smith and Goodwin render (i. 216) 'Where is the mountain of the who can master it?' (*KPM* 2.11). This should rather be, 'Where is the mountain of Sakam (or) Shechem?'—i.e., either Ebal or Gerizim (*As. u. Eur.* 394). In the fourteenth century no later names do not seem to have been widely known.

T. K.

EBED (עֶבֶד, i.e., servant [of God], § 50; [AL]).

1. Father of Gaal (Judg. 9.26-41, εὐβηλ [B] 7: 31 εὐβηλ 35 εὐβηλ [A]) according to MT; but see GAAL.

2. b. Jonathan of the Bene Adin in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA 8.2; ii. 15 [14]) Ezra 8.6 (εὐβηλ [B], εὐβη [A], [Auer] εὐβηλ [B], 8.32 (ONKTH, εὐβηλ [B], εὐβη [A], [Auer] εὐβηλ [L]).

EBED-MELECH (עֶבֶד מֶלֶךְ, 'servant of the king' [i.e. God], § 41; occurs also in Phoen.; εὐβημελ [BNAQ]). An Ethiopian eunuch at the court of Zedekiah, who obtained leave to draw up Jeremiah to the cistern into which he had been cast by the priests (Jer. 38.7 ff.). He was rewarded by a prophetic assurance that he would be preserved at the capture of Jerusalem (39.15 ff.).

Jewish legend reckons Ebed-melech among the nine righteous, the thirteen who entered Paradise without passing through death (see Gaster in *MJHF*, 1884, p. 413).

EBEH (אֶבֶה), Job 9.26 אֶבֶה, רָצִיתִי REED (q.v.).

EBEN-EZER (אֶבֶן עֶזֶר, 'the stone of help,' אבן עזר [BAL]).

1. The site of the battle in which the Philistines, the sons of Eli and took the ark (1 S. 4.1 5.1, אֶבֶן עֶזֶר [A]; in 5.1, אֶבֶן [B]). The battle seems to have been followed by the destruction of Shiloh (cp Jer. 12.14), and the subjugation of central Canaan by invaders. This Eben-ezer was near Aphek, which in the northern part of the plain of Sharon.

2. The stone which Samuel set up between Benjamin Mizpah and Shiloh in commemoration of victory over the Philistines (1 S. 7.12). This is quite a different part of the country from that in which lay, and the two Eben-ezers cannot be made one without inventing a new Aphek. See APHEK, 3 (c). On the other hand there is no reason why more than one sacred stone should not have borne so appropriate a name: 'the stone of help'; the story of 1 S. 7 comes from a document of no historical value, and is probably a legendary legend giving an innocent explanation of what was really a rude stone idol.

W. R. S.

EBER (עֶבֶר, εβερ [BADEL]). 1. That Eber is an actual personage, but an ethnological abstraction, is shown elsewhere (see HEBREW LANGUAGE, § 1). It is in fact the eponym of all the Hebrew peoples.

1 The Samaritan reading 'on Mt. Gerizim, adopted Kennicott, is obviously a sectarian alteration of the text.

2 See *Early Travels in Pal.*, ed. Wright, 433; *Conc. Tentwork*, 167; Rob. BK 396; Grove-Wilson, Smith's *D.* 1828.

3 Cp Abnii, 'stone of El,' *KS* 210, n. 1.

EBEZ

'all the sons of Eber' (Gen. 10:21; *ἑβρ* [E]). Genealogically he is the father of Peleg and Joktan, and the grandson of Arpachshad (i.e., the Hebrew peoples came from Chaldaea; see ARPAKSHAD), Gen. 10:24 f. 1 Ch. 1:18 f. 24 f.; cp Gen. 11:13-16. The name is properly a geographical term = עבר הנהר, Eber han-nāhār — i.e., 'the farther (?) bank of the river' — which appears in Ass. in the form *ebir nari* (first indicated by W. G. 1223, n. 1; cp Hommel, *AHT* 196, 255, 326),¹ and Hommel thinks, was originally applied by the Canaanites to the region on the W. bank of the Lower and the Middle Euphrates, including Uru (or Ur) and Borsippa. The designation Eberites or Hebrews would naturally still adhere to those tribes which came westwards into Canaan. According to this scholar, the name 'Eber' is also used once in the OT (viz., in Nu. 24:22-24; *ἑβραῖος* [BAFL], *ἑβρ* [EAME]) of Palestine and Syria with the exception of Ashur or S. Judah (see ASSYRITIM). His arguments are, however, not very solid. It is not certain that *ebir nari* in the inscription really denotes Palestine; Hommel shifts his ground in the course of his book (see *AHT* 196, 326); and after all it is not a Canaanitish inscription that he gives us. It is even more questionable whether Hommel can claim 1 K. 4:24 [54] as proving an early Israelitish use of 'Eber han-nāhār' as an expression for Palestine. This passage, together with 1 K. 4:21 [51], seems to belong to a late idealistic editor, who lived at a time when 'Eber han-nāhār' ('Abar nahrā'), or, in old Persian, *Arbāya*, was the constant phrase for the region between the Euphrates and Gaza (see CELESTYRIA, § 1).

Hommel's restoration of Nu. 24, may be sought in his book (*AHT* 245 f.). He is not wrong in supposing that the text needs emendation; but in deference to an archaeological theory he has unfortunately neglected the most important recent suggestion—viz., that of D. H. Müller (see BALAANI, § 6)—which makes Nu. 24:23 f. an oracle on the kingdom of Sam'al (NE. of the gulf of Anti-ch). Starting from this, it will be plain that Assyria and Eber must be referred to in the little poem as the enemies of the N. Syrian kingdom.²

The sense of Eber has to be obtained from the context. It may mean either the region beyond the Euphrates, or that on this side the river, near Aleppo (Ass. Halvan). In defence of the rival theory (that of Hommel) it is urged that the phrase 'Ibr-naharān' (עבר הנהר) in a Mincan inscription means 'the region E. and N. of 'Asur, practically therefore the trans-Jordanic country and Syria' (Glaser). Winckler, however (*AOF* I 137 f.; *GI* 174, n. 2, and 192), thinks that the Mincan 'Eber han-nāhār was the land of Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 b), which received a second name from the stream that formed its frontier, whilst Marquart (*Fund.* 75) is of opinion that 'Ibr-naharān can only be the Persian province, 'Abar nahrā (see above).

2. b. Elpaal, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), one of the founders of Ono and Lod and its dependencies, 1 Ch. 8:12 (ωβηδ [BA], αβηδ [L]).

3. A priest, the head of Amok, temp. Joiakim (EZRA ii, § 6 d, 11), Neh. 12:20 (αβηδ [BA], inf. L, om. BM^a).

4. AV HEBER (RV EBER), in a genealogy of GAD, 1 Ch. 5:13 (ωβηδ [B], ωβ [A]).

5. AV HEBER (RV EBER), b. Shashak, a Benjamite, 1 Ch. 8:22 (ωβηδ [B], ωβηδ [A], αβηδ [L]).

EBEZ (עֶבֶז), Josh. 19:20 RV, AV ABEZ.

EBIASAPH (עֲבִישָׁפ), 1 Ch. 6:21 [8], etc. See ABIASAPH.

EBONY (Kt. הוֹבֵנִים; Kr. הֶבְנִים; true vocalisation uncertain; Egypt. *heben* [Lieblein, *AZ*, 1886, p. 13]. *ēbēnoc* not in G, but in Syriac. Ezek. 27:15). *HEBENUM*, a loan-word). The word occurs in MT only once (Ezek. 27:15); but there are traces of it in perhaps four other passages (see below, § 2). From 1 K. 10:22 we may almost certainly learn that Solomon imported ebony

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as well as ivory, and from 1 Ch. 29:2 that he was believed to have used it in the decoration of the temple. If our emendation of Is. 21:6 is right (below, § 2 c), ebony was especially used at Jerusalem in the construction of thrones, for Isaiah appears to threaten destruction to 'thrones of ebony.' Possibly Solomon's famous throne (1 K. 10:18) was made of ivory inlaid with ebony. The passage that needs no emendation (below, § 2 a) occurs in Ezekiel's grand description of Tyrian commerce. Ebony, as well as ivory, was brought to Tyre by Dedanite, or possibly Rhodian, merchants (see DOBANIM). The uses to which ebony was put by the Egyptians are well known. It was employed both for sacred and for secular purposes; shrines, palettes, and many objects of furniture were made of it. From the time of Ti (tomb at Sakkarā) to that of Ptolemy Philadelphus it finds frequent mention in the Egyptian records (Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, I 24 [94]). The Babylonians and Assyrians too knew this wood, if Jensen (*AT* 337) is right in supposing that it is meant by the term *uša*, which is applied to a precious kind of wood, derived by the patesi, or priest-king, Judea, from Meluhha, or NW. Arabia.

There seems no reason to doubt, notwithstanding Sir Joseph Hooker's hesitation, that the 'ebony' of Ezek. is the heartwood of *Diospyros Ebenum*, a large tree of S. India and Ceylon, which has been exported from early times. It was no doubt one of the articles of Phoenician commerce through the Red Sea, like so many other products mentioned in OT.

We will now examine the biblical passages in which reference is perhaps made to ebony.

(a) Ezek. 27:15 was understood in very different ways by the ancients. *ὁ δὲ ὀδύρας ἐλαιοφάνειος* indeed supports *ἑβ* but *τοῖς ἐλαιοφάνειος* implies some word beginning with *h*, and Pesh. reads the whole phrase קֶרֶן עֵינִי, 'horns of oil and frankincense.' Still the ordinary text and the ordinary rendering are probably correct; Smend, Cornill, and Bertholet are, on this point, agreed.

(b) The present text of 1 K. 10:22 cannot be correct. *ἑβ* only gives (as its rendering of MT's קֶרֶן עֵינִי) καὶ λίθους τορευτῶν καὶ πελεκητῶν (ἀμέλ. [L])—i.e., it read the first word אֲבִנִים. This is probably older than the reading substituted for it in SA; but although the Chronicler may have read אֲבִנִים שֶׁנֶּחֱמֵם for קֶרֶן עֵינִי (see (c)), MT is probably nearer the true text. Only, following Ezek. 27:15, we should restore קֶרֶן עֵינִי 'ivory and ebony' (see Gesenius and Rudiger, *Phex.*). It is not very probable, however, that קֶרֶן עֵינִי is correct, ingenious as the explanations given of these words elsewhere (Am*) certainly are. קֶרֶן has probably arisen out of a dittographied קֶרֶן (it is remarkable that in Ezek. 27:15 Tg. actually reads קֶרֶן instead of MT's קֶרֶן). קֶרֶן may in like manner have arisen out of an early scribe's correction of the text; he probably wrote קֶרֶן. If so, we should read the whole phrase קֶרֶן עֵינִי וְהֶבֶן שֶׁנֶּחֱמֵם 'gold and silver, and horns of ivory and ebony.'

(c) In 1 Ch. 29:2 אֲבִנִים שֶׁנֶּחֱמֵם, 'onyx-stones,' which does not come in very naturally in the list of David's building materials, should rather be קֶרֶן עֵינִי. Perhaps 2 Ch. 9:21 originally made the ships of Tarshish bring אֲבִנִים שֶׁנֶּחֱמֵם, not שֶׁנֶּחֱמֵם. See Cle. *Ezr.* 7, 10 240 (Feb. '99).

(d) In Cant. 3:10, where EV has, absurdly, 'the midst thereof being paved with love,' we should certainly read 'its centre inlaid with ebony' (אֲבִנִים קֶרֶן עֵינִי). See LITFER.

(e) In Is. 21:6 הַבְּנֵי הַחֲדָשָׁה cannot possibly be right. The whole verse should probably be read thus (SBOT, Aldendai, *שֶׁנֶּחֱמֵם קֶרֶן עֵינִי*, and on all palaces of ivory, *שֶׁנֶּחֱמֵם קֶרֶן עֵינִי*, and on all thrones of ebony).

Cp Am. 3:15, and, on thrones of ebony, see above (8 d). A similar emendation seems to be needed in Ps. 48:7 [8], where אֲבִנִים שֶׁנֶּחֱמֵם should almost certainly be קֶרֶן עֵינִי. Cp OPIRE.

T. K. C.

EBRON (עֲבְרוֹן), Josh. 19:28, RV. See ARDON.

EBRONAH (עֲבְרוֹנָה), Nu. 33:34 AV, RV ABRONAH.

ECANUS, RV ETHANUS (*Ethanus*), a scribe (4 Esd. 14:24). The name possibly represents ETHAN [4].

ECBATANA (עֲבָטָנָה [BAFL]), Jos. Ant. x. 117 xi. 46) is the Gk. form of the name (1 Esd. 6:22 Judith

¹ Cp also W. *Musri, Meluhha, Ma'in*, pp. 51 ff. § 31.

² See Cle. *Ezr.* 7, 10 240 (Aug. '97), and 10 240 (June '99).

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1: 2 Macc. 9:3 Toh. 37) which appears in Aramaic (Ezra 5:17) as *ACUMETITA*. Its modern equivalent is *Hamagan*. See further *GEOGRAPHY*, § 22, and *PERIA*.

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Name (§ 1).	Date (§§ 11-13).
General Character (§ 2 f.).	Integrity (§ 14).
System of Thought (§§ 4 & 8).	Canonicity (§ 5 c.).
Character of Author (§ 9 f.).	Literature (§ 16).

Kōhēleth, EV 'Ecclesiastes or the Preacher' (Heb. קהלת, *Kōhēleth*, ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΣ [BKAC], Jerome, *Con-*

cionator), is a word of rather uncertain meaning, being the *fem.* participle (in the simple form) of a verb usually employed in the causative and signifying 'to gather together an assembly.' It possibly means 'he who addresses an assembly,' as English, 'the Preacher.' It was taken in this sense by the Greek translator and by Jerome. The name is applied to Solomon (1:12). The *fem.* form of the word has been variously explained. By some it is supposed that *Kōhēleth* is *wisdom* (which is *fem.*) personified; but, *Kōhēleth* is construed as a *masc.* (7:27 should be read *'amar hak-Kōhēleth*, as 12:8), and wisdom would hardly say 'I applied my heart to search out by wisdom' (1:13; cp 1:17, 2:3). It is easier to suppose that the *fem.* is to be understood in a neuter sense, the subject which exercises the activity being generalised, *that which addresses*, with no reference to its actual gender (Ezra 2:55, 57), the form having possibly an intensive sense, as in Arabic. The book is written in prose, though interspersed all through with poetical fragments, when the author's language becomes more condensed and elevated.

It is only in comparatively modern times that any real progress has been made in the interpretation of

2. Interpretation. Ecclesiastes. The ancients were too timid to allow the Preacher to speak his mind. Modern interpreters recognise a strong individuality in the book, and are more ready to accept its natural meaning, though a certain desire to tone down the thoughts of the Preacher is still discernible in some English works. One thing which has greatly contributed to the misunderstanding of the book and the character of the Preacher is the introduction of Solomon. To consider all those passages where the Preacher refers to himself as 'king in Jerusalem' and the like to be interpolations (with Bickell) may be unnecessary; but it is necessary to understand that, as in all later literature, Solomon is merely the ideal of wisdom and magnificence. It is in this character alone that he is introduced. Neither his idolatry nor his supposed licentiousness (the term *shiddāh*, 2:8, RV *concubines*, is of uncertain meaning)¹ is alluded to; nor is his penitence. The conception of a Solomon in his old age, a sated and effete voluptuary, looking back in penitence upon a life of pleasure, and exclaiming *Vanity!* is wholly unlike the Preacher of the book. There is not a word of penitence in the book. The Preacher is anything but weary of life. He has the intensest desire for it and enjoyment of it (11:7), and the deepest horror of death and the decay of nature (12:2 ff.). Far from being outworn and exhausted, he complains throughout the book that the powers of man have no scope: he is cabined, cribbed, confined by a superior power on all sides of him. Neither his natural nor his moral being has free play. Indeed, in his consciousness of power the Preacher appears to demand a freedom for man nothing short of that promised in the words 'Ye shall be as God.'

Amid all the peculiarities of the book certain things are clear. 1. The book has a general idea running through it, and is no mere collection of fragments or of occasional thoughts. The connection of the reflections sometimes seems

¹ [Many analogies suggest that קהלת קהלת is only a miswritten repetition of קהלת קהלת, 'men-singers and women-singers.']

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loose,—the author was not a literary artist,—but there is in his mind a general idea, which all his musings and examples illustrate.

2. From the name which the author assumes it is evident that he desires to play the part of an instructor. He has his fellow-men before him, and feels that he has a lesson to convey to them. True, there is a large personal element in the book—it is the author's confessions, and he takes his readers largely into his confidence;—but he is not solitary in his perplexities, and he has social and religious considerations which he desires to address to his contemporaries.

3. Further, the author is everywhere in earnest. He is not a mere clever dialectician playing intellectually with great problems or human interests, setting up opinions only to overturn them, or broaching theories only to reduce them *ad absurdum*. If he sometimes appears to speak on both sides of a question it is due to this, that the conditions and stations of human life—such as poverty or riches, servitude or ownership, royalty or the place of subjects—have two sides, and in his practical philosophy, which consists in inculcating a spirit of equanimity, he sometimes seeks to show the good that there is even in things evil, and on the other hand the drawbacks incident to those things which men covet most. He has also, perhaps, different moods. He is so overcome by the thought of the miseries that oppress human life that he thinks it better to die than to live, or best of all never to have lived; but at other times his mood brightens, and he counsels men to throw themselves into whatever activity offers itself to their hand and to pursue it with their might, and to seize whatever enjoyment is yielded by the labour or by its reward. The ground-tone of his mind is certainly sombre. He is oppressed by the intellectual and the practical limitations to which human life is subject. Man cannot understand either the world in which he lives or the work of God amid which he is set; neither can he by his efforts accomplish anything which is a permanent gain either to himself or to the world, nor break the fixed and inexorable order of all things, of which order he himself is part. His chain is very short, permitting only the narrowest range of work or of enjoyment, and all he knows is that this work and enjoyment is the portion which God has assigned to him. This is the fundamental idea of the book, repeated many times, and the author's position appears to remain the same throughout. Although his mood varies, his *verdict* or judgment is stable (12:8). There is no evidence of a struggle in his mind between faith and doubt, in which faith achieves a victory; much less are the apparent discrepancies of view in the book to be explained on the assumption that it contains the utterances of 'two voices,' one doubting and the other believing.

The book consists of what might be called the author's two philosophies, his theoretical philosophy and his

4. Main principles. practical. The theoretical principle is: All is vanity: what gain, *result*, is there to man in his labour or life? The practical principle is really all that is left possible by the theoretical one: Life has no gain; but God has given life to man, and he has to live it. Therefore, there is nothing better than that a man eat and drink and let himself enjoy good, for this is God's gift to him. Naturally there is a third thing. This enjoyment of good is the only sphere in which a man has a certain freedom; it partly depends upon himself and his own demeanour. Some principle to regulate his conduct and mind in life is therefore necessary. This regulating principle the Preacher calls wisdom. As a mental quality it is practical sagacity, insight into things and situations, enabling a man to act prudently; as a temper it is equanimity and moderation. These three ideas or conclusions had already been arrived at before the author sat down to write his book; they are constantly present to his own mind, and much of the obscurity of the book arises

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from his insisting upon them not separately but simultaneously.

Without circumspection the Preacher states his fundamental idea: 'All is vanity: what gain is there to man in all the labour in which he labours under the sun?' In other words, human life is without result. In this

5. Theoretical philosophy.

it is like the whole order of things, which goes on in an eternal round, accomplishing nothing. All things recur, and there is nothing new under the sun (1:1-11). Then, in chap. 1 f., he gives an account of the experiments which led to this conclusion. He inquired into 'all that is done under the sun,'—by which he means not merely the whole variety of human activity, but also all the events that happen to man in his life,—and he found that all was without result. He found, too, that the knowledge gained during the enquiry was equally resultless: 'In much wisdom is much grief' (1:12-18). Then he tried pleasure,—not as a sensualist, for his wisdom remained with him (2:1-9), but as an experimental philosopher,—and he found pleasure equally barren of result: 'I said of laughter, It is mad, and of mirth, What doeth it?' (2:2). Wisdom, indeed, carries a certain advantage with it; but it is no permanent gain to a man, 'for as the fool dieth, so dieth the wise man.' Therefore, there being no profit or permanent gain in life, howsoever it be lived, the practical conclusion is, Let yourself enjoy good (2:24).

Such is the author's meaning when he says that all is 'vanity.' It is not, as we are apt to suppose, that the world is unsatisfying and that the human soul craves something higher than the world can give. All is vanity because man is confined by a fixed determination of everything or, all sides of him by God. All the events of human life are in the hand of God: man has no power over them more than he has over the wind (8:8). 'There is a time to be born, and a time to die; a time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to love and a time to hate. All is in the hand of God; whether it be love or hatred man knoweth it not—all is before them' (3:1-9, 9:1). It is absurd to suppose that this means that there is a proper or suitable time for everything; it means that there is a time fixed by God for everything, a time, not when things should be done, but when they must be done. Even the injustice in the judgment seat and the oppressions against which men are helpless are ordinations of God. There may be a time for judging them—there is a time for everything;—but their object in God's hand is to bring home to man a true idea of what he is—that he is nothing and that God is all. Their object is to prove men and teach them to fear God, and that they may learn that they are but beasts; for one event happeneth to them and to the beasts: all go to one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again (3:16-20). 'Who knoweth the spirit of man whether it goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast whether it goeth downward to the earth?' (3:21 RV). Obviously nothing

6. Practical philosophy.

of life is left to man but to take what joy out (2:24 3:12-22 5:18-20 8:15 9:7-10 11:9 ff.). Even over this man has no power: it also is in the determination of God (7:13 f.). Power to enjoy life is the gift of God (2:24 f. 3:13 5:19); and, though it may generally be assumed that he desires men to have this enjoyment (9:7), there are instances where he denies them the gift (2:6 6:2-8). The Preacher is, of course, no sensualist. The 'good,' enjoyment of which he recommends, consists of the simple pleasures of life: eating and drinking, the consolations and supports of wedlock, the pleasure to be derived from activity in work or in business (9:7-10 11:1-6 9:10). How could the pleasures recommended be those of riot and excess when they are 'the gift of God,' the 'portion' he has given to man in the life which he spends as a shadow? It is just in these enjoyments that man comes nearest to God: he meets God in them, feels

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his favour, and knows that in them God is 'responding to the joy of his heart' (1:5, 8). This is the old view of the Hebrew mind, which looked on prosperity and the blessings of life as in a sense sacramental, as the seal of God's favour. The Preacher is a God-fearing man (5:6 f. 8:12), a man of righteous life (8:13), thoughtful, and dwelling by preference on the serious side of life (7:1-6). He believes in God, and in a moral rule of God, who 'judges' the righteous and the wicked. No doubt this rule is incomprehensible and full of what seem moral anomalies. It appears arbitrary (2:26); under it all things happen alike to all, to the godly and to the ungodly (9:1-3); the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong (9:11); there be righteous men unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked, and the contrary (8:14). Nevertheless, the Preacher will not abandon the general idea of such a moral rule (8:12 f.), though he laments that the delay and uncertainty of God's 'judgment' encourages men in their wickedness (8:11), and increases the evil and madness which are in their hearts (9:1); for, though God made man upright, man has sought out many inventions (7:29). Such anomalies in Providence, however, always drive the Preacher back to his practical counsel: 'Wherefore I commend mirth; for a man hath no better thing under the sun than to eat and drink and to be merry' (8:15).

Man is speculatively unable to comprehend the world (3:11 7:24 8:17), and practically helpless to obviate its evils; he is bound within an iron system which is unalterable. From a modern point of view it might be asked, Does the Preacher acknowledge the possibility of a progress of the individual mind within the bounds of the system which fetters him, of a culture or discipline within the limitations imposed on him by God? He does so in a certain sense. The evil of life, man's ignorance of what is to befall him, teaches him to fear God (3:14); and in his survey of the work that is done under the sun he acquires 'wisdom,' or, to use a common phrase, 'culture.' But the 'vanity,' the resultlessness

of life, lies here: in that a man can neither retain these gains nor transmit them, and, after all, life is without profit. (1) Man cannot retain his gains, for death surprises him: the wise man dieth even as the fool, and there is no remembrance of either of them for ever (2:16; cp 2:17-23); in the grave there is no work, no knowledge, no wisdom (9:10); the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward (9:5). The Preacher strikes here the saddest note of his feeling. It is obvious that his complaint that life has no 'profit' because man cannot retain its gains is a complaint that man cannot retain himself—'What shall it profit a man if he gain the world and lose himself?' The Preacher's cry is for continuity of the individual life, that he may still carry with him the gains which his spirit has accumulated. He appears to be aware that immortality of the individual spirit is believed in by some; but either the ground-tone of his own mind is too sombre for him to accept the idea, or the evidence for it seems insufficient (3:19-21 9:1-6). His book is unintelligible if this belief formed part of his creed. Hence he has been called a 'sceptic.' The word is relative. All the OT saints, if they lived now, might be called sceptics. The belief in immortality was not until very late times an assured doctrine of the OT (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 33). We observe it in the process of arising, as the necessary issue of two things—the living fellowship of man with God here, of which it is the continuance; and the anomalies of providence, of which it is the reconciliation. The Preacher is unable to reach it on either line.² (2) Further, life is without result

¹ Probably we should render a difficult phrase thus with Delitzsch.

² The use of the word 'spirit' in the OT is obscure. (1) It means the 'breath,' the visible sign, of life. (2) It is what we call the 'principle of life.' Life and the continuance of life

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because the wise man cannot transmit the fruits of his labour or of his wisdom: the man that cometh after him may be a fool. The idea of an advance of the race through the accumulated gains contributed to it by individuals does not occur to the Preacher. The tide of personal life flows too strong in his heart to permit him to acquiesce in his own absorption into the race, even if the race had a great destiny before it. Of this, moreover, he sees no evidence. To his mind, in the mood in which we find him, mankind has neither a progress nor a goal. The analogy of nature oppresses him. Its monotonous daily round of sunrise and sunset, of veering winds and rushing streams, produces no result. The history of mankind is the same—one generation goeth and another generation cometh. The universe has no goal; God has no purpose, and mankind no destiny. This general scope of the Preacher's logic (howsoever his heart recoils from it) defines the sense in which he speaks of God's 'judgment.' He hardly has the idea of a general judgment, such as that of the 'day of the Lord' of the prophets, when God brings in his perfect kingdom and bestows eternal blessedness on his people. The Preacher's 'individualism,' common to him with all the writers of the Wisdom, makes this unlikely. Neither could he have spoken of the universe as a continuous flux without a point of attainment if he had thought of it as moving towards this great goal. The 'judgment' is to him merely part of the moral government of God, which he maintains, howsoever imperfectly he is able to perceive it.

We have seen already that besides his theoretical and his practical philosophy the Preacher had a regulative principle of conduct, which he called

8. Principle of conduct.

wisdom. Much of the book is devoted to showing the advantage of this principle. It teaches a man how to bear himself before God. Even in religion a man ought to be calm and meditative, and to restrain over-impulsiveness (5-7 7:16 f.). So in regard to rulers: even if despotic and evil, a wise man will not act hastily, seeing that power is on the side of the ruler; nor will he rashly enter into plots or conspiracies. Discretion is the better part of valour. He who digs a pit may fall into it. Skill is better than force. If you have trees to fell, grind your axe rather than 'put to more strength' (8:1-9 10:1-11). And be not surprised if you are oppressed and plundered. Society, or at least government, is an organised oppression: those who oppress you are oppressed by those above them, and these again by their superiors, and so on to the top of the pyramid (58). Wisdom, however, perceives the 'vanity' of all this: for example, he that loveth money will not be satisfied with money, and he that increaseth his substance increaseth those who eat it (5:10-6:9). Wisdom, on the contrary, is as good as an inheritance, or better than that: for it preserves the life of him who has it (7:12); it supplements the defects of righteousness, and avoids 'the falsehood of extremes' (7:15-22); it is stronger than ten rulers in a city (7:19); and preserves men both from sentimental dreaming over the good old days and from over-anxious forecasting how their business ventures will turn out (11:1-6). There is much, however, that wisdom is not equal to even in human things (7:24), and no wisdom can find out the 'work of God' (8:17). Moreover, the wisdom of the poor man is neglected or forgotten (9:13-16), and a little folly is stronger than much wisdom, even as a dead fly will cause a pot of ointment to stink (10:1).

are the effect of a divine influence; the cessation of life is the withdrawal of this influence. The 'spirit' in this sense is nothing but an effect. All questions where this 'spirit' goes when 'taken away' by God are irrelevant. It goes nowhere: the 'taking away' of it is merely the cessation of the divine influence of which it is the effect. (1) It is the immaterial subject (not substance) in man, which lives. The boundary lines between (2) and (3) are confused. The passage 3:21 seems to incline to (3), though without firmness (5:19), whilst 12:7 probably goes back to (2), being on a line with Ps. 104:29 f. Job 34:14. Cp. further, ESCHATOLOGY, § 10 f., and SPIRIT.

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Occasionally the author uses the term 'wisdom' in the sense of comprehension of the universe or work of God. For this man is altogether incompetent (cp. Job 28).

The above analysis shows the Preacher's main ideas. The Preacher himself is more difficult to explain. The

9. The man. difference between him and earlier writers of the Wisdom lies in his *tone*. To catch this truly would be to find the key to his book. The existence of the book is evidence of dissatisfaction, of a sense of want. The Preacher is driven to acknowledge that man is 'like a beast with lower pleasures': he could not have added 'with lower pains.' His book all through is a cry of pain—just that he has no portion but lower pleasures. His conclusions are in a way positivist; but his whole book is a protest against his conclusions—not against the truth of them, but against the fact that they should be true. Job flung himself against the moral inequities of Providence; to the Preacher the 'crookedness' of things is universal. Job raged; the Preacher only moans and moralises. Job is an untamed eagle, dashing himself against the bars of his cage; the Preacher looks out with a lustreless eye on the glorious heavens, where, if he were free, he might soar. He knows it cannot be, and he ventures also to murmur some advice to men: Enjoy good; do not think (5:20). His admonitions to himself and others are quite sincere, not ironical; they are the human soul's efforts to anaesthetise itself—dull narcotics numbing pain. The Preacher's mood may be a complex thing: partly temperament, partly a mode of religion, and partly due to the wretched conditions of human life in his time. It was an evil time. Judges were corrupt, rulers despotic and debauched, the people oppressed;

10. A product of OT religion.

and society was disintegrated. It is unnecessary to have recourse to Greek philosophy to explain the Preacher's ideas and feelings (cp. HELLLENISM, § 6, and see below, § 13). The practical 'wisdom' which he recommends may have a certain resemblance to the 'unperturbedness,' the 'mean,' and the 'nothing too much' of the philosophers; but both it and all other things in the Preacher are a natural development of the native Hebrew Wisdom. There is nothing in Ecclesiastes which is not already in Job and the older Wisdom. Indeed, one may say that the OT religion was bound to produce, at some time and in some cases, a phenomenon like the Preacher. The OT religion consists of two things: first, ideas about God; and, secondly, a living faith towards him and sense of fellowship with him. Without the latter the former brings little comfort to the human mind, even though certain fundamental beliefs—such as the personality of God and the moral being of man—be still retained. For, first, the fundamental principle of Hebrew religion that God is in all things that happen, whilst in times of prosperity and well-being it gave unspeakable joy to the pious mind, with a vivid sense of its fellowship in life with God, when the times were evil and articles of a creed had taken the place of an emotional piety, gave rise to a sense of impotency in the mind. Man felt environed on all sides by a fixed order which he could do nothing to ameliorate. God became a mere transcendent force outside of human life, pressing upon it and limiting it on every side. The different feeling which the same conception of God produced in the pious mind and in the reflective mind, respectively, will appear if Ps. 139 be compared with Ecclesiastes. It would be false to say that 'God' to the Preacher was nothing more than what the 'world' or 'nature,' or that which is outside a man, is to many minds now. His faith in a personal God is never shaken; atheism or materialism is not conceivable in an ancient Oriental mind. At the same time, his faith is no more suffused with the life-colours of an emotional confidence, and he could not have said with the Psalmist, 'Nevertheless I am continually with thee' (Ps. 73:23), nor with Job, 'I know

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that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall see God' (19:25). Secondly, it was from 'piety, the sense of fellowship with God, not from reflection, that all the great religious hopes in regard to man's future arose. They were projections, corollaries, of an emotional personal religion—such as the hope of immortality, the faith in a reign of righteousness, and the meaning of a kingdom of God upon the earth. When piety declined, and reflection took its place, these hopes of the future could not sustain themselves. They survived in the community, whose life was perennial; but the 'individualism' of the Preacher left them slipping from its grasp.

The date of Ecclesiastes cannot be determined with certainty. It is later than Malachi, for the priest called in Malachi 'messenger of the Lord' (Mal.

11. Date. 2:7) is simply named 'the messenger' in 56. It is probably earlier than Ecclesiasticus (c. 180-200), for, though many of the coincidences usually cited have little relevancy, Eccles. 1:8 seems certainly a reminiscence of Eccles. 3:14, and Eccles. 4:24 of Eccles. 7:14. The book may belong to the oppressive times of the later Persian rule, or it may be a product of the Greek period. Perhaps the language would rather suggest the later date (see next §). In the beginning of the book the experiments on life are represented as being made by Solomon; but this transparent disguise is speedily abandoned. Solomon is merely the ideal of one who has unbounded wisdom and unlimited resources with which to experiment on human life—a man whose verdict of 'vanity,' therefore, is infallible. In the Epilogue the Preacher is merely one of the wise (12:9). The state of society amid which the author lived has no resemblance to the state of society in the times of Solomon. There was corruption in the judgment seat (3:16), cruel oppression from which there was no redress (1:12), and a hierarchy of official plunderers one above another (5:8), with a system of espionage which made the most private speech dangerous (10:20). The author had witnessed revolutionary changes in society and strange reversals of fortune—slaves riding on horses and princes walking on foot (10:4-7).

Such a time might be the late Persian period. It could not well be the early Greek period when the Jews enjoyed the beneficent rule of the early Ptolemies. It might, however, be the more advanced Greek period, when Palestine became the stake played for by Antioch and Alexandria, a time when the people suffered severe hardships, and when the upper classes, especially the religious leaders, were deeply demoralised and self-seeking. On the other hand, the book must be earlier than the uprising of the national spirit in the time of the Maccabees. Gratz indeed places the book in the time of Herod (8 B.C.); but the date is part of his theory of the book, which has no probability. The most probable date perhaps is the latter part of the third century B.C. (cp. however, Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, ch. v.).

Both the language and the modes of religious thought in Ecclesiastes suggest that it is one of the latest books in the canon. The language has the peculiarities of such late books as Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Esther. Indeed, it belongs to a much more degraded stage of Hebrew than either of those books exhibits; and in the forms of words, in the new senses in which older words are used, and in the many new words employed, it has many similarities to the Targums and Syriac, especially to the Mishna (c. 200 A.D.).

The characteristic forms of Hebrew syntax, such as the *vav* consecutive have almost disappeared; constructions of classical Hebrew have given place to those of Aramaic; and in general the language has lost its old condensed character, and become analytic, with a multitude of new particles. Details may be seen in Driver's *Introduct.* and in the commentaries of Delitzsch, Nowack, or Wright.

The ideas and the mode of religious thought in the **13. Ideas.** book also bear witness to the lateness of its date. In the Preacher the religious spirit of Israel is seen to be completely exhausted. It can no

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more, as in Job and Ps. 49 and 73, use the problems of life in order to rise to lofty intuitions of its relation to God. It sinks back defeated, able only to offer a few practical rules for ordinary life. The idea of Elyah, who is followed by Philopater, that the book is a blend of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies, seems extraordinarily superficial, and is supported mainly by what appears to be a misinterpretation of its language.

The passage 3:11, 'there is a time to be born' (etc.), does not inculcate the doctrine of living 'conformably to nature,' or teach that there is a fit time for doing everything; it teaches that there is a necessary time, for the time of everything has been determined by God. Even the most astute opportunist would have difficulty in securing that he should be born and should die at the fitting time. Again, the passages 1:8 and many others certainly teach that there is nothing 'new' under the sun, no progress in nature or history, that things recur; but they teach nothing about recurrent 'cycles.' Determinism is, of course, a prevailing idea in the book. That, however, is just the fundamental idea of the Wisdom, or indeed of the Hebrew mind—that God is the causality in all things, with the inevitable development which time gave it. At first sight the phrase 'to do good' in the sense of 'to see good,' to enjoy life (3:12), has a startling resemblance to the Grk. *eu praxein*; but, after all, the senses of the two phrases are somewhat different, and there is no reason to suppose the Hebrew expression to be an imitation; though not occurring elsewhere, its opposite, 'to do badly' (*ra'au*), is used in early literature (2 S. 12:2, and perhaps Eccles. 5:14; 7:31), and possibly the phrase itself may be ancient. (H. Zuckel, *Lit. ab. den Brüdern*, 1792, was the first to discover Gnosticism in Ecclesiastes.)

There have been attempts to identify the 'old and foolish king' (1:12) and the city the siege of which was raised by 'the poor wise man' (9:12), and to verify the possible historical reference in the passage (10:4-7) about slaves on horseback and princes walking on foot, and in such passages as 8:10, with a view to fixing the date of the book more accurately; but nothing has resulted beyond conjectures more or less plausible.

The ingenious theory of Bickell that the apparent want of connection in many parts of Ecclesiastes is the result of an accident which befell the book at some early time, and threw the sheets into confusion, has little probability; the want of connection complained of disappears in many cases before a more careful study of the author's line of thought. In a book such as Ecclesiastes, however, the line of thought and (particularly) the tone

diverge so greatly from the other OT writings—to be expected that there would be some interpolations; *qualifications* which the reader or scribe felt constrained to add to the author's somewhat strong statements. The probability that 11:9 is an addition rests not so much on the idea expressed as on its unattractiveness in the context; for the view of some that the passage means that God 'will bring into judgment' any one who neglects to enjoy the natural pleasures of life is too absurd. There is less objection to 3:17 (perhaps the last word of the verse should be read *sim*, 'hath appointed'). 8:10-12 f. also are in some way corrupt. So, certainly, 12:1, 'Remember thy creator.' The words disturb the connection between 11:10 and the rest of 12:1. The reading suggested by Gratz, 'Remember thy fountain' (= thy wife, Prov. 5:15-19), strikes a lower note than is heard anywhere in the book, and is to be rejected.

The Epilogue falls into two parts, 12:9-12 and 12:13 f.; and it is questionable whether either part (especially the second) is original.² On the one hand, the book reaches its natural conclusion in 12:8, where the burden of it is restated: 'All is Vanity'; and, secondly, whilst in the rest of the book the author speaks in the first person, in 12:9-12 he is spoken about. On the other hand, though the verses contain some peculiar expressions, their general style agrees with that of the rest of the book, and it is quite possible that the author, dropping

¹ The theory of dislocation was first proposed by J. N. van der Palm in his *Ecclesiastes philologie et critique illustratus*, Leyden, 1784. The theory and arrangement of Bickell is reproduced in Dillon, *Sceptics of the OT*, '65.

² On interpolations in Eccles., see also CANNON, § 55 col. 671, n. 4.

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his literary disguise of Solomon, might have added some account of himself in his actual character. The picture is certainly not just that which would have suggested itself to a mere reader of the book – it implies a fuller acquaintance with the author than could be got from his work. In *17. 11* the whole matter is said to be 'Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole of man.' The last words may mean, 'This absorbs or should absorb man; all his powers should be directed toward this; or they may mean, 'This exhausts man; his powers reach no further – e.g., to understand the 'work of God' (*Job 28*). Verse *11*, which says that God 'will bring every work into judgment,' attaches itself better to the first sense. The 'judgment' also seems a larger and more general one than that seen in God's ordinary moral rule of the world. Possibly, therefore, *17. 11* come from the same hand as *11. 6*. If the verses be an addition, they are still comparatively early, for they are referred to in the disputes of the Jewish teachers over the canonicity of the book.

18. Canonicity. Ecclesiastes is not quoted in the NT, and even in the second century A.D. its right to a place in the collection of sacred books was a subject of controversy in the Jewish schools. The exact state of the dispute appears to be this: Practically the book had long been combined with the other 'sacred writings', but voices which expressed doubt of the propriety of this combination continued to be heard. That this is the state of the case appears from the facts (1) that Ecclesiastes must be included in the twenty-four books of 4 Esdras, and in the twenty-two of Josephus, toward the end of the first century A.D.; and (2) that in the time of Herod the Great and of Gamaliel it is quoted as 'scripture' (*Bab. Bathra*, 42, *Shabb.* 30^b), whilst the objections to it continued to be heard 100-120 A.D. (*Yad.* 34). The school of Hillel held that it 'defiled the hands' (was canonical); that of Shammai rejected it. The former opinion finally prevailed. See *CANON*, § 55.

In addition to general works such as Driver's *Introd.* and Kue's *Onf.* (2) in. may be named the comms. of Ew. *Dichter des Alt. Bundes*; Hitzig, *Exeg. Handb.*

16. Literature. *17. 11*, by Now. '83; Ginsburg, *Coh. 17. 11*, 61. Grätz, *Kohélet*, 1871; Del. *Hohelied u. Kohélet*, 1875 (translated); Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes or the Preacher* (Cambridge Bible), 1881; Renan, *L'Ecclesiaste*, 1882; Wright, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 1883; Volck, *Kurzer Komm.* (Strack u. Zöckler), 1882; Sam. Cox, in *Ez. Bib.*, 1890. Helps of a more general kind: Nölde, *Die A. L. Lit.*, 1888; Illich, *Ursprung, etc., des Buches Koh.*, 1872; Tyler, *Ecclesiastes*, 1874 (2) 1891; Taylor, *Dirge of Kohélet*, 1874; Engellhard, *Ueber den Epilog des Koh.* *St. Kr.*, 1873; Kleinert, 'Sind in B. Koh. ausserheh. Einflüsse anzuerkennen?' *St. Kr.*, 1883; Bickell, *Der Prediger*, 1884; Schiffer, *Das B. Koh. nach der Auffassung der Weisen des Talmud*, etc., 1884; Bradley, *Lect. on Eccles.*, 1885; Pfeiderer, *Die Philol. des Herakl.*, 1886; A. Palm, *Die Kohélet Literatur*, 1886; Che. *Job and Solomon*, 1887; *Jew. Rel. Life*, Lect. vi. 1898; S. Euringer, *Der Masechet des Koh.*, 1890; Wildeboer (in *KHC* 98). On the Gr. text, *Di. SRAH*, 1892; E. Klostermann, *De Lib. Coh. Vers. Alex.* 1892; Tyler, *Koh.* 1899.

16ra. *MHW*, 1893, pp. 74 ff., 127 ff., a defence of the reign of Herod as the date of Ecclesiastes, with special reference to the Talmudic passages cited in C. H. H. Wright's *Ecclesiastes*; Kuenen, 'The tendency, integrity, and age of Ecclesiastes,' *Onf.* (2) §§ 104, 105 (93); Germ. transl. *Eind.*, '93; note especially the discussion of proposed dates later than 200 B.C.; Haupt, 'The Book of Ecclesiastes,' *Oriental Studies* (Or. Club of Philadelphia, '04), pp. 242-278, holds that the contents have been deliberately disarranged, and that many glosses have intruded into the text; he gives a translation of the final section as restored by himself.

Kö. *Eind.* ('03), 432 ff., and Leimdörfer (*Das heil. Schriftwerk Kohélet*, '92) ably plead for a date in the reign of Alexander Jannæus.

Siegfried (in *HK*, '93) also thinks that Eccles. is full of contradictions, indicating the work of at least five writers. A redactor attempted, with little success, to bring order out of chaos. He gave the superscription (11) and a concluding word (129); 129-19 is due to three epilogists. The date of the original book is placed soon after 200 B.C. The glossators may have gone on till nearly 100 B.C.; allusions to the Essenes (see, e.g., 94b) also point to this period. The kernel of the work may have been known to Ben-Sira (after 170 B.C.).

Che. *Jew. Rel. Life* ('02), 181-208, favours Grätz's hypothesis, and while admitting that the date of Ecclesiastes needs further examination, he finds no period which so fully illus-

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trates the book as that of Herod the Great. He admits great disarrangement and interpolations.

It may be added that the text of Eccles. is in a bad state. There are still gleanings to be had in some of the most difficult passages, which may considerably affect the criticism of the book (see *Critica Biblica*, and cp. Kuenen 170). Bickell's emendations have hardly been appreciated enough. He has further done good service, not only by his suggestive rearrangement, but also by his attention to the pastoral passages, e.g., 10; one has made so clear to the eye the most probable meaning of 11:10 and 12:10 (cp. *The Jew. Rel. Life*, 1902).

Wet's essay on 'Date and Author of Kohélet' (*ACF* 10 111-159) gives a general sanction to Siegfried's analysis, and ascribes the kernel to ATTICUS [271]. The 'old and foolish king' is Antiochus Epiphanes. The statement on p. 146 that the author must have been either one of the kings of the Herodian house or else one of the heretical high priests before the Hasmonean dynasty is a valuable recognition of the period within which, as more and more critics think, the date of the original book must be placed. – F. K. C.]

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Title, etc. (§ 1-7)	Sources (§§ 1-15)
Text, etc. (§§ 1-6)	Form and Contents (§ 16-7)
Date (§§ 7-10)	Religious teaching (§§ 18-22)
Fortunes (§ 11)	Ethical (§ 23)
Structure (§ 11-7)	Greek thought (§ 24)
	Literature (§ 25)

Ecclesiasticus (abbrev. *Ecclesi.*) is the usual Latin and English name of one of the deuterocanonical books of the OT (see *APOCRYPHA*, §§ 2-8). It is not probable that the author himself gave his book a title; later it is

1. Title. referred to under various names. In the Talmud it is cited simply by the name of the author, as 'Ben-Sira' (בן סירא), or by the formula 'the sages say' (though this last may point not immediately to our book, but to material from which it drew). Jerome (*Prof. in Lib. Scl.*) declares that he had seen a Hebrew copy entitled 'Parabole' (פאראבול), and this designation, natural and appropriate, is employed also by Saadia.¹

In the LXX the book is called 'Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach' (Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιρᾶχ [SAC]; B incorrectly Σ. Σ.; but in the subscription it agrees with SA. The title of the Prologue in C is πρὸς λόγιον Σιραχ).

This form (found also in the Syriac Versions and in some MSS of the Vet. Lat.) was the one generally used by the Greek writers, as is expressly stated by Rufinus (*Vers. Or. Rom.* in *Nu.* xviii. 2). The title Σοφία occurs also in other combinations: in the honorary name 'All-virtuous Wisdom' (ἡ παναρετος Σοφία) given to the book in patristic writings (*Jer. Prof. in Lib. Scl.*), as also to Proverbs (Clem. Rom. 1 *Cor.* 57; Clem. Alex. i. 108; Eus. *HE* iv. 22) and to Wisd. of Sol. 2 (Epph. iii. 240); and in the more general designations 'Wisdom' (*Orig. In Matt.* 134) and 'Wisdom of Solomon' (*Cyp. Test.* iii. 20).

With regard to the term סִירָא applied in the Talmud to the work of Ben-Sira it is uncertain whether it is used as a title – but it appears to have been employed as a descriptive term. Possibly it was an old Jewish designation, which was adopted by the Greek Christians as a title; in the case of the Book of Proverbs Hegesippus (in Eus. *HE* 422) refers the term to unwritten Jewish traditions.

On the Talmudic use cp. Blau (in *KEF* 3521), who cites *Jer. Sola*, 24c; 'after the death of R. Eliezer the תנא סִירָא was buried (1222). It seems probable that the expression 'סִירָא includes Ben-Sira.

Whilst the Greeks thus named the work from the nature of its material, the Latins preferred a title descriptive of its relation to the Church services. The term *ἐκκλησιαστικὸς* is used by the Greeks of the *κωνών* of the Church (Clem. Alex. *Str.* 6125), and generally of what was in accord with the Church. Adopted by the Latins, the term was employed by them in a like general way (*pacem ecclesiasticam*, Tert. *De Pudicit.* 22), and came to be used especially of books which, though not canonical, were regarded as edifying and proper to be read in the churches (*Ruf. Comm. in Symb.*, § 38, *Vers. Orig.*

¹ The Oxford editors of the Hebrew Fragments (see below, § 4) refer (Preface, ix. n. 4) to a statement of Saadia (S'adyah) (942-990, ed. Harkavy, p. 151, l. 11 f.), that Ben-Sira wrote a *Book of Instruction* (סִפְרֵי חֻמְרֵי). This expression, however, seems to be rather a description than a title.

² Probably given first to Proverbs, and then to all the supposed Solomonic wisdom-books.

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the system in which our book was held that it was termed 'ecclesiastical', the 'liber ecclesiasticus' *par excellence* (1 ypr *Fest* 2:11; *Ang. Lib. Post* (Chr 21)).

The name of the author is given variously as Helwig, Helew, Helew, Helew, Helew.

2. Author. The Hebrew text has, in 50:27, 'Shon on b. Yeshua b. Eleazar b. Sura' (so also Saadia, 50:27, 131), and in 51 in the same formula, and also 'Shimon b. Y' called b. Sura'. So also Jerome v. *seraph* (*seraph* | *Al*).

2. Author.

Slag transcription: 'Yeshua' h. Shimon, who is called Bar
 Asa. In some MSS 'Sira' h. and in the title 'E' 'S'; Swa-
 bee (*Arad* 'Dran', Sem. Series 1, 279), 'Shimon h. Sira',
 'Edmud', 'Hen-Sira'.

In this medley of readings two things are clear. The author's name proper was Yeshua (Jesus); so he is called by the Greek translator in his prologue; and his familiar surname was Ben Sira, as all ancient authorities attest. The significance of the other names is less clear. The Hebrew text and Septuagint

The Hebrew text and Saadia must be changed so as to read 'Yeshua' (Simon) (cp Zuni, *l.c.* 62), and the whole name, as given by them, may then be accepted (so Markavi, *Stud. Mittell.* 2, 20, 114, in *RF* 135 26, and Kautsch). In that case we may suppose that *Q* and *S* have abridged the genealogy, and that the form in the *Book of the Bee* is defective. It is less probable that the 'Simon' (Simon) and 'Elezar' are scribal additions, the former made in order to connect the author with the famous high priest (of that name (501)), the latter in order to connect him with the high priest (the brother and successor of Simon I.) to whom, according to the 'Letter of Aristeas,' Ptolemy Philadelphus sent his request for the translation of the Torah (Fitzke's). This sort of insertion of a genealogy would be very bold, and would hardly be called for by Hen-Sira's position as a sage. Nor is it likely that 'Elezar' is another name of Sira (Krauss, in *JQR*, Oct. 1895). It is simpler to suppose that Simon and Eleazar (the names are common) were men otherwise unknown, father and grandfather of the author.

[illegible]

The genealogies in 50... have only the authority of tradition—they are not in the hand of the author. He is described in 50:7 in the Greek and Latin Vss. as a 'Jerusalemite,' a statement in itself not improbable—it is in keeping with the detailed description of the high-priestly ritual in 50; but since it is not found in the H. and S. it cannot be regarded as certain. One Gk. MS calls him a 'priest'; but this is merely a scribal error. Instead of *ἱεροποιεῖς* he has *ἱερεὺς* a scribe. This error seems to have given rise to further unwarranted statements (see below). Cp the argument of Krauss in *JQK*, Oct. 1868.

As to Ben-Sira's life we have only the general conclusions which may be drawn from the nature of his thought and from a few references which he makes to his experiences. He seems to have been a Palestinian sage, a philosophical observer of life, an ardent Israhelite and devoted lover of the Torah, but probably neither a priest

¹ So Par. Hebraeus.

ed. Harl. 1783) quotes a saying which is attributed in the Talmud to Ben-Sira and is found in our Greek (321 f.), see Bacher, *Agad. d. pal. Amor.*, p. 119 n. 5, C. and N., *Eccles.* 11, and Blau, "Sira" (see the full name in the Hebrew); the work cited by Ruti this Eleazar cannot be the same Talmudic doctor Eleazar b. Pesai, who frequently cites Ben-Sira (*Talmudic doctor*, Eleazar b. Schür, *Hist.* 5, 25), referring to the same source as Bacher).

³ Schür. (*Hist.* 5 25), referring to the erroneous statement of

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(Zanz, Noldeskej nor a *zanz* (Fitzschke) (see SKRIM unless that term be understood in a very wide sense (SKRIM)). He had too wide a circle of interests to be easily identified with either of those classes, though he was in close relation with them both, and he may perhaps be best described as one who sympathized with that mode of thought which after his time developed into Socialism. He early devoted himself to the pursuit of wisdom, travelled much, was often exposed to danger and sometimes near to death (31 n. p. 51), and his book was probably composed in his ripe age.

Until quite recently the work was known to modern scholars only in scanty citations and in translations such as

3. Original language.

In the author's preface, it was originally written in Hebrew—a term which might mean either Hebrew proper or Aramaic. On this point the citations of Rabbinical writers (*Pirke Aboth*, *Pirke of R. Nathan*, etc.)—sometimes without acknowledgment, sometimes under the name of Ben-Sira, sometimes in Hebrew, sometimes in Aramaic or debased form—were not decisive, since it was not certain that they came from a Hebrew original; and even the quotations of Saadia (10th cent.), which are in classical Hebrew, were similarly open to suspicion. After this the tastes of a Hebrew text of Ecclesiastics became indistinct, and knowledge of such a book did not reach the Christian world (see Cowley and Neubauer's *Ecclesiastics*). Still, that its language was Hebrew, not Aramaic, had been inferred by critics from certain obvious errors in the Greek Version—for example, 21.27, 'light' for 'Nile' (ⲛⲓ); 25.15, 'head' for 'poison' (ⲉⲛ); 46.15, 'Tyrants' for 'enemies' (ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ). It was thought probable, also, that, since the Palestinian vernacular of the time was Aramaic, and Hebrew was a learned language, the author's vocabulary, whilst based on the Hebrew Sacred Writings (with which he was familiar), would contain late-Hebrew and Aramaic words and expressions.

Under these circumstances it was natural that the discovery of a Hebrew text of part of the book should

4. Hebrew MSS.

4. Hebrew MSS. The part of the book (shoul' v. 8) was brought from the East to Cambridge by Mrs. Lewis,¹ and in a box of fragments acquired for the Bodleian Library (through Styer) Cowley and Newbaker found nine leaves, apparently of the same MS (40^v-49^r); eleven² leaves (36^v-72^v; 11-16 12-1 26 of a second MS [A], 30^r-31^r 32^v-33^r; 35^v-20 36^r-21 37-37^r 38^r-27 49-12 51^v of the first MS [B]) were discovered by Schechter in the fragments brought by him from the Cairo *genizah*; and in matter recently acquired by the British Museum other fragments (of MS B) were found (31-12-31 36-22-37-26); these all together give the greater part of chaps. 3-7 12-16 35-32 35-51,—about one-half of the book.³

The texts discovered down to the end of 1899⁴ appear to belong to at least two different MSS, A and B.

Syncellus (*Chron.* ed. Dindorf, I, 525) that Ben-Sira was high priest, remarks that it must have arisen from the fact that in the Chronicle of Eus. (*ad Cl.* 137*), which Syncellus used, Ben-Sira is mentioned (though only as the author of *Sapientia*) just after the high priest Simon II. Other untenable opinions are that he is the unworthy Jason (=Jesus, high priest 175-172 B.C.), or that he was a physician (inferred by Grotius from 38:1-15). See Wette, *Spec. Einkl. in d. deutero* (in *N. Tisch.*, Ebersheim).

* The recognition of this text. *Deutero* = *Deuterium*.

² On the two last, see *ibid.* 157. See *in. Räch.*, Eidersheim.

³ The first Cambridge leaf and the O. f. 1.

3 The First Cambridge leaf and the Oxford leaves were published by Cowley and Neubauer, with the Gk., Lat. and Syr. texts (97), the eleven Genizah fragments by Scherchter and Taylor (99), and the Brit. Mss. fragments by G. Margoliouth (in *JQR.* Oct. 1909). See below, § 26 a.

⁴ [a. Early in 1900 Schechter found two leaves (a.—4 23b 30f. 5.4-7 9-13 9b 10a; β .—25 8b 13 17-24 2b 1 2a) of, apparently, a third MS (CSchec.: published in *JOK* 12:456-465 [Ap. 1900]).

8. About the same time I. Levi discovered fragments of two MSS: (i.) apparently a third leaf of the MS just spoken of, & hechter's C (Levi calls it I.), containing 618-725 in a recension

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The one, A (chaps. 3-16), is written without metrical division of lines, its marginal notes, corrections of obvious scribal errors, are few (only four, besides the insertion of an omitted verse), and its abbreviation of the divine name is triangular (יהוה); the other, B (chaps. 30-51), is written stichometrically (except 46:17-20), part of it (10-45) has numerous glosses (among them four in Persian), and its abbreviation of the divine name is horizontal (יהוה). In A there is predominant agreement with the Syriac; in B (except in chaps. 50-51) the agreements with the Greek against the Syriac are more numerous; in chap. 51, after v. 12 is inserted a hymn which is not found in the Vss.¹

The MSS (assigned by Cowley and Neubauer, and by Schechter, provisionally, to the 11th cent.), with the exception of a few passages, are very carelessly written, abounding in errors, not all of which are corrected.

The scribes appear to have been not very well acquainted with Hebrew; they sometimes make several futile attempts at the correction of particular words or expressions. In the glossed portion the annotator seems to have been a man whose vernacular was Persian; at 35:20 he notes in Persian the omission of a verse; at 40:22, where the margin gives a saying ascribed in the B. Talmud (*Sanh. 100b*) to Ben-Sira, he remarks that this was probably not in the original copy [of Ben-Sira]; and at the point where the glosses cease (45:8) he explains that this MS reached this far. This last remark appears to mean that the MS which he was copying ended here; and in that case it is probable that the remainder (through chap. 51) belongs to another MS. With the supposition that the copyist or annotator lived where Arabic was spoken accords the fact that several Arabisms occur in the MS: *מש* in the sense of 'create,' 31:13 (doublet), 31:33 (doublet), 38:1 30:25 40:1; perhaps *מש* as 'honour,' 38:1; in 43:8 *מש* = *מש* 'presenting one's self,' is an explanation or correction of the word in the text, *מש*; *Hi*, of *מש* as 'shine,' 43:9 (marg.); perhaps in 42:11 a scribe understood *מש* as Arabic ('lattice'). The MS has evidently not only suffered from the ordinary carelessness of copyists, but also passed through the hands of an ignorant Arabic-speaking man who freely inserted terms of his Arabic vocabulary.

If we omit Arabisms and other scribal faults, the diction of the text is that of a man who, while his vernacular is that of an incipient late-Hebrew, similar to that of Kōheleth (Eccles.), is familiar with the greater part of the Hebrew OT, and freely quotes or imitates its language.² According to Bacher (*JQR*, 1897) and Schechter (*op. cit.*, 28) the text exhibits post-Talmudical mosaic (*patin*) features, that is to say, a number of ready-made expressions and phrases borrowed from the OT. This, however, seems to be too strong a statement—the language of Ben-Sira rarely produces the impression of being artificial or lacking in spontaneity. Nor can it be said to contain midrashic elements (so Schechter, *op. cit.*, 29 ff.), if by 'midrash' is meant the style of the Talmud.

As examples of mosaic work Bacher cites 45:11 (cp 14:54-12) 46:9 (cp 14:23-27) 39:27 (cp Job 9:5) 47:20 (cp Gen. 49:4) 44:21 (cp Ps. 72:5) 48:2 (cp Lev. 26:26), etc.; Schechter, 4:28 (cp Ex. 14:14) 14:23 (cp Judg. 5:28) 35:15 (cp Lam. 1:2) 49:16 (cp Is. 44:13), etc. These are cases of adoption and adaptation; but they hardly deserve to be called mosaic work.

Schechter's instances of midrash are not convincing. The confession of intellectual or religious limitations in 3:18-24 is not necessarily an adaptation of Ps. 131:1 (in which the reference is political)—it may be based on Job 42:3; puns (6:17b a, 22:1) are common in OT; 15:9 (cp Ps. 33:4) and 47:22c (cp Ps. 145:20) are 'commonplace' inferences; in 16:7 the allusion (Gen. 6:1-4) is not to the 'sons of the Elhim' but to the 'Nephilim' (cp Ezek. 32:27); the lesson derived in 38:5 from Ex. 15:24 is very simple—there are many such interpretations in *Midr. of Sol.*, and so

different from that in Camb. MS A: the text is abridged by the omission of 6:20-27 29:34 36:7 7:3 56:16 17:10 22:1; (ii.) a leaf of, apparently, a fourth MS (CLév), containing 36:24-38:1; it is thus parallel to most of the second Brit. Mus. fragment (of MS B) and the upper part of the following Camb. leaf (of B). It gives in its text some of the glosses on the margin of the Camb. B and has one verse (37:1) punctuated and accentuated.

Both Lévi's fragments are published (with facsimile of the new MS (ii.)) in *KE* 40:1-10 (antedated Jan.-Mar. 1900).

c. Lastly, F. N. Adler discovered the two leaves of MS A missing between A¹ and A²—viz., 7:20-12:1 (82 showing A¹ and A², and several 77, being supplied with vowels and accents); published (with facsimile) in *JQR* 12:466-490 (Apr. 1900).

¹ For detailed descriptions of MS B see Cowley and Neubauer, Smend, Lévi (below, § 29 a. i.); for description of MSS A and B, Schechter and Taylor (below, § 26 a. ii.). [For the other MSS see preceding note.]

² Schechter, in his *Ben-Sira*, 11 ff., gives a long list of parallelisms, some of which, however, are common expressions familiar to every educated Jew. In the prologue Ben-Sira is said to have been a diligent student of the Scriptures.

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of the legend possibly alluded to in the obscure statement in 44:16; the borrowing, in 45:15, of the expressions of Ps. 89:39 is not remarkable; that Samuel was a Nazirite (46:13) is a natural inference from 1 S. 1:11—there is no need of the formal Rabbinical rule *נזיר*—and the simile in 47:2 (cp Ps. 89:23 Lev. 4:8) is equally natural for a man interested in the temple-ritual; text and translation of 47:10c are doubtful (the couplet is lacking in S.), and the comparison with the Talmudic legend (of David awaking at midnight, *Ber. 3 b*) is precarious; 49:1 may be based on Cant. 1:3 (so Schechter), or, what is equally probable, it may come from the same literary tendency that produced the simile in Canticles. The passages above cited may be taken to show the beginning of the mode of thought that later produced the Talmudic midrash. In this sense only can we adopt Schechter's conclusion: 'if he thought like a Rabbi he wrote like a Taitan.'¹

Over and above these characteristics of the Hebrew MSS the question has been raised whether the text is substantially the original Hebrew or only a translation, and both views are strenuously maintained by competent critics. Those who regard it as a translation refer it either (i.) to a Persian or (ii.) to a Syriac source.

5. Relation to Original. The opinion that it is the rendering of a Persian version (which itself is held to have been derived from the Syriac and the Greek) is based partly on the presence of Persian glosses, partly on the supposition that certain doubtful or incorrect expressions result from the misunderstanding of Persian words; the hypothesis is that the Syriac version used was revised from the Greek, and this revised text was rendered from Persian into Hebrew by an unintelligent Persian Jew who knew neither Syriac nor Greek. This theory is incompatible with the known facts: the agreements (often literal) and the disagreements of the Hebrew with the primary Versions make it practically inconceivable that it could have arisen in the way described. The alleged explanations of obscure Hebrew expressions as misunderstandings of Persian terms must be regarded as accidental coincidences, or, possibly, as in some cases due to a Persian-speaking scribe. So far as the theory supposes a Syriac-Greek basis for the Persian version it falls in with the other view that the Hebrew is a translation of the Syriac, on which see below.

The argument for a Persian origin of the Hebrew is made by It. S. Margoliouth in his essay *The origin of the 'original Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus* (1899). His points are not convincing. The Persian glosses merely show the hand of a Persian copyist or annotator, who was a critic, as appears from his remark on the addition at 40:22 (see above, § 4). The absurd or impossible Hebrew words cited by Margoliouth are scribal errors, and may be got rid of by emendation (e.g., 40:26c 16 43:6 17c 22 42:14 41:12 47:3 46:11); cp Smend and Kautzsch. Prof. Margoliouth does not distinguish between author and copyist; the latter may have used Arabic words (43:8 87:4). The most striking case of apparent rendering from Persian is in 43:13, where G has 'snow' (Pers. *barf*) and H² 'lightning' (Pers. *barq*)—obviously, says Margoliouth, H misunderstood the Persian; but the force of this argument is practically destroyed by Margoliouth's remark that G is corrupt and should read 'storm,' which may represent an original Hebrew *מזג*. Other such cases cited are forced (43:25 17c 22). Margoliouth adds (*Exp. T.*, Nov. 1899) that the Cairene text cannot be genuine, since it was known to no mediaeval author but Saadia;³ in reply König, Schechter, and Abrahams point out (*Exp. T.*, Dec. 1899) that such ignorance of a book is no proof that it did not exist (e.g., Rashi seems not to have known the Jer. Talmud), and that Ben-Sira was probably used by the Synagogal hymnologists (*patinim*).

ii. The apparent dependence of the Hebrew on the Syriac presents a more serious problem. There are certain cases in which the reading of H seems inexplicable except as a misunderstanding of S. The cases are few in chaps. 1-16 (which are written as prose), more numerous in 30-51 (written stichometrically). On the other hand H sometimes agrees with G against S, sometimes differs from both, sometimes appears to account for one or both. Further, in a considerable number of cases certain Greek MSS (especially *W*¹, and No. 248 of Holmes and Parsons) agree with H (and often with S and L) against the Vatican Greek.

¹ On the *patin*, the late Jewish hymn-writers, see Zunz *Gl. 12*, 193, *Gratz, Gesch. Hist. of the Jews*, vol. 3, chap. 4.
² In the following discussion H = 'Hebrew,' S = 'Syriac' (*S* = Walton's text, *S* = Lagarde's, *SH* = Hexaplar text), G = Gk.
³ Even this he now questions (*JQR* 12:502-531 [Apr. 1900], 'The *Sefer ha-Galut*'). Cp Noldeke in *ZATW* 20:31-41.

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text. Add to this that not a few citations in the Talmud and in Saadia agree with H (sometimes against S and S), and it becomes probable that H represents a genuine Hebrew text of Ben-Sira, which, however, has been altered in some places so as to agree with the Syriac, and bristles, besides, with errors of copyists. The result is that many passages present perplexing problems, and the details of the history of the text have yet to be made out.

The following are examples of passages in which H seems to follow S:—

313 כָּפַר = 'pardon,' after S כָּפַר (unless 'כ' be late Heb.); 315, H = S nearly (for כָּפַר read כָּפַר), and doublet of 152 = S to this last is attached the line = S 162 with marginal variant nearly = S 166; of 16 to there is a doublet very corrupt. Margoliouth (*Origin*, etc., 155) cites 42 116, where H כָּפַר ('lattice') may be a misunderstanding of S כָּפַר (in Arab. 'lattice'), and 43 2, H כָּפַר as misunderstanding of S כָּפַר (but H may be merely a scribal error). Lévi (*RAE*, July 1899) regards the acrostic in chap. 51 as translated from S: v. 28 the unintelligible כָּפַר is a misunderstanding of S כָּפַר (70.27), and is transposed so as to obscure the initial כ of v. 28, and v. 14 = S which is composed of lines belonging to two different couplets; there are doublets in which one verse = G, the other S (30 17 20, etc.); and in 30 20 H כָּפַר = 'faithful' (a sense here inapposite) is a reproduction of S' כָּפַר 'ennuch' (which the connection requires). Bickell (in *BZK*, 13 251-256 1901) takes the same view of the acrostic as Lévi, and further instances 12 11, where H כָּפַר 'jealousy,' he holds, is a misunderstanding of S כָּפַר 'has made black' (from כָּפַר).

These examples (to which others might be added) appear to show, not that H is a translation of S, but that it has passed through the hands of a man or of men (of some of whom Arabic was the vernacular) familiar with S, and in places has been conformed thereto in text or margin.

Where the three (HGS) agree, no conclusion as to priority can be drawn. Where only two agree, the third may be preferable, as in 6 22 where S 'fools' suits the connection better than H 'many.' The numerous cases, however, in which H agrees, wholly or in part, with G against S indicate a Hebrew text independent of S: see, for example, 5 56 7 4 12 10 18 14 10 17 15 25 17 16 32 35 39 16. It is possible in such cases to suppose a correction of H after G; but the hypothesis of emendations derived from both S and G is a complicated one. Moreover, in some passages H seems to be better than G and S, cp 4 10 14 26 15 14 19 16 14.

On the inferences to be drawn from the still (March, 1900) unpublished fragments (see above col. 1166, n. 4), see SIRACH.

Of the ancient Versions the Greek and the Syriac are renderings of Hebrew texts, the Latin is a translation from the Greek.

Critical editions of the Greek and Syriac texts are still desiderata, though valuable remarks are made by Fritzsche, Edersheim, Lévi, Bacher, and others.

The Hebrew, soon after its composition, was translated into Greek by the author's grandson (see his prologue), who had gone to live in Egypt, and desired to make the work accessible to his Greek-speaking fellow-citizens. He was clearly a man of piety and good general culture, with a fair command of Hebrew and Greek—a consistent Jew, yet probably not unaffected by Greek influences. His translation is not seldom obscure from its literalness and compression; in the prologue his style is freer and more ambitious. His name and history are unknown.

By Epiphanius (*l.c.*) he is called 'Jesus,' and in a second prologue or preface, found in the *Synop. Script. Sanct.* of Pseudo-Athanasius (and in Cod. 249 and Comp. Polygl.), 'Jesus son of Sirach.' Neither Epiphanius nor the confessedly late second prologue (see Fritzsche's Comm.) can be considered authoritative on this point. The statement may be true, but is more probably a guess, or based on a misunderstanding of Ecclus. 50 27.

The Greek represents a faithful translation of the original; but its text is not in good condition, and in many cases it is hardly possible to do more than give a conjectural emendation. A similar remark applies to the Syriac, which likewise is based on the Hebrew, but may in some places have been influenced by the Greek.¹

¹ The book has been translated into Heb. by J. L. Ben-Zeeb (Breslau, 1793; Vienna, 1827) [by Joshua b. Sam. Hesel from German (Warsaw, 1842)], and by S. J. Fraenkel (Leipsic, 1860); chap. 24 by Bishop Lowth (reproduced in Fritzsche's Comm.) and by Wessely; chap. 51 by Bi, and some verses by D. S. Margoliouth (*Place of Ecclesi. in Sem. Lit.*, Oxf., '90).

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For an account of the MSS of G see Fritzsche, Edersheim, Hatch, Schlatter, Nestle (in *PAE*), *s.v.* *Bibelübersetzungen*, and Kautzsch (below, § 26). All appear to go back to one archetypal text, for the displacement of chapters (see below) is found in all except No. 248, and this has probably been corrected. (a) The great uncials, B, M, C, and partly A, though comparatively free from glosses, give an inferior text; (B) the better form is preserved in V (Cod. Venetus = No. 23 of Holmes and Parsons), in א^{a} , in part of A, and in certain cursives, of which the most remarkable are Nos. 248 (followed in Compl., Poly. and Eng. AV) and 253 (which agrees strikingly with S), though these have many glosses. The history of these two subdivisions is obscure; the first (a) has been called Palestinian, the second (B) Alexandrian; but this is not certain. With the second agree largely Land S. These Vss. then appear to represent a text earlier than that of the Greek uncials; and our Hebrew fragments, which so often accord with S, may have an early text which has been greatly corrupted by glosses, though they have suffered more than the Greek from scribal miswriting. The Gk. glosses resemble those of S in Proverbs; they are expansions of the thought, or Hellenizing interpretations, or additions from current collections of gnomic sayings.

The Peshitta Syriac is now considered by scholars, with scarcely an exception, to be a translation from the Hebrew; see especially Edersheim. It is a generally faithful and intelligent rendering, not without misconceptions, expansions, condensations, and glosses, but on the whole simple and intelligible. In some cases (as in 43 25) it agrees curiously with the Greek; but it is a question whether in such cases S follows G or the two follow the same Hebrew.

The Vss. derived from S are valuable primarily for the establishment of the Gk. text, sometimes also for the Heb. For particular discussions (Old Lat., Copt., Eth., Hexapl. Syr., Arm.), see Pesh. Syr. see Edersheim, Nestle, and Kautzsch.

In the body of the work there is only one mark of date: the list of great men (44-50) closes with the name

7. Date: Simon. of the high priest Simon, son of Onias, who, because he stands last and is described at great length and with great enthusiasm, may be supposed to have lived somewhere near the author's time. There were two high priests of this name: Simon I., son of Onias I. (circa B.C. 310-290), and Simon II., son of Onias II. (circa 218-198): lack of material makes it hard to determine from the name which of the two is here meant.

(a) Of the first, Josephus relates (*Ant.* xii. 25) that, on account of his piety and kindness, he was surnamed 'the Just'; the second (*Ant.* xii. 4 10) intervened in the quarrel of the sons of Tobias and the banished Hircanus, though it does not follow that he was friendly to the worse side of the party.²

(b) Another datum is found in the Mishna-tract *Aboth*, 1 2, in which it is said that Simon the Just was one of the last members (אבות) of the Great Synagogue; the Talmud, further, surrounds this Simon with a halo of legend. Though the 'Great Synagogue' is largely or wholly legendary (cp Canon, § 18), the high priest, Simon the Just, is doubtless a historical and important personage; but is he to be identified with Simon I. or with Simon II.? Josephus favours the former possibility; but the authority of Josephus on such a point is by no means unimpeachable. In the Talmudic tradition Simon seems to represent a turning-point in the national fortunes: after him, it is said, the signs of divine favour in the temple service began to fail; but this condition of things may be referred, not without probability, either to Simon I. (Edersheim) or to Simon II. (Derenbourg). In the list of bearers of the tradition in *Aboth* Simon is followed by Antigonus of Soko, and he by the two named Jose, who belonged in the second cent. n.c.; this would point clearly to Simon II. as 'the Just,' if the chronology of the tract could be relied on; this, however, is not the case—the Jewish chronology of the period is of the vaguest sort.³

(c) Further, in Ecclus. Simon is lauded for having repaired the temple and fortified it and the city; Derenbourg, referring to the letter of Antiochus the Great (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 133) concerning the finishing of the temple, thinks that this identifies Ben-Sira's Simon with Simon II.; Edersheim answers that the city needed fortifying in the time of Simon I., but not under Simon II.; and Bois insists that, though the temple may have been finished under Simon II., it may none the less have been repaired under Simon I. Compare Halévy (*Rev. Sem.* July, '99) and Kautzsch.

(d) Halévy (*l.c.*) argues for Simon I. on the ground that a considerable time between author and translator is required in

¹ In fifty-six quotations by Clem. Alex. from Ben-Sira Edersheim found five which corresponded markedly with the text of No. 248.

² The story of him in 2 Macc. 3 is obviously a legend, but may perhaps bear witness to the esteem in which he was held in later times.

³ Cp A. Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, 4 286.

⁴ Simon is not called 'the Just' in the present text of Ecclus., perhaps (Bois) because the epithet had not yet been applied to him. Grätz, however, discovers the term in 50 24, following the Syriac ('with Simon' instead of 'with us'), only reading הַיָּשָׁר for הַיָּשָׁר (*Gesch. der Juden*, 2 235 n.).

order to account for the errors in the Greek text and for the fact that the translator had lost the tradition of the meaning of the Hebrew. This ground is not decisive. Whether in the translator's time the exegetical tradition had been lost cannot be determined till we have a correct Hebrew text; and the scribal errors of Φ are due to copyists after the translator's time. Further, on Halévy's own ground, an interval of fifty or sixty years would account for much.

(c) Finally, the connection of Ben-Sira's discourse may seem to point to the earlier high priest, for Simon (50) really follows on Nehemiah (49-13), the intervening verses interrupting the chronological order; and we should naturally think of Simon I., but here, again, the Jewish conception of chronology makes the conclusion uncertain: the author may easily have passed on a century later.

Of these data the most that can be said is that they slightly favour the second Simon as the hero of Ben-Sira's chap. 50.

A more definite sign of date is found in the preface of the Greek translator, who says that he came to Egypt

in the thirty-eighth year $\epsilon\tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\theta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$. 'This, it is true, may mean either the thirty-eighth year of the life of the writer or the thirty-eighth regnal year of Euergetes; but there seems to be no reason why the translator should here give his own age, whilst the mention of the king's year (the common OT chronological datum) is natural.'

If this interpretation be adopted, the date of the translation is approximately given. Of the two Ptolemies called Euergetes, the first reigned only twenty-five years (247-222) and is thus excluded; the second, surnamed Physcon, reigned fifty-four years in all, partly as co-regent (170-145) and partly as sole king (145-116). It appears that in his thirty-eighth year, 132 B.C., the translator reached Egypt, and the translation was in that case made a few years later. The author's date may thence be fixed; for in the prologue the translator calls the author his $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, a term which is here most naturally taken in its ordinary sense of 'grandfather'.³ The composition of the book would thus fall in the first quarter of the second century—a date which agrees with that of the high priest Simon II.

This date is further favoured by indications (1) in the book itself: by the picture of national oppression given in 23-33 (1-13 36-22 (EV 36-1-17) up to the end of the third century the Jews enjoyed comparative quiet, and for the Maccabean

period we should expect a more poignant tone of suffering; by the traces of Greek influence on the thought—as in the personifications of wisdom in chaps. 1-24—and by the acquaintance with Greek customs, as the having music at feasts, 35:6; (2) in the translation, by signs of acquaintance with the LXX version of the Torah, as in 17:17 (after the Greek of Dt. 32:8 f.), 44:16⁴ (Φ Gen. 5:24);⁵ and (3) in the translator's preface by the reference to three divisions or canons of the Hebrew Scriptures.⁶

1 The section 49-14-16 seems to be an addition by a scribe or by an editor (possibly by the translator) for the purpose of introducing names (Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Adam) omitted by the author. Chap. 44:16 (Enoch), wanting in the Syr., may be a late addition. In the Hebrew a scribe has repeated 17a in 16a; in the rest Φ = II, except that for $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ (perhaps taken as 'thought') it has $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (perhaps an error for $\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\omega\iota\varsigma$); 16b seems to be in part copied from 49:14, in part a repetition from 44:14. The expression 'an example of knowledge (or thought) to all generations' is strange; we should in any case omit 'knowledge' (with Φ 253 SH).

2 The Greek construction (absence of article before $\epsilon\tau\iota$) has been objected to as hard; but Hag. 1:1 2:1, Zech. 1:7 1:1, 1 Macc. 13:42 14:27 prove that it is possible (see note by Ezra Abbot in Amer. ed. of Smith's *DB*). For examples of this use of $\epsilon\tau\iota$ in inscriptions see Deissmann, *Bibl. Studien*, 255 ff. [195].

3 It sometimes means 'ancestor'; but in such cases the connection usually indicates the wider sense (Seligmann).

4 Eccles. 44:16 is, however, probably an interpolation (see above, § 7, last n.).

5 See also 20:23 (Dt. 16:19) 4:17-21 (Gen. 6:9 17:4 22:13) 45:8 f. (Ex. 8:35 f.) 49:7 (Jer. 1:10) 46:10 (1 S. 12:3, cp Gen. 14:23).

6 This, of course, does not imply that the canons were completed in his time. The omission of the names of Ezra, Daniel, and Mordecai in the list of great men is to be noted. Daniel, if he had been known to the author, would certainly have been mentioned just before or after Ezekiel (49:8 f.); 49:12 f., near which we should expect the other two to appear, are not found in our Hebrew fragments, but the versions show no sign of a lost passage. If the three had been inadvertently omitted, they would probably have been added, as are Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, and

(4) Another note of date might be drawn from the relation of Eccles. to the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; but to exhibit it clearly would require a detailed examination of those two books. The three appear, by their thought (Proverbs in its latest recension), to be the product of a well-advanced stage of Graeco-Jewish culture.¹

The book was never admitted into the Jewish and Christian canons (CANON, §§ 39, 47). Among other

reasons it is enough to mention that, unlike some other late books (Cant., Prov., Dan., Eccles.), it was not issued under

the authority of a great national name: the schools accepted from Solomon what they would not accept from Joshua ben-Sira. The work, though not canonised, was highly esteemed, and is frequently cited in Talmud and Midrash, sometimes by name, sometimes anonymously.²

There are also many coincidences of thought between Eccles. and the Talmud, which, however, do not necessarily show that the latter borrowed directly from the former. Further, not all the citations in the Talmud are now to be found in our text and versions of Eccles.; these latter are perhaps incomplete, or perhaps Ben-Sira became a name to which anonymous proverbs were attached. Later he is cited by Nathan (9th cent.) and Saadia (10th cent.).

There is a second collection, entitled 'The Alphabet of Ben-Sira',³ apparently compiled late in the Talmudic period, in which, along with genuine material (cited in the Talmud), there are sayings that seem not to belong to Ben-Sira. The translation of some of his proverbs into Aramaic and the spurious additions to his work show the estimation in which he was held by his co-religionists.⁴

He was not less esteemed by the early Christians. It is not clear that he is cited in the NT;⁵ but he is frequently appealed to in post-biblical Christian writers, under a variety of names, or anonymously, and with different introductory formulas. Though his book was never formally recognised as canonical (it is found in no canonical list), it is quoted as 'scripture,' 'divine scripture,' 'prophetical,' and was appealed to in support of church doctrine.

The first example of its use is found in the Ep. of Barnabas, 19: cp Eccles. 4:31. After this it is quoted by Clem. Alex., Orig., Cyr., August., Jer., Greg. Naz., Greg. Nyss., Chrys., Cyr. Alex., Joan. Damasc., Theophyl., Leo the Great, Greg. I., Alcuin, though not by Justin, Iren., or Euseb. Athan. (*Ep. Fest.* 39) distinguishes it from the books called 'apocryphal,' and August. (*City of God* 17:20) declares that only the unlearned ascribed it to Solomon. Jer. seems to have been the first to draw the line sharply between it and the canonical books.

Aelfric, Archbishop of Canterbury (see Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, 209), speaks of the book as read in the churches. By Luther and other Protestant writers of the sixteenth cent. it was treated with great respect.⁶

The book naturally divides itself, according to the subject-matter, into sections. Chap. I is a general

Adam, in 49:14-16. The natural inference is that our books of Daniel, Esther, and Ezra did not exist in Ben-Sira's time. Nöldeke (*ZATW*, 2088 f.) would add to these Chron.

1 For further discussions of the date of Eccles. see Fritzsche's Comm. (in *KGH*), Derenburg (*Geogr.*), Seligmann (*Hebr. d. Jes. Syr.*), Edersheim (*Comm. on Eccles.* in Wace's *Apocr.*), Bois, *Orig. de la phil. judéo-alex.*; Kautzsch (*Apocr.*), Halévy (*Rev. Sem.*, 99); and, for the relation between Eccles. and Proverbs, O. Holtzmann in *GVT* (Oncken's series), 2:252; Che. *Job and Sol.* 184.

2 For a list of quotations from Eccles. in Talm. and Rabb. literature see Eccles., ed. Cowley and Neub., where also are given references to Becher, Gaster, Schechter, and others. Cp. further, Dukes, *Rabbin. Blumenlese*, Geiger, *Aboth* (in his *Nachgelass. Schrift.* iv.). In his *Secrets* Charles cites passages in that work which appear to be taken from or based on Eccles.; cp Eccles. 1:2 with *Secrets*, 47:5; 2:4 with 51:3; 7:33 with 42:11 51:1; 14:10 with 65:11, etc.

3 See Zunz, *Gott. Fortr.*, Dukes, *ut sup.*; Cowley and Neub., *Eccles.*; Stein Schneider, *Alphabet. Sirac. utrumque*. The work consists of two alphabetical lists of proverbs, one Aram., the other Hebrew, with commentary. Another late collection is given by J. Drusius, *Proverbia Ben Sirae*, Franeker, 1597.

4 The Talmud seems not quite sure of the work, placing it sometimes among the external and forbidden books, sometimes among the $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (citing it with the formula $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$).

5 Among the more promising passages are Ja. 1:2-4 (cp Eccles. 2:1-5), Lk. 12:19 ff. (cp Eccles. 2:12 f.) and Ja. 1:19 (cp Eccles. 5:11).

6 On the attitude of modern churches towards the OT Apocr. see Bissell, *Apocr.* (Gen. Introd.), and Zöckler, *Einkl.* in vol. ix. of Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgef. Komm.*

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introduction 33 (36:1-17) is a prayer for Israel; 42:15-50:6 is a separate discourse (praise of great men);

11. Structure. 50:7-29 is a colophon (probably by an editor); and 51 is an appended prayer and exhortation. In the body of the work new starting-points are indicated at 16:24^[22] 24:1 and 39:12, and there are further paragraphal divisions (marked by the address 'my son') at 2:13 17 4:1 6:18 21 32, etc., besides the subdivisions obvious in the subject matter (see the headings in the Greek Version).

Beyond this paragraphal and sectional arrangement it seems impossible to discover any plan in the book.¹ It consists, like Proverbs, of a mass of observations on life, put together in the interests not of logical order but of edification.

A curious arrangement of material is found in most Greek MSS (in all hitherto examined on this point except No. 248 of Holmes and Parsons): the section 33 16-36 11 is placed after 30:24.²

The right order is given in the Pesh., the Latin, the Armenian, and the G MS No. 248 (which is followed by Complut., as this last is followed in EVV). The cause of the derangement was probably the displacement of rolls of the G MS from which most existing MSS are derived,³ or possibly of the Heb. MS from which the Gk. translation was made. Similar instances of displacement are mentioned by Fritzsche (*Comm.* 170) and Eidersheim (*Comm.* 154).⁴ The Pesh. was made from an independent Heb. MS, which had the right order. The Latin may have been made from a G MS earlier than that from which our present G texts are derived; it may have been corrected after the Heb.; it may come from a corrected G text like that of No. 248.

As to the author's sources nothing very precise can be said. Whilst his own experience and observation

13. Sources. probably furnished a great part of his material, it is possible that he drew also from books or from unpublished discourses of sages. There are not a few resemblances between him and Proverbs; but the most of these are best explained as independent treatment of common material. The same thing is true of the points of contact between Ecclesiasticus and Ecclesiastes.⁵ If our author quotes those two books, he apparently treats them as wisdom-books having no more authority than he himself claims. There was, no doubt, much that might be considered common property, which different moralists would use each in his own way: the maxim, for example, that the beginning (or root, or completion, or crown) of wisdom is the fear of God must have been an axiom in the teaching of the Palestinian sages. A comparison between Eccles. 24 and Prov. 8 shows how differently the two books treat the same general conception.

The traditional account, which represents the book as composed by one man, seems on the whole to be supported by the character of the contents. There are, indeed, differences of tone, as in various paragraphs on

14. Unity. women (25 and 26), and on the happiness and misery of life (39:16-35 and 40:1-11), and in general there is a contrast between the geniality of some passages and the cynicism of others, and between the conceptions of wisdom, on the one hand as a universal divine influence, and on the other as common-sense shrewdness. The diversities, however, do not go beyond the bounds of a single experience, and in the book as a whole there is an evident unity of tone—the attitude toward God, life, wisdom, the Torah, is the same throughout.⁶ The authenticity of chap. 51 has

¹ For proposed plans see Eichhorn (*Eintl.*), Ew. (*Gesch.* 4 300), Fritzsche (*Eintl.* in his *Comm.*), Deane (*Expos.* 1833), Eidersheim (*Introduct.* in his *Comm.*), and cp remarks of Herbst in his *Eintl.*

² Or, according to the verse-numbering in Swete's *Sept.*, the two sections 30:25-33 132 and 33 136-36 162 have changed places.

³ This, Fritzsche's suggestion, is now generally accepted. See Deane, *Expos.* 1833, and Swete, *Sept.* vol. ii, p. vii.

⁴ Tisch. retains the Greek order; Swete gives the Latin. The comparison between Eccles. and Proverbs is made most fully by Seligmann (*Hebraist d. Jes. Sir.*), and that between Eccles. and Eccles. by Wright (*Kohélet*). See also Montefiore, in *JQR* 24 30 ff., and Toy, 'Proverbs' (in *Internat. Crit. Com.*).

⁵ The difference between Ben-Sira and Pirke Abot in form and style indicates an earlier date for the former.

⁶ On the enigmatical Eleazar ben-Israel, a possible double of Ben-Sira, see above, § 2 (n. 2).

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been questioned; but the case has not been made out.

There seems to be nothing out of keeping with the rest of the book, and, as to the insertion of a prayer, we may compare the one (very different in tone from this) in Wisd. Sol. (9). There is, indeed, a striking resemblance between Eccles. 51 13-30 and that in Wisd. Sol. 7 1-14; but if there be imitation here, it is not clear that it is on the part of the passage in Ecclesiasticus.

The psalm (an imitation of Ps. 136) which is found in the Hebrew after 7:12, and does not appear in the Vss., may be doubtful. Schechter suggests that it was omitted in the Greek because the mention of the Zadokite priestly line was considered to be inappropriate under the Maccabees. This consideration, however, would not apply at all to the Syriac Vss., and the omission of a single couplet would have sufficed in the Greek.

How far the author's work has been added to by scribes and editors is a more difficult question. It

15. Integrity. is clear that the Hebrew and the versions have suffered in the process of transmission (see above, § 4). In various passages one or another of the texts shows additions or omissions; each case must be treated by itself. In general, as between a Greek conception in one text and a Jewish in another, the preference is to be given to the latter; though it is obvious that this rule must be applied carefully, so as not to prejudice the question of a Greek influence on the author. When the final text obtainable by MS. evidence has been reached, there will still remain the question whether this gives the author's thought accurately, or has itself been coloured by editors. By some the Greek translator is supposed to have made additions to his text in the interests of Jewish Alexandrian philosophy; others see evidence of Christian interpolation. The evidence for those conclusions is not distinct.

Alexandrian passages need not be additions of the translator, and of the cases cited by Eidersheim (*Comm.* 23), 1:2 f. and 24:11 are not non-Jewish, whilst to call 28:2 ('forgive and thou shalt be forgiven') a Christian addition on internal grounds is to prejudice the question. The evidence is stronger in the case of 43:27 (עֲשֵׂה נֶחֱם, *zō nāv ešay avōs*) and 44:16 (Enoch is called *נוח* *noḥ*, *νόησιμα μετανοίας* [*noēsiōs*]), both omitted by Pesh. The first expression is Hellenising, and may be an addition by the author, or by a Hebrew scribe, or it may have been made first in S, and thence transferred to H; the second, something like a parallel to which is found in Philo (*De prom. et pun.*, Mangey, 2410 f., where 'Enoch' is explained to be true manhood, based on hope in God), may be Jewish (see Siegfried, Drummond, Bois), or may be a Hellenising expression of the author, or an allegorising remark by a scribe. (The expressions 'was found perfect' and 'knowledge' appear to be scribal additions.) After the omission of all probable additions, however, there remains enough to fix the author's relation to Greek thought (see below, § 24).

The book is arranged in short discourses or paragraphs, each of which consists in general of distichs or tetrastichs; the lines are mostly ternary (with three i-tus) or quaternary, though

16. Literary form. in this respect there is considerable variety. The parallelism is less antithetic and looser, and the discourse more flowing than in Proverbs. Bickell (*Zf. kath. Theol.* 1882) regards 51:1-20 (in the Heb.) as forming an alphabetic psalm.¹ The attempt to discover metre in the work (Bickell, Margoliouth) must be pronounced unsuccessful.²

An irregular strophic arrangement results from the author's method of dividing his material by subjects (cp Prov. 1:9 22-29).³

Ecclesiasticus belongs to the category of Wisdom-literature (Hokma), which, in contrast with the prophetic, priestly, and legal points of view (for all of which the

17. Contents. nation Israel is the centre), gives a universal moral-religious criticism of life. The history of the genesis and development of the Hokma demands a separate treatment. (See WISDOM LITERATURE.) The nationalistic tone of a few passages in

¹ Bickell worked with his translation into Hebrew from the Greek; Taylor (in Schechter and Taylor's *Ben Sira*) goes over the lately discovered Hebrew text, and discusses the initial letters of the couplets, in support of Bickell. The acrostic form is in itself not improbable (Prov. ends with an alphabetic poem), but it is not yet clearly made out.

² On metre in OT Heb. see the works of Ley, Bickell, Briggs, Gunkel, D. H. Müller, and the art. of Grimme in *ZDMG*, 50 4.

³ For an attempt to make out a regular division into groups of 50 or 100 couplets see Schlatter (below, § 26 a, i.).

Ecclesiasticus does not affect the general character of the book. The material is so varied and so loosely arranged that a table of contents would take more space than can here be given. It deals with all the ordinary social and religious duties (cp Che. *Job and Sol.* 190-193). The style is for the most part bright and vigorous, and not without a gleam of humour. The author shows wide acquaintance with men and things, and his advice is usually full of good sense. Without claiming for himself special inspiration, he speaks as an independent teacher of religion and morals, citing no external authority for what he says, but, like the sages in Proverbs, assuming its truth and obligation, and making his appeal to reason and conscience.

In accordance with the tone of the later Judaism, Ecclesiasticus regards God as the lord of the whole world of things and men, the absolute, righteous judge, the author of all conditions and changes of life (chaps. 16-1833f.). It has not the full conception of divine fatherhood; but it gives a description of divine forbearance toward men (1810-11) which is identical in spirit with that of Ps. 103.

Concerning itself with the visible facts of life, Ecclesiasticus (like Prov.) takes little account of subordinate supernatural beings. Angels are not mentioned in the Hebrew (not in 4326), and in the Greek only in citations from the OT. In 3814a the intercession that in Job 3326 is ascribed to a heavenly being is ascribed to a physician. In 4821 (a statement taken from 2 K. 1935), in which the Gk (followed by Lat.) has ἀγγελος, the Heb. has נַסִּיחַ, 'plague,' and the Syr. ܢܫܐܝܬܐ, 'a heavy blow.' In another passage (1717), quoted freely from Dt. 328f. as in G¹, the term 'ruler' (ἡγοῦμενον) seems to be substituted for G¹ 'angel' (κατὰ ἀρετὴν ἀγγέλων) —here a divine (angelic?) head of every nation except Israel, whose guardian is Yahwē. 'Spirits,' good or evil, are nowhere mentioned.² Whether there is mention of Satan is doubtful. In 2127, where G¹ has 'The ungodly, when he curses τὸν σατανᾶν, curses himself,' the context (see v. 28) and Syr. favour the sense, 'adversary,' or a reading, 'neighbour,' for σατανᾶν (and for 'ungodly' we should probably read 'fool'). Further, the author, if (as Cheyne thinks) he means Satan, seems to identify him with the man's own evil impulse, a conception foreign to the whole pre-Christian time³ as well as to the NT. In general, Eccles. may be said to anticipate Sadduceism in holding aloof from angels and demons, whose agency in actual life it does not recognise.

The central moral-religious idea of the book is wisdom, in the conception of which Ben-Sira is substantially at one with Proverbs. He treats sometimes the human attribute, sometimes the divine. As a quality of man it is theoretical knowledge of the right and ability to embody it in life. Nothing is said of the origin of this capacity (it is treated as an ultimate fact); but it is identified with the 'fear of God' (114, etc.)—that is, the wise life is directed according to the divine commandments, or, as it may perhaps be put, human wisdom comes from the communion between the mind of man and the mind of God. The unity of the divine and the human attributes (implicitly contained in the book) appears to involve the conception that the divine wisdom fills and controls all things, including man's mind, and thus manifests itself in human thought.

18. A. Religious teaching. God. Ecclesiasticus regards God as the lord of the whole world of things and men, the absolute, righteous judge, the author of all conditions and changes of life (chaps. 16-1833f.). It has not the full conception of divine fatherhood; but it gives a description of divine forbearance toward men (1810-11) which is identical in spirit with that of Ps. 103. Concerning itself with the visible facts of life, Ecclesiasticus (like Prov.) takes little account of subordinate supernatural beings. Angels are not mentioned in the Hebrew (not in 4326), and in the Greek only in citations from the OT. In 3814a the intercession that in Job 3326 is ascribed to a heavenly being is ascribed to a physician. In 4821 (a statement taken from 2 K. 1935), in which the Gk (followed by Lat.) has ἀγγελος, the Heb. has נַסִּיחַ, 'plague,' and the Syr. ܢܫܐܝܬܐ, 'a heavy blow.' In another passage (1717), quoted freely from Dt. 328f. as in G¹, the term 'ruler' (ἡγοῦμενον) seems to be substituted for G¹ 'angel' (κατὰ ἀρετὴν ἀγγέλων) —here a divine (angelic?) head of every nation except Israel, whose guardian is Yahwē. 'Spirits,' good or evil, are nowhere mentioned.² Whether there is mention of Satan is doubtful. In 2127, where G¹ has 'The ungodly, when he curses τὸν σατανᾶν, curses himself,' the context (see v. 28) and Syr. favour the sense, 'adversary,' or a reading, 'neighbour,' for σατανᾶν (and for 'ungodly' we should probably read 'fool'). Further, the author, if (as Cheyne thinks) he means Satan, seems to identify him with the man's own evil impulse, a conception foreign to the whole pre-Christian time³ as well as to the NT. In general, Eccles. may be said to anticipate Sadduceism in holding aloof from angels and demons, whose agency in actual life it does not recognise.

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¹ MT has ܢܫܐܝܬܐ, for which G¹ reads ܢܫܐܝܬܐ, clearly the right reading.

² The πνεύματα of 3928 (Syr. ܠܐܘܝܬ, Heb. almost obliterated) are 'winds' (so Fritzsche); 77, 20f. give, not the definition of the term 'spirits,' but a parallel list of natural agencies.

³ Cheyne (*Job and Sol.* 189, cp 297) and Edersheim (*Comm.*) refer to a Talmudic passage (*Baba Bathra*, 16a) which identifies Satan with the ܡܠܐܬ ܕܝܗܘܐ; cp also Weber, *System der altjüd. Theol.* 228f. The ܡܠܐܬ ܕܝܗܘܐ appears to be personified (πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιασμοῦ) in G¹ 373; but H and S are here very different, and the text seems to be corrupt beyond recovery.

As a quality of God, wisdom is almost always personified. It is called eternal (11), universal (246), unsearchable (16), the formative creative power in the world (213), yet created (14249) and established in the midst of Yahwē's people in Jerusalem (2410f.), where alone there was obedience to Yahwē's law.¹ This nationalistic conception of wisdom (involved, but not explicitly stated, in Proverbs) is noteworthy, but not unexpected: the pious Jews of that time could hardly fail to find the highest expression of the divine wisdom in the guidance of Israel through the Law. Ben-Sira's treatment of divine wisdom is personification (as in Prov. and Wisd. Sol.), not hypostatization. In one passage (2421, 'I . . . covered the earth as a mist') there appears to be an approach to this position²: wisdom is identified with the creative word, as Wisd. Sol. further identifies it with the Stoic Logos. Like Wisd. Sol., and Philo, however, Ben-Sira lacked a historical figure with which to identify his philosophical conception.

Greater prominence is given to the Law of Moses in our book than in Proverbs. It is glorified in the persons of Moses and Aaron (451-22) and Simon (501-21). The author was by no means indifferent to the ritual of sacrifice and song. He dwells with enthusiasm on the details of the high priest's costly dress, on the offering³ and the singers; he counsels men to come with full hands to the altar (32[35]1-11), though he adds a warning against attempting to bribe God with unrighteous gifts (7.12). His philosophical view of life does not prevent his taking joyous part in the outward service of God, which he possibly regarded as being a symbol as well as a prescribed duty. He shows similar friendliness toward the scribes (3824-34391-11), who, in contrast with the craftsmen, devote themselves to the study of the law, the prophets, and parænetic sayings (a reference to parts of our book of Proverbs?), listen to the discourses of famous men (teachers in the legal schools), travel in foreign lands to find out good and evil among men, open their mouths in prayer, and ask forgiveness for their sins. This, the earliest extant description of the life of a scribe, gives a picture of wide activity, and shows that the law-students of that time did not confine themselves to Palestine. With such scribes, not hagglers over words and letters, but cultivated and liberal students of the earlier literature, our author would naturally find himself in hearty sympathy. As to the term 'law,' it appears that, when used of the Israelish code, it may stand for all the Jewish sacred books; but it is sometimes employed for law in general, as in 35[32]2436[33]1-3.

The preceding citations show Ben-Sira's warm national feeling. This is expressed most distinctly in chap. 33[36], in which he laments the afflicted state of Israel, and prays that, in fulfilment of his promise, God would gather all the tribes of Jacob and make the people possess its land as in times of old (cp 442147114810). He looks for no special deliverer (not even in 44-50), and hopes only, in general accordance with the earlier prophets, for national quiet and prosperity.⁴ He is so much absorbed in this desire that he does not think of the conversion of foreign nations to the worship of Yahwē. We have no right to take him as the representative of the whole nation in this regard; but we may fairly suppose that he expresses a current opinion.⁵

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¹ Wisdom seems not to be exactly identified with the Mosaic Law. The Greek text of 2423 is difficult (ταῦτα πάντα in app. with βίβλος), and we should perhaps read, with Pesh., 'in the book.' On the other hand, cp Bar. 33641, and see notes of Edersheim (on Eccles. 2423) and Boix (*Orig.* 200f.).

² Eccles. 2423-6 is an imitation of Prov. 822f., from which L here introduces additional matter. The 'mist' may be taken from Gen. 26, or it may be an independent figure.

³ The sin-offering is not mentioned.

⁴ In 5110 H and S show that the reading of G¹, 'the father of my lord' (cp Ps. 1101), is erroneous.

⁵ In the generally peaceful and prosperous life of the third century B.C., the Jews seem for the time to have given up the expectation of a special interposition of God in their behalf.

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Ben-Sira's scheme of life, like that of Proverbs, or Ecclesiastes, of the Law, and of the prophets, is confined to the present world. In 17^{22f} he repeats the sentiment of Is. 38^{18f}. He speaks neither of the resurrection of the body¹ nor of the immortality of the soul (14¹⁶ 21¹⁰ 41⁴, etc.). He belonged to the conservative priestly party (though probably not himself a priest) which adopted the social but not the religious ideas of Gentile neighbours. He retained the old Hebrew conception of Shēol (see SUTCLIFF), whilst the progressive portion of the nation (represented later by the book of Daniel) adopted or developed the idea of resurrection.

Ben-Sira's ethical scheme is that of the greater part of the OT (if we omit, that is, such passages as Jer. 31¹³ Ez. 36²⁰ Ps. 51). Sin is the transgression of the divine law; righteousness is conformity thereto. The moral life is considered in its external aspect as a

23. B. Ethical and social ideas.

mass of acts. Nothing is said of the inward life, of disposition of mind, of motives, ideals, aspirations, struggles. Those were, doubtless, not absent from the author's thought; but he does not regard them as practically important. What is important is the outcome: men are known by their fruits. Sin is accepted as a fact, which began historically with the first woman (the same view is given in 1 Tim. 2¹⁴ in contrast with that of Rom. 5¹); but there is no attempt to explain its psychological origin. Conscience, freedom, and responsibility are assumed (15¹¹⁻¹⁷ and *pass.*). On the other hand (as throughout OT and NT), the absolute control of man by God is everywhere taken for granted, and in one place (33¹³) distinctly affirmed. The motive for righteous living is the well-being it secures: the good man prospers, the bad man suffers, in this life. There is no reference to inward peace, consciousness of rectitude, and communion of soul with God. Ben-Sira's point of view (sometimes called hedonistic or utilitarian) is that of Proverbs and the OT generally. It is determined partly by the old Semitic external conception of life, partly by the absence of belief in ethical immortality (cp Wisd. Sol. 2⁵). The old nationalism of the prophets it rejects in favour of a pronounced individualism; it does not recognise the well-being of humanity as an aim of life. The moral code of the book is that of the OT: it inculcates honesty, truthfulness, purity, sympathy, kindness²—all the virtues of the civilised society of that time. The limitations are either those of the time (national narrowness, 21³; treatment of slaves as chattels, 33²⁴⁻³¹) or those of all time (selfish prudence, 12¹⁻⁵). Pride is denounced (10^{7-12f}) as in Proverbs, and humility (3¹⁸) and forgiveness (28²) are enjoined. Almsgiving (as in Tob. 4⁹⁻¹¹ Dan. 4²⁷ [24] Mt. 6¹) is identified with righteousness—a conception that naturally arose when the care of the persecuted poor became the most pressing moral-religious duty;³ but this does not exclude in Ben-Sira the higher idea of righteousness. His treatment of social relations and duties is fuller than that of Proverbs. He lived in the midst of a highly developed civilisation, and is interested in all sides of life. He gives directions for the governing of the household, the training of wife, children, and servants, dealing with debtors and creditors, deportment in society (daily intercourse, feasts), bearing towards rulers and rich men—he recognises many distinctions and classes of men—he is familiar with the temptations of city-life, and praises agriculture. He gives special warnings against sexual licentiousness, against becoming security for other men's debts, against involving one's self in other people's affairs; in general he counsels an attitude of caution toward men, on the ground of personal

¹ The raising of the dead by Elijah (48⁵) has nothing to do with the doctrine of resurrection, and 19¹⁰, which speaks of immortality, occurs in a paragraph (v. 18⁷) which is found only in No. 248 of B, and appears to be an interpolation.

² On its ethical-religious vocabulary see Merguet and Hatch (as below, § 26). The golden rule does not occur.

³ 50^{25f} (though in HOS) is probably an interpolation.

⁴ So the position assigned to almsgiving by M. is named was suggested by the conditions of the Arabian society of his time.

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comfort (32^{22f}). On the same ground, he advises the observance of the social proprieties, such as a decent show of mourning for the dead, failure in which brings one into ill repute (38^{16f}). He is friendly to physicians—see us, indeed, to defend them against doubts and objections—and approves of music and the temperate use of wine. See especially chaps. 7 13 18 31^f 38, and Seligmann, Deane, and Cheyne. He is generally acute, sometimes a little cynical, never pessimistic.

A real, though not very well defined, Greek influence is to be recognised in the book. The author does not

24. Relation to Greek thought.

accept the Greek philosophy (his thought is in the main of the practical unphilosophic Jewish type); but he is affected by general Greek culture. In this respect he stands between Proverbs and Wisd. Sol., but much nearer to the former than to the latter. Palestine was at this time (c. 180 B.C.) not without a Greek atmosphere, and Ben-Sira had travelled in Greek-speaking countries (cp Che.). The traces of Greek influence are found in certain general conceptions in his book. He does not, it is true, go so far as Wisd. Sol. and Philo; he does not allegorise, as they do, nor make so near an approach to hypostatization. His conception of human liberty and divine predetermination and his reference to Enoch (14¹⁶), if it be genuine, are probably Jewish. We cannot adduce particular words and phrases in proof of Greek influence, for these may be scribal additions. The expression in 43²⁷, for example (עֲלֵנוּ מִן הָאֱדוּמִים אֲדוּמִים), found in the Heb. and the Gk., though not in the Syriac, might be regarded as of doubtful genuineness, and in general the possibility of editorial modification must be admitted. After we allow for such a possibility, however, there remain broad touches which cannot well be regarded as spurious, and which have a Greek tone. The most marked is the identification of virtue with knowledge (a point for the full treatment of which see WISDOM LITERATURE). This conception, though not without roots in the older thought, has here been developed under the stimulus of Greek philosophy, with, however, a marked Jewish colouring. There are, according to Ben-Sira, only two classes in society, wise men and fools. These are often identified with the righteous and the wicked; but the intellectual basis of men's natures and judgments is constantly insisted on. The divine law is recognised as the rule of action; but it is not different from the wise man's thought. Hence the importance attached to instruction, the one thing necessary for men being discipline in the art of right thinking; and all God's dealings with men may be viewed as divine training in the perception of moral truth. Similarly, the stress laid on moderation in action (32¹⁻²⁴ 31^f) reminds us of the *μετρίαν ἀγαν* of Kōheleth and of the Greeks. In another direction we have the conception of wisdom in chap. 24 (nearly identical with that of Prov. 8), which contains the Greek ideas of the cosmos and the logos (cp *ἐκδομήσιν*, 16²⁷ 42²¹; in 42²¹ Heb. has *πῶς*).

A complete critical edition is yet in the distance. Only about a half of the Hebrew text being known, we

25. Critical edition.

texts of which are not in good condition.

A selection of works on Ecclesiasticus is all that can be given.

(a) For the text of the Hebrew fragments: (i.) The Oxford fragments and first Cambridge leaf: Cowley and Neubauer, *The original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus*, etc. [197] (also collotype facsimile ed. [197]); and K. Sienod, *Das hebr. Fragment d. Weisheit d. JS* [197]; Schlatter, *Das neugefundene Hebr. Stück des Sirach* [197]; cp Israel Lévi, *L'Ecclesiastique, le texte original hébreu* [198]; and see the critical remarks on 11²⁷ 11¹¹ [197]; Jan. Mar. '97; the *Expositor*, May '97; [198]; Kau. *Apokr.* 1257-9. (ii.) The 1837 eleven Cambridge leaves; S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira, Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus from Heb. MSS in the Cairo Geniza* [190]; two new leaves, *JQR* 12 466-465 [191].

26. Literature.

(iii.) The two British Museum leaves: G. Margulouth, *JQR* 12 1-33 [Oct. '96] (also separately [Williams and Norgate]). (iv.) The two Paris leaves: L. Lévi, *RE* 40 1-30 [1900]. (v.) The two Adler leaves: E. N. Adler, *JQR* 12 466-480 [191]. (vi.) The

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(b) Among commentaries, the 2 of Fritzsche (*Kurzgef. Ex. Bibl.*) and Eidersheim (in Wace's *Apocrypha*) are especially to be commended; Bierschneider (1806) is full of material and suggestion.

(c) For text-criticism, see Horowitz in *MGH* 14; Dyer-lick, *De Spreuken van J. den Zoon v. Sir.* [70]; Hatch, *Essays in Bibl. Grk.* [89]; Bickell in *ZKZ*, 82; D. S. Margoliouth, *Plat. of Ecclesiastical*, etc. [90] (criticisms of Margoliouth's position by Dr. in *Oxford Mag.*, Che. in *Acad.*, Schur. in *FLZ*, and reply by Margoliouth in *Expos.*, all in 1890); H. Bois, *Essai sur l'orig. d. l. phil. jud. alex.* [90]; I. Lévi, *L'Ecclesiastique* [92] and art. in *REJ*, July 99; Margoliouth, *The origin of the 'original Hebrew' of Ecclesiastical* [99]; reply by Kō. Exp. T. 10 f. (Aug.-Nov. 99) and separately *The Sirach-fraige*; Bickell in *WZM* 132 f.; Noldeke in *ZATW* 2081-94 (1902).

(d) General works: Hody, *De Bibl. text. orig.* [1708]; A. T. Hartmann, *Die enge Verbind. d. AT mit d. Neuen* [311]; Lutz, *Gottesdienstl. Vortr. d. Juden* [32], new ed. [92]; Del. *Grch. d. hebr. Poesie* [36]; Derenbourg, *Hist. et Géog. de la Pal.* [167].

(e) Special works: Ew. in *Jahrb.* 3 [51]; Horowitz, *Jes. Sirach* [53]; Gratz in *MGH*, 72; Merquet, *Glaubens u. Sittenlehre des R. Jes. Sir.* [74]; Seligmann, *Weisheit d. Jer. Sohn d. Sir.* in a. I. *Verh. zu d. Salomon. Sprichw.*, etc. [81]; Deane in *Expositor*, 83; Che. *Job and Sol.* [87] (sections on Sirach).

(f) On Greek, especially Alexandrian, elements in Ben-Sira: Groner, *Phil.* [31]; Dahne, *Parstel. d. jud.-alex. Religions. Phil.* [34]; J. F. Bruch, *Weisheitslehre d. Heb.* [51]; Frankel, *Einfluss d. paläst. Exeg. auf d. alex. Hermeneutik* [54]; A. Geiger, *Urschrift* [57]; Nicolas, *Doctr. relig. d. Juifs* [66]; Siegfried, *Phil. v. Alex. als Ausleger d. AT* [75]; Drummond, *Phil. jud.* [88]; Bois, *Orig.*, etc. [90].

(g) On other versions: H. Herkenne, *De vet. latina Ecclesiast. capit. l. xliii. Una cum notis ex quibusd. libris translatt. Eth. Arab. Copt., Lat., alt. Syriac. v. caplari de promptis. Dr. Norbert Peters, 'Die Syriacisch-Koptische Uebersetzung des Buches Ecclesiasticus,' *Biblische Studien* [95].*

C. H. T.

ECLIPSE. It is possible that the words of Amos (89), 'To cause the sun to go down at noon, and to darken the earth while it is yet day,'¹ refer to a total eclipse of the sun on 15th June, 763 B.C. (see AMOS, § 4. ASSYRIA, § 19).

If so, the prophet, in reproducing from memory the discourses which he had delivered in N. Israel, introduced a reference to a subsequent event, which seemed like the beginning of the 'end' spoken of in 82. Amos, who is so fond of references to contemporary circumstances, may very well have referred to this particular eclipse, which is also specially recorded by the Assyrians. Possibly, too, one of the details in Jer. 159 may be suggested by the famous solar 'eclipse of Thales' in 585 B.C. (Herod. 1.54 Plin. 2.425). The 689 may have been written (by whom we cannot venture to say) in the year after the fall of Jerusalem.

No other prophetic passages can safely be taken to relate to any particular eclipses. The phenomenon of

2. Figurative language. an eclipse was a periodically recurring excitement to the unscientific mind, and Am. 51820 Mic. 38 Zeph. 115 Ezek. 3018 327 f. Is. 1310 2423 Joel 21037 315 Zech. 146 cannot with any probability be connected with historical eclipses. The language is conventional. It presupposes the phenomena of eclipses, but is merely symbolic, and such as naturally suggested itself in descriptions of judgments. Is. 388 (in a late report of a supposed prophecy of Isaiah) has been much misunderstood by Bosanquet. To his theory that the solar eclipse of 689 B.C. is referred to there are strong chronological as well as text-critical and exegetical objections (see Che. *Intr. Is.* 227, and DIAL.).

Almost all modern scholars have found a reference to the phenomena of eclipses in Job 358 3113. Thus Davidson paraphrases 'the blackness of the day' (Job 35 AV: 'all that maketh black the day,' RV) 'eclipses, supernatural obscurations, and the like,' and remarks on 7. 8 and 2613 that 'there is an allusion to the popular mythology, according to which the darkening or eclipse of the sun and moon was caused by the serpent throwing its folds around them, and swallowing them up' (Job, 19 f.; similarly 185). Unfortunately the two

¹ Reading בְּעֵינֵי יוֹם (cp Jer. 159). See Che. *Ex. T.* 70335 (April 1890).

² Giesebrecht, too, doubts Jeremiah's authorship of 7. 689-90.

EDER, THE TOWER OF

most significant words in 22. 58 appear to be corrupt,¹ and the illustrative material derived from Babylonian mythology is inconsistent with the view that the Hebrews (like the Indians) believed in a cloud-dragon which seeks to swallow up the sun and moon. What we have before us, as Gunkel was the first to show fully, is one of the current applications of the myth of Tiamat. The text of Job 3 is a matter for critical discussion. See Dillmann and Budde (on the conservative side), and see further DRAGON, § 5. BEHEMOTH, § 2 f.

Most of the NT references (Mt. 2429 Acts 220 Rev. 612 812) are sufficiently explained as the conventional phraseology of prophetic writers.

3. NT references. Nor would most persons hesitate to explain the 'darkness over the whole earth'² (or 'land,' Mk. 1533 Mt. 2745) as an addition to plain historical facts involuntarily made by men brought up on the prophetic Scriptures, and liable, too, to the innocent superstitions of the people. When Yahwe was sore displeased with his people, the prophets constantly described universal nature as awestruck, and poets like David had a similar sense of the sympathy of nature when great men died (2 S. 121). It is Lk. a non-Israelite, who involuntarily rationalises the poetic tradition of a sudden darkness over the earth at the Crucifixion. In Lk. 2345 f. we read (in RV) according to the best form of the Greek text, 'A darkness came over the whole land [or earth] until the ninth hour, the sun's light failing' (τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείπαιτος). No doubt the evangelist believed that a solar eclipse was the cause of this naively supposed phenomenon, though, according to his own narrative, Jesus died at the Passover season when, there being a full moon, a solar eclipse was impossible. Origen indeed ('Comm. in Matth.,' Opera, ed. Delarue, 302 f.) rejected the reading now adopted by the Revisers on this very ground, regarding it as a falsification of the text. Laith (TSB. d. 4245) frankly admits that no ordinary eclipse can be meant, and thinks that the 'darkness' was probably caused by the extinction of the 'star' of the Magi.

T. K. C.

ED (עֵד, 'witness'), the name of an altar of the eastern tribes in EV of Josh. 2234 (not in MT or G). The text being imperfect, and the choice of a name partly open, Dillmann would supply GALEED (q. v., 2). It is at any rate impossible to identify the 'Witness Altar' with Karn Sarabeh,—(1) because this hold bluff is on the western side of the Jordan, and (2) because it is not certain whether any part of the story of the altar belongs to either of the great narrators J and E. See GALEED, 2.

EDAR, THE TOWER OF. See EDER, THE TOWER OF.

EDDIAS (ἐδδῖας [A]), 1 Esd. 926 AV = Ezra 1025 AV, JEZIAH.

EDDINUS (ἐδδῖνος [B]), 1 Esd. 115 RV, AV JEDUTHUN.

EDEN (עֵדֶן). A Levite, temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 2912, ωδαν [B]), -ωδ. [L]; 3115, οδω [BA], ωδαν [L]). The right form is probably JEHOADAN (q. v.). T. K. C.

EDEN (עֵדֶן). For Gen. 28, etc. (Garden of Eden) see PARADISE. For Amos 15 ('House of Eden' EV) see BETH-EDEN (v. RV08). For Ezek. 2723 see CANNEL.

EDER (עֵדֶר, 'flock'; אַרְבָּ [B], אַרְבָּ [A], עֵשֶׁר [L]), a city in the S. of Judah, close to L. om (Josh. 1521); probably no more than a village with a 'tower of the flock' (see below); cp Nu. 1319 2 K. 188 2 Ch. 2610.

EDER (AV Edar), THE TOWER OF (עֵדֶר), i.e., 'tower of the flock'), a place (perhaps a village) to the S. of Ephrath³ (see BETHLEHEM, § 3), 'beyond' which Jacob pitched his tent after the death and burial of Rachel (Gen. 3521). It was so called from a watch-

¹ בְּעֵינֵי יוֹם is improbable, because there is no genuine root עֵד 'to be black'; עֵד, because the parallelism requires עֵד, 'sea,' 'ocean' (cp Ps. 7413 f. Is. 271. See Che. *Expos.* 97 a, p. 404 f.).

² The rendering 'earth' is to be preferred; the crucifixion had a significance for more than the little country of Judaea.

³ See, however, EPHRAIM.

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tower built for the protection of the flocks against robbers (see EDER i., and cp CATTLE, § 6), and according to Jerome (*OS* 101.19) was about 1 R. m. from Bethlehem. The same phrase is rendered in Mic. 4.8 'tower of the flock,' no actually existing tower being referred to. The description is symbolical. Either Jerusalem 'is in siege, standing alone in the land, like one of those solitary towers with folds round them' (GASIN; cp Is. 18), or, on the analogy of Is. 32.14, we have before us a picture of the desolation of the already captured Jerusalem, which is no longer a city but a hill on whose slopes 'flocks may lie down.' The latter view is preferable, even if, with G. A. Smith, we assign Mic. 4.8 to Micah as its author (see Che. *Micah*¹⁰ [Camb. Bib.], 1882, p. 33; cp p. 33 f.). Micah has previously said, not 'Zion shall become like a tower of the flock, like a besieged city' (cp Is. 40), but 'Zion shall be ploughed as a field.'

In *Q* there is a similar variety of rendering. In Gen. 35.12 (the notice is transferred thither from 22.21; see Di.) we have (περιεῖνα) τοῦ πυργοῦ γὰρ ἐδὲρ [B.D.L.], γὰρ ἐδὲρ [E]; in Mic. 4.8 πύργος ποιμῖνι [B.A.Q.].

EDER (עֵדֶר, עֵדֶר [A.L.]).

1. Apparently a post-exilic Benjaminite sept, mentioned along with Arad and many others; 1 Ch. 8.15f (Benjamin, § 9 li. β); AV EDER (עֵדֶר [B], עֵדֶר [A] - *Edar* [L]).

2. A Levite; 1 Ch. 23.24 (אֵדֶר [B] 24.30 (גֵּלָא [B]). The name may be derived from EDER i.

EDER, RV EDOS (ἑδος [B]), 1 Esd. 9.35 = Ezra 10.43, RV *Edos* (ii.).

EDNA (עֲדָנָא [BAN]—i.e., עֲדָנָא; *Adna*), the wife of Raguel and mother of Sara Tobias's bride (Tob. 7.2, etc.).

EDOM

Name and origin (§§ 1-4).

History (§§ 6-10).

Country (§ 5).

Civilisation, etc. (§§ 11-13).

Edom (עֲדוֹם; *Edom* [BAL], *Edom* [BAN], *Edom* [BAN], whence AV *EDOM* in Is. 34.5f, Ez. 35.13 36.5, and EV

1. Name. *EDOM* in Mk. 3.8 [Ti. VII. *Edom* [BAN]], from an older form *adim*, may possibly be rightly treated by Baethgen² as a variation of *adim* 'mankind' (originally *adam*); similar terms have, in fact, often been used as national names. As applied to the nation, Edom always has a collective sense, the only exception being the somewhat late passage (Ps. 137.7) in which the Edomites are called 'sons of Edom.' The resemblance between the national name Edom and the name of the god contained in עֲדוֹם (traditionally read *Obed-Edom* [7.7], but of uncertain pronunciation) is probably an accident. On early traces of a name equivalent to Edom, see below, § 3.

The Edomites, according to the OT, were descendants of Esau, who is represented as identical with Edom, the eponym of the nation, just as Jacob is represented as identical with Israel. The story of the rival

brothers Esau and Jacob symbolises the history of the peoples of Edom and Israel respectively, in their varying relations to each other (cp Esau, § 2). In form it is purely legendary, and Esau, with whom we are here specially concerned, has been identified by Tiele (*Verge. lijk. Gesch.* 447) and many others with the Phœnician mythic hero *Ušōs* (Ὀὐσῶς; Philo Bybl., ap. Eus. *Præp. Ev.* i. 107). The statements of Philo must, no doubt, be received with caution. His work, as far as we know it, is by no means purely Phœnician in origin, though he claims for it the authority of the ancient writer Sanchūniathon. It is a medley of Phœnician and Hellenic myths, combined with theoretical interpretations and arbitrary fancies of his own. Nevertheless, it appears certain that *Ušōs* was borrowed by Philo not from the OT but from Phœnician tradition, and several parallels in the story of Esau and in

¹ In several places and in more than one MS *Edom* and *Edom* are confused in *Q*.

² *Beitr.* 10; cp *ZDMG* 42 470 f. [83].

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that of *Ušōs* seem to the present writer to point to a common origin of the two legends.¹ In this case the original form of *Ušōs* or *Ušōs* will probably have been *Ušōs* (cp Esau, § 1, Hosau). Another suggestion has been made by W. M. Müller. He connects Esau with the desert-goddess Asiti, a Semitic name mentioned in two Egyptian inscriptions (*As. u. Eur.* 316 f.). It is, at all events, probable that Esau was originally a god whom the Edomites regarded as their ancestor; Israelite patriarchs, Abraham and Jacob, also seem to have been gods at a very early period (cp ABRAHAM, § 2, JACOB).

According to an Egyptian papyrus, some of the *Sasu* (a term nearly equivalent to 'Bedouins') belonging to (the land of) Aduma (i.e., Edom)² received permission, in the twelfth century B.C., to pasture their cattle in a district on the Egyptian frontier (see

WMM *As. u. Eur.* 135)—precisely what happened in the case of the Israelites according to the tradition contained in the OT. About 1200 B.C. the *Sasu* of Sair were defeated (*ib.* 136). Here Sair is, of course, Seir³ (Heb. *Se'ir*); but whether the Edomites or some older inhabitants of those mountains are meant is uncertain. In any case, it is not permissible to infer (with WMM *op. cit.* 137) that the Edomites took possession of the district in question only a short time before the period of the Israelite kings: the list of Edomite kings (see § 4), with the names of places contained in it, bears witness to the contrary.

It is true that, according to Gen. 11.6 36.20 Dt. 2.12 22, the mountains of Seir were occupied, before the time of

¹ In both stories we have a strife between two brothers. *Ušōs*, like Esau, is a hunter; his brother is *σάμηνος* ὁ καὶ ὕψου πάντος, where the former name is obviously *Ušōs*. The myth of the stone of Jacob (Gen. 28.12 17) may perhaps here be compared. The stone lies at the foot of the heavenly ladder, and may thus represent the 'gate' or entrance of heaven.

² *Value of Edom.*—The equation Edom = (the land of) Aduma or Udim (for Assyrian references see *As. u. Eur.* 135 = *COP* 1.136) is undisputed. But it is unwise, wherever a name resembling Edom occurs in the Assyrian or the Egyptian inscriptions, to insist on identifying the two names. In the Amarna tablets (15th cent. B.C.) we find a city in the 'Land of Gar' called *Udimu* (Wi. 237 li. 64 24). It would be bold, however, to speak of this as the 'city of Edom' (so Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 153; cp Wi. below). Aduma, the capital of *mat Arifi*, conquered by Sennacherib places called *Duma*, and it is probable that a similar name had *Pat. Anast.* vi. 4.14, where a high official (temp. Merneptah II.) asks permission for the entrance into Egypt of tribes of *Sasu* (Bedouins) from the land of Aduma (Brugsch, *GA* 202; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 135), there is still a doubt as to the reference of the identification proposed by Chabas, Brugsch, and Maspero of the land of Adim or Aduma (so read by these scholars in the story of Sennacherib; *RP* 2.21 f.) with the land of Edom. As

E. Meyer (*GA* 182) and other good judges (including Maspero himself) now assure us, the right reading of the name is not Adim but Kdm (see K. D. Maspero), and Prof. Sayce has, therefore, in *Pat. Pal.* 206, silently retracted what he said in his earlier attack on criticism (*Crit. Mon.* 203). Winckler (*Le.*) thinks it not impossible that the Edomites may have derived their name where they may by degrees have formed settlements. This he illustrates by the often-quoted passage in the Harris Papyrus, where Ramesses III. claims to have 'destroyed the Sairu among the tribes of the *Sasu*' (Brugsch, 203; WMM 135 f.; cp. 240). Here the name Sairu is evidently later than the name (Moune) Seir. Winckler does not, however, adhere to his own suggestion, and thinks the two names Aduma and Udimu are more probably connected. It only needs to be added here that in 1872 Mr. Baker Greene brought the passage in the Anastasi Papyrus into connection with the settlement of the 'Irew tribes, such as the Josephites and, as he thinks, the Kenites, in Egypt' (*Hebrew Migration*, 37, 117, 190, 210), and that W. M. Müller considers that the Sairu of the Harris Papyrus are a race distinct from the Edomites. According to this scholar, the Sairu are of Seir. This involves bringing down the conquest of Seir by the Edomites much later than is consistent with Dt. 3. Nu. 20,—

³ According to Zimmern (*Z. f. d. A.* 1914), Seir seems to occur in the Amarna tablets in the expression *mat Seir*.

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the Edomites, by 'the sons of Seir the Horite' or 'the Horites.' W. M. Müller (*l.c.*), however, rightly observes that the word *Horit*—i.e., Troglodyte (cp Job 30b)—is not properly the name of a nation, and serves only to express the idea entertained by later generations concerning their predecessors. In like manner, 'the sons of Seir' can scarcely be regarded as a national name, since Seir denotes nothing more than the mountain range in question. We must, however, suppose that among the Edomites, as among the Israelites, there survived remnants of older peoples; and the lists in Gen 36 seem clearly to indicate that, after the analogy of what happened in Israel, the 'Horites' frequently mingled with the Edomites—just as, on the other hand, we find manifold traces of a mingling of Edomites and Horites with the neighbouring Israelite tribes (see Nöld. *Unters.* 178 f. and We. *De gent.* 29, 38 f.). It should be noticed, in particular, that remnants of the small nation known as Kenaz were to be found both among the Edomites and among the Israelites (see KENAZ). Similarly, a portion of the Amalekites was merged in the Edomite people (see AMALEK, § 4).

It is shown elsewhere (see ESAU, § 2) that the Israelites had a consciousness of their likeness as a people in comparison with the Edomites. The tradition, which was sound, illustrates the statements in Gen 36 11-39. Even if the first four of the kings there enumerated are mythical (see Nöld. *Unters.* 87 n.), the last four are certainly historical. There is, however, a doubt whether they are arranged in strict chronological sequence, and whether all of them ruled over the whole nation (see BELA II, 1). The other lists in the same chapter also are of great historical value, though the details are often obscure.¹ That inconsistencies occasionally appear is quite in accordance with what we should expect in lists drawn up at various times or under the influence of conflicting notions; for it would be a great mistake to suppose that the tribes and families were separated, by absolutely rigid limits, one from another. So far as we can judge, however, there is no reason to believe that the traditions embodied in the lists above mentioned are later than the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah. Of the localities enumerated in Gen 36, either in the form of tribal names or as possessions of the various chieftains (see especially 27, 40-43), all those which can be identified are situated in the ancient territory of Edom, not in the region occupied by the Edomites after the fall of Judah. The antiquity of the title *ḥāḥā*, 'allaph, EV 'DUKE' [q.v.] given to the Edomite princes in this chapter appears to the present writer to be proved by Ex 15 15.

In the OT the territory of Edom (properly speaking) is Mount SEIR (q.v., 1). It is, of course, to be supposed, however, that the Edomite country spread out both to the east and to the west of the mountains, and probably varied in dimensions at different periods. The sites of a very few Edomite towns can be determined with precision; the sites of others (for example, that of Teman—i.e., 'south,' 'southern place'—which is often mentioned, and appears also as a grandson of Edom) can be determined at least approximately. In general, however, the country of Edom is still very imperfectly known.

The name Seir, applied to the mountain-range, signifies 'hairy,' a meaning to which the narratives in Gen. allude on several occasions (Gen 25 25, 27 11-23). If we may judge by analogy, 'hairy' must here be equivalent to 'wooded,' or at least 'covered with brush-wood': in Arabia there are two distinct localities where we find a mountain called by the equivalent name al-Māḥir, 'the hairy,' whilst a neighbouring mountain is known as al-Akra' or al-Aḥrad 'the bare' (cp the mountain called *Sār'dān* in Assyria).

¹ [Cp WRS f. *Phil.* 9 89 f.; Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 168 f. (86).]

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At the present day the region of Seir is, for the most part, barren; but it contains some fruitful valleys, and in the country immediately to the E. of it are to be found districts covered with luxuriant vegetation, as both ancient and modern authorities attest (see Buhl, *Edomiter*, 15 f. [93]). It is, therefore, hardly necessary to take the prophetic utterance on Edom in Gen. 27 39 (see ESAU, § 2) as anything other than a blessing—which is the most obvious interpretation. Nor is the benediction inconsistent with the fact (which agrees with the conditions of life to-day in some mountainous districts of Arabia) that the Edomites were largely dependent upon the chase for their sustenance.

According to Gen. 32 4, 36 8, Esau took up his abode on Mount Seir. Hence it is that in one passage Jacob, when on his journey from Gilead to Shechem, passes southward over the Jabbok, although in reality he had nothing to do in that region and would gladly have avoided Esau; the story, however, requires that the two brothers should meet. See JABBOK, § 2.

6. Edom and Israel: earlier times.

What were the relations between the Israelites and the Edomites at the time of the Exodus is a matter about which the narratives of the Pentateuch leave us in doubt. According to one story, the Israelites marched straight through the Edomite territory (cp Nu. 33 37, 42 f.); according to a more detailed account, they avoided it altogether by performing a circuit to the south (cp WANDERINGS, § 13). It must be remembered, however, (1) that it is quite uncertain whether at that time the Edomites were already in possession of the country which they afterwards occupied, and (2) that the immigration of the Israelite tribes was probably not a single united movement, but a series of separate undertakings which followed different lines of march (see ISRAEL, § 7).

One of the ancient kings of Edom is said to have defeated the Midianites on the Moabite table-land (Gen. 36 35; see MIDIAN, and cp BELA II, 1). Whether the brief mention of Saul's victory over the Edomites in 1 S. 14 7 is historical we cannot determine: the fact that his chief herdsman was DOEG the Edomite (1 S. 21 7 [8] 22 [BA. δ σαρπος]; cp Ps. 52 2) does not, of course, imply any dominion of Israel over Edom. David, however, subdued the Edomites after a severe contest.

A short account of this war may be obtained by combining 2 S. 8 13 f. (where the text is in part very corrupt; cp 8) with 1 Ch. 18 11-13 and Ps. 60 2 (8 omits 'Edom'), to which we should add 1 K. 11 15 f.; but much still remains obscure. A great battle was fought in the Valley of Salt, by which is probably meant the northern extremity of the vast barren lowland usually called the Arabah (cp Buhl, *Edomiter*, 20; but for another view see SALT, VALLEY OF). Joab, David's general, is said to have extirpated all the male Edomites in the course of six months. This is unquestionably a gross exaggeration, for had such been the case the nation could never have reappeared in history. There can be little doubt, however, that David's conquest gave rise to the deadly hatred afterwards manifested between Edom and Israel or at least between Edom and Judah. See DAVID, § 8 c.

A prince of the royal house contrived to escape to Egypt (on כַּנְזִים, cp HADAD I, 2), and his son GENUBATH (q.v.) regained the sovereignty of Edom after David's death (1 K. 11 14-22, to which last verse 8 PL. rightly appends the second half of 2 S. 25, with the reading Edom [אֲדָמָה] instead of 'Aram' [אַרָּם]). The statement that Solomon included Edomite women among his wives (1 K. 11 1) does not seem irreconcilable with the foregoing account; but the extensive traffic which he carried on with Ophir from the port of Elath (at the NE. extremity of the Red Sea) certainly implies that he was master of the intervening territory. We may suppose that the kingdom of Genubath included only a part of the Edomite country, or else that the new king recognised the king of Judah as his superior. In any case, the Edomite state cannot, at this time, have been really powerful: a few generations later we find the same seaport in the hands of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and it is expressly stated that the Edomites were then

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without a king (1 K. 22:47 [43] f.).

7. Time of divided monarchy.

king of Edom as taking part in the expedition (2 K. 3). This story, as a whole, doubtless rests on genuine tradition; but it contains much that is fabulous (cp JERORAM, § 3 f.). The utmost that can be conceded is that the 'king of Edom' was a prince subject to Judah. Moreover, the statement in 1 K. 22:47 [43] must be taken in connection with another, according to which the Edomites rebelled in the time of Jehoshaphat's son Joram and set up a king of their own. The attempt to subside them afresh proved a failure. (The details of the narrative in 2 K. 8:20-22 = 2 Ch. 21:16-18 again present difficulties of interpretation.) The Blessing upon Esau (Gen. 27:19 f.), at least in its present form, probably dates from this period of independence—Esau will serve Jacob (cp Gen. 25:23)—but the following words, presumably added somewhat later, state that if he makes an effort he will shake off the yoke. The narratives of Genesis assign the pre-eminence to Jacob, nor do they fail to recognise the enmity between the two brothers; but, at the same time, the character of Esau is treated with respect, and much stress is laid upon the final reconciliation. All this seems to represent the feeling of those who desired to see peace permanently established between the two peoples; or, possibly, the sentiments here expressed may proceed rather from subjects of the Ephraimite kingdom, to whom the dominion of Judah over Edom appeared a matter of no great importance. On the other hand, the Judahite prophets Joel and Amos—of whom the first is now usually regarded as post-exilic, whilst the second undoubtedly belongs to the period which we are at present considering—threaten the Edomites with a severe chastisement from God on account of their crimes against Israel (Joel 3 [4]:19 Am. 1:11 f.). The view that the latter passage is not really by Amos (see AMOS, § 9) does not commend itself to the present writer; but, with regard to Am. 9:11-15, which predicts, among other things, that Judah is to dispossess 'the remnant of Edom' (ἡ ἀποκλείουσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων), it is plain that there is grave cause for doubt. This was the period of the war in which the hostile Moabites burned the bones of a certain king of Edom 'to lime' (Am. 2:1). There is reason to believe that a great trade in slaves was then carried on by the Edomites; we read of whole troops of exiles being delivered over to Edom by the inhabitants of Gaza and Tyre (see WE. on Am. 1:6).

Amaziah king of Judah again subdued Edom and captured the town of Seba—i.e., 'Rock' (see AMAZIAH, 1, JOKTHEEL, 2). Buhl's denial of the equivalence of Seba and Petra is hardly justified (see PETRA). Whether this conquest was maintained—and, if so, by what means—through all the disturbances which soon afterwards arose in Judah we cannot say. In the reign

of Ahaz, Rezin king of Damascus restored Elath to the Edomites (2 K. 16:6, where we should read 'Edom' [עֲדוֹם] and 'Edomites' [עֲדוֹמִים] with 6); hence we may conclude that till then the men of Judah had been in possession not only of the town in question but also of the country to the N. of it, or at least of some route whereby it could be safely reached, a route which perhaps lay partly outside of the Edomite territory. The statement in 2 Ch. 28:17 seems to be a modified form of the tradition relating to those events. To the same (or possibly to a much earlier) period we may assign the ancient fragment which is found in Ps. 60:8-11 [10-13] (= Ps. 108:8-11 [10-13]), embedded among quite late pieces; here occur the scornful words, 'Over Edom will I cast my shoe' (see STUOES, § 4 [4]), and 'Who will lead me to Edom?'¹ Moreover,

¹ In the critical analysis of Ps. 60 the present writer agrees, in the main, with Ew., who assigns vv. 1-5 to (except 'will not

It would,

therefore, seem that the narrative of the campaign undertaken by Jehoram and Jehoshaphat against Mesha king of Moab can scarcely be correct in representing a king of Edom as taking part in the expedition (2 K. 3). This story, as a whole, doubtless rests on genuine tradition; but it contains much that is fabulous (cp JERORAM, § 3 f.). The utmost that can be conceded is that the 'king of Edom' was a prince subject to Judah. Moreover, the statement in 1 K. 22:47 [43] must be taken in connection with another, according to which the Edomites rebelled in the time of Jehoshaphat's son Joram and set up a king of their own. The attempt to subside them afresh proved a failure. (The details of the narrative in 2 K. 8:20-22 = 2 Ch. 21:16-18 again present difficulties of interpretation.)

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several of the discourses uttered by the prophets against Edom appear to date from about this time, after the nation had recovered its independence—e.g., the piece which (as Ew. pointed out) is partially reproduced by the post-exilic prophet ONADTAN (7:7, n.), as well as by his predecessor Jeremiah (ch. 49:7-22). The details of the prophecy, however, are no longer intelligible. Similar utterances are found in Is. 11:14 Jer. 9:25 25:21 49:7-22 (cp Jer. 27:1). On the other hand, the author of Deuteronomy emphatically teaches that Israel has no right to the territory of Edom, and likewise recommends a friendly treatment of the kindred nation (Dt. 2:8-23 23:7 [8] f.).

In the Assyrian inscriptions Kaus-malak king of Edom appears, together with his contemporary, Ahaz king of Judah, as a tributary of Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727 B.C.); see *KH* n. 21. Similarly, Malik-ran, king of Edom (ib. 291) paid tribute to Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), and Kaus-galor king of Edom, as well as Manasseh king of Judah, paid tribute to Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) and to Ashur-bani-pal (668-626 B.C.); ib. 149 and 239; cp Del. *Par.* 295, Schr. *K. 17* (2) 149 f.

At the approach of Nebuchadnezzar, the nations bordering on Judah—the Edomites among them—

9. Exilic and post-exilic times.

sent envoys to Jerusalem to consult together (Jer. 27:3). After the destruction of their royal city, many Jews sought refuge in Edom (Jer. 40:11); but the Edomites, as was natural, hailed with delight the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah (Obad. 11-14 Lam. 4:21 Ps. 137:7). They seized the opportunity to occupy part of the territory of Judah (Ezek. 36:3), though perhaps another partial cause for the migration may be suggested (see NABAT-EANS). At a later period we find them in possession of S. Judaea, to which the special name of Idumea was given; this term occurs as early as 312 B.C. (Diod. Sic. xiv. 98, a passage based upon the contemporaneous testimony of Hieronymus of Kardia). Hebron, the ancient capital of the tribe of Judah, within an ordinary day's march of Jerusalem, became an Edomite city (1 Macc. 5:65 Jos. *B.* iv. 9:7).¹ We can scarcely doubt that from the time of the Babylonian Exile the Edomites held this territory, which, though for the most part not very fertile, was preferable to their original home.

The exilic and the post-exilic prophets and poets of the Israelites, as we might have expected, denounce the Edomites in no measured terms (see Ezek. 25:12-14 35:14 36:3 Obad. Lam. 4:21 Is. 34:63-6 Ps. 137:7 Mal. 1:2-5). Similar were the sentiments of Jesus Ben-Sira (who wrote about the year 180 B.C.); in 50:26 the Cairo Hebrew fragment (see ECCLESIASTICUS, § 4) has יְרֵמְבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל;² we must suppose the author to have made use of an antiquated phrase no longer applicable to the Edomites of his own time. The author of the book of Daniel (167 or 166 B.C.)³ appears, on the contrary, to have been less unfriendly to Edom, as well as to Moab and Ammon, following in this the example of his predecessor, the Deuteronomist (see Dan. 11:41). There is, it may be remarked, no ground for the assumption that the Edomites had, during the intervening period, retired from S. Judaea and had afterwards taken possession of it a second time (see Buhl, *Edomites*, 77). The list of places in Neh. 11:25-36 is, at any rate, not contemporary with Nehemiah, and if authentic in any sense must be borrowed from a pre-exilic source.⁴

thou, O God, which, RV mg. 11:7 (L.V.'s numeration) to a psalmist shortly before Nehemiah, and 77:6-9, and the opening of 77:10, to David (warring against the Ammonites). The Davidic origin of those words is, however, highly questionable. (Cp PSALMS.)

¹ [On the Edomites in Judah in the early post-exilic period see Mey. *Erst.* 114 ff.]

² It has now been proved therefore that Fritzsche and others were fully justified in reading 'Seir' (σείρ).

³ [See Nöld. *IT Lit.* 223 (28); but cp DANIEL ii. § 18.]

⁴ [Several critics—e.g., Torrey, Francis Brown, and E. Meyer—have lately come to the conclusion that the catalogue in question is a fiction of the Chronicler.]

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Judah the Maccabee fought against the Edomites on the territory which had formerly belonged to the tribe of Judah (1 Macc 5:65). They are mentioned as enemies in Ps 83:7 [6], which was composed about this time. Cp Judith 7:13 of the same period.

At length Judah gained the victory over Edom, John Hyrcanus first wrested ADORA (q.v.) and MAKESHATT (q.v.) out of the hands of the Edomites (Jos. Ant. xii. 91, H/1. 26). About the end of the second century B.C. he compelled the whole Edomite nation, it is said, to adopt the practice of circumcision, and the Jewish Law (Ant. xi. 91 xv 70). Henceforth they were included among the Jews (ib., Strabo, 760). Idumaea is several times mentioned as a district belonging to Judaea (e.g., Jos. H/iii. 331).

10. End of Edom.

The conquest, however, did not prove a blessing to the Jews; for, in consequence of those events, it came about that the ill-starred family of Antipater, the dynasty of the Herods, whom we should no doubt regard, in accordance with the common opinion, as of Edomite origin (see Jos., Ant. xiv. 103, H/1. 62; cp Mishna, Sot., vii. 8), made themselves masters of Judaea and of all Palestine, and thus were enabled to plunge the Jews into great misfortune. The Edomites also had reason to regret their union with their former rivals. Considering themselves Jews in the fullest sense, the fierce and turbulent inhabitants of Idumaea (Jos. H/iv. 41:51) eagerly joined in the rebellion against the Romans, and played a prominent part both in the intestine struggles and in the heroic but altogether hopeless resistance to the enemy (ib. iv. 4 f. 81:95 f. v. 92 vi. 26:82). Thus Edom was laid waste with fire and sword, and the nation as such ceased to be. Even the fact that the Edomites had at length become Jews was soon completely forgotten by the exponents of Jewish tradition. The frequent denunciations of Edom in the OT caused the name to be remembered only as an object of hatred, and hence the Jews came at an early date to employ it as a term indicating Rome, the most abhorred of all their enemies. And yet many of the Jews, it would seem, must have had Edomite blood in their veins; for we may reasonably assume not only that the Edomites, after they had adopted Judaism, intermarried largely with their co-religionists, but also that those Edomites who survived the final catastrophe, whether in the condition of slaves or otherwise, were regarded as Jews both by themselves and by the outer world (cp CUTZA).

With respect to the habits and intellectual culture of the Edomites we possess scarcely any information. In spite of their ferocity, to which the OT writings as well as the accounts of the closing struggle bear testimony, the Edomites, and especially Teman, appear, strangely enough, to have enjoyed a reputation for great wisdom (Obad. 8=Jer. 49:7). It is not without reason that in the Book of Job the sage who occupies the foremost place among Job's friends is called Eliphaz of Teman, after two of the most important clans of Edom, Eliphaz being the first-born of Esau and Teman the first-born of Eliphaz. Perhaps Job himself also is to be regarded as an Edomite, since his country, the land of Uz (q.v.; see also Jon [Book], § 4), is mentioned in connection with Edom (Lam. 4:21 [6 omits Uz], cp Gen. 36:28). At all events, we may conclude that at a tolerably early period some portion at least of this people acquired a certain civilisation, as was the case with the later occupants of the same district, the NABATÆANS (q.v.). In all probability this was largely due to the fact that the trade route from Yemen to Palestine and Syria passed through the country in question.

Of the ancient religion of the Edomites nothing definite is known. Whatever legends they may have possessed concerning their ancestors, Abraham, Sarah, and Esau, have wholly perished. Josephus (Ant. xv. 79) mentions *Asa* as an Edomite deity; the name has been identified with that

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of the Arabian god *Asrah* sacrificed to in the neighbourhood of Mecca, after whom the rainbow was called by the Arabs 'the bow of *Asrah*' (cp WRS, *Ann.* 296). Nothing more has been ascertained respecting him. Still less do we know about the god who figures in several Edomite proper names under the Assyrian form *Kaul*, in *Kaul-malakutal* *Kaul-gaber*, and the Greek form *Kos*, in *Kosoboros* (Jos. Ant. xv. 79) and some other names, which, however, are not actually stated to be Edomite; the same god appears in the Nabatean inscriptions at *al Hegr* as *sp* in *spn*, *Kosdavaros* (i.e., 'Kos has given') whilst in the Sinitic inscriptions the name is spelt *sp*, in *spn* (i.e., 'Kos has helped'). Malik, 'king,' in the proper name *Mahkrani* (see above, § 81), is a general title of Semitic deities. The heathen feast celebrated at Mamre near Hebron, at length suppressed by Constantine (see the interesting account in Sozom. HE24), was perhaps mainly of Edomite origin. It is even possible that on this soil, hallowed by patriarchal legend, there may have survived some rites which had been practised long before in ancient Israel, rites which might well seem heathenish both to the later Jews and to the Christians.

From the statement that the practice of circumcision was imposed upon the Edomites by John Hyrcanus (Jos. Ant. xii. 91) it might be concluded that there was no such custom among them previously. This, however, is extremely improbable. The OT assumes that all descendants of Abraham were circumcised, and since, in later times at least, this practice was universal among the Arabs, we can hardly believe that the whole Edomite nation had abandoned it in the course of ages. Probably Josephus was here misled by a statement that the Edomites had adopted the religious customs of the Jews, and himself added, with his usual inaccuracy, the special reference to circumcision, which was considered the most important characteristic of Judaism. Or perhaps we are to understand that the Jewish rite of circumcision shortly after birth was substituted for the rite in use among the kindred peoples, namely circumcision shortly before puberty (cp CIRCUMCISION, § 4 f.), the former alone being recognised as real circumcision by the Jews.

How thoroughly the Edomites were at length transformed into Jews is shown, for example, by the fact that among the very few names which are mentioned as having been borne by Edomites in those times—that of Jacob (the brother and rival of Esau!) occurs twice (Jos. H/iv. 96 v. 61 vi. 26:83). We find, moreover, the characteristically Jewish names, Simon (ib. v. 61 vi. 26), John (ib. v. 65), and Phinehas (ib. iv. 42).

The language of the ancient Edomites probably resembled that of Israel at least as closely as did the language of the Moabites. It is possible that the discovery of some inscription may throw further light on the subject; at present our information is derived solely from a few proper names of persons and places. In the later period of their history the Edomites, like the Jews, doubtless spoke the Aramaic language, which was in common use throughout all Syria.

T. N.

EDOS (אֶדוֹס [B]), 1 Esd. 9:25 RV, AV EDES.

EDREI (עֲדְרֵי, deriv. uncertain; cp Arab. *midhrā'*, land between desert and cultivated soil; also Aram. *דרר* to sow, as if analogous to *יִדְרֵנָה*; cp Bedawi name below; *אֶדְרַעִין* [B], *אֶדְרַעִין* or *אֶדְרַעִין* [L]). (1) A chief city of Bashan, one of the residences of Og 'who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei' (Josh. 12:13:31; cp also Dt. 14, 'in Ashtaroth at Edrei,' where probably 'and' has fallen out). Along with Saleah, which lay far to the E., it is given as the frontier of Og's kingdom (Dt. 31). According to the deuteronomist, Israel reached it on the way to Bashan, and found Og and all his people planted there to meet them (Dt. 31 Nu. 21:33:35 Josh. 13:12); Og was defeated and slain. The town fell to the half-tribe of Manasseh (Josh. 13:31 P).

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but is not mentioned again. It appears to be the 'Otarā of the Egyptian inscriptions (WMM *Ar. u. Eur.* 159).

Edrei was the 'Adpa of Ptolemy, the 'Adpaa or 'Adra of Eusebius and Jerome, and the Adraha of the Peutinger Tables. The position to which it is assigned by all these (Ptolemy puts it due E. of Gadara, Eus. 24 or 25 R. m. from Bosra, and the *Tab. Pent.* 16 m. from Capitolias, the modern Beit-er-Rās) closely agrees with that of the modern 'Edra'at ('Adra'at, Der'at, Der'a, Der'ad; in the Bediwa dialect *Aera'dit*), about 22 m. NW from Bosra, 6 m. SE. from el-Muzeirib, and 15 NE. of Beit-er-Rās. The site is strong, on the N. of the deep gorge that forms the S. boundary of the plain of Haurān, 6 m. E. from the present [Hajj] road. This agrees with the data given above, that it was a frontier town, and on the way into Kishan. The gorge winds, and, with a tributary ravine, isolates the present city on all sides but the S. The citadel is completely cut off, on a hill which projects into the gorge and may have held the whole ancient town. The ruins, probably from Roman times, cover a circuit of two miles.

The most prominent are those of a large reservoir, fed by the great aqueduct (Kānūt Fīr'aun, Pharaoh's aqueduct) which runs from a small lake near Vābis in Haurān *viz* [sic] to Gadara, a distance as the crow flies of 40 m.; but the aqueduct winds. There is a building, 44 yards by 31, with a double colonnade, evidently the Christian cathedral of Bosra, but now a mosque. Some Greek inscriptions are given by Le Bas and Waddington; the present writer found another of the year 165 A.D. (*HG* 600, n. 2).

The most notable remains, however, are the caves beneath the citadel. They form a subterranean city, a labyrinth of streets with shops and houses, and a market place (Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*, 47 f.; cp Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*).

Wetzstein says, 'The present city, which, judging from its walls, must have been one of great extent, lies for the most part directly over the old subterranean city, and I believe that now, in case of a devastating war, the inhabitants would retire to the latter for safety.'

The OT makes no mention of so great a marvel, which probably dates, in its present elaborate form, from Greek times; but such refugees must have been always a feature of a land so swept by Arab raids.

It is puzzling that Edrei appears neither in the E. campaign of Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5); nor in Pliny's list of the original Decapolis (*g.v.*). However, it was early colonised by Greeks, and (on the evidence of a coin) De Saulcy dates its independence from as far back as 83 B.C. (*Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, 374 f.). After Pompey it belonged to the Roman province of Syria, and after Trajan to that of Arabia. Its inhabitants worshipped Astarte and the Nabataean god Dushara. Eus. and Jer., who describe it as a notable town of Arabia (Eus. 118, 213-37), place it in Barabara. Its bishop sat at the Councils of Seleucia, Constantinople (381) and Chalcedon (451). The Crusaders who besieged it (Will. Tyr. 1670) called it *Adratum*. Other authorities are: Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, whose theory (II, 222 f.; II, 277 f.), that Oq's city is the modern Ezra or Zorawa on the W. limit of the Leja, is unfounded; Schumacher, *Across Jordan* (136 f.); Wright, *Palmyra and Zenobia*, 234 f.; Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 349 f.; A. G. Wright, *PEFQ*, 95, p. 72 f.; cp. *ZDMG* 29, 437-435.

2. An unidentified site, one of the fenced cities of Naphtali (Josh. 19:37; אֲסַפְּרַי [B], אֲסַפְּרַי [A], אֲס. [L]). Conder suggests Ya'ir (*PEF Mem.* 1203-205).

G. A. S.

EDUCATION

- I. Before Ezra (§§ 1-4).
- II. Ezra to ben-Shetach (§§ 5-12).
- Synagogue (§ 6).
- 'Scribes' and the 'Wise' (§ 7 f.).
- Prov. and Eccles. (§ 9 f.).
- Greek influence (§ 11).
- Details (§ 12).
- III. To end of Jewish state (§§ 13-23).
- i. Elementary (§§ 14-20).
- Teachers, etc. (§§ 15-17).
- Studies, etc. (§§ 18-20).
- ii. Scribes' College (§ 21).
- Education of girls (§ 22).
- Conclusion (§ 23).
- Bibliography (§ 24).

Systematic education among the Jews may be traced to the influence of Hellenism. The foundation of Alexandria was an event as important for education as for the development and enrichment of Jewish thought. Consequently there are, properly, two periods in the history of Jewish education in biblical times, the first lasting to the end

1 For Hebrew terms see § 3.

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of the Persian rule, the second beginning with the Greek and continuing into the Roman. Within the first period there are two notable breaks, the one caused by the growth of commerce and luxury among the pre-exilic Israelites, the other by the rise of Judaism as a book-religion; within the second there is but one break, marked by the reported introduction of compulsory education by Simon ben-Shetach (222). We have so little definite knowledge, however, about the early part of the first period that we may conveniently group the facts which we can collect under three heads, viz. (I) down to the time of Ezra; (II) from Ezra to Simon ben-Shetach; and (III) from Simon ben-Shetach to the end of the Jewish State.

On oral instruction see below, §§ 3, 12, 20.

1. Before Ezra.—In primitive times education was purely a domestic and family concern (see FAM. V. § 13).

2. Earliest practice. The home was the only school and the parents the only teachers. The parental authority and claim to reverence forms part of the earliest legislation (Ex. 20:12, cp also 21:15-17 in the 'Book of the Covenant') and is reiterated in the later literature (Prov. 19:26 20:20 and often). In the purely agricultural stage it must have been a primary object with fathers to train up their children to share the labours of husbandry, or to carry on the skill in useful arts which had become hereditary in certain families. We may be sure, however, that even such instruction was given in a religious spirit. Among the Israelites, as among other early peoples, traditional methods of work were traced to a divine origin (cp AGRICULTURE, § 13). For this idea we may compare the parable of the ploughman, Is. 28:23 ff. (which, whatever be its date, is antique in feeling), and the evidently primitive stories in Genesis about the rise of civilisation (see CAINITES, § 3 ff.).

The religious sense, however, was no doubt specially cultivated in the minds of the children. The boys would in due time be initiated (272) in religious rites (cp Ex. 13:8 Dt. 49, etc.; see CATECHISE, and cp DEDICATION), and all children were to be instructed by the mother in the primary moral, as distinguished from the ritual and institutional, elements in the old religion (e.g., reverence for elders, and the like). At a later time the mother is expressly mentioned as the giver of moral instruction (see below, § 5); this is clearly a survival of a more ancient custom. The 'ōmēn (אִמֶּן; RV 'nursing father') or παιδαγωγός (tutor) was also no doubt an instructor of the children under his charge² (see NURSE).

The introduction of commerce with its attendant luxury brought about great social changes by the time of the earliest prophets whose discourses are preserved to us. According to Isaiah grave social evils had arisen (WKS Proph. (1), 204; OT/C (2), 349 f.); but we may venture to assume that the high culture of which this prophet is himself an example was not unconnected with the rushing of new ideas and habits caused by an increased knowledge of other peoples (see WRITING). A knowledge of books, it is true, is not now, and never has been, essential to culture in the East. 'The ideal of instruction is oral teaching, and the worthiest shrine of truths that must not die is the memory and heart of a faithful disciple,' and the term Torah, which ultimately came to be applied to the Written Law, was originally applied to an oral decision (OT/C (2), 299 f.). Cp ISRAEL, § 61; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 1; LAW LITERATURE, PRIESTS.

Not much can be said here on the specialised training

¹ That the ancient sentiment lingered late may be seen from the fact that several treatises of the Mishna deal with agriculture (cp Vogelstein, *Die Landwirtschaft in Palästina zur Zeit d. Mishna*, i. 94).

² Cp the later identification παιδαγωγός (272) = πῶρ = wisdom = Torah (Eus. i. 696), which illustrates Gal. 3:24 (see Taylor, *Pirke Aboth* (2), 173).

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of certain persons, such as craftsmen, prophets, and priests (see HANUKKAS, PROPHETS, PRIESTS). It is enough to remark that prophets and priests were in a very true sense 'sages' (Is. 31) of the social structure, not only on account of the awe they inspired but also because of the teaching which they gave to their disciples and hearers.

It is well known that in Mishnaic Hebrew the characteristic word for both 'to learn' and 'to teach' is *šāḡ*, *šāḡ*, 'to repeat'; whilst *šāḡ*, *šāḡ* (prop. 'repetition') is 'instruction' (see further below, § 2). It is noticeable that in Bib. Hebrew *šāḡ* does not occur in this special sense. The biblical words are *šāḡ*, *šāḡ*, 'to learn' (Ps. 'to teach'); *šāḡ*, *šāḡ*, 'to inculcate'; *šāḡ*, *šāḡ* (√ *šāḡ*), 'to instruct' (*šāḡ*, *šāḡ*, 'teacher'); *šāḡ*, *šāḡ* (*šāḡ*, *šāḡ*, 'teacher'); *šāḡ*, *šāḡ*, also meaning 'to teach'. In this connexion the following quotation from the final tablet of the Babylonian epic of Creation (Reverse l. 22 f.) is interesting:—

Let them stand forth (?)—let the elder enlighten;
Let the wise, the learned, meditate together!
Let the father *šāḡ* (*šāḡ*, *šāḡ*) make the son
apprehend!

Open the ears of Shepherd and Flockmaster (i.e., the king).

The publication of the Book of Deuteronomy (621 B.C.) had far-reaching consequences for popular education.

4. Systematic moral instruction.

The public recognition by king and people of a written code of law 'which was intended to cover the whole life of a citizen, both on its religious and secular side' (C. G. Montefiore, *Heb. Lect.* 188) involved a conception of life which was akin to, and prepared the way for, the later Judaism. Under its influence, some time in the seventh century, an attempt was perhaps made to enforce upon each Israelite 'the necessity of instilling right religion and morality into his children and household' (Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 130, citing Gen. 1847-19 which probably belongs to this period). The exhortations in D to instruct children in the sacred history and law (40 6720 1149) point in the same direction, though the date of these passages may be later than 621 B.C., and the ideal which they set forth was not fully carried out till after the time of Ezra. There were also in the pre-exilic period some anticipations of the 'wisdom' ideas, first expressed by Isaiah (31a), which later played so important a part in the development of the educational system (see further Che. *op. cit.* 130 f.).

II. From Ezra to Simon ben-Shetach (75 B.C.).—The period which extends from the fall of Jerusalem to the arrival of Ezra was a period of extraordinary activity, both moral and intellectual.

5. Second period: Ezra to 75 B.C.

The task which now devolved on the nation was the inventorying of the spiritual property of Israel' (Cornill, *Proph. Isr.* 125). Hence quite naturally there arose a literary class, the SCRIBES (q.v.), who were not only students but also teachers of law and sacred literature, and may perhaps be connected with the growth of an institution closely identified at a later time with the educational movement—viz., the SYNAGOGUE² (q.v.). Henceforth the Jews became emphatically 'the people of the book.' The sacred writings became the spelling-book, the community a school, religion an affair of teaching and learning. Piety and education were inseparable; whoever could not read was no true Jew (Wellhausen). Surely we may say that we are now assisting at the birth of a truly popular education, rooted and grounded in morality and religion. Even if the account of Ezra's introduction of the Law in Neh. 8 is not, as it stands, historical (see EZRA i., § 8), it may serve as a record of the beginnings on Palestinian soil of the synagogue, of which Ezra is the traditional founder. (Note the description of the reading and exposition of the Torah by Ezra and the Levite teachers, especially

¹ Ball, *Light from the East*, 17. The opening expression is uncertain (Del. *Weltansch.* 160).
² Cp. Montefiore, *op. cit.* 230.

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the phrase *šāḡ* 'caused [the people] to understand'.

As to what constituted the new popular education, we may safely say that it led up to an accurate knowledge of the sacred history and the Law.

It may be regarded as highly probable also that however prominent was the part taken by the father¹ in the early religious instruction of the child, the mother, as in the earlier period (see above, § 2), and always, exercised an important influence.

'My son' (i.e., my disciple), says a wise man, 'keep the commandment of thy father, and forsake not the instruction (pāp) of thy mother' (Prov. 620; other passages speaking of the *torah* of the mother are 18 623, cp 311-9, which seems to be a poetical embodiment of such). A NT writer refers (2 Tim. 1) to the religious influence exercised on Timothy by his mother and grandmother.

Throughout, it is oral instruction that is presupposed (see esp. Dt. 67). No doubt reading, and in a cursive degree writing, became increasingly important and more widely diffused as time went on (see below, § 19).

The importance of the synagogue, from the educational point of view, lies in its character as a teaching institution.

6. The Synagogue.

ET 451 f.), that 'the main object of the sabbath day assemblies in the synagogue was not public worship in its stricter sense—i.e., not devotion—but religious instruction, and this for an Israelite was, above all, instruction in the Law.' With this agrees the evidence both of Philo and of the NT. The former calls synagogues 'houses of instruction' in which 'the native philosophy' was studied and every kind of virtue taught (*Lit. Mos.* 327); whilst in the latter a characteristic word applied to the activities centred in the synagogue is *didaskēn* (Mt. 423 and often).

The scribes (*šōḡrīm*—i.e., *homines literati*) were, from the Maccabean times onward, 'the real teachers of the people,' and what complete sway

7. The Scribes. they bore over the people's life may be seen from the NT. We must remember, indeed, that the scribes of the Herodian age were in some respects very unlike the earlier scribes; but the point in which the scribes of all ages agreed was their character as teachers.

'Teachers' and 'scholars' are proverbially opposed in 1 Ch. 254 (1 COR. 13). Teachers of the people' (*šōḡrīm*)—i.e., properly, scribes—are mentioned in Daniel (11 33 35 123), and a 'company of scribes' (*šōḡrīm*) in 1 Macc. 712. For the references to the scribes in Eccles. see next section.

Were the 'scribes,' then, the only teachers? The wise men of Proverbs, who cultivated the art of teaching with so much enthusiasm and in 8. The 'Wise.' Prov. 513 are actually called 'teachers' (*šōḡrīm*), were hardly 'scribes.' They were earnestly religious men, who, feeling that 'wisdom' was a practical thing, devoted their energy to instilling it into the minds of the young.

The disciples are to them as their own children (Prov. 1821 3141, and often; cp Ps. 3411 1219); and the teaching which they impart is called 'the words of the wise' (*šōḡrīm*), Prov. 1622 17 1823, Eccles. 917 1211; cp the Mishnaic *šōḡrīm*, applied to the dicta of scribes of a former age.

These sages, no less than the scribes, seem to be regarded as a special guild (Prov. 16 1314 2217 2421 Eccles. 1211), though 'we are left almost entirely in the dark as to the formation and constitution of these societies, the extent and the methods of their investigation' (Kautsch, *Outline of Hist. of Lit. of OT* 151; cp also BDB *Levi*, s.v. *šōḡrīm*). On the other hand, the guild of the 'wise' was already organised in pre-exilic times (see Che. *Job and Solomon*, 123, and elsewhere);

¹ Neh. 77. The same phrase is rendered 'teachers' in Ezra 815 RV.

² According to the later enactments, as soon as a child could speak (i.e., in his third year) he was to be instructed in the Torah by his father (*Yukka*, 42 a). In the Talmudic period the child did not attend the elementary school before his sixth year (*Ketuboth*, 50 a; see further below, § 18).

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in the later period their attitude to the Law, though by no means unsympathetic (see e.g. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 138 f.), was hardly that which would characterise the disciples of Ezra.¹ On the whole it is best, perhaps, to suppose that the *sofirim* and the 'wise' formed two distinct but allied classes in the Persian and the early Greek periods, but that by the time of Ben-Sira the distinction had largely disappeared (so We. *II* 154, n. 1; sage and scribe are identified in Ecclus. 38.4 f.; cp *II* 13 f. 9.14 f. 14.20 f.).

Though distinct, however, the earlier *sofirim* cannot have been uninfluenced by the 'wise'; they may even sometimes have adopted their literary style (see Che. *OT* 338), and in any case were saved from the barren literalism which begins to characterise the scribes of the post-Maccabean age. For the victory of the Law which crowned the Maccabean struggle foreshadowed the close of the OT literature. Contrast, from a literary point of view, the *Tharbane Psalms* of Solomon (written 63 B.C.?) with the canonical Psalms.

Whatever be the true view as to the mutual relation between 'scribes' and 'wise,' the latter played a great part in educational matters during the period under review. Some of the result of their pedagogic experience are enshrined in the Book of Proverbs. These can only be summed up briefly here.

The idea of life as a discipline (*mushe*, *משה*, thirty times in Prov.) is fundamental in the book; 'God educates men and men educate each other' (Holtzmann, quoted in Driver, *Introd.* 424). The foundation of all instruction is emphasised in the precept: 'The fear of Yahweh is the beginning—of the chief part (RVmg)—of knowledge (17.1)'; the instructors of the child are his parents, reverence towards whom is again enforced (1.4-14 2.20 13.1 30.17).

The development of the child's character is to be studied (20.1), and the educational means employed are to be adjusted accordingly.

Among these means the use of the 'rod' is constantly recommended (13.24, 'he that spareth the rod hateth his son'; cp 23.13 f. 29.15 17); but the correction is not to be too strict (19.1 RV), and it is recognised that to an intelligent child a rebuke is of more avail than 'a hundred stripes' (17.10). The sovereign remedy, however, for expelling the innate 'foolishness' of children is the 'rod' (22.15). A 'fool' who does not prove amenable to this treatment seems to have been considered hopeless by the Jewish teachers (27.22, 'even if thou pound a fool in the midst of his fellows thou wilt not remove his foolishness from him' (crit. emend.)), see Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 1361. Cp *For.*

The importance of a good education is repeatedly emphasised. A well-educated child is a joy to his parents (10: 23.24; cp 17.25). In wealthier families (cp Ecclus. 51.23) the child, if he aspired to 'wisdom,' would pass from the parents to professional teachers (5.13)—viz., the sages—who would inculcate the higher teaching current in the circles of the 'wise' (for an account of this see Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 135 f.).

The other great manual of pedagogic principles is the work of Ben-Sira (200-180 B.C.), who in spite of his date and cosmopolitan training seems to have been comparatively uninfluenced by the surrounding Hellenism (for which see below, § 11). As is the case in Proverbs (on which his book is modelled) 'the wisdom of Joshua ben-Sira' or 'Ecclesiasticus' is an ethical manual. The same points are insisted upon as in the earlier book, sometimes with added emphasis.

Thus, e.g., the 'fear of the Lord' is not only 'the beginning of wisdom' (1.1), but also wisdom's fulness (1.10) and crown (1.18). Again, the old reverence for parents is enforced with unmistakable vigour (32.9 f. 27. etc.). 'Wisdom' is to be sought after diligently (6.36): 'If thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear out the steps of his doors.' Cp 8.8 f. 9.13, etc., and *Aboth* 1.4.

Though perhaps there are more direct references to organised religion (e.g., 7.29: 'Fear the Lord with all thy soul; and reverence his priests,' cp 24.23) than in Proverbs, the religious and ethical tone of Ecclesiasticus is distinctly lower. Of this the unbending

¹ On the priestly character of the earliest *sofirim* see We. *Stud. of Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* (91), 131.

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severity recommended towards sons and daughters is an instance (7.23 f. 30.1-11). Among other points that call for mention here are the interesting reference to oral instruction (4.24b), 'instruction by the word of the tongue'; and the disparagement of manual labour, as being inconsistent with the pursuit of knowledge, which cometh by opportunity of leisure' (38.24, with 38.25, however, 'how shall he become wise that holdeth the plough?' contrast 7.53). Among the subjects of his discourse is the etiquette of dining (31.16-21). The important references to the scribes have already been pointed out (§ 8).

The Greek period, which commenced with Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian empire (332 B.C.)

11. Greek influence.

marks the rise of wholly new educational influences. The Palestinian Jews were, however, affected by this far less than their brethren abroad, especially those who became citizens of the new Greek city of Alexandria. Still the reflex influence of the Greek-Egyptian capital (not to speak of the Greek towns that began to grow up on Palestinian soil) must, for nearly a century and a half after 332, have been considerable even in Judaea. Slowly but surely Hellenic ideas penetrated to the centre of Judaism till the crisis that precipitated the Maccabean revolt was reached. In the reaction that followed, Hellenism was so far overcome that it ceased to be dangerous to the root-ideas of Judaism (see ISRAELI, § 3.68 f.).

There is good reason to suppose that during this critical time Greek educational methods found their way to Jerusalem. This may be inferred from the fact that just before the Maccabean rising there was there a *gymnasium ephraim* (1 Macc. 1.14 f. 2 Macc. 14.12). Doubtless, too, the education afforded to his children by the notorious Joseph, son of Tobias (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 46), was of the Greek type. At a later time Herod also probably attended a school of similar character (see below, § 14). A good instance of the ultimate extent and limitations of Greek influence can be seen in the author of Ecclesiasticus, who wrote when Hellenising influence was at its highest in Judaea. In essentials he is untouched by it. Still his emphasizing of leisure as the condition of wisdom (38.24) is distinctly Greek, no less than his comprehensive view of a wise man's culture (39.1-5).

To the questions as to practical details that suggest themselves only hesitating answers can be given. The scribes, doubtless, gave instruction in the

12. Practical details.

synagogues; the *Talmud* speaks of the bells which were rung at the beginning of the lessons (Low, *Die Lebensalter*, 287, 421 [75], quotes *Shabb.* 58b). From Prov. 1.20 f. we might infer that the city-gates or the adjacent city-squares or 'broad places' on which the streets converged, were the places where the wise men awaited their disciples. Perhaps, however, it was in private houses that instruction, both by scribe and by sage, was most often given (cp Ecclus. 6.26 quoted above, § 10, and the other references there given). Regarding the methods employed there is greater uncertainty. Oral instruction (Ecclus. 4.24b) and, probably, frequent repetition, would be in vogue. The use of acrostic (Ps. 119, etc.) and other mnemonic devices, such as *Athbash* (cp Jer. 25.26 51.1) and the 'numerical' proverbs (Prov. 30.11-31, cp *Aboth* 5) also may be assigned to this period.² That reading was a widespread accomplishment at the beginning of the Maccabean age (167 B.C.) appears from 1 Macc. 1.57.

III. *Ben-Shefiah* (75 B.C.) to End of Jewish State (70 A.D.).—The ideal of education is well expressed by Josephus. Contrasting the Israelitish system of culture with that of the Spartans, on the one

13. Third period 75 B.C.-70 A.D.

¹ The reader substitutes for each Hebrew letter in a word a letter from the other half of the alphabet, the letters interchanged being equivalent from the extremes. Thus in English A and Z, B and Y would interchange.

² So Kennedy, as cited, § 24.

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hand, who educated by custom, not by theoretic instruction (*θεωρητικὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν*, *οὐ διδασκαλίαν*), and, on the other, with that of the Athenians and the rest of the Greeks, who contented themselves with theoretic instruction, and neglected practice, he says, 'But our law-giver very carefully combined the two. For he neither left the practice of morals silent, nor the teaching of law unperformed' (c. *Ap.* 216 f. quoted by Schürer). The knowledge and practice of the Law thus set forth was to be the common possession of the whole nation, and the life-work of every Israelite. It began in early youth in the family circle, and continued in the *synagogue*, to which was also attached (for higher studies) the *scribes' college* (Beth ham-midrash; see § 21).¹

We have already seen that the necessity of (orally) instructing the children in the written Law was insisted upon comparatively early (see the exhortations in D enumerated above, § 4). This, as has been pointed out, would be, as a rule, the duty of the parents. From the

14. The elementary school:

great importance attached to the early education of children, however, even in Proverbs (e.g. 22:6)—and this would naturally be enhanced with the elaboration of scribal traditions—it was inevitable that some system of popular elementary education should be organised. When, then, was this effected? According to the Jerusalem Talmud (*Yerushalmi*, 811, p. 32b) it was the work of the famous scribe Simon ben-Shetach, the brother of Queen Alexandra (reigned 78-69 B.C.). Simon's ordinance runs thus: 'That the children shall attend the elementary school' (*וְהַיְתָּבְיָנוּ בְּבֵית הַסֵּפֶר*). It has been pointed out (e.g., by Kennedy, as cited, § 24) that the meaning of the regulation is not free from ambiguity. It may also be interpreted to mean that attendance on schools already existing was henceforth to be compulsory.

In view of the fact that Simon's enactment is the second of three (apparently closely connected) marriage regulations added by him to the statute-book (see the passage in full in Derenbourg, *Hist.* 108), it is natural to suppose that it refers to attendance at existing schools rather than to the institution of such schools for the first time. The context certainly suggests that a hitherto neglected or half-performed duty was to be henceforth rigidly enforced. If, as is possible, for the higher (professional) teaching of the scribes, colleges (*בתי הספר*; see below, § 21) had already come into existence, it is hard to suppose that preparatory schools for these had not been organised already, especially when it is remembered that schools of the Greek type had been established in Jerusalem for a long time (see above, § 11). It is quite in accordance, also, with the forward movement of the Pharisaic party in the reign of Alexandra that measures should have been taken for extending the scope of these schools, and thus more widely diffusing Pharisaic principles among the people (cp. *ISRAEL*, § 80 ff.). May it not, too, have been designed by means of them to check and counteract the more extreme forms of the surrounding Greek education? There seems, therefore, no good reason for rejecting the tradition respecting Simon's efforts on behalf of popular education, though Schürer dismisses the famous scribe's claims with unusual curtneess. 'This Simon ben Shetach,' we are told, 'is quite a meeting-point for all kinds of myths' (*GZ* 1235:1 = *ET* 446). The same scholar following the tradition of the Babylonian Talmud (*Bab. Bathra* 21a) ascribes the complete organisation of the elementary school to Joshua ben-Gamla (Gamaliel), who was high priest about 63-65 A.D.

¹ Unfortunately the earliest Hebrew literature dealing with these subjects (the Mishna), though it contains early material, was not as a whole compiled and written down till the second century A.D. The quotations from the Mishnaic treatise *Pirke Eshra* (cited as *Aboth*) are numbered in this article according to Strack's edition of the Hebrew text.

² Heb. *בית הספר*, *beit ha-sefer* 'House of the Book.' For other names see § 17 end.

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The passage runs as follows: 'Truly may it be remembered to this man's credit! Joshua ben-Gamla is his name. If he had not lived, the Law would have been forgotten in Israel. For at first, he who had a father was taught the Law by him, he who had none did not learn the Law. . . . Afterwards it was ordained, that teachers of boys should be appointed in Jerusalem. . . . But (even this did not suffice, for) he who had a father was sent to school by him, he who had none did not go there. Then it was ordained that teachers should be appointed in every province, and that boys of the age of sixteen or seventeen should be sent to them. But he whose teacher was angry with him ran away, till Joshua ben-Gamla came, and enacted that teachers should be appointed in every province and in every town (*בְּכָל מְדִינָה וּבְכָל עִיר קטנה*), and children of six or seven years old brought to them.'

As the measures of Joshua obviously presuppose that there had been boys' schools for some time (Schürer, *ibid.*) the two traditions are not really inconsistent. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Simon's earlier efforts, especially as regards the provincial schools, had been attended with only partial success, owing to the political and religious troubles of the time. Certainly if Josephus's statement regarding Herod's attendance at school (*Ant.* xv. 105) be correct—though doubtless the school in question conformed to the Greek rather than to the Jewish type—we may fairly infer that sometime before 40 B.C. schools had been instituted, at any rate in the larger towns. That they existed in the time of Jesus, though not as a general and established institution, is admitted by Schürer. It is decidedly curious that the word 'school' should not occur before the NT, and in the NT only once—viz., of the lecture room of a Greek rhetorician at Ephesus (*σχολή*, Acts 19:9).¹ The explanation, probably, is that the school (in both its elementary and its higher forms) was so intimately associated with the synagogue that in ordinary speech the two were not distinguished. The term 'synagogue' included its schools.²

This it is said (*Jalkut Jes.*, § 257) that the synagogues in Jerusalem had each a *beth sepher* and a *beth talmud* (i.e., the lower and the upper divisions of the school).

The statement that Jerusalem was destroyed because schools and school children ceased to be there (*Yababith*, 119), is obviously only a rhetorical way of emphasising the importance attached to the school in the Talmudic period; as also the similar one: 'Jerusalem was destroyed because the instructors were not respected' (*ibid.*). According to the *Jalkut Jes.* (l.c.) Jerusalem, about the same period, possessed 430 schools!

There is no doubt that during the period under review either the synagogue proper (which was to be found in every Jewish town and village of any importance) or a room within its precincts was used for school purposes (the references are *Berakhoth*, 17a, with Rashi, *Talmith*, 23b, *Kiddushin*, 30a).

The teacher's house also was sometimes requisitioned (hence the name *בית המורה* 'teacher's house'—i.e., school; Hamburger). Special buildings also were built as children's schools, but how early is quite uncertain. According to the Targum (*Jerus.* i. Gen. 31:17) the patriarch Jacob erected a college (*בית ספר*) in Succoth!

The classical passage for determining the gradations of the teaching profession is found in the Mishnaic treatise *Sotā* 9:15 (ed. Surenh. 3308; the passage can be seen also in Buxtorf, *Lex.*, ed. Fischer, 378a).

It runs as follows: 'R. Eliezer the Great says: Since the destruction of the Temple the sages (*חכמים*) have begun to be like the scribes (*סופרים*) and the scribes like the master (of the school, *רבי*), and the master like the uneducated.' It has been usual to identify the *hazzan* (master) of the school with the *hazzan* (minister) of the synagogue (*חזן* = *ὁ ὑποπαις* 'minister', *Lk.* 4:20). Thus Buxtorf (l.c.) renders the second clause of the above 'et scriba sicut minister synagoga.' It has been pointed out, however, by the latest writer on the subject

¹ The 'schoolmaster' (*μαθητὴς*, Rom. 2:20) is however mentioned, as well as the 'tutor' (*μαθηγῶνος*), and the 'teacher' (*διδασκαλος*).

² 'Curiously enough in the Latin documents of the Middle Ages the synagogue was also termed *scōla* (school)'; J. Jacobs, *Jewish Synagogue*, 1896, p. 101. So also J. Simon (*L'Éducation des Juifs*), 1896, speaking of the synagogue as it existed in France in the early Middle Ages, says: 'La synagogue était une école avant d'être un lieu de culte. La prière n'avait d'importance que si elle est accompagnée de l'étude.'

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(Kennedy) that "ḥāzin is a word of general application, meaning "overseer," "inspector," or the like; and its exact significance has to be decided by the context." The context of the above passage, as also of the other Mishna passage usually cited in this connection (*Shabbath* 13), in the absence of the qualifying word מַשְׁכִּיל ("syagogue"), requires us to render "overseer" or "master (of the school)." That the two offices were not identical further appears from the fact that, whereas the *ḥāzin* of the synagogue occupied a low position in the social scale (he was a kind of sexton, and his duties included such menial offices as the whipping of criminals) (*Makkoth* 3 12), the *ḥāzan* of the school, being a teacher, would share the social prestige attaching to the teaching profession.

the three grades of teachers, then, are sage and scribe (who taught in the scribes' college), and the elementary teacher officially designated *hazzan* (the general term סופר ספר or סופר alone). From the manner in which the three classes are connected in the above-cited passage Kennedy infers that the *hazzan*, less than the scribe and the sage, belonged to the 'middle' grade of the scribes, called in the NT 'doctors of the law,' νομοδιδασκαλοι.

This would help to explain the fact that 'doctors of the law' or teachers were, according to Lk. (5 17), to be found in 'every village (*κωμὴν*) of Galilee and Judea.' Whilst every village would, with its synagogue, possess an elementary school, it is impossible to suppose that there were colleges for higher teaching in equally large numbers.

16. Their extraordinary honour in which the teaching profession was held in this period is shown by the respectful form of address employed by the people.

The usual formula was: "Rabbi" (רַבִּי, *rabbi*, never a title in NT), 'my great one' = 'my master' (see further under RABBI). *Rab* gradually acquired the meaning 'teacher'. It is thus used in a saying attributed to Jesus ben-Pirachiah (and cent. n.e.g.): 'make unto thyself a *Rab*' (ibid. 1c). In the Mishna *Rab* and *Talmid* are *master* and *scholar* (see e.g., the passage cited below).

In the interview with Nicodemus, Jesus himself recognises the high distinction of the teacher's office (Jn. 3:10): 'Art thou the teacher (*ὁ διδάσκαλος* = *ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγεσίας*) in Israel?'

In later times this was carried to an even greater extent. Thus R. Eliezer (he cent. A.D.) says: 'Let the honour of thy disciple (*Talmid*) be dear unto thee as the honour of thy associate and the honour of thine associate as the fear of thy master (*Rab*); and the fear of thy master as the fear of thy master (*Rab*). The honour to be paid to a teacher even exceeded that due to parents (*Horiyot* 13a). See further on this subject the notes in C. Taylor, *Abot* 2, 71, or Spiers, *School System of the Talmud*, 16 f. (198). I

17. Qualifications, etc. The later rules regarding the *personal qualifications* and *competency* of the teacher are elaborate (see Spiers, *op. cit.*, 3 f.).

For our purpose little can be quoted. According to a saying ascribed to Hillel,¹ piety and learning go together; and an even trimer is essential to a teacher (*Aboth* 25). And according to *1 Tim.* 3: 2 *1 Tim.* 2: 24 *Tit.* 1: 7 an *ἐπισκοπος* should be *διδασκαλός* and not *ὄργυλος* (Taylor *op. cit.* 31). The former of Hillel's maxims may be illustrated also from *Aboth de Rabbi Nithin*, ii.: "Woe to him who is occupied with the Torah and has no fear of God." According to a dictum ascribed to R. Eliezer an unmarried man was not permitted to teach in the schools (*בן חורין לא ילמד בתורה* *אין* *Mishna, Kiddushin* 413). A woman also was ineligible (*ibid.*).

According to the rule of the profession all the work of the scribes, both educational and judicial, was to be *gratuitous*.² 'Make not them (the words of Torah) a crown to glory in; nor an axe to live by' (*4Aboth 4 66*), well expresses the principle. In practice its observance was difficult—perhaps possible only in the case of *judicial* work (cp Mishna, *Betharah 4 6*). It is impossible to suppose that the elementary school teachers in the provinces can have laboured without fee or reward. Paul (1 Cor. 9. 18 etc.) certifies that he laboured.

Paul (1 Cor. 9:3-18 etc.) certainly claimed the right of maintenance from those to whom he preached, though he preferred to live by practising his trade. Similarly the teachers of the Law

¹ In the inscriptions of Tigliath-pileser III. *qazānu* is the regular official designation of the governor of a city. Similarly (governor).
² So the modern teachers at the great Cairo "university" (cf. Azhar). (Che. *Joh and Sol.* 124.)

² "So the modern teachers at the great Cairo "university" [el-Azhar]." (Che. *Joh and Sol.* 124.)

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—especially, perhaps, some of the rich doctors in Jerusalem—hardly have been taught gratuitously. This, however, can usually be learned, and practised a trade. The combination of 'Excellent is Torah study together with worldly business, for Contrast Eccles. 38.25 f.: 'How shall he become wise that holdeth the plough, etc.' See HANDICRAFTS.

In the Aramaic of the period מְרַבֵּּ (= Heb. מֵרַב 'scribe') probably already means 'teacher,' since מְרַבֵּּ בֵּית (i.e., 'house of the teacher') is one of the early names of the elementary school. Cp also 1 Ch. 25:8 Targ. Another—apparently a generic—name for 'schools' in *Syriac* is ܡܪܝܬܐ (ܡܪܝܬܐ). The supposed mention of 'schools' in *Syriac* (Surenh. 3 291) rests upon a mistranslation. The passage states that in the time of Jose (c. 140–130 *bce*) the ܡܪܝܬܐ ceased; but in the time of Jose (c. 140–130 *bce*) the *Schürer*, *op. cit.* 2, § 25 n. 735 (= ET 4 357 n. 135), § 25, iv. n. 16.

18. **Organization.** — *Entrance-age and previous training.* — As to entrance-age the available evidence is unfortunately of too late a date to be of much value for our purpose. The passage usually cited here

The passage usually cited here forms an appendix to *Aboth* (52a), and belongs to the post-Talmudic period (Schürer). It runs as follows:—“At five years old, Scripture (*Scriptura*); at ten, Mishna; at thirteen, the commandments; at fifteen, Talmud; at eighteen, the bridal, etc.” The universal Talmudic rule is expressed in the advice of Rab (Abba Arevā, begin, 3rd cent. A.D.) to the elementary school-master: “Do not receive a boy into school before his sixth year” (*Kethuboth* 50a).

A certain amount of instruction had, however, been given in the earlier period by the father, from whom the child would learn to repeat the first verse of the *Shema* (Dt. 64), and other short sentences of Scripture (*Bibbi Ruthra* 21 a, *Sukka* 42 a). Though the Law was not in the strict sense binding upon children they were accustomed to its requirements from an early age.

Thus, according to the Mishna, the elders were to enjoin upon children sabbath observance (*Shabbath* 16c); one of two years before the legal age fasting preparatory to the requirements of the Day of Atonement was to be begun (*'Ama* 8a). Children were bound to the usual prayer (an earlier form of the *Sh'moneh 'Esreh*), and to grace at table (*ברכה* ארבע, *Birkath* 3b).

The utilisation of certain rites, within the domestic circle, for educating the child's religious consciousness is already a feature of the pentateuchal precepts (Ex. 12:20 f. 138, passover; cp. Dt. 6:20, Josh. 46).¹ This was also extended to public worship. Boys had to be present at the tenderest age in the Temple at the chief festivals (*Chag. 1:1*); a boy who no longer needs his mother² must observe the feast of tabernacles (*Sukkā 28*). At the first signs of puberty (*Niddā 6:1*) the young Israelite was bound to the strict observance of the Law, and henceforth was (what in the later period was called) a *Bar-mizvāh* (בר מצוה, i.e., subject to [son of] legal requirements [the commands]).

19. Subjects of Study. of it in the synagogue—a privilege which was open to any competent Israelite (cp. 1.k. 4.6 f.)—it follows that reading was one of the principal subjects of instruction in the elementary school (cp. Acts 15:21). Writing also was taught.

With this agrees the testimony of Josephus, who says: 'He (Moses) commanded to instruct children in the elements of knowledge (*παρματὰ* - the elements of knowledge, reading and writing),² to teach them to walk according to the laws, and to know the deeds of their forefathers' (*cf. Ap. 112*; for other passages see Schürer, *op. cit.* 2, 357 [ET 447 f.]).

It must be remembered, however, that writing, being a much more difficult art than reading, would be less widely diffused.

¹ The questioning by the child, only in an expanded form, is still a feature of the Passover rite. Cp *The Revised Haggadah*, ed. A. A. Green, 27.

² It may be inferred from I.k. 242 that those who dwell at a distance from Jerusalem would not take part in the pilgrimages till their twelfth year.

³ In Jn. 7:15 *γραμματα* means (*sacred*) *book learning* (especially as pursued by the scribes; cp *γραμματεὺς*) rather than the elements of learning. Cp Acts 21:24.

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The 'swift writer' of the Psalmist (פֶּזֶז, Ps. 45:1 [2]) no doubt belonged to a learned class. In the period of the Mishna also, the 'writers' evidently formed a special guild, something like that of the 'scrivener' of the Middle Ages (cp. *Shabbath* 12 where 'the writer' [פֶּזֶז] = *libellarius*) 'with his reed' [פֶּזֶז = *calamus*] is mentioned. Such a statement, therefore, as that during the Bar-Kokhba revolt the cry of the school youth in Bethar was: 'If the enemy comes against us we will go up against them with these writing stylis in order to poke on their eyes' (*Gittin* 60a), must be read critically.

Probably the elements of arithmetic also were taught in the elementary school.

See Ginsburg in Kittel, *Bibl. Cyc.*, art. 'Education,' and note that a knowledge of the *arithmetical* method of exegesis called *gematria* (גִּמְטְרִיָּה = *gematria*) is presupposed on the part of his readers by the writer of Rev. 13:17f. See NUMBERS.

As the name *House of the Book* implies, the one text-book of the schools was the sacred writings; and this to a Jew meant—and means—above all else the Pentateuch, which has always enjoyed a primacy of honour in the Jewish canon. That the rest of the OT also was read and studied is shown (to take an instance) by the large use made of the prophetic literature and of the Psalms, for popular purposes, in the pages of the NT.

Not improbably instruction in the Law at this period (as later) commenced with Leviticus, acquaintance with which would be important to every Jew when the Temple sacrifices were actually offered. When these had ceased the reason given for beginning with Leviticus was a fanciful one ('Sacrifices are pure, and children are pure [from sins]; let the pure be occupied with that which is pure' *Midr. sh. Rabbai*).

Great care was evidently taken that the texts used—at any rate of the Pentateuch—should be as accurate as possible (cp. Mt. 5:18, *Pesachim*, 112a; and note that the LXX conforms to the received Hebrew text in the Pentateuch more strictly than elsewhere). This care would extend, too, to the reading aloud of the Sacred Books, accuracy of pronunciation, etc., being insisted on; the books themselves were, of course, read (as in the public services) in the original 'sacred tongue' (Hebrew), though the language of everyday life in Palestine was already Aramaic, which was employed (in the synagogues) in interpreting the sections of Scripture there read (see TENSE).

Though it is evident from the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 112) that the systematic study of foreign languages formed no part of a Palestinian Jew's regular education, the fact that, during this period, the population of Palestine outside Judaea was without exception of a mixed character, consisting of Jews, Syrians, and Greeks intermingled, whilst Jerusalem itself was constantly being visited by foreign-speaking Jews and proselytes (cp. Acts 25:7), who even had their own synagogues in the Holy City (Acts 6:9), makes it practically certain that Greek at least cannot have been altogether unfamiliar to the (Aramaic-speaking) Judaeans (cp. HELLENISM, § 3).

For the abounding indications of indirect Greek influence on Jewish life of the NT and earlier period see Schürer, 226f. (ET 329f.). On the question discussed above, his conclusion is, 'it is probable that a slight acquaintance with Greek was pretty widely diffused, and that the more educated classes used it without difficulty.' It should be noted that the inscription on the cross was written in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek (Jn. 19:20). According to tradition (*Sanh.* 17a) a knowledge of Greek was essential in order to qualify for membership of the sanhedrin. Possibly Hebrew with an admixture of Greek words (cp. the language of the Mishna) was still spoken in learned circles. To illustrate the later estimation of Greek two quotations must suffice: 'What need,' says Rabbi (i.e., Judah the Holy, Compiler of the Mishna, 2nd cent. A.D.), 'has one in Palestine to learn Syriac (i.e., Aramaic, the language of the country)? One should learn either Hebrew or Greek' (*Sanh.* 47a). 'The Torah may be translated only into Greek, because only by Greek can it be adequately rendered' (*Jerus. Megillah* 12).

Both the extent and the limits of Greek influence on

1 The reader substitutes for a word another the sum of the numerical values of whose letters is the same. Thus 666 = Caesar Nero (קַיִסָר נְרוֹ).

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Palestinian Jewish life can be very well illustrated by the Jewish view of games, gymnastics, etc. (see HELLENISM, § 5). It is well known that the erection of a gymnasium in Jerusalem by the Hellenisers in the Maccabean period called forth the indignant protest of the strict party (see above, § 11). This continued to be the attitude of legal Judaism, even Josephus denouncing the theatre and amphitheatre as un-Jewish (*Ant.* xv. 81). In time, however, even the most pious modified this rigid puritanism, and tales are actually told of the gymnastic skill of famous Rabbis (e.g., Simon ben-Gamaliel, *Sukka*, 58a). The bath, originally a Greek institution, became entirely naturalized, and was given a Hebrew name (בֵּית הַמִּיֶּדֶה). We even find a Talmudic precept enjoining every father to teach his son swimming (*Kiddushin*, 29a).

The characteristic method both of teaching and of learning was *constant repetition*. Hence **20. Methods of Study, etc.** פֶּזֶז, prop. to *repeat*, comes to mean both to *teach* and to *learn* (see above, § 3).

The following dictum is ascribed to R. Akiba (2nd cent. A.D.): 'The teacher should strive to make the lesson agreeable to the pupils by clear reasons, as well as by frequent repetitions, until they thoroughly understand the matter, and are able to recite it with great fluency' (*Erubin* 54b). 'The pupil was to repeat the lesson aloud: "Open thy mouth that the subject of thy study may abide with thee and live" (*Erubin*, 54a).

Oral instruction is often referred to in NT—e.g., in Rom. 2:13; cp. 1k. 14 (cp. CATECHISE). In Jerome's time (4th cent. A.D.) Jewish children in Palestine had to learn by heart the alphabet in the regular and the reverse order. He reproaches the Pharisees with always repeating, never reflecting.

Jerome notes the remarkable powers of memory thus developed: 'In childhood they acquire the complete vocabulary of their language, and learn to recite all the generations from Adam to Zerubbabel with as much accuracy and facility, as if they were simply giving their names' (see S. Krauss in *JQR* 62:1 f., where the ref. are given). The 'endless genealogies' of 1 Tim. 1:4 may be a further illustration (but see GENEALOGIES i., § 4, second note). Repetition with fellow scholars is recommended (*Ta'mith* 7a). In teaching, mechanical devices for assisting the memory were used (*Memoria technica*; cp. Mishna, *Shiklun* v., and elsewhere, and Buxt. *Lec.* [ed. Fischer, 677b], s.v. מִשְׁכָּל).

The idiosyncrasy of the pupil was to be considered (Prov. 22:6, *Abôth Zûrâ* 19a). Instruction was to be methodical and given with a high sense of responsibility (*Pesachim* 3a, and *Abôth* 31).

Regarding *school discipline* the later rules are elaborate. Perhaps the following may be mentioned. Partiality on the part of the teacher was to be avoided (*Ta'mith* 24a). Punctuality is insisted upon (*Kethubôth* 111b). Punishments were mild, the Rabbinical rules in this respect showing a marked advance on the ideas of Ben-Sira. Thus reliance in the case of older scholars who proved refractory was placed in the chastening effect of the public opinion of class-fellows (*Bibbi Bathri* 21a). In the case of young children, when punishment was necessary it was to be administered with a strap (*ibid.*).

The pedagogic ideal of the period was realised in R. Eliezer—a preceptor of R. Akiba—who is compared to 'a plastered cistern that loseth not a drop' (*Abôth* 28b).

That the usual position of the scholar was on the ground, facing the teacher, appears from Acts 22:3 (*παρὰ τοῖς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ*).

Cp. 1k. 24:10, 39, and the saying ascribed to R. Jose: 'Let thy house be a meeting-place for the wise; and powder thyself in the dust of their feet' (*Abôth* 14). Benches (בֵּנְיָן = *benethin*) were a later innovation (*Berakoth*, 28a). In some cases it would be convenient for teacher or taught to stand (Acts 13:16 Mt. 13:2); but this was not the rule. These remarks largely apply to the scribal college.

Besides the elementary school there were also colleges for higher training, where those who were to devote

21. Scribes' Colleges. themselves to the study of the Law (both written and oral) attended (בֵּית הַסֵּפֶר).

Bêth ham-midrash, 'house of study'; another name is בֵּית מִדְרָשׁ (*Megilla* 28a). These, too, were usually attached (at any rate when the system had been developed) to the synagogues. No doubt they grew out of assemblies in private houses (cp. *Abôth* 14 cited above), which probably still continued to be used in some cases for this purpose. In Jerusalem the temple (i.e., the colonnades or some other space of the

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outer court) was often so utilised (Lk. 246 Mt. 2123 etc.). Thus the famous scribes and 'doctors of the law' taught, their instruction being chiefly catechetical—a method which has left its impress upon the style of the Mishna. Questions, asked and answered by teacher and disciple alike, counter-questions, parables, debates, allegories, riddles, stories—such were the methods employed. They throw an interesting light on NT forms of teaching.

Thus (for instance) the Rabbinic parables, like those of the NT, are commonly introduced by some such formula as 'To what is the matter like?' (מָה דְּמִיּוּתָא). The fuller consideration of these and other points (e.g., the extent of the studies pursued in the Beth Hammidrash) belongs to the article *Sermons* (p. 27).

What has been said above applies exclusively to boys. For the education of girls no public provision was made.

22. Education of Girls. From birth to marriage they remained under the mother's care. With their brothers they would learn these simple lessons in morality and religion which a mother knows so well how to instil. Special care would, of course, be given to their training in the domestic arts; but the higher studies (both sacred and secular) were considered to be outside a woman's sphere. Reading, however, and perhaps writing, were taught to girls, and they were made familiar with the written, but not the oral, law. Strangely enough, too, they were apparently encouraged to acquire a foreign language, especially Greek (*J. Pe'ah* 26). That great importance was attached to girls' education from an early period appears from Ecclus. 724 f., 2610 f., 429 f.

Above all, the ideal of Jewish womanhood was that of the virtuous (or capable) wife, actively engaged in the management of her household, and in the moral and religious training of her children (Prov. 3110-29).

It must not be supposed that the system of education sketched above was the only one to be found in Palestine during the period. As has already been pointed out, there were doubtless Jewish as well as Greek-speaking centres within the Holy Land where schools of the Greek type flourished. Among the Jewish communities abroad, too, which doubtless possessed schools with their synagogues, Greek influence would be especially felt. Still, in all Jewish centres the dominant note was the same. Education was almost exclusively religious. Its foundation was the text of Scripture, and its highest aim to train up its disciples in the fear of God which is based upon a detailed knowledge of the Law. The noble precept 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old he will not depart from it' (Prov. 226) is re-echoed, in more prosaic language, in the Talmud: 'If we do not keep our children to religion while they are young, we shall certainly not be able to do so in later years' (*Yomā* 82a). The means by which this could be accomplished—as the Jewish teachers were the first to perceive—was a system of definite religious training in the schools.

In thus endowing its children with a possession which lived in intellect, conscience, and heart, Judaism entrenched itself within an impregnable stronghold. For it is undoubtedly the love of sacred study, instilled in school and synagogue, that has saved the Jewish race from extinction. The beautiful saying, attributed to R. Judah the Holy: 'The world exists only by the breath of school-children,' has its justification—at any rate as regards the Jewish world—in the later history of the Jewish people.

On the subject generally the following works may be referred to: Oehler, 'Pädagogik d. AT,' in Schmid's *Encyclopädie d. gesamten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswissenschaften*, vol. 5; Hamburger, *Relig.* 96 (reprint), vol. 1, art. 'Erziehung';

24. Bibliography. 'Lehrer,' 'Lehrhaus,' 'Schule,' 'Schüler,' 'Unterricht,' etc. (a mine of information, but mainly for the later period); Schüler, *GIP* 2, 205 ff., 'Die Schriftgelehrsamkeit' (ET, Div. II, vol. 1, § 25), 2410 ff., 'Schule und Synagoge' (ET, Div. II, vol. 2, § 27, where the literature is given); Ginsburg in Kittó's *Bibl. Cyclop.*, art. 'Education' (conservative, but

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useful and interesting); to which may now be added A. R. S. Kennedy's art. 'Education,' cited above, in Hastings' *DB*. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chap. 2, 'Infancy and Early Education,' contains valuable illustrative matter. The subject is also discussed in Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, etc. (chaps. 7 ff.), *Life and Times of Jesus*, etc. 1225 f., and *History of the Jewish Nation* (ed. White), 277 f. [96], (Jewish philosophy, art, and science are also fully discussed in this volume); Laurie, *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, 69-105 [95]; L. Löw, *Die Lebensalter in d. jüd. Literatur*, 130 f. [75]; and S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 343 f. The relevant sections in Beninger and Nowack (*HA*), also, should not be overlooked.

Of monographs and special treatises the following are the most important: J. Lewit, *Darstellung d. theoretischen u. praktischen Pädagogik in jüd. Altertum*, '96; E. van Gelder, *Die Volksschule d. jüd. Altertums*, '92; J. Simon, *L'Education et l'instruction des enfants chez les Anciens Juifs*, '81; Seidel, *Ueber die Pädagogik d. Propheten*, '75 (with which compare Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*); M. Duschak, *Schulgesetzgebung und Methodik d. alten Israeliten*, '72.

For the Talmudic period (in English) Spiers, *The School System of the Talmud*, '98, may be mentioned. There are many books on Jewish education of this later period (see Strack, *Einl. in den Talmud*, 123 titles). Other references have been given in the body of the present article.

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EGG (עֶגֶב), Dent. 226; see FOWLS, § 4. SCORPION.

EGLAH (עֵגְלָה, 'young cow,' § 68; אֵגְלָה [AL]; in 2 S. אֵגְלָה [B], -אֵגְלָה [A]; in 1 Ch. אֵגְלָה [B], עֵגְלָה [L]; אֵגְלָה [Jos.]). Mother of David's son ITHREAM (p. 21). 2 S. 35 1 Ch. 33. It is doubtful whether 'wife of David' in 2 S. 35 is correct or not. 'David' might be a scribe's error for some other name; Abigail (p. 3) is called 'wife of Nabal' (her first husband). So Wellhausen, Driver, Budde. According to a late exegetical tradition, however (see Jer. *Quest. Hebr.* on 2 S. 35 623, and Lag. *Proph. Chald.* p. xviii.), Eglah was Michal, daughter of Saul, David's first wife. This view is also that of Theinius and Klostermann, and is plausible. To stop short here, however, would be impossible. No early writer would have written Eglah meaning Michal. The most probable explanation is suggested by 2 Ch. 1113. עֵגְלָה is a corruption of אֵבִיחַיִל, 'Abihail,' the name given to the mother of JERIMOTH (p. 21), or rather Ithream, ben David, in 2 Ch. 11c. We now understand עֵגְלָה's reading אֵגְלָה (אֵגְלָה?) in 2 S. 35, and can do justice to the late Jewish tradition respecting Eglah. For almost certainly אֵבִיחַיִל ('Michal') also is a corruption of אֵבִיחַיִל, 'Abihail.' See ITHREAM, MICHAL.

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EGLAIM (עֵגְלַיִם), probably 'place of a reservoir?'—or a softened form of עֵגְלַיִם on form of name see NAMES, § 107—אֵגְלַיִם [B], -אֵגְלַיִם [SAQ], G. ELLIM, a town of Moab (Is. 158), mentioned together with BEER-ELIM in such a way as to suggest that it lay on the S. frontier. Beer-elim, however, should rather be read 'in Elenah' (close to the N. frontier). Eglaim must therefore have been on the S. border, and Eusebius and Jerome identify it with אֵגְלַיִם (Agallim), a village 8 R. m. S. from Areopolis (*OS*, 22861 9810). T. K. C.

EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH (עֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּה), mentioned in the RV of the prophecy against Moab, Is. 155 (אֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּה . . . תְּרִיֶּחֶס [BNAQT]) Jer. 4834 (אֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּה [B], om. N^o, א. עֵיִס אֵגְלַת [N^o], -אֵיִס [AQ], אֵגְלַת [A], אֵגְלַת [Q]). The rendering adopted by Graf and others 'the third Eglath' implies that there were three places of this name near together. Whether such a title as 'the third Eglath' is probable in a poem the reader may judge. Duhm and Marti take the words to be an insertion from Jer. 11c; Cheyne, however (see LUTHEI), supposes עֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּה to be a corruption of עֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּה, 'the ascent of EGLAIM [p. 21], cancelling as a dittogram 'the ascent of LUTHEI [p. 21]. According to the rendering of AV and of RV²² ('an heifer of three years') the crying of Moab is compared to a thwarted heifer, one which in its third year is on the point of being broken in; others regard 'heifer' as a meta-

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phonical description of Zoar (ep Hos. 10.11); but one expects *עֵגְלוֹן*, cp Gen. 15.9.¹

EGLON (עֵגְלוֹן, § 77; cp EGLAH, EGLAIM, ΕΓΛΩΜ [BAL.], the king of Moab, who oppressed Israel for eighteen years. He was finally killed by the Benjamite EPHRAIM (i. 11), who at the head of his tribesmen destroyed all the Moabites W. of Jordan (Judg. 3.12-20). That Moab was aided by Ammon and Amalek is probably an exaggeration due to D.; cp Ba. Ki Sa. 99. From the fact that Eglon seized Jericho (v. 13) it is often assumed (cp e.g., Jos.) that this was the scene of his assassination. This, however, does not agree with the finale, and since Gilgal lies between Jericho and the fords of Moab, we must assume from v. 18 f. 26 that his residence was E. of Gilgal, most probably in Moab. See JUDG. 3. 16 (beg.); SEIRATHI.

EGLON (עֵגְלוֹן; *ΕΓΛΩΜ* commonly *ΟΔΟΛΛΑΜ*; *ΕΓ* in Josh. 10.36 12.12 15.39, *ΕΓΛΩΜ*), a town in the Shēphēlah of Judah, mentioned with Lachish and Bozkath (Josh. 15.10 *ΙΕΞΑΔΑΛΕΑ* [BA]). Delor, its king, joined the league against Joshua which was headed by ADONIZEDIK

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[7.7], and perished with the other kings (Josh. 10.1-37 [v. 5 *οδολλαχ* (A); v. 36 BA om.]; cp 12.12 a. 1 [B], *εγλωμ* [F], *μ* [A]). That Adullam takes its place in Josh. 10 is plainly a mistake, which has led Eusebius and Jerome astray (OS 253.45 118.21). The name of Eglon survives in that of *ʿAjlān*, 16 m. NE. of Gaza, and 2 m. N. of Tell el-Hesi (LACHISH). On this site, however, there is very little extent of artificial soil, very little pottery, and what there is shows Roman age.² On the other hand, there is a *tell*, 3½ m. S. of Tell el-Hesi, the site of which Petrie considers only second in importance to that of Tell el-Hesi, and, though he has not explored it, he pronounces it to be the ancient Eglon. So far as can be seen on the surface, *Tell Nejileh* (so it is called) is of the same age as Tell el-Hesi, though it may have been ruined earlier (PEFO, '90, p. 162). Unluckily, however, it is wholly covered with an Arab cemetery (Flinders Petrie PEFO, '90, p. 226). Tell 'Ajlān may represent the ruins of a later town, built after the overthrow of the ancient city; this is a suggestion which may or may not be confirmed by excavation.

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The name used by us, after the example of the classic nations,³ for the country on the banks of the Nile, seems to have been really the designation of the capital Memphis—*Ḥet(t)-ka-ptah*, cuneiform *Ḥikubta* (*Am. Tab.* nos. 53. 37), translated *Ἰψασσία*=Egypt—and more primitively that of its

chief temple (see Noph).² On the Semitic name³ see MIZRAIM, § 1. Poetical names in the OT are Rahab and 'land of Ham' (see RAHAB, HAM, i.).

The Egyptians themselves called their country *Kēmet*,⁴ Coptic *KHME* or *KHME*⁵ (Northern Coptic *KHMI*)—i.e., 'the black country'—from its black soil of Nile mud, in contrast with the surrounding deserts, the *deśert* or 'red country'. This etymology is given correctly by Plutarch (*De Iside* 23. *χρῖμα = μελαγγειος*; see also *Ἐμποχίμος*, Steph. Byz., by the side of *μελαμβωλος*). Poetic names were, e.g., (*P*) *to-mere*, '(the) land of inundation' (Steph. Byz. *Ἡριμπος*, equal to *Δέλτα*, in later time *Beket* (perhaps 'land of the *baket* shrub'). The most common designation was, however, simply 'the two countries,' *tom*,⁶ referring to the division of Egypt into S. and N. country (see below, § 43).

Egypt is situated in the NE. corner of Africa; but the ancients reckoned it more frequently to Asia than

2. **Land.** to 'Libya'—i.e., Africa. It lies between N. lat. 31° 35' (the Mediterranean) and 24° 4' 23' (the first cataract at Asuān). Longitudinally its limits may be taken as from Solum, 28° 50' E., to Rhinocolura, the modern el-'Arish (see EGYPT, RIVER OF), 33° 50' E.; but the limits of cultivable ground

1 The mod. 'Ajlān occurs frequently to the E. of Jordan (cp EGLAIM).

2 First proposed by Brugsch, *Geog. Inschriften*, 1.73.83. For the manifold senseless etymologies from Greek, Semitic, etc., see the classical dictionaries, s.v. Cp also Reinisch, *SBW* 30.307.3047. On the names of Egypt.

3 It occurs in hieroglyphics only in names of foreigners, such as *Mu-za-a-t*—i.e., *Misrai* (*Rec. de Trav.* 1462).

4 Brugsch's *Dict. Géog.* (1877-80) contains the names of Egypt, its divisions, cities, etc. (to be used with caution; his *Geographische Inschriften*, 1867, is antiquated).

5 Absolutely unconnected with Noah's son HAM (7.7. 1).

1 See Dietrich in *Mexs, Archiv*, 1.342 ff.
2 Repertories for Egypt in general are Jolowicz, *Biblioth. Aeg.* 1338-41, and Prince Ibrahim Hilmy, *The Lit. of Egypt and the S. Idm.* 1886-88. The current literature is given in the following journals must be consulted: *Zt. f. Aeg. Sprache u. Altertumskunde* (Leipzig), *Revue de trav. rel. à la philol. et arch. Egypt. et Assyri.* (here cited as *Rec. trav.*), and *Rec. Egypt.* (Paris), and *Sphinx* (Upsala). In England, scattered contributions, especially in *TSBA* and *Archaeologia*, etc. On the monuments of Egypt, the memoirs of the Mission Française au Caire, of the Egypt Exploration Fund (through which also the admirable 'Archaeological Survey of Egypt' has been set on foot) and Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Egypt Research Accounts*, as also the *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions*, (Morgan), are in progress of publication. Of older works, Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aeg. u. Aeth.* (1849-58, a large and beautiful publication), Rosellini, *Monumenti dell' Egitto*, etc. (1842-44, faithful), Champollion, *Monumenti dell' Egitto*, etc. (*Notice Manuscrite* as supplement), also the publications of the Museums at London (*Select Papyri*, etc., ed. by Birch), Leiden (Rosi), Bulak (Mariette), are most useful for illustrations and in part quite antiquated, and, generally, hardly anything earlier than Champollion continues to be of use. Philological studies very quickly become antiquated owing to the rapid progress of the young science. So far, none of the popular books on Egypt in relation to the Bible can be recommended (this is true of Brugsch, *Steininschriften und Bibelwort*, 1891). *F. vers. Aeg. u. die Bücher Moses*, 1882 (antiquated), was never completed. An Egyptological counterpart to *KAT* is promised. Here only preference often being given to the less highly specialised works, and those written in English or translated into it.
3 *Αἴγυπτος* (*Aeg.* *Ἰgyptus*) occurs first in Homer, where it denotes, as a feminine noun, the country, as a masculine, the river Nile.

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would rather fix the frontier at about $32^{\circ} 32'$ (the site of ancient Pelusium). It is not correct to include in Egypt the large deserts of stone and sand lying on both sides, or even the N. parts of the Sinaitic peninsula—regions of more than 1,000,000 sq. m., which are wandered over by only a few foreign nomads. Egypt is, strictly, only the country using Nile water, N. of Seneh (Asuân), as it was correctly defined even by Herodotus (2.18). If we reckon only cultivable ground (Nile Valley and Delta), Egypt has an area of not much more than 13,000 square miles.¹

The extent of land really under cultivation changes continually. Under the bad government of the Mamliks in 1797, it

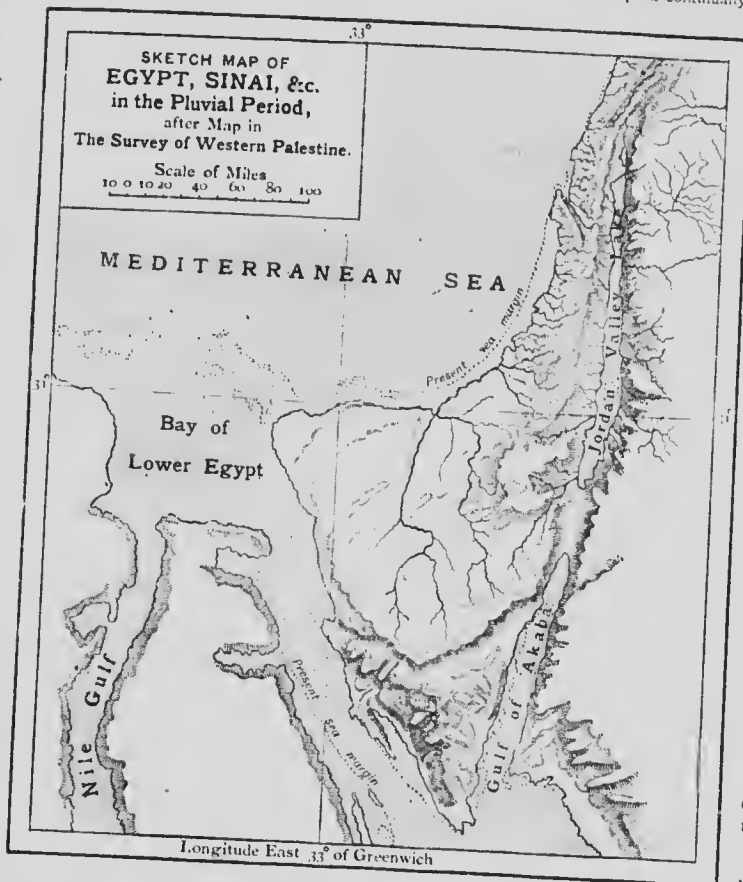
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Nile, is correct (see the accompanying sketch-map; fig. 1); but it is an exaggeration to place this process within historic time.¹ As far as our historical knowledge goes, the country has always been the same; the yearly deposits have raised the bed of the Nile slightly. (On exaggerations of the fact that the river had formerly a greater volume of water than now, see below, § 7, note.)

The fact that the level, *etc.*, of ancient Alexandria is now below that of the sea is to be ascribed to a sinking of the sandy north coast. The Birkus and Menzaleh Lakes are indeed, in part, recent formations, caused by the influx of the sea, although the Edku and Maryû (Mareotis) lakes are old, and ancient inscriptions speak continually of the 'swamplands,' *marôit*, *Nabou* (Herod.) *Néou* (Ptol.) in the N. Strabo knows the Bahrî lakes.

The substratum of the Northern Nile valley and the characteristic stone of the tableland of the Libyan (Western)² desert is limestone in different formations; the material of the great pyramids is tertiary nummulitic limestone. The valley is shut in by limestone crags, about 300 ft. in height, which sometimes come very near to the river. Above Edfu, the sandstone formation that prevails through Nubia begins, forming also the first natural frontier of Egypt, the mountain-bar at Silsileh. This quartzite stone furnished the excellent material used for most of the ancient temples. The first cataract at Aswân is the result of the river being crossed by a bar of red granite, syenite, and other rock, from which the famous obelisks were taken. The Eastern (Arabian) desert is of varying formation, full of mountains which rise in part to a height of over 6000 ft. (The highest point is Jebel Ghârih.) See geological map (no. 3) facing col. 1207 f.

These mountains furnished the rich material for the finer sculptures (the ancient Egyptians—diorite (near Hammâm), dark red porphyry (Jebel Dokhân, 6000 ft.), black granite, alabaster (near Asyût), and basalt. Limestones (Jebel Zabâra) and gold (Wady 'Allâkî) were also found there, but few useful metals (there were some iron and insignificant copper mines in Nubia). In antiquity, therefore, metals were imported. Other



was estimated at 5469 sq. m.; recently, over 11,000 were assumed as cultivable, of which 9460 were really in cultivation. The census of 1887 gave 20,842 sq. kil. (12,913 sq. m.) as arable, of which Upper Egypt (some parts of Nubia even being included) has the smaller half. In antiquity, the amount was certainly not more, probably less.

The surrounding deserts make access to Egypt difficult, and explain its somewhat isolated history. The shape of the country may be likened to that of a fan with a long handle. The handle, Upper Egypt, from Memphis to Syenê, is a narrow valley, averaging 12 m. in width (near Thebes, only 2½-4 m.).

The view of ancient writers that Egypt north of Memphis, the so-called Delta (from its form, like an inverted Gr. Δ), was originally a gulf of the sea and was filled in by the deposits of the

¹ The total area of Belgium is 11,373 square miles, of the Netherlands 17,648, and of Switzerland 15,976. See the *Statesman's Year Book*.

² Cp. 'Report on Boring Operations in the Nile Delta,' *Proc. Roy. Soc.* '07, p. 32. The Royal Society carried out borings in the Delta to try to get down to the bed rock. At Zakânîk they reached 345 feet or 319 feet below sea-level without striking solid rock. At 115 feet there was a noteworthy change. Below that depth was a mass of coarse sand and shingle, with one band of yellow clay at 151 feet; above 115 feet it was blown sand and alluvial mud. Totally different conditions must have prevailed when these shingle beds were laid down. They are the product of ordinary fluvial action. The geological age of these shingle beds is not yet determined. The pebbles of which they are composed all belong to the rocks found *in situ* in the Nile Valley. The coast at the mouth of the Nile appears to be sinking, the coasts in the Gulf of Suez to be rising.

² Cp. Zittel, *Geol. der ägyptischen Wüste*, 83.

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minerals, such as salt, alum, natron (this from the Naḡrūn valley S. of Alexandria), come more from the Libyan desert.

The Oases (*awāḡis*, Egyptian *waḡh*, modern Arabic *waḡh*, meaning unknown) of the Libyan desert are depressions in this barren table-land where the water can come to the surface and create vegetation. See maps after cols. 1240 and 1208.

Their present names (from N. to S.) are: (1) Siwah (Oasis of Amon; perhaps also called *seḫet amu*, 'date-held'; but this is quite doubtful), very far to the west; (2) Bahariye, the small oasis; (3) Farafra (*Toche*, 'cowland'); (4) Dakhla (*Zasas*); (5) The Great Oasis, now called 'the exterior oasis', el-Khāriqeh (anciently Heb. Hibis, or the Southern Oasis).

In ancient times these islands in the desert belonged politically to Egypt (from Dyn. 18?); but their inhabitants were Libyans and became Egyptianised only later. The population of the remote oasis of Amon, however, although it adopted the Egyptian cult of Amon, remained purely Libyan, and has retained to the present day the Libyan (Berber) language.

The population of these five oases is, at present, about 85,000. The Faiyūm also (see below, § 50) is really an oasis. On the Wādī Tūmā, see GOSHEN I.; on the Faiyūm, below, § 50.

The climate is extremely hot, but has great changes, especially during the night. The ancient Egyptians prayed that after death, as in life, they might have the 'cool north wind,' considering this the greatest comfort. This wind blows in summer for six months. On the other hand, at intervals during the fifty days preceding the summer solstice, there blows a terrible hot wind, now called *Ḥamsin* (i.e., 'fifty'), full of sand from the Western desert. At most other times, proximity to the deserts renders the air very dry and salubrious. The yearly inundation has dangers which explain why so frequently, from the time of Moses onwards, the plague has found a home in Egypt (Am. 4.10). Eye diseases caused by the abundant dust were, and are, very common.

The Nile, the only river of Egypt, seems to have its present name (Gk. Νεῖλος) from the Semitic *nahal* (נָחַל, 'stream,' this designation (**nehel*)¹ being probably due to the Phœnicians. The Egyptians called it *Ḥāpi* (ḥwḥ, of uncertain etymology);² in poetry *uēru* ('the great one'); but in the vernacular language it was simply 'the river' *y-tor* (later—after 2000 B.C.—pronounced *ye-or*, *yo-or*), or else 'the great river' *ye(t)-er-o*, *yo(r)-o*, Coptic *εἰεπο*. Of the last two expressions the former became in Hebrew נָחַר, whilst the second, according to the N. Egyptian pronunciation (i.e., *εἰεπο*), is found in the Assyrian *Yarku*, 'Nile.' On the Heb. name *Shihor*, and on the phrase 'the river of Egypt,' see SHIHOR, and EGYPT, RIVER OF.

This river is the second longest in the world³ (its source now being assumed at 3° S. lat.; for the whole course of the river see map 2, on opposite page), although not so majestic and voluminous (1300 ft. wide at Thebes, 2600 at Asyūt) as some shorter rivers. It forms the principal characteristic of Egypt, 'the gift of the Nile' (Herod.). The Egyptians believed that it sprang from four sources at the twelfth gate of the nether-world, at a place described in ch. 146 of the Book of the Dead, and that it came to light at the two whirlpools of the first cataract, the so-called *Kerti* (κρῶφι and *μῶφι*, Herod.). Even in the latest times, when they knew the course of the river beyond Khartūm,⁴ their theology still held that primitive view.

The Nile divides N. of Memphis. Of the seven branches, however, which once formed the Delta (see large map after col. 1240), only two are really

¹ The asterisk indicates a conjectural form.
² Later theology combined it with the Apis (Hapi) bull. He was allowed to drink only from wells, not from the Nile.
³ Perthes, *Taschen-Atlas*, statistical tables.
⁴ But hardly the source from the 'mountain of the moon,' known in Roman times.
⁵ Viz., the first and the third, counting from the west—continued, however, in their lower portions, in the channels of the second and the fourth respectively. The latter, the Bolbitic

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left, the rest being more or less dried up. A branch (now called Bahr-Yūsuf),¹ losing itself in the Libyan desert, forms the oasis of the Faiyūm in Middle Egypt.

The annual inundation is produced by the spring rains in the Abyssinian highlands and the melting of the mountain snow, which cause an immense increase of the Eastern or Blue Nile (now el-Bahr el-Azrak, from its turbid water), whilst the principal stream, the White Nile (el-Bahr el-Abyad, from its clearness), has a more steady volume of water. In Egypt the increase is felt in June; July brings rapid swelling of the reddening turbid stream; the slow subsidence of the waters begins in October. During winter, the stagnant water remaining on the fields dries up, and the Nile mud, originally the dust washed from the Abyssinian mountains, settles upon the soil, acting as a valuable fertilizer. Thus in course of innumerable years the sand or stone of the valley has been covered with from 30 to over 40 feet of black soil. This shows, usually, an astonishing fertility: Egypt looks like one great garden (Gen. 13.10); but a 'small Nile'—i.e., an insufficient inundation—has always brought years of dearth.² Even a 'great Nile,'³ however, cannot cover the whole valley and reach all fields. Dykes have to be built, and canals dug, in order that the water may be distributed. A good government has to give great care to such public constructions, the neglect of which will make the desert reconquer vast regions. Higher fields always had to be watered by (primitive) machinery, such as the contrivance called at present *shādūf*. (On Dt 11.10 see below, col. 1225, n. 10.)

After all, Egypt had much more regular harvests than Palestine and Syria, where the only irrigation, by rain, very often failed. The abundant inundation of Egypt was proverbial among the Hebrews; cp Am. 8.8, and, as some think, Is. 59.19 b (*SBOT*). We repeatedly find Egypt's Asiatic neighbours depending upon its abundance of grain. The Egyptians knew quite well that their country owed its existence entirely to the good god Nile, whom they represented as a fat androgynous blue or green figure.⁴ Being nearly (but not completely) rainless, Egypt depends upon the Nile not only for the irrigation of its fields, but also for its drinking-water (which is very palatable, and was kept cool, then as now, in porous vessels). The OT prophets know no worse way of threatening Egypt with complete ruin than using the symbolical expression, 'The Nile will be dried up.' The river was also the chief highway of the country.

The flora⁵ was poor in species. Ancient Egypt had not such a cosmopolitan vegetation as the modern. Forests were quite unknown. Besides fruit-trees—viz., the date, *dām* (now only above Asyūt) and argūn-palm, fig, sycomore, nabak (*Zizyphus Spina Christi*, the so-called Lotus-tree), and pomegranate and the Bucolic mouths, are said to have been artificial canals (?). The Bucolic of Herodotus (2.17) is called Phatnitic—or rather Phatnitic (thus Ptol. and Pomp. Melas)—i.e., the Northern (*Pa-to mīti*)—by other writers.

¹ Not from the biblical Joseph.
² Such calamities, sometimes in several successive years, are mentioned repeatedly. A legend from the Ptolemaic period (inscription at the first cataract, found by Wilbour, translated by Brugsch, *Die biblischen 7 Jahre der Hungersnot*, 1891, and by Pleyte) reports seven years of famine before 3000 B.C. The strange water-marks on the rocks of Nubia, 25 ft. above the modern level, are difficult to explain. They cannot well be used as a proof that former inundations were so much higher, for that would involve our assuming that all ruins now existing were, in antiquity, under water.
³ Of the so-called Nilometers—wells with measures marked for use in official estimates of the rise—that of Philæ remains from antiquity.
⁴  (wearing water flowers on the head, and offering fresh water and water flowers).
⁵ See especially Loret, *La Flore Pharaonique* (1921); Woenig, *Die Pflanzen im alt. Aeg.* [186]; and various essays by Schweinfurth.

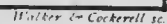
MAPS OF (i.) 'COURSE OF NILE,' AND (ii.) 'NILE AND EUPHRATES'

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Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added. The alphabetical arrangement ignores prefixes: el ('the'), J. (Jebel, 'mt.'), L. (lake), tell ('mound'), wady ('valley').

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II. NILE AND EUPHRATES



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ate¹—only a few tamarisks (*amar* [cf. cp. *amar*], willows, and, especially, various kinds of acacias (*honet* MONTE; cp. *amar*, Egyptian loan-word; see SHITANI) grew. Timber had mostly to be imported from Nubia and Syria. As principal fuel, dung was used, as now. The vine was always cultivated, but the national beverage was a kind of beer. The chief cereals were barley (*barley*), most important of all, wheat (*wheat*), and the African millet or sorghum, now called *dara* (*barley*). Cp Ex. 9:31 f. 'flax, barley, wheat, spelt' (this perhaps for *dara*?). The principal food-stuffs of the modern inhabitants, leguminous plants—viz., lentils (Egyptian '*arban*'), and beans (Egyptian '*bul*'), perhaps also peas (Coptic *apaw*), lupines, and chick-peas—have Semitic names, and were declared unclean by the priests even in Roman times; but among the peasants they had already become popular as early as the 14th century B.C. Of vegetables, onions, leeks, and garlic were as much in demand then as now; there were also radishes, melons, gourds, cucumbers, *knada* (*Hibiscus esculentus*; resembles American okra), melon (*Corechoris olitorius*; a tricolour vegetable [somewhat resembling spinach]), etc. (Cp the lamentation of the Israelites over the lost delicacies of Egypt, Nu. 11:5.) Of oil plants, sesame and olives were not very popular, olive oil being mostly imported from Asia. Unguents were taken from several balsam-shrubs, especially the *bakel*; for cooking and burning, castor oil (see GOURD) was most commonly in use, as now among the Chinese. The cultivation of flax was very extensive; whether cotton also was grown is quite doubtful.

Wild vegetation grew only in the many marshes—the common reed (see REED, FLAG), the papyrus (see PAPYRUS), and the beautiful blue or white lotus-flower (*lotus*), from which Hebrew *lily* (see LILY). The papyrus and the lotus-flower are now found only in the Suddān.² All these wild plants were utilised—even the lotus, the seed of which was eaten. The papyrus,³ in particular, was of the greatest importance for ancient Egypt, furnishing the material, not only for writing on, but also for making ropes, mats, sandals, baskets, and small ships (cp Ex. 23:15, 18:2; Job 9:26). The desert vegetation consists mostly of a few thorny shrubs.

Of domestic animals, the ass, an African animal, was used more as a beast of burden than for riding. Horses

9. Zoology. (*camel*,⁴ later *horse*), introduced by the Hyksos after 1800 B.C., for chariots of war and of pleasure, were never very common, pasture being scarce; but their race was good. Cp Dt. 17:16, 1 K. 10:3 f. (but see MIZRAIM, § 2; HORSE, § 3). The biblical passages which speak of the camel in Egypt (Gen. 12:16 Ex. 9:3) seem to need criticism, for this unclean animal was, to all appearance, foreign to ancient Egypt and became a domestic animal only after the Christian era (see CAMEL, § 2). Cattle, of a hump-backed race, were more common than now; likewise goats; but sheep (*sheep*, Sem. word, *sheep*, Arab. *shā*) were rare. Swine (*swine*), the most unclean of animals, 'offensive to the Sun-god,' seem to have been kept, in biblical times, only in the *nomos* of Eileithyia (now el-Kāb), perhaps because of Nubian elements in the population. In the earliest period they seem to have been more generally bred. The dog was held in esteem. Strong greyhounds for hunting were imported from the southern

countries. The cat became a domestic animal first in Egypt (but rather late), perhaps by the side of the weasel and ichneumon.⁵

Noblemen undertook hunting expeditions into the desert where most wild animals of Africa were found. The various antelopes of the steppe (especially the gazelle, the oryx, the ibex, etc.), were caught and then domesticated, or, at least, fattened at home. It is not certain whether the hare was eaten.

Of wild animals the jackal, the fox, the hyena, and the ichneumon reached Egypt; in the earliest times also (but only occasionally) the lion, the lynx, and the leopard. The tusks of the elephant and of the rhinoceros (both called *Yebu*) were only imported from Nubia—*Yebu* ('Elephantine' i.e., 'ivory place'), on the first cataract, being the emporium for this important trade. The Nile was infested by malicious hippopotamuses⁶ and crocodiles, both now extinct. That the name *Behemoth* (Job 40:15) is by no means a Hebraised Egyptian word, as has frequently been asserted, may be noted in passing (so, independently, BEHEMOTH, § 1).

The marshes were covered with innumerable birds in winter—especially wild geese, cranes, fishing birds (such as the pelican, the ibis, and others), and smaller birds of passage from Europe. The pursuit of these was both a favourite sport and a useful occupation; they were fattened at home, but (with the exception of the pigeon) not domesticated. The domestic fowl became known, it would seem, only in Greek times—Diod. (174) and Pliny (10:34) describe the bath-hens as in common use in their day. Of rapacious birds, the bald-headed vulture⁷ was most common. Bats in immense numbers filled the mountain clefts.

Many kinds of fish (as also the soft tortoise, *trionyx*) were obtained from the Nile, and were incredibly cheap—cp Egi. 'for nothing' (Nu. 11:5; cp Is. 19:8)—but they are not praised by modern travellers. Some—e.g., the oxyrhynchus (i.e., 'sharp-nosed'), and the *sa* (a silurus)—were unclean. The latter theology, at least in Ethiopia, tried (though without success) to declare all fish unclean.⁸ Air-dried fish were much eaten.

Multitudes of frogs, flies, scorpions, and locusts remind us of the 'ten plagues.' Of poisonous serpents, the uræus (*uræus*)⁹ enjoyed special veneration (see SERPENT, § 3).

Owing to the fertility of the country, it has always been very thickly peopled: the present population

10. People. amounts to six millions—i.e., it exceeds even that of Belgium in density (cp § 2). The ancient writers who speak of 30,000 towns (!), and seven (or even seven and a half; Jos. H. ii. 164) millions of people, somewhat exaggerate.

The race of the ancient Egyptians, who called themselves *ramet*, i.e., 'ram'—is admirably determined in the Table of Nations (Gen. 10:6), where they are classified with the Hamites—i.e., the light-coloured Africans. They were consequently relations (1) of the Libyans (see LUBIM, LEHABIM), extending from the Senegal to the Oasis of Siwah, at present interrupted by many Arab immigrants; (2) of the Cushites (in linguistic, not in biblical, sense), who now extend from the desert of Upper Egypt to the equator, comprising (a) the Bisharin and Hadendaa, (b) the Afar (Danakil), and Saho on the coast of Abyssinia, (c) the Agau tribes of Abyssinia (Bogos or Bilin, Khamir, Quara), in the S. called Siddama (Kafa, Kullo, etc.), and (d) the Somali and Galla.

Anthropologically, the Egyptians seem to have been more closely akin to the Cushites—who all show a slight admixture of Negro blood, received at a very remote date—than to the purely white Libyans. They were

¹ *amar*, later Hebrew for 'weasel' (TSB. I, 9161, and see CAT), Egyptian *Hatul*, *ḥatūl*, 'ichneumon' (cp FSB. I, 7194 [84]).

²   ³ Compared by some scholars, following erroneous transcriptions, such as 'abu' with Heb. *ḥayy* ('ivory'). Etymological connection is not probable.

⁴      ⁵ Worshippers were always advised to abstain from fish some time before appearing before the gods to sacrifice. See below (§ 19), on the laws of purity. See FISH, § 3 ff.

¹ That this tree, at least, was an importation from Syria in historic times is shown by the name (*herman*—i.e., *ḥer*). The perseæ (*faubet*; Coptic, *ḥouflet*, *Mimusops Schimper*, after Schweinfurth) and other trees may have had a similar history.

² Whether the *Fraxinus abyssinica*, a species of grain, called *tef* in Abyssinia, the poisonous *oshar* (*Calotropis procera*), and other plants of modern times were known is uncertain, but probable, as they are African plants.

³ *Papaver*, 'the (plant) of the river.' Cp Bondi, in Z. i. 3064 [92].

⁴ Not much investigated. Hartmann's studies, Z. i. 1364, were not continued.

⁵ The word is related to *ḥayy* (Assyrian *ḥayy*, Aram. *ḥayy*, etc.); but the relationship is not quite clear.

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tall and lean, with strong bones, small hands, thin ankles, reddish-brown skin (coloured, on their own paintings, in the case of men, dark red, and in the case of women, yellow), with long but slightly curled black hair, scanty beard, very slightly prognathous chin, full lips, almond-shaped black eyes, and long (?) skulls.

Linguistically, Egyptian is not the bridge between Libyan and Cushitic, as one might expect it to be; it forms, rather, an independent branch. The Libyan-Cushitic and the Egyptian branches both show affinity with Semitic, apart from the strong Semitic influence upon both, an influence which dates partly from prehistoric periods, partly from about 1000 B.C., and partly from Islamic times.¹ Which branch separated itself first from the Proto-Semites (in Arabia?) remains to be shown. (In Egypt, however, no Asiatic immigration can be found in historical times: see § 43.) Some Egyptian traditions point correctly SE., not to Nubia (erroneous traditions of Greek time), but to the coasts of the Red Sea—i.e., Punt (see below, § 48)—and indicate affinity with the Hamitic (Froghodytes. On the other neighbours in the South—viz., the Nigritic Nubians—see EGYPTOLOGY, § 2 ff.)

The language² was, therefore, by no means a primitive stammering, or a monosyllabic language like the Chinese, as was asserted by

11. Language. earlier scholars who derived false conceptions from the writing. Egyptian has preserved something of the vocalic flexibility of the Libyan and Semitic against the agglutinative tendencies of the Southern Hamitic languages. It shows the system of trilateralism more clearly than any other Hamitic branch. The assertion that it contains elements from Negro languages is unfounded; the Hamito-Semitic roots only underwent great changes. The sounds (e.g., *ʾin*, *h*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*) confirm the view of the relation of Egyptian here adopted. The vernacular dialect used from 1400 to 1000 B.C., in letters, etc., is called by modern scholars Neo-Egyptian.³ The descriptions tried more or less to preserve the archaic style of the earliest periods—not always successfully, after 500 B.C. wretchedly. For the rest, even the earliest language is less concise and much less obscure than, e.g., Hebrew. On the many loan-words from Semitic,⁴ see below, § 39 (end).

Coptic—i.e., the language of Christian Egypt (Arabic *Kiṭāb*, *Kiṭāb*)—is the same language as that which used to be written in hieroglyphics, but much changed (many forms, e.g., being shortened), as might be expected, after a development of 3000 years.⁵

¹ Nothing trustworthy has been written on these relations, nothing at all on the position within the Hamitic family. It is to be wished that the only competent scholar, Prof. Reinisch of Vienna, would address himself to this question soon. Ethnographers (e.g., Hartmann, *Die Nigritier*) generally exaggerate the fact that all white Africans pass gradually over into the Negroes, with whom they are more or less mixed.

² The latest and best grammar, although very brief, is that of Erman, 1894 (in the series, *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, German and English). Brugsch's *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch*, 1877-80, is the leading dictionary, but must be used with the greatest possible caution. Those of Birch (in Bunsen, vol. 5), Picotet, and S. Levi, cannot be recommended. A *Thesaurus verborum Aegyptiorum* by Erman and other scholars is in preparation. The stage reached by Egyptian philology is best characterised by the statement (after Erman) that 'the age of deciphering is at an end, we [begin to] read.' It is, however, a great exaggeration to state, as some have done, that we read Egyptian as a Latinist reads his Cicero. See, e.g., below (col. 1232, note 1), on the difficulties of transliteration. A better analogy would be the way in which good Phoenician inscriptions are read; but the greater excellence and abundance of his material gives the advantage, to a considerable extent, to the Egyptologist.

³ See Erman, *Neuegyptische Grammatik* (20), who has also published a treatise on the earlier vernacular style, *Die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar* (89).

⁴ A small collection by Bondi, *Dem hebräisch-ägyptischen Sprachverhältnis angehörige Lehnwörter*, etc., 1886. An exhaustive dictionary by the present writer is in preparation.

⁵ The standard grammar is Stern, *Koptische Gram.* (1880), (Steindorff's small grammar in the *Porta series* [94] may also be used: no older book). The best dictionary is still that of Peyron, *Lex. Linguae Copticae*, 1835 (reprinted 1896); but a new

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Coptic has four principal dialects (Sahidic—i.e., *Sa'idī* or Upper Egyptian; Middle Egyptian, represented best by the papyri of Akhmim; Fayyumic—formerly wrongly called Bashmire—and Bohairic or Lower Egyptian), diverging sometimes strongly; already about 1300 B.C. a papyrus states that a man from the N. frontier cannot well understand an Egyptian from Elephantine. (On Coptic dialects, see further *Texts*, § 17.)

As the vowels in ancient Egyptian were in general not indicated, their determination though it is sometimes possible through late Egyptian (Coptic), and, in the case of some proper names (see below, col. 1232, n. 1), through Greek and other authors, cannot usually be effected with precision.

Certain grammatical terminations (*u* and *i*), however, were sometimes indicated by the signs for the consonants *w* and *y*, and later the ideographic sign for the dual assumed a vocalic value (*u* or *i*).

Foreign words, however, demanded exceptionally complete representation of the vowels.

In the Middle Empire, accordingly, sprang up the practice of using the symbols for *w*, *u*, and *i* and the signs for certain syllables ending in these consonants, to indicate the vowels in the transliteration of foreign words, often in direct imitation of the cuneiform vowels. This has been called the syllabic system.¹

The 24 consonants distinguished in the script were originally the following:

ʾ (not always consonantal, never *ʾain*), *ʿ* (better *ʿ*, to express both *ʿ* and later *ʿ*); the Middle Empire created a special *ʿ*, *u*, *h*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*, *m*, *n*, *r* (distinguished from *ʿ* only in Demotic), *h*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*, *g* (from very early times not distinguished from *h*), *ʿ* (from early times not distinguished from *h*), *ʿ*, *g*, *ʿ*, *ʿ* (an unknown syllable), *ʿ* (not, as sometimes maintained, originally = *ʿ*)² *d* (better *ʿ* or *ʿ*), similar to Semitic *ḏ* (cp the Ethiopian *ḏ* later *ḏ*).

The principles of transliteration of Semitic names in the New Empire have not been completely explained yet (see *As. u. Eur.* chap. 5); but the following are the commonest equivalences that are not obvious.

u is represented by the *ʿ*; *ʿ* by *g* (*h*) or *ḥ*; *ḥ* by *ḥ*; *ʿ* by *ʿ* (or *d*); *ḥ* by *ḥ* (rarely *ʿ*); *ḥ* by *ḥ* or (never in early texts) initially *ʿ*; *ḥ* by *ḥ* (or *ʿ*); *ḥ* by *ḥ* (or *ʿ*); and *ḥ* by *ḥ* or (before two consonants, etc.) *ʿ*.

The hieroglyphics which constitute the national system of writing (called 'the scripture of sacred words,' and

12. Writing. said to have been invented by the god Djouti *ḏwtj*—a name less correctly written *Thot*) have arisen from a pictographic system very much like that of the Mexicans, just as did the Babylonian (to which it is very strikingly analogous) and the Chinese writing. Our 'rebus' is based upon the same principles.

A man  (*rōmēt*), a 'head'  (*ḥet*), or a 'tree'  (*am*) can easily be painted entirely. 'Wood' (*ḥet*) can be represented by a twig , 'water' (*mnw*) by three wavy lines , and—here we pass over more and more to symbolism—'night' by 'star-on-heaven' , 'to go' by legs , 'to

bring' (*inet*) by a vessel + going , 'to give' (*ḏtj*) by a sacrificial cake  in a hand , 'to fight' (*ḥt*) by weapons

in use , 'to write' (*st*) by the writing material .

Thus a great many ideas may be symbolised. This would lead, however, to too many combinations, besides leaving it uncertain how to read signs which admit synonymous translation, and providing no means for the expression of any inflection. Some further contrivances, therefore, were necessary. Hence, just as an English pictograph might perhaps express 'I' by an 'eye' , homophonous words are expressed by one

sign, *ḥeny* 'to row' , e.g., standing also for *ḥennu* 'to be

turbulent.' Thus this symbol becomes a syllabic sign, *ḥn*. Similarly , *kap*, 'claw,' is used also for *kap* 'to hide,'

kope 'to fumigate,' etc.—i.e., as a syllabic sign—*kḥ*, etc.

Finally, some of these syllabic signs, consisting of only one firm consonant,³ came to be used for single consonants. In this way, e.g., , *ḥy* (three consonants, but two of them semi-vowels; in Heb. letters something like *ḥet*), 'slug' (originally

one is a crying need (those of Tattam and Parthey are untrustworthy).

¹ Cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 58-61.

² Finally, all sonant consonants were confounded.

³ The only exception is *ʿ*, from *ses* (?), 'bar of a door.' The popular explanation by an acrophonic principle is incorrect.

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'bearer'), became the simple /; Δ , *key*, 'high ground' (representing a deity), became the letter *k*, π ; and so on. By such letters (from 24 to 26; *Plutarch*, 25), all inflections, and many words, were written. (On the treatment of the vowels see above, § 12a.)

As an additional safeguard a syllabic sign, such as δn mentioned above, is commonly followed (sometimes preceded) by an alphabetic sign (in this case *aua*) for the sake of clearness (thus $\delta n + a$). This is the so-called phonetic complement.

The last element of the system consists of what are called determinatives, the method of employing which will appear from the following examples:—Thus, δn means 'to write.'

Followed by the determinative 'man,' thus δn it means 'writer'—i.e., 'scribe.' If we place after it a 'book,' δn it means writing—i.e., 'book' (both words from a stem δn , *segh*, *segh*, but differently vocalised). Again δn , i.e.,

an elephant + a piece of skin (where the second sign, the determinative, could also be omitted), means 'elephant' (*Qsba*); but in δn the sign of a city indicates that *Yebu*, the

city (Elephantine), is meant. Similarly δn marks the end of every man's name; δn that of a woman's name; words for small

plants receive δn at the end, trees δn , and so on. This is a great help to the reader, and compensates somewhat for the absence of vowels.

Thus a very perfect system was formed whereby, by the employment of several thousand signs (of which,

	HIERATIC.					DEMOTIC.
	HEROGLYPHIC	OLD EMPIRE	MID EMPIRE	NEW EMPIRE BEGINNING	NEW EMPIRE	HELLENISTIC
<i>a</i>						
<i>m</i>						
<i>k</i>						
<i>mn</i>						
<i>ss</i>						

FIG. 2.—To illustrate the development of Egyptian writing. Partly after Erman and Krebs.

however, only a few hundred were in common use), anything whatever might be expressed—a complicated system, it is true, but not so complicated and ambiguous as, e.g., the later Babylonian cuneiform writing. The accomplishments of reading and writing were not rare.¹

The hieroglyphs, or sculptured writing-signs, were admirably suited for monumental and ornamental purposes; but when used for writing books upon papyrus, they had to be abridged and adapted to the pen, exactly as our written letters differ from the printed forms. (i.) Thus the picture of a lion δn (*rw*),²

¹ Such papyri of non-magic character as are found in the tombs are mostly old copy-books used by the deceased in their schoolboy days. The mention of women bringing the meals for their sons to the school proves that the poor also aspired to the advantages of education.

² This word may be taken as an illustration of the old con-

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became in cursive writing δn , the man δn , *a*, and

so on. This is called Hieratic writing—so called as being, like the hieroglyphic, a sacred script, though not, like it, designed for a monumental use. (ii.) In course of time was developed, by the progress of abridgment, a regular shorthand, called by the Greeks Demotic or popular, because in their time it was the style of writing used in daily life.¹ It is also called epistolographic, or letter-style (Egyptian *epi-en-ta'y*). In

this script the lion becomes δn or δn . The illustration (fig. 2) gives three letter signs and two word signs: in hieroglyphs, in five forms of hieratic, and in demotic.

All cursive writing runs from right to left (like Heb., etc.), hieroglyphics in both directions (though never boustrophedon); but originally both ran mostly from top to bottom, like the oldest Babylonian and like Chinese. The opinion² that the Semitic (Phœnician) letters were derived from the hieratic script has become very popular, but is in every way improbable. The latest hieroglyphic inscription is one at Esneh, giving the name of the Roman emperor Decius (250 A.D.); the latest demotic text is one at Philæ, dated 453 A.D. If the earliest translations of the Christian Scriptures into Coptic—i.e., Egyptian in its latest form—were made, as is usually assumed, about 200 A.D.,³ there should be a continuous tradition. As a living language, Coptic died out about 1500 A.D., at present only a very few, even of the Coptic priests, possess any understanding of the Coptic liturgical service. Coptic is written with Greek letters and six demotic signs (δn , δn , δn , δn , δn , δn).

δn , δn , δn , δn [a palatal sound of doubtful value, later pronounced like *f* or *v*]. δn .

The knowledge of the earlier systems of writing was completely lost,⁴ after the whole country was subjected to Christianity. The key to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic and demotic was at last recovered by F. Champollion⁵ in 1822, by the help of the Rosetta stone with its trilingual inscription (a decree of Ptolemy V., Ptolemæus in Egyptian [in hieroglyphic and demotic characters] and in Greek; found in 1799, now in the Brit. Mus.). Thus the decipherment was indirectly a consequence of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798.

The chief writing material of ancient Egypt was papyrus, a kind of paper made from papyrus stalks, which were sliced, beaten, and pasted together. Its colour was brown or yellowish brown. The chief defect was its brittleness; nevertheless, the writing was often washed off and the papyrus used again. Both sides could be written on. Red ink marked divisions and corrections, as in mediæval MSS. Books were in roll form. (Among the Hebrews the same writing material was in common use; cp Jer. 36:2.) The monuments of great importance were written on leather, drafts mostly on potsherds (*ostraca*).

The religion⁶ of Ancient Egypt, always retaining so many remnants of barbarous primitive times, stands in striking contrast to the high civilisation of that country. Originally it was not very different from the low animism or

13. Primitive religion.

nection between Hamitic and Semitic (cp § 11); it is prehistoric in Egypt and may have sounded *lawd*. Cp Hamitic *lubbak* (Saho and Afar), *lubbak* (Somali), with Semitic *labu* 'lion' (which migrated back to Egypt as *labu*, Heb. *labu*).

¹ The *Demotische Gram.* of H. Brugsch (35) is quite antiquated. The scholar who has paid most attention to demotic lately is E. Revillout (*Cronostomathie Demotique*, etc.); to be used with caution.

² Expressed first by De Rouge, *Mém. sur l'Origine Égyptienne de l'Alphabet Phœnicien*, [74]. Still more untenable is Halevy's attempt to derive the Semitic from the hieroglyphic letters. See WRITING.

³ See, however, TEXT, §§ 36, 38, where a later date (circa 300) is argued for.

⁴ Dialects preserve the ancient δn as δn .

⁵ The few traditions about the hieroglyphics found in Greek writers (especially Herodotus, *Hieroglyphica*) are now recognised as being all more or less correct; but for the decipherment they were in various respects insufficient.

⁶ The attempts of Th. Young (1819), which came near finding the key, but nevertheless missed it, have been well estimated by Le Page Renouf, *PSB* 19 188 1961.

⁷ Le Page Renouf, *Lect. on the Origin and Growth of Religion* 1881; Wiedemann, *Die Rel. der alten Ägypter* (99,

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fetishism. — the negro races. Every locality had its own spirit haunting it.

Such a demon appeared here as a jackal, there as a lion, bird, frog, or snake, or in a tree or a rock. We cannot understand why, in the lakes of the *Ḥak* (Ḥn) and in the whirlpool of the first cataract at Elephantine, as to why the local deity (Sobek and Hnum), why the god Anubis, leading the dead to Hades, originally (it would seem) in the Memphitic (?) necropolis, was the black jackal of the desert; and so on. We cannot easily understand, however, why, at Heliopolis, a wooden fetish of strange form, the *Ḥad*, signified the highest local god, and why at a later date a be-goat represented there the 'waiter' of the *Ḥad* (Benedict, *Merops* 'Ḥad' meaning 'inhabitant of the *Ḥad*'), or why the earliest symbol of Osiris was a wine-jar (skin on a pole) which caused the Greeks to identify this dead god with their joyful Bacchus, and so on.

Originally sun, moon, and stars were considered to be divine; but, with the exception of the sun-god *Rē*,¹ the local gods had more temples and enjoyed more worship and sacrifices. At Memphis, the chief god was *Ḥad*,² styled by his own priests the 'master-artisan,' and, therefore, the creator, who with his hammer opened the chaotic egg-shaped world, but even the western suburb of the city belonged to a different god, Sokari, a hawk sitting in a sledge shaped like a ship.³ Thus the gods were almost innumerable in the earliest times. Their forms (human, animal, or mixed), colours (Neith is green, Anon blue, and so on), symbols, etc., are of perplexing variety.

Fortunately, the superior splendour of the deities in the large cities, with their great temples, led to the worship

14. Changes.

of the tutelary gods of the villages and small towns being more and more abandoned. Amun, *Ḥg*, the god of the later capital Thebes (called *Nu-anon* *g. n. j.* 'Amun's city,' in the OT), thus became the official god, and so the highest in the whole kingdom, circa 1800 B.C. (sacred animal the ram). The Egyptians themselves, indeed, seem to have been puzzled by their endless pantheon. They tried to reduce it by identifying minor divinities with great and popular ones, treating them as one being under different appearances—e.g., the lion-headed Sokari (wrongly called Sobek or Pahr)⁴ of Leontopolis and the cat of Bubastus were identified, the one being explained as the warlike, the other as the benevolent, form. Very old is the system of uniting several local gods into a family, usually as father, mother, and child in Thebes, e.g., the solar *Amun* and *Mut*, and the lunar *Khonsu*. Subsequently, out of such triads, circles—especially of nine divinities (ennads)—were formed, and whole genealogies elaborated.

Even in prehistoric times, the progress of thought showed itself in the tendency to make forces of nature, especially solar divinities, out of the old meaningless fetishes; but these attempts did not lead to a reasonable, complete system.

To enumerate some of the earliest results: Osiris⁵ of Abydos becomes, as the setting sun, the god of the lower world, king and judge of the dead. In this function he is assisted by the Moon-god Thout (*Djout*), an ibis or an ibis-headed god⁶—origin-

ally god of Hermopolis—who becomes a god of wisdom and writing. Anubis⁷ assists, leading the dead to Osiris, like Hermes Psychopompos. Osiris himself (son of the goddess *Nut*) had been sent down to the dark region (i.e., murdered) by his wicked brother Sét, *Sep* (Typhon in Greek), the local god of N. Ombos,⁸ who is figured as a poorly sculptured ass (1). This malicious god, who eventually (though only very late) became a kind of Satan, was explained as god of thunder and clouds (therefore identified with the cloud (?) serpent, *Ḥap*), in the latest period also as the sea or the desert (i.e., all nature hostile to man). He is punished by Horus (2) of Edfu, the young son of Isis (*Hut*),⁹ the wife of Osiris (worshipped especially at Philae, often identified with Sothis, the Dog-star), who reunites the body of Osiris (the sun), hewn in pieces (the stars) by Sét. The form of the myth which makes Isis go to Phoenicia in search of Osiris' body, carried to Hyblus by the Nile and the Ocean, is evidently quite late, identifying her with Belshazzar. She educates Hor, hiding herself from Sét and his seventy-two fellows (later explained as the seventy-two hottest days) in the Delta-marshes. Her sister Nephthys¹⁰ (*Nephthys*) is the wife of Sét and the mother of Anubis (by Osiris).

It was this circle of divinities that gained most popularity and became known even outside of Egypt. Possibly it is simply by accident (?) that we possess only fragments of the myths that grew up, representing those connected with the Osirian circle; the rest of the gods might not look quite so lifeless if we knew the mythology referring to them.

We can see under what difficulties Egyptian theology laboured. Not only had it to admit that in the morning the sun was called *Ḥepre* (a beetle rolling its egg across the heavens), later *Ḥor* (a deity of whom there are seven forms), at noon *Ku*,¹¹ both *Ḥor* and *Ku* being hawks and evidently representing the sun flying across the heavens,—and in the evening *Ḥon* (at Heliopolis, where he was represented in human form sailing in a ship across the heavenly ocean);—but it had also to acknowledge that other solar divinities were appearances of the same being.

Some were cosmical gods—

Nun (*Nu*) or *Nu* is the abyss from whom all gods and things came—chaos. The earth is the god *Sek* (or *Sekh*); the heaven or celestial ocean bows herself over him as a goddess,¹² *Nut*; their child is the sun (= Osiris). The space between them is the god *Su* (*Son*, *Sas*), a lion. His companion, *Tefnut*, represents, perhaps, the celestial moisture.

Other gods assume other special functions—

On Thout (Thout, moon) and Ptah as protectors of scribes and scholars and of artisans and builders, see above (§§ 126, 131). Imhotep of Memphis was the god of physicians. Ithyphallic Min¹³ became a harvest deity, like the serpent Kemute (1), and as god of Coptos, the master of the Trog (Dolytes in the Nubian desert, just as Neit of Saïs ruled over the Libyans. The cow *Ḥat-hor* (i.e., shade of the Sun-god) became mistress of love and joy, but showed her solar nature in ruling all Eastern countries. Warlike gods were *Ḥathor* of This, *Montu* of Hermopolis, and above all, the malicious Sét, whose worship was abandoned more and more after 1000 B.C. (see above first small type passage in this section). This distribution of functions, however, is so contradictory that nowhere does an intelligent system result.

The sacred animals belonged to two categories—

Some, such as the black bull called Apis¹⁴ (*Hapi*) at Memphis, that called Mnēvis at Heliopolis, and the crocodile Sobek (*Souk*), were considered miraculous incarnations of the local god (pure fetishism); but at other places every cat was sacred (as at Bubastus)¹⁵ or every lotus-fish (as at Letopolis), and so forth (totemism?). So, while the crocodile was worshipped at some places (e.g., Ombos), it was sometimes persecuted from a sense of religious duty, even in a neighbouring city (as, e.g., at Edfu).

- 1  On vocalisation, see below, § 40 n.
- 2  The 'Tomb of Osiris,' discovered near Abydos in 1898, is an ancient royal tomb. According to some scholars, Osiris is mentioned as *Ḥn* (read *Ḥn*) in Is. 10, 4, and Apis as *Ḥp* in Jer. 46, 15. On these readings see notes in Heb. edition of *SBOT*. Cp also *ANNA*, *PHINHAS*, *ASSIR*, *AFS*, *HUR*, *HANAN*, and *NAMES*, § 63.
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- 1  He must have played a most important part in prehistoric times. The sceptre which all divinities hold in their hands seems to bear his head. His sacred colour was red, and red-haired men were despised as 'typhonie.'
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14 On a probable OF ref. to Apis see above, col. 1215, n. 2.
15 Hence the large cat cemetery near the modern Zakazik (now commercially exploited for manure).

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The great mass of the people never advanced beyond the traditional worship of the local god (the town god) or sacred animal. Among the priests, the most advanced thinkers came, it is true, to the result that all gods are only different forms of the same divine energy—a conclusion which, however, did not lead them to monotheism, as might have been expected, but to a kind of pantheism. Such advanced thought remained, of course, the property of a few educated persons, though it was not treated as a mystery. Other rationalists followed somewhat euhemeristic lines, treating all gods as deified pharaohs of the earliest period. On early traces of the deluge and the paradise traditions, see DELUGE, PARADISE. Of borrowing from Asia there is here no question.

In the sphere of cosmogony no reasoned system was ever developed: besides *Ptah*, the potter (*Hnum*) of Elephantine,¹ as well as other gods, claimed to have been creator. Nowhere can any uniform dogma be found (cp CREATION § 8).

It is interesting that after 1600, the Egyptians had a strong tendency to increase their already endless pantheon by adding foreign divinities, especially gods of a warlike character.²

16. Foreign cults.

We find the god Sutekh³ of the Hittites (not of the Hyksos; see § 32) so popular as almost to displace Set. The Semitic god Kaipu ('lightning', 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏), the goddesses Anah, Astarte (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏), Kelesch ('the holy one', 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏), Belis of Byblus-Gabal, 'Asta, Adon, etc., were recognised. Ba'al and Astarte had their temples at Thebes and Memphis. Whether the strangely figured *Isc*⁴ was a foreign (Babylonian? Arabian?) divinity is doubtful. This protector against wild animals and serpents, and patron of dancing, music, and the cosmetic art, had at least a much earlier cult.⁵

If we find various accounts of the creation of the world and of man, various explanations of the daily course of the sun, etc., we need not wonder that the belief in life after death⁶ was never reduced to a dogma.

17. Life after death.

According to the opinion of later times, the dead went down to the dark lower world (Amment, *Amérōt*—i.e., the west), passed obstacles of every kind, opened many closed gates, and satisfied various guardians of monstrous form by the use of magic formulas previously placed in the coffins for this purpose. Finally the dead man reached the great judgment hall (*wehjet*) of Osiris, into which he was introduced by Anubis. His mortal life was tested in a cross-examination by the forty-two monstrous judges (the answers denying the forty-two cardinal sins⁷ were ready prepared in his magic book) and by the weighing of his heart in the balance of Meit, the goddess of justice.⁸ Those who were declared to be wicked were sent to a hell full of flames, and were tortured by evil spirits (some seem to have supposed that they assumed the form of unclean animals). The good were admitted to 'the fields of *Aaru* (or *Yaru*?) plants,' where they sowed and reaped on fields irrigated by the Nile of Hades. Small figures of slaves, or rather substitutes for the dead, made of porcelain or other material, were placed in the coffin to assist the deceased in this peasant life. Originally it may have been only persons belonging to the highest classes who claimed to ascend to heaven upon the ladder of the Sun-god, and to become companions of the sun during his daily voyage over the heavenly ocean; but, later, this was anticipated for every one who should be 'found pure.'



¹ See Ed. Meyer, *ZDMG* 31 717 [77]; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 300 ff.

² On his representations see Griffith, *PSBA* 1087 [94].



³ But Hat-hor has nothing to do with 'Astar; nor has the (Nubian?) deity 'Anuket at Elephantine anything to do with 'Onka, as Semitists have sometime asserted.

⁴ Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul* (195), a popular manual by E. A. W. Budge, etc.

⁵ Murder, adultery, slander, theft, fraud, robbery of the dead, sacrilege, etc.



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Every deceased person was even expected to become Osiris himself, and is addressed as 'Osiris So-and-So.' The dead were allowed to visit the earth occasionally—not at night but in the day-time—assuming the form of different animals.¹ At night they returned to their tombs, or to the lower world,—places which are rarely distinguished in a clear way.

Various conflicting doctrines are intermingled—e.g., the belief that the souls of the departed are the stars or dwell in the stars (which are by others explained as the dispersed members of the slain Sun-god Osiris; see above, § 14), that all shadows² must live in darkness and misery in the nether-world, persecuted by evil spirits, so that it is best for the dead person to become, by witchcraft, one of these evil monsters himself, and that the soul, in the form of a half-human bird³ (*ka*), lives in or near the grave, hungry, and dependent entirely upon the offerings of food and drink deposited at the tomb. Sometimes the cases of the Western desert are identified with the fields of the dead. The Egyptian priests never put themselves to any trouble to harmonise these and other contradictory traditions; they contented themselves rather with providing that magic formulae and prayers adapted to each of them were made and collected. On these collections, see below, § 20.

The care bestowed upon the worship of the dead is very remarkable. The huge pyramids of the most ancient kings, the detached tombs of their officials now called by Egyptologists *mastabas*—an Arabic word), the interior of which was covered with sculptures, and the long rock-galleries, especially at Thebes, testify that the Egyptians devoted greater zeal than any other nation on earth to the abodes and the memory of their dead, and to the sustenance of their souls by sacrifices. This care is shown also in the practice of embalming,⁴ cp EMBALMING.

Originally only the nobles were able to pay for mummification, with its costly spices (and natron) and its skilful wrapping in layers of linen, by which means some mummies have survived 4000 years without great change. Later, however, cheaper methods, such as dipping the body into hot asphalt, made the custom almost universal. The forty days of embalming (Gen. 50) after removal of the intestines (which were then placed in the four jars, erroneously called canopes, representing often four tutelary deities) and the brain, and the seventy days of lamenting, are usual. The face was frequently gilt; the wrapped body was put in one or two cases of wood or cartonnage of human form, more or less painted and ornamented; wealthy people enclosed these, again, in large stone sarcophagi.

All this seems to point to a primitive belief that the soul would live only as long as the body existed though this is indeed nowhere expressly stated. Later, the reason was given that the soul liked to be near the body, and would sometimes even return into it or into a statue of the dead. The distinction between the soul (*ka*), the shadow (*ba*), and the double (*ka*) which always accompanies a man in life and seems to receive the soul after death, was by no means clear even to Egyptian dogmatists, and is quite obscure for us.

The tombs had annexed to them a chapel for offering to the statue of the *ka*,⁵ which stood in an adjoining small, dark room, the latter connected with the chapel by a small window or hole in order to let the smell of incense, etc., penetrate to the soul in the statue.

Besides real offerings, pictures of food were given; these had the advantage of durability, and were, by the help of magic, as efficacious as real bread and meat. Often a basin of water before the tomb furnished drink for the soul, and trees were planted round it, 'that the soul might sit under their shady branches.' The sarcophagus was deposited in a pit, which was filled up with stones and sand (except in the case of rock tombs, already safe enough). The poor were, of course, less luxuriously housed. They were massed in simple pits leased by undertakers. All tombs were situated in the desert, the arable land being much too scarce and costly.

Whilst it can hardly be proved that the religious ideas of the Egyptians ever influenced the belief of the Hebrews

19. Ritual. (the so-called 'golden calves' [see CALF, § 2]) were certainly no imitation of the Apis cult, all kinds of animals being sacred at one place or another in Egypt), it cannot well be denied that the

¹ This was misunderstood by the Greeks. A migration of souls in the Indian sense was unknown to the Egyptians.



² See *The Mummy*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, 1893.

³ Cf. *ka*, L.

ritual laws and the purity of the Hebrews often seem to follow the analogy of the later Egyptian customs. The priests had to observe scrupulous cleanliness, to shave all hair (hence their bald heads, imitated in the Roman tonsure), to wear only linen, and to abstain from all unclean food, this being very much the same as among the Hebrews.¹ See above (§ 9) on the uncleanness (especially) of the swine.

Some parts of every animal (the head?) were forbidden. Eggs were not to be eaten. Contact with dead bodies defiled, notwithstanding the cult of the dead. Embalmers, therefore, were unclean. Circumcision, for which, as for all ritual purposes, only stone knives were to be used (cp. Josh. 5:2), was general for both sexes from time immemorial (see C. J. G. S. 1808). The method of killing and offering animals, the burning of incense (upon bronze censers of helle form?), the altitudes, and many other ritualistic details, were similar to those practised among the Israelites. Human sacrifices occurred in the earlier times (see ISAAC); later, cakes in human form seem to have been substituted.

The priests, called 'the pure,'² *u't(u)*, formed a well-organised hierarchy in four (later five) classes (*ḥm*), with many degrees, from the common priest to the high-priest ruling over the principal temple of the nomos or over the temples of several nomos.³ The priestly career seems to have been open, theoretically, to every boy of Egyptian descent who studied the canon of sacred books (forty-two, according to Greek tradition) in the temple-school; whether this was the case in practice we do not know. The highest dignities at least were more or less in the hands of certain families of the aristocracy.⁴ Women were not admitted to the regular priesthood. Priestesses appear later only under the title of 'singers' of the divinity. They formed the choirs.

The religious literature was not so rich as the masses of manuscripts from the tombs might lead one to suppose.

20. Religious literature.

The catalogue of the large temple at Edfu enumerates only thirty-six books, mostly ritualistic. The earliest texts would be the old books from which come the inscriptions (of about 3000 lines) in five pyramids belonging to dynasties 5 and 6 (see below, § 46) which were opened in 1881. More than any other religious texts, they bear a magical character. After 2000 B.C. another large collection came into use, the 'Book of going out in daytime,' now commonly called the 'Book of the dead,'⁵ This is not a theological compendium, 'the Bible of the Ancient Egyptians,' as it has been very unsuitably designated. It contains mostly magic formulae, often of a very nonsensical character, for the protection and guidance of the dead in the lower world, and the confusion of doctrines of which we spoke above. Thousands of copies—some over a hundred feet long and with very elaborate pictures, and others brief extracts, giving one or two of the chapters—are among the chief attractions of our museums of antiquities.⁶

¹ These laws were less scrupulously observed in earlier times. See above (§ 9 n.) on the restrictions with regard to fish. Those offering sacrifices had to abstain also from game, evidently because it was not properly bled.



² The Ptolemaic documents and Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 1.7, would give us the following classification: high priest, prophet, stolist (superintending the clothing of the idols and the offerings), two classes of 'sacred scribes' (the higher one being that of the *ḥm* or feather-wearers), the horoscopes (the name has been wrongly explained as meaning 'astronomer'; the correct meaning seems to be 'a priest officiating only occasionally'), the singer. This classification is neither exhaustive nor applicable to earlier times.

³ The fact of the king officiating as priest at sacrifices confirms the view that there was no priestly caste.

⁴ The Rongé is correctly called 'le rituel funéraire.'

⁵ The text was published after very late and bad copies by Leppsius and He Rongé (both reprinted by Davis, 1911). Of facsimiles in colours the Papyrus of Ani in the Brit. Mus. (C. 93, etc.) is best known (also Deveria, Pap. Surinnes, a copy in Leemans, *Monuments*; Pap. Nebked, etc.). The great edition of Naville (1890) has shown the immense textual corruption of all manuscripts, which leaves much work to future scholars. Best translation by Le Page Renouf, *The Egyptian Book of the*

The Book of respiration (Fay n sosen), the book *May my name flourish*, and the *Book of passing through eternity*, are shorter imitations. The large *Book of that which is in the nether world (am-duat)*, Lanzoni (1912)—a very fanciful and mysterious book, more of pictures than of texts, with ornaments many sarcophagi—still awaits a critical edition (Abdrig. version, Jéquier).

The scientific side of theology is represented by a fragment of a commentary (Berlin); other commentaries, consisting of symbolical expositions, form part of the *Book of the Dead* (ch. 17). Sacred geography was a favourite study (Pap. of Tani and of Lake Moeris).³ Rituals—such as that for burial (ed. Schiaparelli, '82), that for embalming (Maspero), and that for the cult of Amon and Mut (Berlin)—are found, and many hymns in praise of gods or temples. They are of little originality.⁴ On contemplative and speculative religion not one line has been preserved, and certainly there was not much of it. The priests were too content with the old traditions.

The didactic literature bears a practical character and is entirely secular. 'The Exhortations of Any' (Pap.

Bulak 4, transl. by Chabas in *P. Egyptologie*; also by Amelineau in *La Morale Egypt.*) are a really beautiful collection of moral rules.

Small demotic ethical papyri have been published by Pierret and Revillout.⁵

The *Prairie of Scholastic Studies* (Pap. Sallier 2, Anast. 7)⁶ is full of sarcastic humour, but too prosy for modern taste; the 'Papyrus Prisse' (Chabas, Virey, partly Griffith; see *World's Best Lit.* 5327) is of stilted obscurity. All these works belong to the classical period of the Middle Empire.

Several later imitations of the *Prairie of Scholastic Studies* were frequently used as copying exercises for schoolboys, in order to instil love of study. For the rest, the many school-books contain exercises of rhetorical aim. The 'Story of the Eloquent Peasant' (Griffith *ib.*), and 'The Man tired of Life' (Erman 1901) belong to this category.

We see from inscriptions and other representations that the Egyptians had a tolerable knowledge of astronomy—the high priest of Heliopolis

22. Science. astronomy—the high priest of Heliopolis was called the 'chief astronomer.' We owe to them our modern (Julian) calendar; but they themselves used in common life a year of twelve months (of thirty days each) and five *epagomena*, or additional days (without any intercalation). The astronomical year, called Sothic because marked by the 'rising' of Sothis (Sirius), was known, but not in popular use.⁷

Ptolemy III. found a reform of the calendar to be an urgent need. His attempt to effect it, however, in 238 B.C., proved a failure. Much superstition in regard to these matters is discernible; cp. the *Calendar of lucky and unlucky days* (transl. Chabas, 1901). The hours were determined by observing the position of the celestial bodies with the instrument figured below.⁸ No scientific astronomical work has come down to us; but we have a mathematical handbook (London, ed. Eisenlohr) which shows that the Egyptians were not so far advanced in mathematics as, e.g., the Babylonians.⁹ High admiration of Egyptian medicine was shown throughout the ancient world, and even mediæval medicine is full of Egyptian elements.¹⁰ The medical papyri (Berlin ed. Brugsch; un-

Dead, '06 (transl. by Birch, '07, and Pierret, '82, are antiquated; Budge, '98, is less critical).

¹ These three books have been edited by Brugsch, Leblin, and Von Bergmann respectively.

² Also in Bonomi, *Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah* ('64), and (from the walls of the royal tombs) *Mission Franç.* II, and III.

³ Petrie and Mariette; the second discussed by Brugsch and Playte.

⁴ That on Amon, translated by Grélaud, is considered the best. It is, however, anything but an original composition. It is reprinted in *RP* 2121. (This English work gives translations of almost the whole literature of Egypt; but in the first series these are often of very questionable character.) The second series shows improvement in this respect. Excellent translations by Griffith (cp. large part of the Egyptian literature have just appeared in *The World's Best Literature* (1905), p. 5225 ff. [the hymn in question, p. 5294].

⁵ In *Rec. de Trav.* I, and *Rec. Egypt.* I.

⁶ Transl. by Maspero in his *Études sur le genre épistolaire*.

⁷ The astronomical and the common year coincided very rarely—once in 1460 years—a so-called Sothic period (see C. J. G. S. 1808).

⁸ Artificially arranged fragments also in Griffith's *Kahun papyri*.

⁹ Shown first by Le Page Renouf, *Z. A.* II 123 (173). How this came (through the Arabs?) is discussed by G. Ebers, *Z. A.* 33 (185).

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published MSS or Berlin and London; treatises on female diseases and veterinary art in Griffith's *Kahun papyri*; above all, the great papyrus Ebers at Leipzig, written about 1600 B.C.) show, however, little practical knowledge, and a surprising ignorance of anatomy, as against an abundance of superstition and silly sorcery.¹

There are a good many books of magic (with many religious and some medical elements)—partly lawful magic (cp. e.g., Chabas, *Le pap. Magique Harris*, '57), partly forbidden witchcraft (Leyden). The latter was threatened with capital punishment (cp. pap. Leyd.). Thus we see that the country of

23. Magic. magic (cp. e.g., Chabas, *Le pap. Magique Harris*, '57), partly forbidden witchcraft (Leyden). The latter was threatened with capital punishment (cp. pap. Leyd.). Thus we see that the country of Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. 3:8) was the true home of all kinds of magic (Is. 19:3). It would be quite wrong, however, to ascribe the miracles performed by the pharaoh's magicians (Ex. 7, etc.) to anything else than jugglery (see SERPENT, § 32), for there was far less knowledge of natural science in Egypt than, e.g., in Greece.

Even historiography was not highly developed. There were chronicles of single reigns—a panegyric specimen has been preserved in the great

24. History, papyrus Harris I., referring to Ramses III. etc. (about the largest papyrus in existence; ed. Birch); on the lists of kings see below, § 41; but

no larger works of scientific character were in the hands of Manetho when he undertook to compose a history of Egypt for the Greeks (see below, § 41). The poverty of his material forced him to use even popular novels as sources. Nor was grammar ever studied in a scientific way, or textual criticism applied to the sacred writings. All literary works were, accordingly, more exposed to corruption than they were in any other country of antiquity.

If we find all ancient nations filled with boundless admiration for Egyptian science,² we can account for this only by the mysterious difficulty of all Egyptian writing, into the secrets of which a foreigner could rarely penetrate. In fact, the Hellenists as well as the Greeks were far superior to the Egyptians in everything that required serious thinking.

What Egypt produced, however, in the way of literature designed to amuse and entertain is worthy of our highest admiration. The number of

25. Tales and poetry. fanciful tales, very similar to those of the *Arabian Nights*, and of historical novels (with much imagination and little true history) is considerable,³ and some—e.g., that of 'The Doomed Prince' (a papyrus in London)—are of charming form. Moreover, in their popular poetry, especially in their love songs, the Egyptians come much nearer to our taste than do most oriental peoples.⁴ Many hymns in praise of kings and their deeds have survived. The only attempt at an epic, however, is the song, inscribed upon so many temple walls, commemorating the battle

¹ They seem to show that Herodotus's assertion about special-ists for every part of the body is exaggerated.

² Some find evidence of this also in the apparent pride with which it is stated that Joseph had married a priest's daughter from On. See also 1 K. 4:30 [5:14] Acts 7:22.

³ They need not be enumerated here, as they can be consulted easily in the collections of Maspero, *Contes pop. de l'Égypte anc.* [182], and Petrie, *Egyptian Tales* [95].

⁴ Collected by Maspero, *Journ.* 13, 183, and by WMM, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter* [90].

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of Kadesh, won by Ramses II.; for modern taste it lacks vigour and is too long. The other enlogies do not come up to it.

A satirical poem on bad minstrels,¹ and a collection of stories on animals, embodying Æsopic fables (which seems to show that these fables originated, possibly, in Egypt), are to be found only in demotic copies. All poetry followed the parallelism of members (like Hebrew poetry) and certain rude rhythms (counting only words with full accent, and disregarding the number of syllables); it sometimes observed alliteration, but never rhyme. Much more may be expected from recent finds.

Of the music connected with this poetry we cannot say much. All oriental instruments were known—the simple monochord,² the large harp,³ the flute, the tambourine, etc. Clapping of

26. Music. hands and shaking of the sistrum (*sistrum*, a metal rattle)⁴ accompanied the simple tunes. The professional musicians were mostly blind men. See MUSIC.

The government was the most absolute monarchy known to antiquity. The despotic power of the king

27. Govern- was greatest in dynasties 4 to 5 and 18 ment. to 20 (also 26)—the periods of complete centralisation. On the decentralising

tendencies of the counts or nomarchs (hereditary under weaker dynasties), and on the changing royal residences etc., see below, § 41 ff. The most influential officer of the kingdom, the administrator of the whole empire, or

grand-vizier, was the *epiti*. The *epiti* had the general administration of justice.

Among the titles of courtiers that of 'Fau-bearer at the left of the king' carried with it the greatest honour. After dynasty 18 the 'cup-bearers' (*sebe*, *uba*) of the king, although often only foreign slaves, became as influential as the Mamluks of the Middle Ages, because they were charged with the most confidential commissions. The titles of the court and of the officials of the royal palace, harem, stable, kitchen, brewery, etc., are just as abundant as the offices for the administration of the country and its counties (e.g., royal scribes, inspectors of the granaries, clerks of the soldiers, scribe of the nomos, etc.). Most of these scribes were at the same time priests. The king generally gave audiences from a balcony of the palace.

Of the laws we do not know much. We have sufficient material in the shape of legal documents only

28. Law. in demotic papyri from dynasty 20 downwards.⁵ These documents are based upon the code of laws given or collected by the great legislator Bocchoris (about 730 B.C.; see below, § 65).

Former institutions are less known.⁶ We find (only after 2000 B.C.) the remarkable institution of the jury,⁷ a committee of officers and priests—i.e., educated men—appointed by the government for every day to sit in judgment. They were paid by the litigants.

On criminal law⁸ we possess acts relating to spoiliations of

¹ Ed. Revillout and Prugsch. The satirical vein of the Egyptians is often discernible in art (see caricatures in the papyrus of Turin, partly given in Lepsius, *Ausgrabungen*) and literature.

² Several works of E. Revillout on these—*Chrestomathie Démotique* (no.), *Nouvelle Chrest. Démotique*, etc. The decipherment is in part much disputed; cp. § 12. For some earlier material, see Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*.

³ What Diod. writes about Egyptian laws is not all certain. On those of the Greek period, see Wessely, *SWAH*, Bd. 124, Abh. 9.

⁴ Earlier inscriptions speak of thirty judges for the country.

⁵ Spiegelberg, *Stud. u. Nat. zum Rechtswesen* (1922).

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tombs, to conspiracy against the king, and to forbidden sorcery. Criminals were examined by means of torture and blows. The rod was used as much as the *kurbaj* is at present. Bastinado (up to 100 strokes) upon hands and feet, cutting off the nose and the ears, deportation to frontier places (Rhinocolura, *ε. γ.*,—see EGYPT, RIVER OF, § 1—had its name from the exiles with 'mutilated noses'), to the oases, or to the gold mines in the glowing Nubian desert, and impalement ('hanged,' EV of Gen. 40:22 is incorrect), were the punishments. In the case of persons of higher rank suicide was allowed to take the place of capital punishment.

In civil law, we are struck with the fact that woman was on a perfect equality with man and occupied a higher position than she did in almost any other country of the ancient world. For example, a married woman could hold property of her own, and might lend from it to her husband upon good security, such as his house.

In marriage, the greatest divergence from later Hebrew custom was in sister-marriage, which in Egypt was as common as marrying the cousin is among the Semites. The majority had their sisters as wives: there seem to have been no forbidden degrees of relationship. Polygamy was permitted, but occurred rarely. Marriage was usually concluded on the basis of a financial agreement, such high indemnities being fixed for the wife in case of divorce or polygamy

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judge by the many complaints, the great host of officers in the service of the king or the temples were even more corrupt than the bureaucracy of other oriental states. Speaking generally, neither bravery nor honesty seems to have been a national virtue.¹

Even in the cult of the dead strange contradictions are visible. Paupers, of whom there were many, broke into most of the tombs of the wealthy soon after burial, and no military protection could prevent even the royal tombs from being ransacked. Even the educated, who expected to be examined by Osiris if they ever disturbed the rest of any dead person, would often appropriate for their own mummies the property, tomb, or equipment of a deceased person who was unprotected. Foundations of real estate for the support of the dead—i.e., for furnishing the sacrifices—never lasted long.

The best part of the population, undoubtedly, was to be found, not in the haughty 'scribes' and priests (ideas for the most part coinciding), but in the peasants. These were just as simple in their habits, just as laborious, just as poor, and just as patient under their continual oppression, as the modern *jellâhin*. Most of them were serfs—of the king, or of temples, or of landowners. Their worst oppression was the hard taskwork described in Ex. 1. Serfs were branded with the owner's name. The cities held a large proletariat—the free 'working men.'²

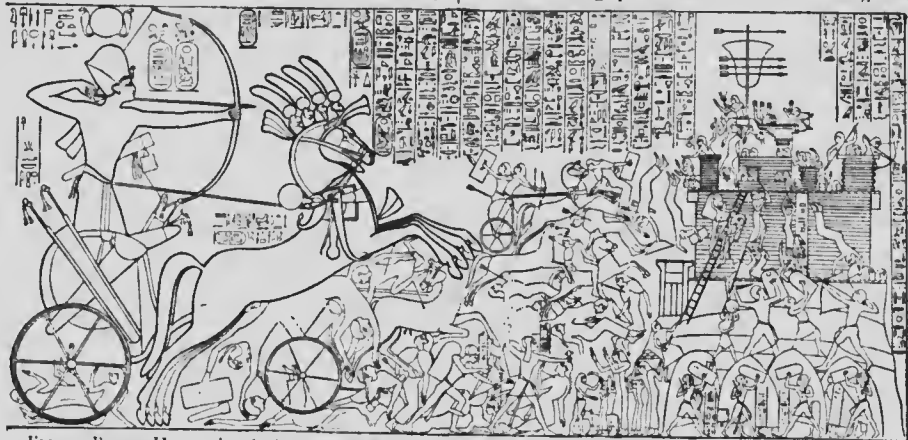


Fig. 4.—Ramses II. storming the Hittite fortress of Dapur (*Da-pu-ru*); from a wall picture on his temple at Thebes. See interpretation in Erman, *Egypt*, 533. After Lepsius.

that expelling her without the most serious reasons should have become impossible. A wife with such legal security was called 'mistress of the house,' and well distinguished from the concubine (called 'sister'). Nobles maintained secluded harems in the Asiatic manner; but the 'wife' always enjoyed as much liberty inside and outside of the house as our women, as is shown by the story of Potiphar's wife.¹ Veiling the face was unknown. Adultery was followed by capital punishment for both offenders (contrast Gen. 39:20, J).

It will be seen, especially from our review of the literature, that the prevalent views with regard to the national character of the Egyptians are erroneous. They were quite religious

30. Character. (i.e., superstitious) according to the views of such superstitious nations as the Greeks and the Romans. Far from being contemplative, however, they were rather superficial—not only in religion, but also in science, literature, etc.—and more inclined to the gay side of things. We nowhere find deep thinking, everywhere full enjoyment of life. Their art is full of humour; even the walls of their 'eternal abodes' or tombs are partly covered with drinking and playing scenes and with jokes for inscriptions. Their morality was rather lax. Drunkenness seems to have been not rare. To

¹ Accordingly, no evidence has been found, thus far, that eunuchs were kept. Lepsius, *Denkm.* 2125, etc., represents fat old men, not eunuchs. This fact has not yet been considered in its relation to the designation of Potiphar as *ḥm* in Gen. 39:1.

It was formerly assumed that there were castes. This is, however, a mistake. The sons of the many priests would naturally acquire more easily than others the learning which distinguished

31. Classes. their fathers. The eldest son, too, of a soldier inherited, with the field of his father, which was a fief from the government, also the duty of serving as *μάχιμος*—i.e., soldier, or policeman. The tombstones, however, frequently represent families of whom one member was a soldier, another a priest, another an artisan, and so on. If, in the time of Herodotus,³ the shepherds were despised and did not intermarry with the rest of the people, the explanation lies in their unclean foreign descent ('*Amē*, 'Asiatic,' was synonymous with 'shepherd'; cp Gen. 43:32). Swineherds had a still lower position. The same may hold good of the sailors, merchants, and interpreters of foreign origin; at that time, too, the soldiers were mostly descendants of foreigners (Libyans).

Formerly, when foreign elements in the country were few, the distinctions just referred to were less marked;

32. Army. only the soldiers always had a strong foreign element. The Egyptians were not warlike,

¹ Cp the characteristic explanation in Steph. Byz. *αἰγυπτίαζειν* = τὰ πανούργα καὶ δολία καὶ υποῦλα πράττειν.

² Interesting accounts of great strikes of the working men employed by the government have come down to our time. Cp Spiegelberg, *Arbeiter u. Arbeiterbewegung* (195).

³ He gives seven classes; Plato and Diodorus, five.

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and, even in the earliest times, they employed by preference mercenaries.

The first to be employed were negroes and brown Africans (the name of the *Mazoy* archers from the Red Sea became synonymous with 'police'); after 1500 B.C. Syrians and Europeans; after 1200 B.C., in increasing numbers, Libyans (*Makawasa*, etc.), who became the privileged mercenaries, and rebelled continually against the competition of Carians and Greeks after 650 B.C. (p. the mixed armies of Egypt, Jer. 46, Ezek. 27.10, etc.). The charioteers,¹ however, were mostly Egyptians.² Besides small fiefs of ground, the native soldiers seem to have received at least their maintenance during active service. The mercenaries had agricultural holdings also as part of their pay. Horses and equipment were lent by the government. The officers passed through a training school (*zafaru*, Semitic?) as youths.

The national weapons were bow, throwing-stick² (only before 1600), war-axe, club,⁴ scythe-formed sword,⁵ short spear (rarely javelin), and straight sword.⁶ Apart from the shield,⁷ not much armour (coats-of-mail—of leather, or thick linen, sometimes with metal scales) was used, except in the case of the charioteers. In sieges, the testudo and the battering-ram of the ancients appear, but none of the complicated war-machines used by the Assyrians. The soldiers marched to the sound of long hand-drums and at trumpet-signals. They were divided into regiments, each with its own standard, usually a god or divine symbol upon

Lack of personal courage made the sea-trade of the Egyptians also very insignificant.

The import of olive oil (from Palestine), wine (from Phœnicia), beer (Asia Minor), wood, metal, wool, etc., and the export of grain (usually monopolised by the government), linen, papyrus, small wares of art in glass, porcelain, metal, and ivory, were mostly in the hands of the Phœnicians. Naval expeditions on the Red

Sea for incense were rare, owing (partly) to the great scarcity of wood in Egypt and on the desert coast of the Red Sea, where the ships had to be constructed.

Not till Persian times did the important commercial position of Egypt—as forming the connecting link between the Red and the Mediterranean Seas, and between Europe, Asia, and Africa—begin to be realised.

The majority of the people always had agricultural occupations. Originally, the holdings of the priests (and soldiers) were exempt from the heavy taxation of one-fifth (Gen. 47²⁰ ff.; see

JOSEPH II., § 9); later this immunity was interfered with because it withdrew too much from the income of the

34. **Agri-
culture.** government. In agriculture, the most primitive implements were always used, such as wooden hoes,⁸ and ploughs⁹ drawn by oxen or by men. Such simple appliances presupposed the softening of the ground by the yearly inundation. The irrigation of the higher fields was likewise effected



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with simple machinery.¹ Harvesting (in March—with some growths two harvests are possible), treading out the grain by cattle (rarely threshing with the threshing-wain, *ṣṣṣ*), winnowing, etc., were carried out very much in the same way as in Palestine (cp also AGRICULTURE, §§ 2-10). On the granaries² see PRITHOT.

The industries were highly developed. The renowned Egyptian linen (the best kinds being called *μα. βίσσοις*—a Semitic word it would seem—and

35. Industries. **שפ.** Egyptian *šš*; see **LINEN** was manufactured especially by the poor bondsmen of the temples, shut up at certain times in an *athn* or 'workhouse' for weaving. The temples drew a large portion of their income from this linen manufacture. Cp **Is.** 19₉ (and **r.** 10, where read **שפ** with **G.**, see **SBOT**, *ad loc.*), **r.** 716 **Ezek.** 27₇. In pottery only the more common ware was made. Glass seems to have been not a Phœnician but an Egyptian invention (cp **PURCINIA**, **GLASS**, § 1). The so-called Egyptian porcelain or glazed pottery (*faience*), mostly green or blue, in imitation of the two most precious stones (malachite and lapis lazuli), furnished the material for small figures, amulets (especially in the form of scarabs—beetles that were supposed to bring good luck), and other ornaments, which found their way, through the Phœnicians, westwards even to Spain. The products of the goldsmiths, who also employed enamel very skillfully, are admirable; the ivory-carvings were renowned. In general, the smaller articles (utensils, ornaments, etc.) display the best taste; all minute ornamentation was the delight of the Egyptians.

The art³ of Egypt exercised a most powerful influence upon all surrounding countries, especially upon Phœnicia,

36. Art. where an imitation of the Egyptian style became the national art. Solomon's temple was in Egyptian style. The Egyptian ornaments, derived from the plants and flowers of the country, especially the

FIG. 6.—Statue of Ramses II. at Turin. After Riehm-Lepsius.



FIG. 6.—Statue of Ramses II. at Turin. After Richm-Lepsius.

represented in profile, but the eye as though seen from the front, the shoulders from the front, the legs in profile, and so on. This was not awkwardness, but a principle traditionally handed down from the childhood of art ;

¹ Cp § 7. Water-wheels cannot be proved to have been known. The explanation of Dt. 11 is as referring to such wheels turned with the foot is questionable; most probably 'watering with the foot' means carrying water.

³ See Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Anc. Egypt* (ET), 2 vols., 1883; Maspero, *Egyptian Archaeology* (ET), '93; Fl. Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, '97.

* The colours are in part made of ground glass (blue and green), and are all very durable.

⁵ Petrie, *Amarra*, pls. 1, 12, is no exception, but an imitation in painting of sunk relief.

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and we can still observe how some sculptors struggled against this strait-jacket. In spite of this disadvantage, some artists of the earliest times (dyns. 4-6) drew scenes full of vivacity and of delicate execution, much superior to the similar Assyrio-Babylonian and archaic Greek sculptures (which all had, by the way, similar perspective). Later, art became more and more conventionalised. The superiority of the earliest period appears also in the statues. The realism of some of the earliest portraits was never again attained. As early as 1600 B.C., the portraits began to lose in vigour and to betray a suspicious similarity one to another. The New Empire (dyn. 12), looked more to quantity than to quality. After dynasty 26, art sank to a very low level. (On the realism of the 'Reformation period,' and the archaic renaissance in dynasty 26, see below, § 67.) Of course, the statues (almost invariably painted) have only a few conventional positions. The technical

ventionalised), and betray that their origin is to be sought in ancient wooden constructions.¹ The sloping walls show that originally Nile mud was another material in general use for all kinds of buildings. The arch was known from the earliest times (dyn. 6?), but was rarely used for stone structures. The elliptic arch was preferred in the case of buildings of brick. The foundations of temples, threatened by infiltration of ground water, were laid on thick layers of sand.

Some characteristic features of temple architecture may be mentioned.

A pair of obelisks² stood at the entrance (the surface often gilt, the pyramidal top frequently of metal; their religious - probably solar - meaning was forgotten; but they remind us of the *magbar* of the Semites; cp Is. 19 to Jer. 49 138); galleries of sphinxes³ - the symbol of wisdom - and of similar sacred beings led to the gate which was crowned by the symbol of the winged disk;⁴ broad 'pylons'⁵ resembling fortress-walls protected the entrance on either side.

The largest existing temple, that of Karnak, was originally only a modest building of dynasty 12. Every great king added a new court or a hall, and the entrance pylons finally came to stand in the interior of the complex. Many temples had a similar growth. The

divinity, however, dwelt not in these courts or halls, but in a small dark chapel in the centre, where it usually sat in a sacred boat. Sacred lakes near the temples were frequent.

The principal temple ruins are at Karnak, Luxor, Kurna, Medinet Habu (all included in ancient Thebes), Abydos, Edfu, Esneh, Ombos, Philae; in Nubia at Dabod, Kalabshah, Bêt el-Wali, Dendûr, Gerf Husein, Dakkeh, Selâm, Amâda, Abû-Simbel, Soleb. Jebel Barkal (Napîta) and Meroë are imitations by Ethiopian kings.

Secular architecture was much lighter, the only materials used being wood, and Nile mud mixed with stubble (Ex. 5 11) made into sun-dried bricks. The many royal palaces have on this account all disappeared, although some of their sumptuous ornamentations (mosaics and glazed tiles) have remained.

Wealthy subjects had the same kind of house (with an open court in the centre) that we still find in the modern East; the poor dwelt in mere clay huts, such as those occupied by the modern *fellâhin*.

The tombs had an architecture of their own. Where possible, they were long galleries hewn in the rock (especially at Thebes). The pyramid⁶ was the characteristic form of royal tombs from dyn. 3 to dyn. 12, and was frequently imitated by private persons on a smaller scale, and in brick instead of stone.

The question has very often been asked how the Egyptians erected edifices of such stupendous size, and monolithic monuments⁷ that would tax the skill even of our age of improved mechanical appliances. It would be very wrong to ascribe these achievements to the use of complicated machinery. Everything was done in the simplest possible way, by an unlimited command of

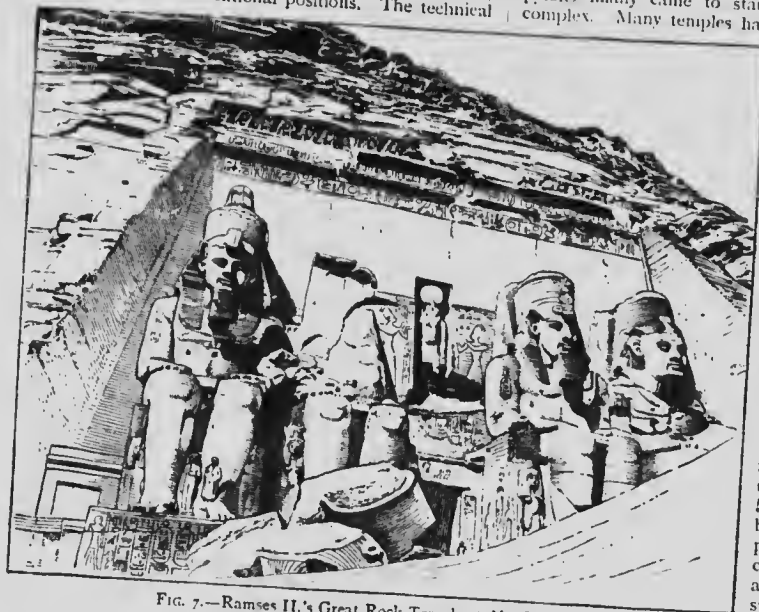


FIG. 7.—Ramses II.'s Great Rock Temple at Abu-Simbel.

perfection, however, was always great (see Fig. 6), and it was for a long time a mystery how diorite and basalt could have been cut and polished with copper, bronze, and flint instruments. It seems that for the hardest work diamond or corundum cutters were used (see DIAMOND, § 1). (On the excellent material available for sculptors, see above, § 3.) It may be mentioned here that in daily life flint instruments were, for reasons of economy, used long after 2000 B.C. The stone and the bronze ages, therefore, coincided, and touched upon the iron age (iron prevailing after 1000 B.C., copper preceding the bronze).¹ The architecture is well known for its massiveness. This was relieved by the abundance of ornaments upon walls and pillars, and by the polychromy.

That the ornamentation was originally derived from the forms of certain plants is seen especially in the ornamental columns² with capitals.³ They represent the lotus-flower both in full bloom and in bud, bundles of papyrus, and palm-trees (often strongly com-

37. Architecture. ¹ Bronze was called *hesmen*, a word connected with *ḥsm* (Brugsch), which may be an Egyptian loan-word (cp METALS). ² After the manner of the caryatides of Greek art, figures of Osiris are frequently used; but these always lean against a pillar. The head of Hathor (with cow's ears) (perhaps originally an ox-skull) as a capital for columns is the only other ancient instance of the human form being employed in architecture.

¹ This can be said also of the famous fluted columns of Benihusan, which remind one strongly of the Doric column.

² So W. L. G. see BETH-SHEMESH, 41; and cp MANSERAH.

³ Female sphinxes (representing queens) are rare.

⁴ For example, an obelisk at Thebes 108 feet high, or the colossus of Memnon (height 64 feet, weight 1175 tons). Fragments of a statue found at Tanis indicate a figure originally 20-25 feet high. Each of these objects was sculptured from one stone.

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stances'; *uwerwen*, 'their wealth' (i.e., of the parents); 'mother's ornament' (*het-n-muwt*), 'the land in joy' (*tu-m-rehwt*), 'gold in Heliopolis', 'gold on the way', 'coming in peace' (or 'luck', *y-m-hotep*). Names of animals of all sorts are used; not only 'lion', 'monkey', 'dog', 'frog' (*krar*), 'tadpole' (*heh-nu*), etc., but also names of unclean animals: 'mouse' (*pin*) and 'pig' (*irret*) are favourite girls' names. Conical names, such as we should have expected a superstitious nation to dread as ill-omened, are met with. Thus, e.g. (Liebl. 1784), an unfortunate infant retained for life the designation 'offal-swallower' (*m-hrd*). The Egyptians evidently attached less importance to the name than was usual with other nations. The many senseless syllables—mere babblings, such as Ay, Ata, Teye—which can be explained only as pet names (like the English Bob, Tom, and Dick)—confirm this.

Names with a religious significance were, of course, quite frequent. They praise a god (Ptah is beautiful, powerful, etc.)—e.g., *Set-naht(e)* 'S. (is?) strong', *Amon-em-het*, 'Amon in the first place,' extols a local god over the others. 'Beloved by' or 'loving' a god (*mer* [vulgar, *mcv*, *mi*]) *Amon*,¹ *mc(r)-en(e)-Ptah*, 'Amon is satisfied' (*Amon-hotep*), etc., are common; even 'dog of Horus' occurs. *Sokk-em-sauf*, 'the god S. (stands) behind him,' and the like, boast of divine protection. The 'sons' and 'daughters' of all possible gods are very common; but of 'brothers' of a god only two or three doubtful examples are known. *Ameny*, *Setep*, 'of Amon, of Set,' *ns(i)-hi-n-dede*, 'belonging to Mendes,' and the thankful *p-ed-Amon*, whom 'Amon gave,' belong to the same category. 'Amon in (his) ship, in (his) festival' (cp *Har-em-hebe*, of Horus), and in (his) rising,' may be intended as comparisons. In 'Isis in the marshes' and 'Horus in the lake' we have examples of mythological allusions—*Ki-mes-su* ('*Paseoson*'), 'the sun begot him,' *Dhut(i)-mose*, 'the god Thout born' (i.e., incarnate), say a good deal. Very remarkable is the late usage of employing the name of the divinity itself—e.g., *Isis*, *Hor* (not Osiris, which would be too ill-omened), *Har-pe-hrad* (H. the child), *Har-se-he* (H. the son of Isis), *Hons(u)*—deities of the Osirian circle and the goddess of love *Hut-hor*, (paraphrased in 'mistress of Byblos'; cp § 14) being, in particular, very common.²

The more complicated names were introduced, for the most part, by the kings (e.g., *Nefer-ke-re*, 'fine is the double of the Sun,' etc.), who, from dynasty 5 onwards, always had two names; these and the various regular titles and surnames were imitated or exaggerated by loyal subjects. Loyalty is frequently expressed by names such as 'King N. is satisfied, well, powerful,' which were regarded as specially suitable for holders of office. Sometimes these names are as long as Babylonian names. Of foreign names, Semitic formations were quite popular from dynasty 18 onwards (see § 39). Libyan names even before dynasty 22; later we meet with Ethiopic and other names.

In treating the history³ of Egypt, we find the greatest difficulty⁴ in the chronology. The Egyptians

¹ Standing alone, or at the end of a compound name, the god's name was probably pronounced *Amon*, later *Amon* (Copt. *AMON*); elsewhere (cp Heb. construct state), *Amen*.

² In the earliest examples, however, the possessive-ending *y* may be supplied. This could be suppressed in writing, as was the case in the earliest Hebrew orthography.

³ Maspero's huge *History of the Ancient Orient* (three volumes, 1895 to 1899) is perhaps best up to date, and specially valuable for its ample references; but its system of transliteration of names will be found confusing. Petrie's *History of Egypt*, still 1900 incomplete, is a very useful collection of material and the best available work in English. An English Meyer, however, i.e., a readable history—by the side of the English Wiedemann (Petrie), is still a desideratum.

⁴ Another great difficulty is the transcription of names. The reader must bear in mind that Egyptian was written (like primitive Hebrew, only still more 'defectively') without vowels. It is full of abbreviations; letters (especially liquid consonants) are often suppressed; and some confusion of *n* and *r*, and *l*, etc., is

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had no eras, but reckoned by the years of their kings. For practical use long lists of kings had to be kept. The only list preserved (at Turin) is very fragmentary, and the extracts from Manetho (*Maveθw*; *Maveθw* in Euseb.), a priest of Sebennytos, about 270 B.C., the only Egyptian historian in the Greek language, have come down in a greatly corrupted state.² Besides, even in their original state, both sources (especially Manetho) seem to have been far from the attainment of absolute correctness. For convenience sake, we retain Manetho's reckoning of thirty-one dynasties (down to the Ptolemies), although his dynasties are not always correctly divided, and his



FIG. 9.—Part of Sety I.'s tablet of kings at Abydos. The king, preceded by his son Ramesses II, wearing the princely lock of hair over his ear, advances, censer in hand, to present offerings to Ptah-sokar-Osiris on behalf of 76 famous ancestors.

First line: May, Tity, etc.
Second line: Merenre, Meht-m-saf, Neferkare, etc.
Third line: Sety I. repeated.

chronological data cannot be safely used without a searching criticism. The attempts to use astrological dates—e.g., the fixed or Sothis year (see CHRONOLOGY, § 19)—have been, so far, not very successful.³

Champollion placed the beginning of dynasty 1 in 5867 B.C.; Boeckh in 5702; Mariette in 5004; Petrie has placed it in 4777; Lepsius brought it down to 3892; and some have tried to bring it down much lower than 3000 B.C.

An accurate chronology for Egypt is possible, accordingly, only after 700 B.C. (CHRONOLOGY, § 20). Approximate dates can be given—thanks to the synchronism afforded by the Amarna tablets—back to about 1600 (ib., § 22). Thus far, there is no hope that the gaps in the Hyksos period and the preceding

allowed. The Coptic forms are our greatest help towards recovering the pronunciation; but they frequently differ from the ancient language as much as might be expected after a development of 3000 years. Hence the greatest confusion reigns in Egyptological literature, some names being current in as many as a dozen forms. Every change of philological theory brings about a change of transliteration, and those who see the trouble which this causes are returning, as much as possible, to the Greek transliterations, where there are such, of Herodotus, Manetho, etc. Where, as often, there are none, this way of escaping the difficulties of wild guessing at the pronunciation fails. [How a different theory, which has the same object, works out, may be seen from Petrie's *History* already referred to.] The present writer has tried to be as conservative of customary forms as possible.

¹ Hardly 'high priest of Heliopolis,' as later sources state. His dynasties are arbitrary groups of kings disagreeing with those, e.g., of the Turin papyrus.

² Extracted by Julius Africanus, Eus., and Sync. (also partly in Jos.). Handy editions in C. Müller (*Historiae Graeci Minores*, ii.) and Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, i. The Turin fragments are best edited by Wilkinson [51]. Selections of kings' names in the 'tablets' of Abydos (2) (Sety I.; see above, fig. 9), Sakkarah (private, temp. Ramesses II.) and Karnak (Thutmosis III.). Cp De Rougé, *Recherches sur les 6 premières dynasties* [66]. Also Brugsch and Bouriant, *Le livre des Rois* [87] (Lepsius, *Königbuch* [58], antiquated).

³ Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ägypter* (49), etc., all antiquated. Recent attempts by Mahler, *Z.A.*, 89 ff., are followed by some, e.g., by Petrie, but disputed by others; cp §§ 50, 56.

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dynasties (13 and 14) will ever be filled up so as to allow similar certainty for the earliest times, although, e.g., dynasty 12 is fairly well known now [but see col. 1237, n. 3]. Modern writers have therefore, for the most part, given up trying to form complete chronological systems. The material at command is insufficient. At present the efforts of scholars are directed to finding minimum approximate dates.

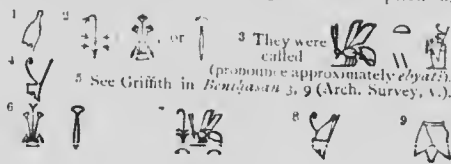
Apart from the division into thirty-one dynasties (down to Alexander, according to Manetho), Egyptian history is commonly divided into three great periods: i. the Ancient Empire (Memphitic), dynasties 1-6; dynasties 7-10 may already be reckoned to ii. the Middle Empire; dynasties 11-13 (Theban period), the New Empire, from dynasty 17-18 to the end (Theban, Babastide, Saitic, etc. periods).

The earliest history (before King Menes; see below) is filled by Egyptian tradition thus: first with the successive reigns on earth of the various gods (on the chronology the Egyptians, of course, disagreed very greatly), and then for 13,400 years with those of the Semu-Hor, 'followers of (the Sun-god) Horus'—an expression absolutely equivalent to 'ancestors' (Manetho renders it awkwardly by *révères* or *hpaer*). Egyptologists are agreed that most probably this long period of kings too obscure to be enumerated, was the time during which Egypt was still divided, and that the first historic king was the ruler who united the two kingdoms; but see below on MENES, § 44.

The Egyptian traditions are unanimous that originally there were two kingdoms. The first was that of 'the Southern Land,' *to-rs(i)*, *ἡ ἑσπέρη*, with the twin cities *Negbet* (Eleithya, now El-Kāb) and *Achen* (Hieraconpolis, opposite Eleithya) for capital, and a king styled *hwt/mi*, who wore the white crown.¹ It had as emblem a kind of rush.² The second kingdom, whose rulers³ wore the red crown,⁴ and resided in Buto (anciently *Pe*), was *to-emhy(i)*, 'the Northern Land,' which had as its emblem the lotus?⁵ plant.⁶ Even the Roman emperors were still styled 'king of the Upper and the Lower country,'⁷ and were represented as such with the two crowns combined.⁸ It is unlikely, however, that any monument yet discovered goes back to the period of the separate kingdoms.

Still older is the division of Egypt into forty-two *nomoi* or counties (thirty-six to forty-seven in Roman times after many changes), twenty-one of Upper and twenty-one of Lower Egypt. Each *nomos* had its own god (and totem?) and its own capital, and kept its distinct frontiers, its coat of arms, etc. down to very recent times. We may see in these counties, accordingly, traces of prehistoric kingdoms or tribes.

The beginnings of Egyptian civilisation reach back to this remote period. On the other hand, some barbarous survivals from it may be found in the later religion (see above, § 13), as also, among other things, in the decoration of the king, who always wore a leather appendage fastened to his short skirt⁹ (the whole reminding one of a lion's skin with tail). The recent attempts, especially those of Hommel, to prove the proto-Babylonian ('Sumerian') origin of the whole primeval culture of Egypt, imply, at least, great exaggerations. Some Semitic (not Sumerian) elements of culture seem to be noticeable in prehistoric times, and one or another trace of indirect Babylonian influence (through the Semites) might be admitted; but all these influences are very insignificant in comparison with the elements of native origin. Thus the general conception of



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hieroglyphic writing might perhaps be borrowed from the Euphrates valley; but not a single sign taken from the Babylonian system can be found. Egyptian writing bears a thoroughly African stamp, no less than Egyptian art, manners, etc.

Recent investigations have revealed many traces of the earliest population—that of about the time of the first historical dynasty.¹ The Egyptians

were more pastoral than later; their food, their burial customs, and so forth were still barbarous.² Already, however, they possessed the art of writing (greatly differing in detail, indeed, from the later system), and, at least at the courts of the kings, most arts were practised (though not as highly developed as in dyn. 3). It is still an open question whether the tomb (not the burning-place) of the first historical king Meny (Menes of the Greeks) has recently been discovered at Nakādeh,³ near the old city of Awt (or Awt, the same name as Ombos), the abode of the god Sēt (cp § 15; fig. 9 shows a tablet found at the same place bearing in archaic writing the word *mn*).⁴ Tombs of



FIG. 10.—So-called Tablet of Menes.

An ivory plate found by De Morgan at Nakādeh; a, from a photograph; b, outlined from a photograph (b after L. Borchardt, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 33, 1054 f. 1907). It figures and describes the funeral outfit of the deceased king.

eight kings (of about dyn. 1) have been excavated near Abydos (at Umm el-Gia'ah) and the names of several other kings found there.⁵ We see now why Manetho said that dynasty 1 proceeded from This (Egyptian *Tini*, modern Girgeh?), near Abydos. That would explain the superiority of Upper Egypt over the northern country, perhaps also the spread of the Osiris-worship of Abydos over all Egypt. As regards the unification of Egypt see § 42, although it may be that the later

¹ See (with reserve) De Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* (96 and 97). He correctly refers Petrie's excavations to 'Nagada and Ballas' (96) here.

² For example, even the hyena was fattened and eaten. The cannibalism that some have alleged, however, seems to be only the second burial (i.e., reburial after cleaning the bones of flesh), a practice that is still to be found, e.g., in New Guinea, and is to be connected with the first attempts at embalming. Cutting the dead in pieces in imitation of the fate of Osiris (cp § 14) was also customary during the first dynasties. That several early kings were buried with their whole tomb, although the later Egyptians dreaded nothing more than incineration, is a theory that has not been confirmed. Most of the cities of Egypt go back to this primeval period; within it, Heliopolis (On) was, evidently, the most important city; at least, its religious authority reached far.

³ De Morgan, *Recherches*, ii. (97), and *SB.H.* 97, p. 1054.

⁴ The word *mn* seems (so Wiedemann) to designate the tomb, not the king.

⁵ Amélineau, *Fouilles d'Abydos* (96 ff.); more exhaustively, 99. Quibell's finds at Hieraconpolis, 1900, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*. An accurate arrangement and chronological determination of the earliest names of kings is not yet possible; neither can their names be transliterated with certainty.

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Egyptian scholars, in beginning history with Menés, acted arbitrarily or on unknown grounds, omitting those of Menés' predecessors whom they were unable to classify. It is not impossible that some of the ancient kings of This precede him. On the tradition that Menés built Memphis, and on the great sphinx near that city, cf MEMPHIS.

Of dynasty 2 (six to nine kings) we knew before only that the temple and worship of the kings Sedy (Sethenes in Manétho) and Per-eb-sen are mentioned perhaps a century later.

From dynasty 3 (nine kings) we have on monuments (hardly contemporary) the cult of *Neb-ka* or *Nebkau-re*, King *Zoser* built the remarkable stepped (i.e., unfinished) pyramid at Sakkārah. (The pyramid as a form of royal tomb does not seem to have been known in dynasties 1 and 2.) His name has been found engraved upon the mountains of the Sinaitic peninsula. We may conclude that the copper-mines of the Sinaitic desert, from which the Egyptians drew almost all the copper so necessary for tools in the copper age, were already in the hands even of more ancient pharaohs. Later, various stories were carried back to the kings of the first three dynasties; sacred books were reported to have been written by them, or found by, or under, them; but all these traditions seem to be apocryphal.

The lists of kings drawn up in the fourteenth century B.C., upon which we have to rely for many names, are mere selections (not trustworthy even for the succession of the names). The whole period of dynasties 1 to 3, therefore, probably included at least 600 years (779, Manétho), possibly double that time. Thus Menés might be placed near 4000 B.C.

Dynasty 4 lies in the full light of history (soon after 3000 B.C.). King Snefru(I), who founded it, seems to have been a great ruler. Later

45. 4th Dyn. stories report that he had to fight with Asiatic tribes attacking Egypt near Memphis, where already earlier pharaohs had to build a large fortification, 'the king's wall,' against raids through Goshen. Some places founded there by Snefru(I) confirm the essentially historical character of these reports. At Wādī Maghārah in the Sinaitic peninsula, he opened a new mine for copper and greenstone (malachite, which the Egyptians held in strange esteem). His tomb is the irregular pyramid of Meidūm.

The next kings, the Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus of Herodotus (Hufu(I), Hāf-re', and Men-kafu-re' of the monuments), are the builders of the three largest pyramids at Gōsh, stupendous works which were never surpassed (cf. MEMPHIS). Evidently the strength of Egypt was overtaken by these gigantic constructions, for the pyramids of all subsequent kings (*Rā-ded-f*, *Sep-sek-as-f*, etc.) show a considerable falling-off.

Dynasty 5 is called Elephantine by Manétho. This would indicate that the warlike Nubians, already employed as mercenaries in that early time, acquired sufficient influence to establish their leaders as kings.² This dynasty (nine to eleven kings, reigning about 150 years) marks the zenith of Egyptian art (see above, § 36). The last king, *Unas* (*Heny; Onnos*, Manétho), built the earliest of the five pyramids at Sakkārah which have preserved in the inscriptions on the walls of their burial chambers so valuable a collection of religious and magical texts (see above, § 20), texts dating in part from prehistoric times, and already in dynasty 5 not all perfectly intelligible.³

Unas has left, in the so-called Mastabat-el-Farāun (Pharaoh's bench), near Sakkārah, the basis of one of those colossal

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monuments of half-pyramidal character¹ which were erected by many of the kings of that time. Their purpose is obscure; we only know that they were, like the obelisks, for the cult of the Sun-god.

Dynasty 6 (five kings, about 140 years, beginning with *Pety* or *Atoty*) had powerful rulers, especially *Pepy* (read *Apopy*?) I., a great builder,

47. 6th Dyn. the founder of Memphis proper. He waged war, not only with the 'sand-dwelling' nomads of the Sinaitic desert, but also in Palestine, which he seems to have been the first (?) to claim as tributary territory.² The kingdom, however, was more and more decentralised, and at the end of dynasty 6 went to pieces. It must be mentioned that under *Pepy* (*Apopy*) II. *Nefer-ka-re* (reigning, according to the best traditions, ninety-four years, perhaps the longest reign in the world's history) we find records of a great commercial expedition, a nomarch of Elephantine being sent by the king to the Sūdān near Khartūm to obtain one of the dwarfs from the woods of Central Africa 'for the sacred dances.'³

Most kings of dynasties 3-6 (Manétho calls dynasty 2 as well as dynasty 1 Thinitic, dynasties 3, 4, and 6 Memphitic) had their residences near Memphis, though not at the same place; many kings built 'their city' afresh, a work rendered easy by the light material employed.

The practice was for each king to build his pyramid west of his own city, in the desert; it is this alone, in fact, that enables us to guess the site of the city. Gradually Memphis proper became the permanent capital.

Dynasties 7 to 11 form an obscure period (only about twenty-five kings known, many more lost), full of the struggles of the Nomarchs, the princes of the small counties.

48. Dyns. 7-11. Dynasties 7 and 8 are called Memphitic, 9 and 10 came from Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt (see HAPTES). These Heracleopolitans had unceasing wars with rival kings in Thebes, whom they seem never to have completely subdued. Manétho mentions only one great king among the Heracleopolitan kings, *Achthoes* (Egyptian, *Hty*; pronounce Ehtoy), whom he describes as cruel—i.e., a powerful warrior.

Finally, the Theban rulers from whom the eleventh dynasty descended gained the superiority.

Almost all these kings, whose number is doubtful (Petrie nine, others five or six) had the name *Antef* or that of *Mentuhotep*. Of the last king of this dynasty, *Sank-ka-re*, we know that he sent an expedition through the desert east of Koptos to build a ship on the Red Sea and to sail to Punt for incense. Such expeditions to Punt (the Abyssinian and Somali coast of our days) occur under several kings of the next (twelfth) dynasty; the earliest mentioned is one under *Assa* (*Vsny*) of dynasty 5.

The new line, of seven kings, was founded by *Amen-em-het* I., who subdued the rebel nomarchs after hard fighting. One of the classic books, 'the

49. 12th Dyn. instructions of Amenemhet' (i.e., instructions how to rule),⁴ professes to have been written by him when, tired of reigning, he abdicated after escaping a conspiracy against his life. His son *Usertesen* (*Wesertesen*) I. erected the temple of which the obelisk of Heliopolis is the only trace. He was buried in the pyramid of Lisht. *Usertesen* II., who succeeded Amenemhet II., built the pyramid of Illahun. His workers inhabited the city on the spot now called Kahun, where Petrie found valuable antiquities.⁵

Usertesen II. seems to have begun to favour the part of Egypt now called Faijūm (i.e., 'the lake,' in antiquity

50. Faijūm. *to-kei*, 'the lake-country')—the Arsinoite nome of the Ptolemies. This is a depression in the Lihyan desert into which the branch of the Nile now called Bahr-Yūsuf flows, forming a lake, now called Birket-Karūn, and irrigating one of the most fruitful parts of Egypt (properly an oasis; see above,

¹ A similar monument from dynasty 5 has been found near Riga.

² See the so-called inscription of Unas, *RP* 2.21-10. For the reference to Palestine, see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 33. Petrie found in Doshāsh pictures from a similar war, which seem to belong to the same time (*OLZ* 1248).

³ Tomb at Aswān; inscription first published by Schiaparelli.

⁴ Best translation, Griffith, *ZÄ*, 97, p. 35; *World's Best Lit.* 5323.

⁵ The collection of the 'Petrie or Kahun papyri' (ed. Griffith, 97), to which we have so often to refer.

¹ The romantic queen Nitocris of Herodotus is legendary. She is a disfigured princess of dynasty 26.

² The hypothesis that Egypt was ever conquered by Nubians or Troglodytes as a nation cannot be upheld. The soldiery of Egypt, however, was derived mostly from the southernmost counties, where the people, from the mountain range of Salsih, were of somewhat mixed character (exactly as now), and therefore more warlike.

³ Maspero, *Les Inscriptions des pyramides de Sapparah*, 1824 (reprinted from *Revue*, 3 to 14), gives these texts along with meritorious attempts at full translations. The grammar of the pyramid-texts remains to be written. Their archaic style has preserved many inflections lost in later Egyptian.

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§ 4). The Nile had been flowing into this depression even in prehistoric times; but some improvements must have been made in irrigation by the kings of dynasty 12, especially by *Amenemhet III.*, who succeeded *Usertesen III.* At least he is the king Moeris to whom Herodotus erroneously ascribed even the digging (!) of 'Lake Moeris' (thirty-five miles long even now, much more in antiquity); his 'two pyramids' (i.e., large basins), with colossal statues of 'King Moeris,' were discovered by Petrie near Biahmu.² The pyramid of Amenemhet III. stands at Hawara, where only insignificant remains betray the site of the labyrinth built by the same king. The classical writers describe it as a gigantic structure equal to the pyramids of Gizeh. *Amenemhet II.* and a queen *Sebeknefru* (or *-nefrou*) close this dynasty (194 years, beginning about 2100 B.C.?),³ which the Egyptians, not without justice, considered as the greatest of all. The land was flourishing, art well developed, and literature in its golden age,—at least according to Egyptian taste. Most of the works used as classics in the schools were written while this dynasty reigned (see above, § 21). Many temples and public constructions were erected. Conquests were made in Nubia (not in Syria);⁴ only the old copper mines near Sinai were used). All kings were active in subduing Wawat (N. of Nubia) and Kôsh (Cush of the Bible, in the S.) for the sake of the gold mines of that country; *Usertesen III.* finally fixed his frontier south of the second cataract and fortified it by two large fortresses (now called Semneh and Kunneh) on the two banks of the Nile.

For the student of the OT the most interesting monument of this period is the famous wall-painting of Beni Hasan (part of it given in colours in Richin, *III/2*) which was formerly explained as representing the immigration of Abraham or Jacob (cp Josue ii., § 8). The inscriptions that accompany the painting inform us, however, that a caravan of '37 Asiatics from the desert-country' came, not as immigrants, but as traders,⁵ with metallic eye-paint (*mesemet*; cp § 39), evidently from the copper mines near Sinai. The chief, *Ab-ia(y)* (i.e., *Abisai*?), presents two ibexes to his customer, the nomarch. In Middle Egypt such direct commercial relations seem to have been less frequent than in the north. The illustration of the costumes of the age of Hebrew immigration is most valuable (observe the weapons, the war-axe, the boomerang—an elaborate one, as the sign of the chief—the travelling shoes, the lyre, etc.).

Dynasties 13 and 14 again show the consequences of decentralisation—namely, wars of nomarchs competing for the crown, some kings ruling only a few months, altogether at least 140 princes many evidently contemporaneous. The names of many kings, which imitate the names of dynasty 12, or at least point to the Faiyum and its god Sobk (such names as *Sebk-sauf*, *Sebk-hotep*), show that they claimed descent from dynasty 12. Dynasty 14 is said to have come from Nois, in the W. Delta, and perhaps shows us Libyan elements penetrating into Egypt.

At the height of this confusion (about 1800 B.C.?) came the foreign invasion of the so-called Hyksos (or Hyksos?), who overran Egypt easily. Much has been conjectured as to the origin of these mysterious strangers; but nothing certain

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can be stated. It seems that they were not Semites (the etymology Hyk[u]-sos, 'shepherd-kings,' is probably not from Manetho himself), but Mitannians, Hittites, or similar intruders from Eastern Asia Minor, who conquered Syria and then Egypt.¹ The Hyksos kings (*Hydn*, etc. (seven mutilated names in Manetho) ruled over all Egypt and northwards as far as N. Mesopotamia. Later, they permitted Upper Egypt to have its own viceroys of Egyptian blood. These viceroys of Thebes (dynasty 17, three to five kings) finally threw off the yoke of the Hyksos *Apophis II.* The kings *Skene-re* (III.?) and *Ka-mes* (or *-mose*) died (the former, it would seem, in battle) during the long war; finally *Amosis I.* (C. Ah- or Yah-nose) took the last stronghold of the foreigners, their large fortress *Avaris* (*Hat[et]wa ret*), on the eastern frontier S. of Pelusium, somewhat after 1600 B.C. (Mahler-Petrie, 1583).

The duration of the Hyksos period is very uncertain; it seems necessary to abandon Manetho's corrupted traditions (500 to 800 years in three dynasties) and to estimate it at about 200 years (?).² The foreigners are said to have worshipped their own (?) war-god;³ in all other respects they were soon Egyptianised. The immigration of Israel has been assumed by patristic writers and many modern scholars (partly on very feeble grounds) to have occurred during their rule (under an *Apophis*). Amosis I. (see above), the founder of dynasty 18, begins the New Empire, a period in which Egypt shows her power as a conquering nation.

53. 18th Dyn. The warlike spirit had been aroused by the long war of independence; an army had been created; and the country was thoroughly centralised (the hereditary monarchs having given place to royal officers). All energy turned outwards, especially towards Asia. Amosis pursued the Hyksos, and conquered Palestine and Phoenicia. Amenophis I. (Amenhotep, circa 1570 B.C.; Mahler-Petrie, 1562) occupied Nubia again, at least to the third cataract. This king and his mother *Nofret-ari* (or *-ere*) became, later, divine protectors of a part of the necropolis of Thebes, and are, therefore, frequently painted black as divinities of the nether-world. Thutmose I. (Dhut[i]-mose; the transliteration Thothmes found in many books is not correct), circa 1560 B.C., completed the conquest of Nubia and penetrated into Syria as far as to the Euphrates. We may, however, doubt whether he gained lasting results in the North. Even during his lifetime, the princess *Hat-sepsut* (or *Sepsewet*, but not *Hatasu*, as was formerly read) or *Makare* came into power, and, after his death, she reigned, recognising her co-regents Thutmose II. and III.⁴ at best as puppets.

After her death *Thutmose III.*, in fierce hatred, tried to blot out her memory. Many monuments show her as a male king (with beard, etc.), a fact which has been explained perhaps too seriously. Formerly Egyptologists concluded that she had an unusually strong and active mind; she may have been only an instrument in the hands of a court-party. She built the magnificent temple of Amon at ed-Dér el-Bahri, commemorating in it, as one of the greatest events, the sending of several ships to the 'divine country,' the frankincense coast of Punt (cp § 46).

¹ The only inscription referring to their nationality (St. bi. Ant. *Rec. trav.* 6) states that they brought with them many 'ame'-i.e., Syrians or Palestinians—but were themselves 'foreigners'—i.e., of a different race. All alleged sculptures with Hyksos portraits really belong to earlier periods; no Hyksos type has yet been found. The Kassite invasion of Babylonia hardly reached so far west. See on these questions, WMM, *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* '98, p. 107 ff.

² If we adopt the recently proposed date for the 12th dynasty (§ 50 n.) we can assign the Hyksos only about 100 years, or even less, beginning about 1680 B.C.

³ We have, however, no evidence that they tried to force this cult as a monotheism upon the Egyptians. The later tradition, that their god had the Hittite name *Suteh*, seems erroneous; he was nothing but the Egyptian form of Set worshipped in Auaris.

⁴ The succession and relationship of these three regents have recently been much disputed. According to some, they were all children of Thutmose I., and Hat-sepsut, the legal heiress, she was the wife of Thutmose II. and the aunt of his son (by a concubine), Thutmose III.

¹ Maspero, *Paron of Civ.* 447.

² Petrie (*Illahun*) thinks, with Major Brown, that the special merit of these kings consisted, not in digging basins, but in dyking off ground from the lake. The inscriptions furnish no evidence one way or the other. At present, the surface of the lake is considerably below the level of the sea. Some urge antiquity, it may have been high enough to allow use of the lake as a reservoir for the irrigation of the country with the help of sluices, as described by classical writers (Strabo, etc.). This view, however, is now more and more abandoned.

³ Recently discovered papyri seem to furnish (by a dated rising of Sirius) an exact astronomical date for Usertesen III. According to this the beginning of his reign fell between 1876 and 1873 B.C. This would assign to the 12th dynasty the period 1996-93 to 1786-83.

⁴ It is very questionable whether the story of the Egyptian nobleman Sen-nihyt (spelt also Senehat, etc.) who, under Usertesen I., fled to Palestine, and as adventurer became a prince there, contains any considerable historical element. It is translated in *KP* 211.

⁵ WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 36.

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Thutmose III. (who reigned alone from about 1515 B.C. [Möhler, 1480], his official 23rd year) was, of the pharaohs, the greatest warrior. He defeated an alliance of the Syrians at Megiddo and made Syria as far as the

54. Thutmose III.



FIG. 11.—Amenhotep IV. Supposed head of the 'mask' that covered the mummy? (After Petrie.)

and the tribute he commanded enabled him to be an active builder, especially in Karnak.

Amenhotep II. (about 1485; Petrie, 1440) maintained his Syrian dominion, which reached to the city of Ni (on the Euphrates or Orontes?), subduing revolts; so did Thutmose III., who also fought in Nubia. The latter, in consequence of

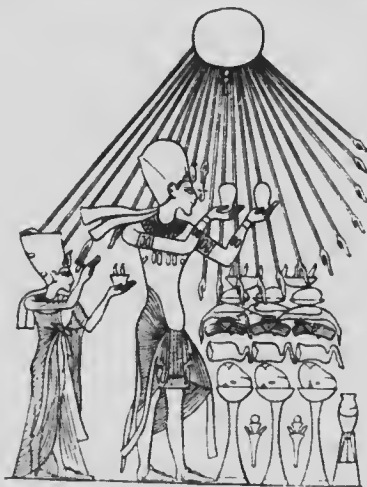


FIG. 12.—Amenhotep IV. (and his wife) worshipping the solar disk; the rays proceeding from which end in hands. (After Eiman-Lepsius.)

a dream, dug out from the sand which covered it the great sphinx near the pyramids—a pious act which was, of course, useless.

¹ Translations *KP* 3) 217 (doubtful); Griffith in Petrie's History.

² See *KP* 2) 525, but with caution. The editors are not Egyptologists. Maspero treated parts in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* and *Z.A.*, 1891, p. 119. The present writer hopes to publish a detailed study.

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Amenhotep (Amen-hotep) III. (1430?) is remarkable for the love shown by him everywhere to his fair wife Teye, a (Libyan?) woman not of royal blood. The great find of Tell el-Amarna, an archive of

55. Amarna Tablets. cuneiform tablets¹ containing despatches from princes of N. Syria, Assyria, Babylonia, Cyprus (Alasia), and from Amenhotep's vassal-kings in Jerusalem, Megiddo, etc., gives us a wonderful insight into his diplomatic relations, and into his marriages—e.g., with two princesses of Mitanni (Osroene, capital probably Harran)—but also shows a growing neglect of his Syrian provinces, which fell to pieces under his successor. Amenhotep III. built a large temple, before which were erected the famous colossal statues one of which became the 'singing image of Memnon' of the Greeks.

As we may conclude even from his portraits (figs. 10 and 11), Amenhotep III. (1415² B.C.) was no ordinary man. Being dissatisfied with the confused religion of Egypt, he had the amazing boldness to introduce the worship of the sun-disk as the only god,³

persecuting especially the worship of Amun, whose name he tried to have erased from all monuments where it occurred. He changed his own name, in consequence, into *Akhenaten* (or *Akhenaton*), 'splendour (or spirit) of the sun-disk.' This great religious reform was accompanied by a revolt against the traditional conventionalism in art, which was supplanted by a bold and ugly realism. The change in religious literature is not less remarkable. The hymns now composed in praise of the Sun-god are the best productions of Egyptian religious literature. Amenhotep even gave up his palaces at Amou's city of Thebes, and built a new capital (at the modern el-Amarna in Middle Egypt), called 'horizon of the sun-disk.' All these changes met with much resistance, and hardly had he died (about 1397) when all the results of his life-work were lost. His successor, Ay, had to return to the old traditions; the temples of the sun-disk and the monuments of the heretical king were razed to the foundations, and Egyptian religion became more than ever mummified.

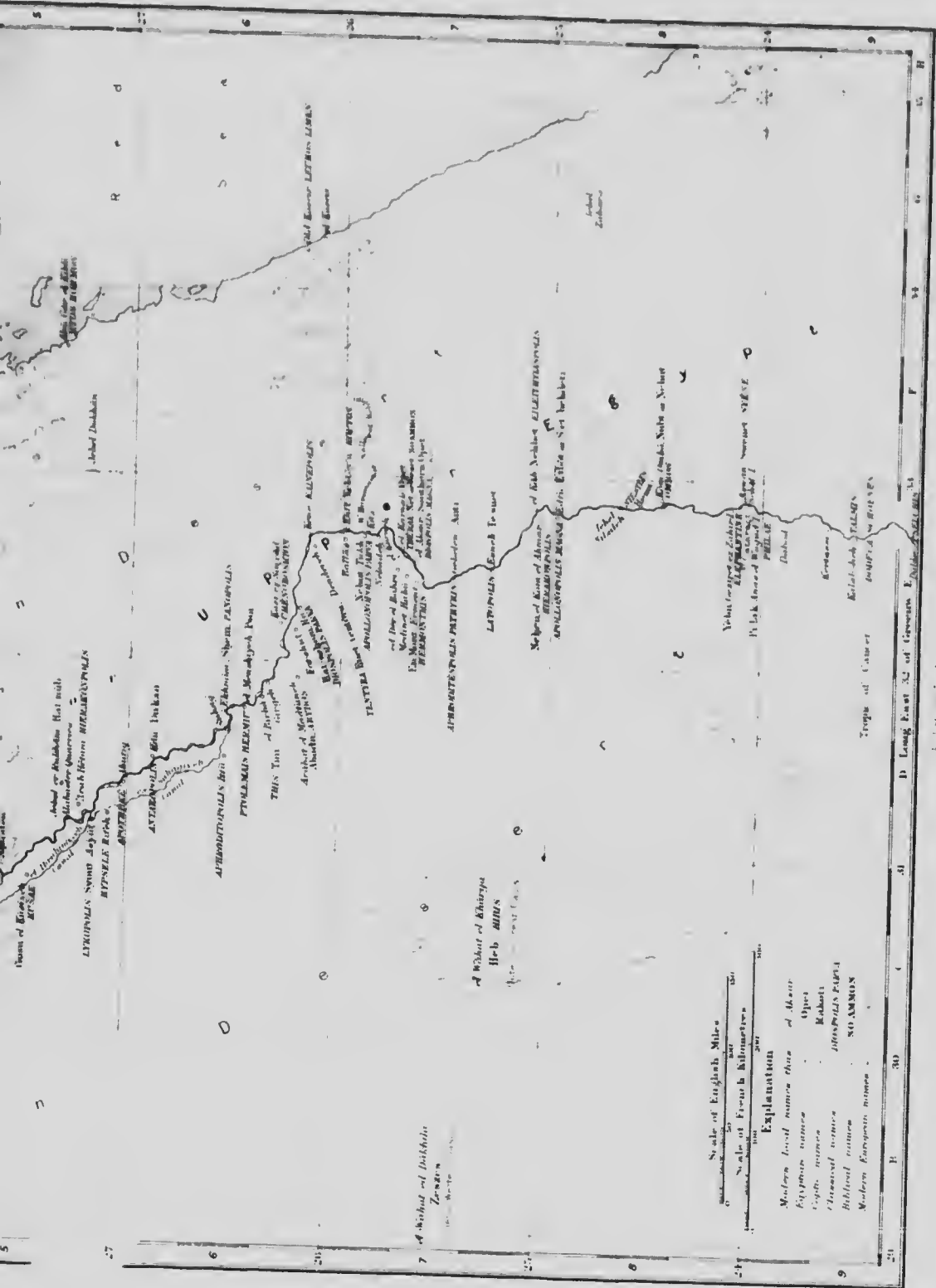
Amenhotep IV.'s son-in-law *Smenkhkare* (others read *Smenkhkare*), the former priest ('divine father,' a low rank) *Ay*, and *Tutankhamun* did not reign long in this turbulent time; *Haremhab* (1380 B.C.), formerly general and governor, established peace and a firm government. To the delight of the priests, he completed the religious reaction.

With *Ramses* (Ra'messu) I. we begin dynasty 19 (about 1355; Petrie, 1327). *Sethos I.* (often called 57. Dyn. 19. *Seti*, Egyptian *Sety*, 1350 B.C.), like his father, did not reign very long; but he was active as a builder (Abydos, Thebes) and in foreign politics. He drove nomadic tribes (remining one of the Midianites and Amalekites of the OT) away from S. Palestine, and tried to regain Middle Syria. The Hittites (Heta of the

¹ Best and most complete translations in *KBS* by Wi. ('96). Knudtzon has published the results of a fresh collation of the tablets in *Beitr. zu Ass.* 4 101-154 ('96). The language of these letters is Babylonian (the pharaoh's own foreign despatches were written in this language of diplomacy), mixed with Canaanitish words or phrases, often in a very faulty style. Some specimens of the non-Semitic languages of Mitanni and Cyprus occur.

² This approximate date, serving as a basis for our chronology of dynasties 18 and 19, is inferred from the Babylonian synchronism (see *CHRONOLOGY*, § 22). Burnaburiash II. and Amenhotep IV. seem to have come to the throne about the same time. Assyriologists must obtain a better agreement on Burnaburiash II. and his predecessor Kadasman-Bel. From an exclusively Egyptological standpoint, the present writer would determine about 1380 (Petrie, 1383) as the minimum date. 1415 may be a trifle too high, but not much. Wi.'s date for Burnaburiash (1456 B.C.) seems decidedly too high; likewise Rost's date (*Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* 2 228), 1438.

³ This must not be ascribed to Asiatic influences. Although the Syrians were advanced enough to recognise the forces of nature in their gods more clearly than the Egyptians, the monotheistic idea was entirely a new creation.



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EGYPT

Egyptians, Hatti of the Assyrians) from E. Asia Minor (Cappadocia) had conquered N. Syria,—beginning in the reign of Amenophis IV., when Egypt was too weak to resist them. Their influence reached even to Palestine, and Sethos became entangled with them in a war, waged in the Lebanon region south of Kadesh. This war was taken up more energetically by his son **Ramesses II.** (Sesostris, *circa* 1340-1273 B.C.; see figs. 6, 12, and 4). He reconquered



FIG. 13.—Mummy of Ramesses II. After a photograph.

Phoenicia as far as Beirut in his second year, and in his fifth attacked the most important city of central Syria—Kadesh in the Amorite country (i.e., near the N. end of the Lebanon, on the Orontes). His victory there over the Hittite force of war-chariots became (greatly exaggerated) the subject of many pictures and inscriptions (on the epic, see above, § 25), because the king was (against his will) personally engaged in the fight. The war went on, however, till his twenty-first year, and Egypt was not always victorious—otherwise all Palestine would not have revolted. Ramses had to take the strong mountain-cities of Galilee (year 8), to punish the territory of Ephraim and Dan, and even to storm Askalon (Askelon) and Gezer in the S. The treaty of peace (engraved upon a silver plate and preserved in a copy) was, however, favourable, leaving Palestine (inscriptions of Ramses have lately been found east of the Jordan)¹ and half of Phoenicia to Egypt. Ramses married a daughter of Hattusili the 'great king' of the Hittites. The rest of his long reign (sixty-seven years altogether) was peaceful. The conquests from Scythia to India, therefore, ascribed to him (Sesostris) by the Greeks, are pure fiction—a mere inference from his many buildings. As a builder (temples of Luxor, the Ramesseum, Abydos, etc.) Ramses surpassed all other pharaohs, although the amazing multitude of monuments bearing his name is largely due to his erasure of the names of the ancient builders and usurpation of their works. Nubia also, which as far as Ben-Naga, S. of Khartoum, had long before his time become an Egyptian province, was favoured with many constructions—e.g., the huge rock-temple at Abū-Simbel (see fig. 7). The special favour of this great king, however, was directed towards 'the land of Ramses' or Goshen (see GOSHEN, i. § 4). This desert-valley, which was formerly reached only very irregularly by the Nile, he rendered fruitful by a canal, colonised it (with Syrians, too, and among them the 'Apiri, frequently alleged to have been Hebrews), and built several cities in it, including a royal residence, the city of Ramses. Thus he would seem to be, according to Ex. 11, the pharaoh of the oppression; and his son Menephtah (*Menphoth*, see fig. 13; about 1273 B.C.) has, thus far, been generally assumed to be the pharaoh of the Exodus.

¹ The so-called 'stone of Job,' ZDPV, 1922, p. 206, fig. 31, etc. (1923). An Egyptian officer worshipped a (Amorite?) god (called approximately *Ikana* (?) or *gipant*) on the spot.

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The recent discovery of Menephtah's inscriptions mentioning Israel as defeated, and evidently dwelling in Palestine, makes this view very questionable. It is the opinion of the present writer that any chronological system of the

59. Israel.

Exodus must, at least, sacrifice Ex. 11 (Phthom and Ramses), which might be a gloss, and other details. Attempts to discover the name of Moses (the alleged 'Mesh') in the time of Ramses II. have failed. There are indications that the Israelitish nation or, at least, some tribes — e.g., ASHER (q.v.), § 1)—were resident in Palestine at the beginning of dynasty 19, perhaps earlier (cp ISRAEL, § 2). It must be left to future excavations to determine how far the biblical accounts need a critical revision, and whether the Exodus can be referred to earlier periods.¹ That the Habiru of the Amarna tablets (under Amenophis III. and IV., see above, § 55 f.) are identical with the immigrating Hebrews does not, however, seem to be satisfactorily proved (cp ISRAEL, § 3).



FIG. 14.—Head of Menephtah, from a bas-relief at Thebes. After Lepsius.

Menephtah had for long to fight hard both with Libyans, who plundered the western part of the Delta, and with pirates who ravaged the coasts of Egypt and Syria. Finally these pirates from Asia Minor (Sakaruṣi and Lukri—i.e., Lycians) and Europe (Sardena, Akai-waṣa and Turuṣa—i.e., Sardinians, Achaeans, and Etruscans)² joined the Libyans and marched against Memphis, in sight of which they met with a crushing defeat.³

The reigns of kings Sethos IV., Amen-mesut, Menephtah IV., or Siptah were short and inglorious. One of them is called a Syrian usurper, which points to his being a royal officer who had originally been a Syrian slave or mercenary. Perhaps the reference is to Menephtah II., who became king by marrying queen Taweret. After 'years of anarchy,' dynasty 20 united the country again, under King Setnaḥḥet and his son Ramesses III.

Ramesses III. (somewhat before 1200 B.C.) cleared the Western Delta of the Libyans, who had settled there. Several attacks were repelled, the Syrian provinces maintained, and the territory of the Amorites and of petty Hittite kings N. of Palestine ravaged. (The great kingdom of the Hittites had broken up.) He fought also against the piratical Pulaste or Philistines who had settled in Palestine⁴ (in the territory of the Avvim, Dt. 2:23), and ravaged Phoenicia as well as the Egyptian coasts.

Ramesses III. sought to imitate also the architectural achievements of Ramesses II. during his reign of thirty-two years; but his buildings (especially Medinet Habu in Western Thebes) cannot be compared with those of his predecessor. The kings who followed—Ramesses IV., V., VI., the so-called Ramessides—were short-lived and weak rulers (they ruled hardly over eighty years).

The Egyptian possessions in Syria were lost. For 400 or 500 years, with small intermissions, Palestine had been tributary to the pharaohs, and Egyptian garrisons had occupied several fortified cities (e.g.,

¹ Manéthos Exodus-narrative is a worthless distortion of the Hebrew account.

² The *ḥabiru* of Gen. 14:2 (read *ḥabiru*, Tur.). They are nowhere else mentioned in MT. (Perhaps, however, the name originally stood also in Ezek. 38:28 ff.). See ROSIN, 11.

³ Menephtah's wars with Palestinian revolters do not seem to have been important. The 'Israel inscription' speaks of Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yennama. The last mentioned place seems to have been in S. Lebanon (but cp JANSEN, 2). There is another new text (R. 17:159), which speaks of him as 'forcing down Gezer.' This looks as if S. Palestine was at the head of a rebellion against the Egyptian dominion.

⁴ See now MFG, 1909, 1.

Zaratuna; see ZARATHANE. It must not, however, be assumed that this loose relation influenced the inhabitants of Palestine in any considerable measure. The Egyptians did not often interfere in the continual feuds of the many petty kings. For evidence of this and the unsafe character of the land, see the Amarna letters.

A fact of importance for the Exodus question is that the 'Apur, for whom a connection with the Hebrews (אֲפֻר) has so often been claimed, still appear in great numbers in Egypt under these kings. Under Ramesses III, they inhabited whole towns near Heliopolis—i.e., at the western opening of Goshen. The last word on this question has, evidently, still to be said, and it is not safe to decide either for or against the Hebrew records.

In this period, the papyrus of Thebes began systematically to plunder the royal tombs, as is shown by many documents referring to spoliation and the measures taken to repress them.

The weakness of the later kings was largely due to the fact that the temples had amassed an unreasonable amount of property by bequests—the high priest of Amon possessed such a large part of the country, owing chiefly to the liberality of Ramesses III, that he surpassed the pharaoh in wealth.¹ This led finally to the deposition of Ramesses XII. by the high priest Herihor (about 1100 B.C., or somewhat later), who himself assumed the crown.²

62. Dyn. 21. Herihor, however, was not able to maintain it; and king Smendes (*Nes-bi-n-dedu*) of Tanis (*Zoin*, Egyptian *Saïs*) founded a new dynasty, the twenty-first (seven kings, some 130 years), about 1090 B.C. These princes were prudent enough to give the important office of the Theban high priest to their own sons. Nevertheless, the Tanite dynasty was not strong.

By these kings, all that remained of the mummies of the kings of dynasties 18-20 were finally hidden in the hole near Der-el-habri where they were discovered in 1881, so powerless were they to protect the royal necropolis. To their prudence we thus owe the preservation of the bodies of Ramesses II. and III., Thutmose III., etc.³

After the time of Ramesses III. the immigration of Libyans began again, and Libyan mercenary troops had now become so numerous that the 'generals of the Ma-kawasa' (a Libyan tribe) came next to the king in power. About 950, one family of Libyan officers had become so influential (also by intermarriage with the high priests of Memphis) that they could venture to put one of themselves upon the throne.

63. Šošenq I. Šošenq I. This pharaoh, the contemporary of Solomon and his son (see SHISHAK), who reigned at least twenty-one years, was more energetic, and again exercised influence upon Syria. He seems to have assisted Israel against the Philistines, who evidently still raided the Egyptian coasts (see 1 K. 9:26 and cp. DAVID, § 71); possibly he was the pharaoh (it was hardly his predecessor *Pes-ha-m-ne* or Psemmes II.) who gave his 'daughter' to Solomon as wife (see, however, GILZER, § 11). A less friendly attitude is shown in 1 K. 11:18 (but see HADAD I., 3, TAMPUSES), and after the division of

¹ For a supposed 'rebellion of the high priest' against Ramesses IX. or his predecessors, see Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 19, 1.

² The papyrus Golenishcheff (WMM 11, n. 100, 325) reports the adventures of an embassy sent by Herihor to king Zakarbaal of Byblos (to buy 'Liban in wood'), who visited also Dor, Tyre, and the queen of Cyprus. (See now *Rec. Trav.* 276, 1116, 1225.)

³ On this great find see Maspero, 'Les Mummies royales,' 1889, *Mém. Mus. Louv.* 1, p. 4.

Solomon's empire he made an expedition against both Judah and Israel (perhaps to secure the throne to Jeroboam?), an expedition recorded in 1 K. 14:25 and on the monuments of Karnak (see the extract given in Fig. 14). Cp. SHISHAK.

It is very doubtful whether the other kings of the 64. Dyn. 22. Libyan, or twenty-second, dynasty (from Bubastis?) retained a hold on Palestine.

They bear for the most part Libyan names—Šošenq (the name of four kings altogether), Osorkon (Wasaken, two or three kings), Takelā (or Takelothis; two kings), Penam (one king)—and the whole dynasty seems to have reigned (nominally) about 200 years. On the Zerah of Chronicles cp. ZERAH, 5.

They first mark a tolerably quiet period of Egyptian history; but about 800 B.C. their dominion began to become weak. The generals commanding the large garrisons of Libyan soldiers in the great cities assumed the rôle of the ancient nomarchs or counts, and the pharaoh had little power over them.

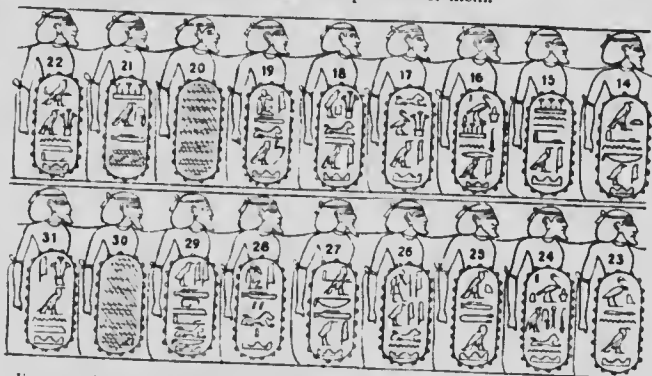


FIG. 15.—One line from Šošenq's list of Palestinian places on a wall of the great temple at Karnak. After Lepsius. The names (nos. 14-31) read thus:— 14. Ta'an(a)ka (TAANACIO), 15. Shanenā (SHENEM), 16. Hiri-Sanra, 17. Ruhala (REHON), 18. Haporumā (HAPURAM), 19. Al(e)rumān(?) 20. . . . 21. Shawad(i), 22. Mahadadma, 23. Kheba'ana (GIBEOS), 24. Bili-hwarin (BETHURON), 25. Kadhrat Karfem (KIRIA-THAK), 26. Milyulan, 27. Mak-edā (MEADDO), 28. Adir(a), 29. Yud-h(a)maruk (Tad-ham-melak?), see SHISHAK, 30. . . . 31. Ha-ān(e)im.

This weakness of the kingdom caused the Ethiopians to attack Egypt. Ethiopia (*g.r.*) had been an Egyptian province down to the beginning of dynasty 21. Since that time, owing

65. Ethiopian Supremacy. to the struggle between the secular rulers and the high priests of Thebes, it had become an independent kingdom. The kings of Napata were able to take possession of Thebes. Middle and Lower Egypt were, nominally, under the dominion of dynasty 23, the successors, or rather the contemporaries, of the last members of the twenty-second (Bubastid) dynasty. Really the country was divided among about twenty petty rulers of Libyan descent. About 750(?) B.C. the Ethiopian king Pifanhy tried to subdue them. He met with little resistance from the nominal ruler, Osorkon III. of Bubastis; but the prince Tefnaht(r) of Saïs, who had already subjugated central Egypt, was a formidable enemy. He submitted nominally to the Ethiopian, after the latter had taken Memphis; but the Delta remained in his hands, and Tefnaht(r)'s son Bok-en-rent (Bochoris of the Greeks) was able to extend his power again southwards. Bochoris left the reputation of having been a great legislator (cp. above, § 28). The new Saitic Dynasty 24 (consisting, in Manétho, only of

¹ Naville, *Bubastis*, questions their being from this city. ² Manétho seems to be wrong in calling them Tanite. They reigned in Bubastis. His enumeration of four kings must be viewed with suspicion. The third (*Φαυρος*) and the fourth (*Σπρ*; read *Σπρ*) seem to be simply the Ethiopians Pandy and his son Kseta (or Keta), contemporaneous with dynasty 24. Consequently, only Pedobast (reigning at least sixteen years) and Osorkon III. remain, apparently belonging to a branch of dynasty 22. Their chronological relation to these kings (Šošenq IV.) is not certain.

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Bocchoris, however, was shortlived. The Ethiopian king Sabaio, the son of Kesta, invaded the country N. of Thebes, and took Bocchoris prisoner (according to one tradition he had him lanced alive) about 706(?)¹. Now, for the first time, the Palestinians and Phoenicians, who observed the approaching Assyrian colossus with growing anxiety, saw in the new dynasty of Egypt (25th) a power equal to the Assyrian, to which they could appeal for help.² On the ambassadors sent by Hoshen (to the governor of Lower Egypt), and on the governor Sava, who appeared in Syria to assist king Hanno (Hannu) of Gaza, but was defeated at Raphia, S. of Gaza (ISRAEL, § 34, SARGON), see, however, No.² About 696 Sabaio³ seems to have been followed by Sahatko (the Selachos of Manetho?), who in 691 was supplanted by the usurper Tiharko (see 664, Taharko, TIRIAKAI) in Napata. At first the new king was compelled to be passive as far as northern affairs were concerned. This was the time of the revolt of the Philistines and of Hezekiah from Assyria (702), see ISRAEL, § 34. Whether the kings of Musri who came in 701 to save Ekron from the Assyrians and met with a complete defeat at Altkh (Eltekeh) were Ethiopian vassals from the Delta for Arabs?) is again doubtful. On the plague in Sennacherib's army, by which, according to 2 K. 19.35, Jerusalem, and consequently also Egypt, were saved, and on the distorted Egyptian tradition in Herodotus (2.141), see HLEZI KIM, § 2. The tranquility of Egypt, however, was soon to be disturbed. In 671 or 670 B.C., after Tiharko had instigated the Phoenicians (Ba'al of Tyre) to a new but fruitless revolt, the Assyrian king Esarhaddon marched against Egypt; in his passage through the red desert west of the 'brook of Egypt,' which always formed Egypt's best protection, he was supplied with water by the Arabs. It seems that an earlier attack upon Egypt (in 673) had failed. Now, however, the Assyrians had a complete success. Taharko was driven into Nubia, Memphis was stormed; and Egypt was parcelled out among twenty kings, descendants of those Libyan nobles whom we have already met (§ 63 ff.). Among them Necho (Nikū) of Sais, of the family of the princes forming the twenty-fourth dynasty, again stood first. Thus Manetho dates the twenty-sixth dynasty even from his grandfather Stephinates (Tefnate, see § 65). Taharko invaded Egypt again about 664 or 668 (see TIRIAKAI), and his nephew and successor, Tanutamoni (in cuneiform writing Tan-lamuni, not Urdamuni) in 667;⁴ but the Assyrians on both occasions maintained the Delta, quelled revolts of the Egyptians in Sais, Mendes, and Tanis, and finally drove the Cushites back to Nubia. The reason was that the Ethiopian kingdom alone, with its scanty population, was unable to raise armies equal to those of Assyria, as it had always been powerless against united Egypt.

Necho's son Psammetichus⁵ began his reign (663) as a vassal of the Assyrian king Assur-bani-pal. It may have been about 660 (but this is uncertain) that he felt strong enough to renounce his allegiance. Assyria was, in fact, sinking. The rival kings, the Dodec-

¹ Whether the 1500 soldiers from Musri, who assisted the allied Syrian powers at Karkar in 854, were Egyptians (sent by Sargon II, 2) is, however, very questionable; later, the small kingdoms had no power to meddle in Syria. See MIZRAIM, § 2 (a).

² Cf. MUG, 1310, p. 23, assumes with probability that the governor Sava was represented an Arak kingdom. The usual chronology (Sabaio 722, Tiharko 734) is certainly improbable.

³ The chronology is not clear in every detail. (Cp Wi. *Unters.* 91 ff. and see CHRONOLOGY, § 21).

⁴ Cf. *Arch.* 1421.

⁵ His name is written *psmt*, with Aramaic letters (CIN 2 no. 115). It is of Libyan (not Ethiopic) derivation. On the alleged intermarriages between the Saites and the Ethiopians see Z. I. 31-32 (197).

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archs of Herodotus, had, of course, been previously subjugated by him, with the help (it would seem) of Carian troops, sent to him, perhaps, by Gyges of Lydia.¹ He strengthened unilitary Egypt by introducing a great quantity of Greek and Carian mercenaries. The terrible Chimerian invasion was warded off by bribes and presents (about 620?).

The new (26th) dynasty is a period remarkable for the revival of art (largely following archaistic tendencies) and architecture. In general, this last period of Egyptian independence seems to have been flourishing. The days of Egypt as a conquering power, were, however, past. Necho or Neko II. (the Pharaoh-Necho of

68, Necho II, 2 K. 23.29), who succeeded Psammetichus in 609, tried to profit by the distress of the

Assyrian empire during the ravages of the northern barbarians (see ASSYRIA, § 34). It was easy for Necho to occupy Syria as far as the Euphrates in 608. On his victories over king Josiah² (and the Assyrian governors) and on the taxation which followed the victory, see JOSIAH 1 § 2 f.; JERUSALEM. The Egyptian conquest, however, lasted only to 604. Defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar, the Egyptians were driven back for good (2 K. 24.7), and had no better policy than that of first instigating the Syrians to rebel, and then letting them suffer through Egypt's remissness.

The most important construction undertaken by Necho was his digging the canal completed; not, as Herodotus believed, abandoned) through Goshen to the Red Sea, partly on the track of the canal which Ramses II. had led from the Nile only to the Bitter Lakes. In connection with this, he sent Phoenician ships to circumnavigate Africa. He was followed by his less energetic son Psammetichus II. 594-588 B.C. Whether the second or the first Psammetichus led an expedition against the weak Ethiopian kingdom is uncertain (Greek inscriptions at Abū Simbel).³

Apries (Uah-ch-r), 588-569, took the last active steps to check the Babylonians, by aiding the Tyrians and the

69. Apries. Jews in their resistance to Nebuchadnezzar (538-569, see BABYLONIA, § 66). An interruption

was thus caused in the siege of Jerusalem (Jer. 37.3). The revolt against GEDALIAH (Jer. 41, 1) also must have been instigated from Egypt, whether so many Jews fled. From a fragment of his records it would appear that Nebuchadnezzar was still at war with the Egyptians in his thirty-seventh year (568-567). Whether he attacked Egypt herself is not quite certain;⁴ at any rate, the expectation of the prophets that he would punish lawless and insolent Egypt was not fulfilled in the measure expected. Defeated and humbled everywhere Egypt maintained her independence. One more reign has to be chronicled, and then follows the catastrophe. Amasis II. ('Ahmose),

¹ That he besieged Azotus (Ashdod?) in Philistia for twenty-nine years (Herod. 2.157) is a statement of very suspicious character.

² At present the preference is mostly given to the Magdalon of Herodotus (2.159) over the Migdolo of the Hebrew text (Wi. and already Mannert and Rosenmüller). At any rate, Migdalo could not be the Egyptian town. Josiah was unable to penetrate through Idumaea and the desert and to invade Egypt. The scene of the struggle would be one of the many Palestinian Migdals, — probably the Migdal-gad of Judaea in the plain. See, however, the present writer's essay in *MUG*, 1305, p. 163. Josiah fought (it would seem) at Migdalo as subject of the Assyrian governor.

³ The report of the migration of 250,000 (?) warriors to Ethiopia under Psammetichus I. must be greatly exaggerated (Herod. 2.30). Still, desertions on a moderate scale are known to have occurred (see Z. I. 22-23 (134)); the garrison of Elephantine, for example, deserted to a port on the Red Sea under Apries. The Sembrida, mentioned by Greek writers as living near Khartoum, do not seem to have been Egyptian colonists (rather Kushitic Hamites).

⁴ The fragment (published by Pinches, *TSP*, 17.213; better by Strassmaier, *Nachherab. 114*) has been discussed in greatest detail by Wi. (*AOF* 1511). It seems to speak only of the preparations for war by king (Ankh). The hypothesis of Wiedemann (*Zeich. Arch. von Psammetichus I.* etc., 166), that Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt as far as Syene, is now generally rejected (cp Maspero, *Z. I.*, 2257-90, Brugsch, *ib.*, 91-97 (134)).

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who dethroned Apries¹ in 569, was a man of low birth, who obtained the crown through a rising of the native warriors against the Greek mercenaries. Amasis placed restrictions both on the mercenaries and on Greek commerce, but very prudently left Naukratis to the Greek merchants as a port and settlement. He closed a prosperous reign in 526, and was succeeded by his son Psammetik III., who did not reign one full year.

In 525, after the battle of Pelusium, Cambyses conquered Egypt. Apart from the (possibly unhistorical) cruelties of Cambyses, the treatment of the province of Egypt by the Persians

70. Persians. was at first not unfair. In particular, Darius I. (521-486) built temples (the largest in the S. Oasis, which he—or Cambyses?—seems to have conquered); he repaired Necho's canal to the Red Sea, in order to make Egypt more accessible. Under Xerxes (see AHASUERUS, 1) the Libyan class of warriors, led by Khab(b)ash, rebelled for the first time in 487, and drove the Persians from Egypt. They could not, however, long hold out against Xerxes; the country was again reduced to submission. A new revolution was set on foot (460-450) by Inarus, a Libyan of Marea (near Alexandria), who was aided by the Athenians. A more successful rebellion was that of Amyrtæus in 404, which made Egypt independent down to 342. This period was filled not only with hard fighting against the Persians (Artaxerxes II. Mnemon [405-362] and III. [362-338]), who continually tried to win Egypt back, but also with internal discord. Three dynasties (28-30; from Tanis, Mendes, and Sebennythus), and at least nine kings, of whom only Nectanebus I. (better nebis; Egyptian *Nekt-har-het*) and Nectanebus II. (*Nekt-neb*) are remarkable, are mentioned. The Greek soldiers constantly made their influence felt, and showed their bad faith during these troublous times. Because of the incapacity of Nectanebus II.² (360-343), Artaxerxes III. Ochus (362-338) conquered Egypt again, and punished her cruelly. It is not surprising that the destroyer of the Persian Empire,

71. Greeks. Alexander (336-323), was welcomed in Egypt (332 B.C.) as a deliverer. The history of Egypt after Ptolemy I., the son of Lagos had in 305 become a king instead of a Macedonian governor or *hiatrapa*—i.e., 'satrap' (as he is styled in an Egyptian inscription of 314 B.C.)—belongs to that of the Hellenistic world. Under the Macedonian kings or Ptolemies,³ the Egyptians were perhaps less oppressed than they were under the later Persians; but as a class they were always treated as inferior in legal position to Macedonians and Greeks. They were never, therefore, completely Hellenised. They were also severely taxed. The great contrast between the native people and the foreign rulers—who, for the most part, did not condescend even to learn the language of their subjects, and from Alexandria, their Hellenic capital, followed anything but an Egyptian policy—was but little mitigated during the rule of this last dynasty. Hence the various revolts.

The great revolution of the native soldier-class against Ptolemies IV. and V. deserves special mention. It lasted twenty years (206-186) and, for the last time, placed nominal kings on Egyptian speech on the throne of the ancient pharaohs. Those who held their ground the longest ruled in the Thebaid. This revolution was quenched in torrents of blood in 186 B.C. As a punishment for assistance sent by the Ethiopians to the rebels, the N. of Nubia was occupied. Previously, the kingdom of Merod (Napata) was abandoned as capital some time before) had been on good terms with the Ptolemies; economically weak, it naturally fell under Egyptian influence.

Ptolemy II. caused a marvellous development of the

¹ The theory that the battle at Momemphis only forced Apries to accept Amasis as co-regent (Wiedemann, *Gesch. Äg. von 1200-120*) is successfully attacked by Piehl, *ZÄ* 28.9 [191].
² Said to have fled to Ethiopia. Cp. however (on his tomb near Memphis), *Äg. 1897*, 10.142.
³ On the succession and chronology of the Ptolemies, see below, § 71; Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 1895; Petrie, *Hist. v.*; Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (1917).

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trade on the Red Sea, exploring and colonising the African coasts. The growing commercial importance

72. Jews. of Egypt increased the immigration of Jews and Samaritans. They gathered especially at Alexandria and on the Eastern frontier, in the ancient Goshen¹. Under Ptolemy VI. they even built at Leontopolis a great Jewish temple (see DISPERSION, § 8). In Alexandria they became strongly Hellenised; hence the Alexandrian version of the Scriptures; hence too the gnostic tendencies in Judaism. See ALEXANDRIA, § 2; DISPERSION, §§ 7, 15 ff.; HELLENISM, § 10, TEXT.

The Ptolemies possessed Palestine from 320 down to 198 B.C., when Ptolemy V. Epiphanes lost it to Antiochus III., the Great, of Syria. Already his father had defended it against the Syrians with difficulty, and had kept it only by winning the battle of Raphia (216 B.C.), whilst Ptolemy III. Evergetes had been able to conquer the whole Syrian empire for a short time in 238.

The succession is as follows:—Ptolemy I. Soter (323-283).

Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (so called because, after the Egyptian custom, he married his own sister Arsinoë),

73. Ptolemies. to whom the exploration of Eastern Africa was due (325-247). Ptolemy III. Evergetes, the husband of the famous Berenike (a princess of Cyrene), the conqueror among the Ptolemies (247-222). Ptolemy IV. Philopator (222-205) waged war with Antiochus the Great. It was under this dissolute, cruel, and incompetent ruler that the great revolution began. Ptolemy V. Epiphanes came to the throne at the age of five, in 205, under the tutelage of the dissolute Agathocles. After the murder of his guardian by the Alexandrian mob, other generals held the post.² The Asiatic provinces were all lost, although Ptolemy retained their revenue by marrying Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus III., the Great, of Syria. After subjugating the rebellious Egyptians, Ptolemy became more and more dissolute; he was poisoned while preparing war against the Syrians. Ptolemy VII.³ Philometor (181-146) was a nobler personality, but unfortunate. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, of Syria, took him captive at Pelusium, and would have conquered Egypt had it not been for the brusque intervention of the Romans (171). Ptolemy Philometor had to accept as co-regent his younger brother (Evergetes, ironically called Kakergetes or Physcon), by whom he was exiled in 164; the Romans, however, brought him back. The ambitious Evergetes became the ruler of Cyrene. After the death of his brother Philometor (killed while intervening in the struggles of Syrian princes) and after the short reign of Ptolemy VIII. Neos Philopator, the restless Evergetes came back to Egypt as king. In 130, however, he was expelled, and his wife Cleopatra (widow and sister of Philometor) assumed the supreme power. In 127 Evergetes (Ptol. IX.) returned from Cyprus. After his death (117) ensued a long period of ceaseless struggle, which strengthened the influence of Rome. Ptolemy X. Soter II. ruled from 117-81, his brother Ptol. XI. Alexander I. (against him) 106-88, Ptol. XII. Alexander II. 81-80, Ptol. XIII. Neos Dionysos (or Auletes) 80-51. The history of all these rulers is complicated and repulsive. The famous Cleopatra ruled first with her brother Ptol. XIV. under the guardianship of the Roman senate; expelled by Ptolemy in 48, she was brought back by Caesar in 47. Her younger brother Ptol. XV, co-regent 47-45, was murdered by her, and Ptol. XVI. Caesarion, her son by Caesar, became her nominal co-regent. For ten years (41-31) she captivated the Roman triumvir Antony, and thus maintained her kingdom as a typical Ptolemaic ruler, not less able than wicked. The sea-fight at Actium and Cleopatra's tragic death brought Egypt's independence to an end.

74. Rome. It now became a Roman province under prefects (*αρχαγογοι*), and its history⁴ is devoid of interest, till the Arab conquest in 640 A.D. (preceded by a Persian conquest in 610-629). Many, but insignificant, rebellions (one as early as 70-59 A.D.), chiefly directed against the excessive taxation, could be enumerated. On the popularity of Egyptian religion in Western countries, see § 14.

On the introduction and progress of Christianity, and on the Egyptian or Coptic versions of the Bible, see TEXT. In 62 Annianus was bishop of Alexandria (Mark was the legendary first bishop). The last remnants of heathenism were suppressed by Justinian (527-565) on the island of Philæ, where the rapacious Ethiopian barbarians (the Blemmyans and Nobates) had maintained the worship of Isis.

W. M. M.

¹ On Jewish settlers in the Fayûm and the Thebaid, see Mahaffy, 86; on Samaritans, 178; on their infrequency in Memphis, 358.

² The alleged guardianship of the Roman senate does not seem to be a historical fact.

³ Here Ptolemy Eupator is inserted as sixth king in official documents. He does not seem to have reigned.

⁴ Compare J. G. Milne in Petrie, *Hist. v.* (1917), very readable.

EGYPT, RIVER OF

EGYPT, RIVER OF. The 'Wady (or 'Torrent') of Mizraim' (מִצְרַיִם נָחַל; AV RIVER, or [Is. 27:12] STREAM, OF EGYPT; RV BROOK

1. Identification. OF EGYPT; but both versions of נָחַל are misleading), or simply 'the Wady' (הַנָּחַל, with הַ of direction; AV RIVER; RV BROOK), Ezek. 47:10 48:28 (see RV, and cp Toy, 'Ezekiel,' *SBOT*), is frequently mentioned as marking the boundary of Canaan towards the SW.

See Josh. 15:4 [P] παραγωγὸς αἰγύπτου [BAL]; 15:47 χεῖμα ἁρρὺν αἰγ. [BAL]; Nu. 34:5 [P] ῥοὺν αἰγ. [A], ῥοὺν αἰγ. [BFL]; 1 K. 8:55 εἰς ποταμὸν αἰγ. [BAL], εἰς ὄριον ποτ. αἰγ. [L]; 2 K. 24:7 ἀπὸ τοῦ χεῖμα ἁρρὺν [BAL]; 2 Ch. 7:8 εἰς χ. αἰγ. [BAL]; Is. 27:12 εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν αἰγ. [BBAQF].

The identification suggested by S¹ in the last-cited passage and adopted by Saadiah in his version of Isaiah is manifestly correct. The Wady of Egypt is not the Wady Ghazza (the 'torrents Egypt') of William of Tyre, and perhaps Milton's 'stream that parts Egypt from Syrian ground') but the Wady el-'Arish, which with its deep water-course (only filled after heavy rains) starts from about the centre of the Sinaitic peninsula (near the Jebel et-Tih), and after running N. and NW, finally reaches the sea at the Egyptian fort and town of el-'Arish. Here, in late classical times, was an emporium of Nabatean traffic, to which the name Rhinocorura or Rhinocolura was given. Here, too, travellers halted on the route from Gaza to Pelusium. Titus rested here on his way to Jerusalem (Jos. *B. J.* iv. 115) and as late as the fourteenth century A.D. the place was much visited by travellers (Ibn Batūta). Owing to the fact that as the boundary of Egypt and Canaan we find in two OT passages (Josh. 13:1 1 Ch. 13:5; see **SINIOR OF EGYPT**) an arm of the Nile (the Pelusiac), and in a third passage (Gen. 15:18) the 'river (נָחַל) of Egypt' (which surely must mean the Wady el-'Arish), some (following Abulfeda, *Descr. Aig.*, ed. Michaels, 1776, p. 34, no. 68)² have supposed that the Wady el-'Arish was taken for an intermittent channel of the Nile (cp Jer. on Am. 6:1; Reland, *Pal.* 285f. 969ff.). Niebuhr the traveller, on the other hand, seeks the Torrent of Egypt in the largest of three small streams that run into the Mediterranean from the large lake (*baheire*) which, he says, extended from Damietta eastwards towards Gaza (*Descr. de l'Arabie*, 360ff.). All this speculation is needless. If a stream in the neighbourhood of el-'Arish is referred to, it can only be the wild torrent-stream that in December suddenly covers the banks of the Wady el-'Arish with verdure (cp Haynes, *Palmer Search-expedition*, 262), which could never have been confounded with a channel of the Nile (so also Ebers). As for the expression 'the river of Mizraim' (נָחַל מִצְרַיִם) in Gen. 15:18, either the original reading was נָחַל 'wady, torrent' (Lagarde, Ball), which was altered into נָחַל, 'river (of)', by an idealistic editor, who placed the SW. boundary of Canaan at the Nile, or else, if Winckler's inference³ from a Minæan inscription (Hal. 535) is correct, נָחַל was applied in N. Arabia and its Palestinian neighbourhood to the Wady el-'Arish, which historically at any rate was not undeserving of the name. The latter view seems preferable. It seems to derive support from Gen. 36:17 Nu. 22:5 when enmended (see **REUBOTH, PITTOR**).

We have still to account for the name 'The Wady (or Torrent) of Mizraim'. The ordinary explanation makes it equivalent to 'the wady which parts Canaan from Egypt'. At the mouth of the wady lay an Egyptian fortress, which might seem to neutralise the fact that the wady belongs geographically to N. Arabia. That this explanation was prevalent

¹ Cp Epiphani. *Har.* 2:3, Πινωκορoura γὰρ ἐρημνύεται Νεκλ (נָחַל).

² See Ritter, *Erdenkunde*, xiv. 3144 ff.; Guérin, *Judée*, 2 240-249.

³ *Monist.* 36:377; *ibid.* 1:144, n. 2.

EKRON

in later Jewish times is certain; but does it correctly represent the original meaning of that phrase? This question cannot be answered without considering the Assyriological data. That the *nahal Musur* of inscriptions of Sargon and Esarhaddon¹ means, not the Egyptian wady, but the wady which runs through the N. Arabian land of Musri, seems to us beyond doubt, unless, indeed, it can be shown that the extended use of the term Musri or Musur had gone out in that king's time. To assert this, however, would be entirely contrary to the evidence. 'Mizraim' should rather be 'Mizrin'. The land of Musri or Musur in N. Arabia was repeatedly referred to by the OT writers; but the references were misunderstood by the later scribes. See **MIZRAIM**, § 2 (b).

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

EHI (עִי), אֶחָיִיע [BAL], -EIN [L], אֶחָיִיע [L], in the genealogy of Benjamin (Gen. 46:21f.); see **AHIRAM**, 1, and **BENJAMIN**, § 9, i. 1 Ch. 8:6 has עִי, EHIUD, ii.

EHUD (עֲהֻד), אֶחָד [BAL], a Benjamite name, which, according to We. (*GGV*, 1893, p. 480; cp Gray, *III*, 26, n. 4) is from עֲהֻד Abihud (also Benjamite). Probably עֲהֻד should be read; cp Pesh. *Thür* 1 Ch. 7:10; 'Abihud, ib. 8:6 and אֶחָד for עֲהֻד.

1. b. GERA [7:1], a Benjamite, the champion of Israel against Moab (Judg. 3:12-30; אֶחָד [superer. v] B¹ in 3:30 4:1). The story is thoroughly archaic in tone, and is a popular tradition (so Moore, Bu.). It tells how Ehud, with a sword concealed under his garment, came bearing tribute to Eglon, king of Moab, at his residence E. of the Jordan, and sought a private audience. Being left-handed he was able to get hold of his sword without exciting the king's suspicions. In this way he quickly wrought Israel's vengeance, and made good his escape. Fleeing by way of Gilgal and the pillars there (see **QUARKHEI**) he called the Israelites to arms and, by seizing the Jordan fords, cut off the retreat of the Moabites on the W. of the river, and slew them every one. See **EGLON**.

The historicity of the narrative was questioned in 1863 by Nö. (*Untersuch.* 179), mainly on the ground that both Ehud and Gera are claudicans (cp 2, below). More recently, W. (*Gesch.* 11:8) has drawn attention to the improbability of a Benjamite having been tribute-bearer for Ephraim, and points out that there is little to support the existence of Benjamin before the time of Saul. But the mention of Ehud's origin is due, it would seem, to Rp. (so Moore, *SBOT*), and may very probably be a later trait. That the kernel of the story itself is not homogeneous has been shown by W. (*Alttest. Unt.* 55 ff.); a satisfactory analysis has yet to be made. Cp **BENJAMIN**, § 4, 2. b. Bilhan, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (Gen. 46:21 1 Ch. 7:10 [אֶחָד] [L], אֶחָד [L], *Thür* [Pesh.]).

EHUD (עֲהֻד), אֶחָד [BAL], אֶחָד [A], Abihud [Pesh.]), in genealogy of Benjamin (1 Ch. 8:6f.) Gen. 46:21 has EHI on which see **AHIRAM**, and **BENJAMIN**, § 9, i. The name is doubtless the same as אֶחָד (see above).

EKER (עֶקֶר), the place is uncertain; Pesh. reads o in the first syllable, אֶקֶר [L] IKAP [L], ben Ram, a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2:27).

EKREBEL (עֶקְרֵבֶל) [B], with 718+. See **AKRA-BATTINE** (end).

EKRON (עֶקְרוֹן; אֶקְרוֹן [L]); so Jos. also אֶקְרוֹן; these [cp the A] suggest the pronunciation עֶקְרוֹן, Akkaron.

The gentilic is **Ekroneite** (עֶקְרוֹנִי); Jos. 13:1 (אֶקְרוֹן) [L] [BAL], 1 Sam. 31:10 (אֶקְרוֹן) [BAL]; see below, § 2.

Ekrone, the most northerly of the five cities of the Philistines, was first identified by Robinson with the modern 'Aṣṣir, in 31°51.5' N. lat., 14° m. E.

1. Site. from Yebna (JABNEEL, 1) and 9 m. from the sea; in a pass which breaks the low hills that form the northern boundary of the Philistine plain (*ZZF* map, Sh. xvi.). Its position, inland and not on the trunk, but on a branch, of the great line of traffic northwards, is probably the explanation of the fact that its name

¹ See Del. *Par.* 310; W. *Musri, Melchha, Ma'in* [98], 5f.

EKRON

is found in the early Egyptian records of conquest and travel only once (*Lists of Thotmes III, R12², 550*) as *Aqar*. Not 25 m. from Jerusalem as the crow flies, it lay nearer Israel than did any of its sister towns; but, though it was assigned to Judah, 'with its towns and villages from Ekron to the sea' (Josh. 15:45 f. [P]), and again to Dan (*ib.* 19:41 [P]), we find (*ib.* 13:2 [D], but probably from older sources) 'all the regions of the Philistines as far as the north border of Ekron which is counted to the Canaanite' specified as part of the 'much land' that still remained to be possessed after the conquest, and this last representation best accords with all the known facts.

Like her sisters Ekron possessed, along with a market, the shrine and oracle of a deity—BAALZEBUB (*q.v.*).

2. History. 2 K. 12. In 1 S. 5:10-6:12 f. 16 it is said that from Ekron the ark was returned to the Israelites by the level road up the Vale of Sorek to Beth-shemesh, not 12 m. distant. *Gen.*, however, in this passage reads *Askalon* in each case for Ekron (cp 6:17 and see Dr. H. P. Sm., *ad loc.*). Padi, king of Ekron, remained aloof from the general revolt of Philistia in 704 B.C. against Sennacherib, whose prism-inscription gives the name as Am-kar-ra-na. Padi's subjects delivered him to Hezekiah, but Sennacherib in 701 restored him to his throne. The next notices of the town are by Esar-haddon (A. 17², 164) and Asur-lâni-pal (Del., *Pap.* 289), and the next (apart from the general history of Philistia, Jer. 25:20 Zeph. 2:4) not till 1 Macc. 10:89 (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 44), where it is said to have been given in 147 B.C. by King Alexander Balas to Jonathan the Maccabee for services against Apollonius the general of Demetrius II., an incident supposed by some, but on insufficient grounds, to be referred to in Zech. 9:5-7 (see, however, ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF).

After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans Jews settled in Ekron. See (25 916 218-57) where it is spoken of as a large ('grandis, *μεγίστη*) village between Azotus and Jamnia, Jerome adding that some identified Accaron with Turris Stratonis (Caesarea). In 100 A.D. King Baldwin marched from Jerusalem to Ascalon by Ashdod, inter quam et Jamnia, quae super mare sita est, Accaron dimissimus. (Fulch. Carnot. 23, in *Gest. Dei* 404, quoted by Robinson, cp Brocardus, 10:186; Marin. Sanuti, 165). When visited by the present writer in 1891 *Akir* was a small but thriving village. It lies in a slight hollow by a well; Petrie doubts whether the ancient city can have been of much size (*PEFQ.* 90, p. 245). Built of mud, like most of the towns on the plain, it contains hardly any ancient remains (Robinson and *PEFQ.* 2408). The plain about it is fertile but only partially cultivated; the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem passes to the north.

G. A. S.

The connection between Hezekiah and Ekron has long attracted the attention of students. Sennacherib, whose reference to Padi, king of Ekron, has been already mentioned, states in the same inscription that as a punishment for

Hezekiah's revolt he cut off parts of his territory and gave them to certain Philistine kings, one of whom was the king of Ekron. This statement has been taken by McCurdy to refer to certain towns and villages originally Philistine which Uzziah had taken from the Philistines (as the Chronicler probably means to assert in 2 Ch. 26:6), which Ahaz had lost (2 Ch. 28:18) and which, as we may infer from 2 K. 18:8 were retaken by Hezekiah. The earlier statement respecting the surrender of Padi implies, according to the same scholar, that Hezekiah was recognised by the people of Ekron as their suzerain (*Expos.*, 1891 *h.* 389 f.). So much at least appears to be highly probable,—that in the early part of the reign of Hezekiah the king of Ekron was a vassal of the king of Judah, and that he regained his independence only through the humiliation inflicted on Hezekiah by Sennacherib. Hezekiah, however, might console himself by the reflection that Ekron had been captured by the Assyrians and Jerusalem had not.

In the reigns of Esarhaddon and Asur-lâni-pal we hear of a king of Ekron called Ikasut (with which WMM compares the name Achish), or Ikasamsu, who

ELAH, VALLEY OF

paid tribute to the great king (*COT* 241 *KP* 249-250). Soon after this a Hebrew prophet declares that Ekron 'shall be rooted up', suggesting an etymology natural from an Israelite point of view, names being taken as prophetic of the fortunes of their bearers. The modern name 'Akir' suggests the far more probable meaning 'sterile' (so Guthe; cp Ar. *akira*, Heb. *akar*). The dreary nature of the plain close to Ekron may serve to account for the name. G. A. S., § 1 f.; 1 K. C. § 3.

EL (לָא), ELOHIM (אֱלֹהִים). See NAMUS, § 114 f.

ELA. 1. (אֱלָא) 1 K. 4:18 RV, AV ELAU, (*q.v.* G.) 2. (אֱלָא) 1 Esd. 9:27. — Ezra 10:26 ELAU II, 1.

ELADAH. RV ELADAH (אֱלָדָה) § 35; אֱלָדָה [B]. אֱלָדָה [A]. — Δ [L], a clan-name in a genealogy of EPHRAIM (*q.v.* i. § 12) individualised (1 Ch. 7:20). On the story of an ancient border contest in which Eladahi fell, see BERIAU, 2.

Other forms of the name are found: ELAD, 7:21 (אֱלָדָה); OH, B. אֱלָד [A], אֱלָד [L], and LADAN, 20 RV (אֱלָדָה, for אֱלָדָה, אֱלָדָה [B], אֱלָדָה [A], אֱלָדָה [L]); cp also ERAN, EKAN, B. 3. See further, LEBIAU, § 12.

ELAH (אֱלָה) and 1 K. 4:18 RV. An abbreviation of some name beginning with אֱלָה; § 51; אֱלָה [B], אֱלָה [A].

1. An Ekronite duke or perhaps clan (*Gen.* 30:41 אֱלָה [A] 11, 1 Ch. 15:2 אֱלָה [B]); no doubt it is the well-known ELADAH (*ib.*), cp EL-PARAN (wilderness of Paran, *Gen.* 14:7; see PARAN) and ELOTH (1 K. 9:26 2 K. 16:6; see ELATH). See Dr. *Gen.*, *ad loc.*, and Tuck, *ZDMG* 170.

2. Son of Baasha, king of Israel in Tirzah. After little more than a year he was killed by Zimri; his armed men and captives were buried at the time in the siege of Gilbeithon, a Philistine city; 1 K. 16:6-13 f. (אֱלָה [B] 7, 61 Jos. *Ant.* viii. 124).

3. Father of Hoshea, king of Israel (2 K. 15:30 17:1-3).

4. A son of CALFE (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 4:15 *his* (אֱלָה [A], אֱלָה, אֱלָה [B]). See KINAZ.

5. b. Uzzah in list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [A] § 15 [L] a), 1 Ch. 9:8 (om. B. אֱלָה [A], אֱלָה [L]); not mentioned in Neh. 11.

6. Father of SHIMEI [3] (1 K. 4:18 RV F 14). His name should be restored in 2 S. 23:11 in place of the MT reading אֱלָה (see ADEL), and possibly also in 7:33 for Shammah. Cp the ingenious discussion in Marq. (*Hand.* 20 f.).

ELAH, VALLEY OF (אֱלָה). 'Valley of the Terebinth,' cp *Gen.*, the scene of the combat between David and Goliath (1 S. 17:2), and of the rout of the Philistines (21:9 [10]).

Readings are: in 1 S. 17:2, *ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι αὐτοῦ* [BA], *ἐν δρυὶς αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ* [L], α. *τῆς δρυὸς* [V], Theod. [1] in 7: 19 *ἐν τῇ κ. τῆς δρυὸς* [AL], om. [B]; in 21:9 [10] α. *ἡ ἀλ* [BAL].

Assuming that 'in Ephes-dammim' and 'in the valley of Elah' mean the same thing, we have the names Socoh and Azekah (5:1) to guide us in determining the locality, also the implied fact that the valley ran westward. No doubt the valley meant is the *Hady es-Sant*, one of the landmarks of the country, which begins near Hebron, runs northward as far as Shuweikah, and thence westward by Gath and Ashdod, to the sea, joining the N. Sukerér. On the positions of the opposed armies, see EPHESDAMMIM. According to W. Miller,² who has made a special study of the country, the valley of Elah, or 'of the terebinth,' is the gentle ascent with a watercourse which leads up from a break in the line of heights to Bet Netuf (nearly opposite Shuweikah, but more eastward). In the valley beneath barley is already ripening. The torrent is nearly dried up (see EPHESDAMMIM), its bed is strewn with smooth white pebbles, and the red sides of the bed are in places so steep that you might call it a valley 'within a valley.' It is this torrent-bed which the narrator, with perfect knowledge of the country, refers to under the name of the ravine; 'the ravine' (אֱלָה), he says, 'was between them.'³ The suggestion for the explanation of אֱלָה

¹ Read *αὐτοῦ*? (אֱלָה)

² *The Least of all Lands*, 130 ff.; so Che. *Aids*, 85 f.

³ Che. *Aids*, 85 f.

ELAM

is due to Conder (*PEFQ*, 75, 193). Some of his other identifications are hardly correct (see EPHES-DAMMIM, SHAKARIM, 1); but he has here thrown great light on the narrative. See also GASM, 116 226 ff.

One advantage in Miller's theory of the valley of Elah (see above) is that it offers a simple explanation of the twofold name of the valley which was the seat of war. A very fine specimen of the *but-tree* (terebinth) grows on the slope leading up to Bêt Netif. It is conceivable that the name of the great valley as a whole was, even in antiquity, 'valley of the acacias' (*acacia*, or rather *mimos*). Wellhausen supposes the Wady es-Sant to be meant by the Valley of Shittim in Joel 3(4)16. It is a pity that we can hardly explain עֲשֵׂה in עֲשֵׂה עֵצִים as a corruption of עֲשֵׂה. See EPHES-DAMMIM.

T. K. C.

ELAM (עֵלָם; אֵילָאִם [BAQI]). Geographically, the name describes the great plain E. of the lower

1. Geography. Tigris and N. of the Persian Gulf, together with the mountain districts which enclose it on the N. and E., and to which the Hebrew name Elam and the Assyrian Elamtu (note fem. ending) refer. It is nearly equivalent to the Susiana and Elymais of the Greeks, and the mod. Khūzistān. The native kings of this country called themselves lords of Anšan (or Anzan); so late a king as Cyrus still calls himself king of Anšan. This name was originally borne by a city, the conquest of which by Gudea, 'vice-gerent' (*futest*) of Lagash, between 3500 and 3000 B.C., is recorded in an inscription (*A/B 330*); it afterwards designated a district in Elam (see CYRUS, § 1). Leaving the geography of this region, which has been fully treated from cuneiform sources by Fried. Delitzsch (*Par.* 320-329), we pass to the references to Elam in the OT.

The earliest of these is that in Is. 226 (עֵלָאִם [BAQI]), where Elam and Kir are mentioned together

2. Biblical references. as entrusted with the duty of blockading Jerusalem. The difficulty in this passage is that the Elamites were never loyal subjects of the Assyrians, and are never mentioned in the inscriptions as serving in an Assyrian army, but often as allies of the Babylonians (DeL. *Par.* 237; Che. *Intr.* 15, 133; cp *Proph.* 15, 133 f.). Interpolation has been suspected; but this is not the only admissible theory (see 'Isaiah', *SHOT*). The next certainly dated passage is Ezek. 3224 (עֵלָאִם [Q]), where 'Elam and all her multitude' are mentioned in a grand description of the inhabitants of Shēol. The fate of Elam preoccupied more than one of the prophets; 'all the kings of Elam' are referred to in Jer. 2525 (om. N^oA^o) immediately before 'all the kings of Media,' and a special prophecy against Elam is given in Jer. 4934-39 (7. 36 עֵלָאִם [N^o]); but we cannot with any certainty ascribe these to Jeremiah (see JEREMIAH, Book OF). In Is. 212 (עֵלָאִם [BAQI], late exile) Elam is named with Media as the destroyer of Babylon, and a plausible emendation introduces Elam ('go up, O Elam') into a passage of similar purport in Jer. 5021 (late). In Dan. 82 (אֵילָאִם [BAQI; Theod.], ΕΛΛΑΔΙ [87]) Shushan is referred to as in Elam, though in Ezra 49 (ἡλαμαιοι [BA], αἰλαμῖται [L]) it is seemingly distinguished from it; and according to Is. 1111 (αἰλαμῖται [BA], εἰλαμ. [NQ], late), Esth. 9623 (Shushan) Acts 29 (εἰλαμῖται [Ti. WH]), Jewish exiles resided in Elam in the post-exilic period.

We come lastly to Gen. 1022 [P] (אֵילָאִם [E]), where Elam is mentioned immediately before Asshur as a 'son' of Shem. How is this to be accounted for? Not by the supposition that the Elamites were Semitic (as we now use the word) either in language or in physical type, or that at least a primitive Semitic population was settled in the lower parts of Elam. Not by referring to the early conquest of Babylonia by the Elamites; this might account for the description of Babylonia as a 'son of' Japheth, but not for the case before us; nor yet by the fact that a Kassite dynasty

¹ Jensen connects *Elamtu* (Elam) with *ilamu*, 'front,' and explains 'east region' (*ZA*, '96, p. 351).

ELATH

ruled in Babylonia in 1726-1159 B.C.—a reference which would only be in point if P were pre-exilic; but rather by the undoubted fact that Elam was repeatedly chastised by the Assyrians, and that parts of it were annexed by Sargon (*A/B 27*). It was enough of a historian to know this; he may indeed have inferred it from Is. 226. The view of De Goeje (*Th. T.* 70, p. 251) that Elam in Gen. 1022 is the Persian Empire is therefore to be rejected. As De Goeje himself remarks, it is strange that, if Elam has this meaning, Media should be a son of Japheth (v. 2). It is true, however, that the prominence of Elam in the Persian empire explains the precedence which it has among the sons of Shem, and the insertion of Lud (i.e., probably Lydia) after Arphaxad may receive a similar explanation (see LUD, 1).

The history of Elam is closely interwoven with that of primitive Babylonia, and subsequently with that of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Persian empires. See ARIOCH, 3; ASUR-BANI-PAL, § 6; BABYLONIA, § 42 ff.; CUDORLAOMER, CYRUS, NANEAN, PERSIA, SHUSHAN.

T. K. C.

ELAM (עֵלָם; אֵילָאִם [BA], אֵילָא [L]).

1. The line Elam were a family, 124 in number, in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii, § 9, § 80; Ezra 27 (אֵילָאִם [B], אֵילָא [L])=Neh. 712 (אֵילָא [B], אֵילָא [L])=1 Esd. 512 (אֵילָאִם [B])). In a passage from the 'memoirs of Ezra' (*Ezra* 727-2814; see EZRA ii, § 5) the number of those in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i, § 2; ii, § 1511 d) is given as seventy, Ezra 87 (ἡλᾶ [B])=1 Esd. 931 (אֵילָא [B], אֵילָא [L]). One of the best known members of this clan was SHEKANIAH (*q.v.* 40; Ezra 102 (שִׁינָי, kth; but שִׁינָי, kre; שִׁינָי [L] in 1 Esd. 842; 'Israel' שִׁינָי [BA]) occurs instead of 'Elam'). Various members are mentioned in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i, § 5, end; Ezra 1026=1 Esd. 927 (ἡλᾶ [BA]); and the clan was represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i, § 7; Neh. 201415).

The name 'Elam' for a Jewish family or temple-guild is highly improbable. There is abundant evidence that names containing the root-letters עֵלָ were Benjamite. One of these is אֵלֶמֶת (Alemeth) which may have been written עֵלָ. If the mark of abbreviation were overlooked it would be natural to insert 'or' after y. Alemeth is identical with Almon, the name of a priestly city in Benjamin (Josh. 2118 P). Notice also the occurrence of the name in 3 below.

2. The children of the 'other Elam' (עֵלָאִם [B] in Ezra 231 = Neh. 734 (Ezra, ἡλαμᾶρ [BA], Neh. ἡλαμᾶρ [BA]; 1 Esd. 514 (אֵילָאִם [B])) are unmentioned in 1 Esd. 5, and seem to have arisen from a needless repetition of v. 7; the numbers are identical (cp Be. Ry. 18).

3. b. Shashak, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* § 9, ii.); 1 Ch. 824 (אֵילָאִם [B], אֵילָא [L], אֵילָא [L]).

4. A Korahite doorkeeper; 1 Ch. 263 (אֵילָאִם [BA]).

5. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii, § 13 g; Neh. 1242 (om. B^oA; אֵילָאִם [K: a mg.])).

T. K. C.

ELASA (אֵלָאסָא [A]), 1 Macc. 95 RV, see BEREIA, 1.

ELASAH (אֵלָאשָׁא, 'God hath made,' § 31; cp Asahel; אֵלָאסָא [ALQ]).

1. b. PASHUR (*q.v.* 3) in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i, § 5, end; Ezra 1022 (ἡλασσα)=1 Esd. 922 [TALSAS, RV SALAS]; אֵלָאסָא [B], אֵלָאסָא [A]).

2. b. Shaphan, together with GEMARIAH (1), was sent by Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and bore also at the same time Jeremiah's letter to those in exile there; Jer. 293 (363) (אֵלָאסָא [B], אֵלָא [L], אֵלָא [L], אֵלָא [L]).

3. EV ELASAH, b. Helez, a Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 239 f. (אֵלָאסָא [B]).

4. EV ELASAH, a descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. 8); 1 Ch. 837 (אֵלָאסָא [B])=943 (אֵלָאסָא [B], אֵלָא [L]). Cp LAISHAH.

ELATH (עֵלָת, cp עֵלָת in the Sinaitic Inscr. [Eut. 551]; אֵילָאִם [BA]; Dt. 28 אֵילָאִם [BAF]; 2 K. 1422-ω [B], אֵילָאִם [A]; 166 אֵילָאִם [A]), also ELOTH (עֵלָת, 1 K. 926 2 K. 166 אֵילָאִם [A]; 2 Ch. 817 262, אֵילָאִם [B]), an important Edomite town, whose connection with Elah the phylarch or clan in Gen. 3641 is fairly obvious. Elath or Eloth (i.e., great trees, perhaps date-palms?) is probably but a later

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designation of EL-PARAN (see PARAN)—i.e., Elath which lies on the desert of Paran. It was situated on the NE. arm of the Red Sea, in the Atlantic Gulf (which has derived its name from the place itself), and was close to EZION-GEGER (q.v.).

According to Pliny (N.H. 6.112) it was situated 15 m. E. of Petra and 150 m. SE. of Gaza. The region has always been famous for its date-palms (cp Strabo, 16.776); and Makaddasi (Hn el-Banna 1000 A.D.) in his geography says that Waila (Elath) is 'the harbour of Palestine and the granary of Hagar—rich in palms and fishes' (cp ZDP¹ 7.171, and Weisstein in Del. *Isr.* 4. 404. 163). Owing to its commanding situation and central position the possession of Elath has in all ages been fiercely contested. According to Hommel (ZfV 195), the ancient town and port Maïr mentioned upon old Bab. contract-tablets, which gave its name to ships and textile fabrics, is the same as Elath.

Apart from its occurrence under the form EL-PARAN (see PARAN) (Gen. 146), it is mentioned as one of the last stages of the Israelites (Dt. 28; see WANDERINGS, §§ 4, 11, 13). It is mentioned also in K 9.26 2 Ch 8.17, in order to mark the position of EZION-GEGER (q.v.). It passed through various vicissitudes. It was repaired by Azariah (2 K. 14.22; see UZZIAH, 1.), but was at a later time recovered by Edom (2 K. 16.6; with Klostermann cancel 'Rezin' and read 'Edom' for 'Aram,' and 'Edomites' [kr.] for 'Aramites' [kt.]; but cp Edom, § 8). Jerome and Eusebius state that Elath (Alath, αλαθ) in their time was a place of commercial importance, and the seat of a Roman legion (OS² 84.25 210.75). It was renowned for its trading with India (Theod. *Quaest. in Jerem.* 100.49, Procop. *Bell. Pers.* 1.19).

Elath was the residence of a Christian bishop, and of a Jewish colony. After suffering at the hands of Saladin it dwindled away. Abulfeda (1293) knows of it only as a place deserted save for a castle which was built to protect the pilgrims who journeyed along by Elath between Cairo and Mecca on the road made by Ahmad ibn-Tulun, who reigned in Egypt in the latter half of the ninth century.¹ It is known now as 'Akaba ('delicivty'). Little is left of the former 'gate of Arabia' but some heaps of ruins, and the castle, which is still occupied by a few soldiers.²

EL-BERITH (אל בריח), Judg 9.46 RV. See BAAL-BERITH.

EL-BETHEL (אל בית אל), 'the god of Bethel'), the name given by Jacob to the sacred spot at Luz where he had built an altar (Gen. 35.7). **GADEL**, Vg. Pesh. read simply 'Bethel'; but this is against Gen. 28.19. Perhaps we should read El-berith ('covenant-God'), or El-benth-Israel, 'Israel's covenant-God.'

T. K. C.

ELCIA (ελκεια [BAFL]), Judith 8.11, RV ELKIAH.

ELDAH (אלדה), 'God calls? cp the Sab. form *Yehuda*, ZDMG 27.648 37.399, a son of MIDIAN (Gen. 25.4; 1 Ch. 1.33).

¹ Cp readings are: in Gen., *θηγαμα* [A], i.e., Togarmah; (*θηγαμα*) [B], *θηγαμα* [D] rescr., *παγα* [L], ap. [E], *cap* [E+L]; and in Ch. *ελαδα* [B], *ελαδα* [AL].

ELDAD (אלדד), § 28; ελδαδ [BAFL]; see ELIDAD and cp DOD, NAMES WITH) and **Medad** (מידד), Sam. **כוור**, cp *מלואד* [BAFL], whence read *מורד*, 'loved one'? § 56; cp ALMOHAM were two Israelites who prophesied without being locally in contact with Yahwe in the Tent of Meeting (or Revelation) where Yahwe was present in the cloud (Nu. 11.26-29). Moses rejoiced at the favour accorded to them, and longed that, not only the guides and directors of Israel, but all Yahwe's people might become prophets. The story (which is related to Ex. 33.7-11 Nu. 11.16 f. 12.1-13; see MIRIAM, § 1) was written by one of the latest members of the Elohist school whose aspirations are most nearly paralleled by Jer. 31.14 Ezek. 11.19 f. Joel 2.28 f. [31 f.]

¹ Cp Rob. *BS* 1237.241; Niebuhr, *Beschreibungen von Arabien*, 400; Buhl, *Edomiter*, 30 f.; and for an illustration of this castle see Ruppel, *Reise in Nubien*, 248.

² According to Jos. (*Ant.* viii. 6.4, *laareus*, ix. 12.1, *πλααδου*, ed. Niese), Elath in former times was called Berenice. The ordinary editions, it will be noticed, refer this remark to Ezion-geber, which is less suitable.

ELEAZAR

(Kue *Her.* 247 f.) The names Eldad and Medad (which perhaps do not belong to the original narrative) were probably selected from a store of old traditional names for the sake of resonance (cp Iera, Birshat; Jubal, Jubal, etc.). It is not at all certain that the names are almost identical. See APOCRYPHA, § 23.

In its present form the prominent feature of the story is that these two men (alone of the seventy elders) for some unknown reason remained behind, and prophesied without going into the tent. Moses' answer shows clearly that the real point is that prophecy is not to be restricted to the few. In v. 26 the words *וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* are probably a gloss.¹ A late scribe took exception to the idea that the power of prophecy could be given to anyone outside the seventy elect, and so inserted the gloss with the above effect. The inclusion of Eldad and Medad among 'those that were written down' does not seem, therefore, to belong to the original form of the story.

ELDERS (זקנים), Ex. 3.16. See GOVERNMENT, §§ 16, 19; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 8; and (for the Christian eldership) PRESBYTER.

ELEAD (אלעד), 1 Ch. 7.21. See ELADAH.

ELEADAH (אלעד), 1 Ch. 7.20 RV, AV ELADAH.

ELEALEH (אלעלה), and אלעלה Nu. 32.37, 'God is high'; ελεαλη [BAFL], a Moabite town associated with Heshbon (Is. 15.4 16.9, ελαληcen [Bab. AQ] cp Sw. *at loc.*; Jer. 48.34 ori. BN. ελεαλη [AQ]), and assigned in Nu. 32.37 to the Reubenites. Eusebius (OS² 253.33) places it 1 R. nt. N. from Heshbon.

Probably Elealeh should be restored for the questionable *אלעלה* in Is. 15.4. To invent a place-name Erelayim (Perles, Marti) is imprudent. It is quite true, however, that the initial *z* ought to be the preposition.

Elealeh seems to be the modern *el-Al* ('the lofty'), an isolated hill, with ruins, $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. NNE. of Heshbon. See SEP 1.16-19; Tristr. *Moab*, 339 f.; Bad.² 174.

T. K. C.

ELEASA, RV *Elasa* (ελασα [A], ελ. [AV]; *אלסא*, *Elesa* [It.], *Laisa* [Vg.]), an unknown locality in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where Judas the Maccabee encamped before the encounter which resulted in his defeat and death (1 Macc. 9.5). Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11.1) places Judas's camp in Berzetho (the readings vary: *βερζω*, *βερζω*, *βερ*, and *βερ*); but this may be in error for the Syrian camp which (1 Macc. 9.4) was at BEREIA [1] (Syr. *Birath*). A suggested identification is *Al. Hasa* between the Beth-horons (*PEEM* 3.115). Reland, however, suggests ADASA (q.v.).

ELEASAH (אלעזר), 1 Ch. 23.9. 837 EV. See ELASAH, 3. 4.

ELEAZAR (אלעזר), 'God has helped' §§ 23, 28, 84, ελεαζαρ [BAFL]; cp Eliezer, Lazarus, and Phazn. *אֵלְעִיזָר*, etc., Sin. *קֹסְעֵר*, etc.). Both Eleazar and Eliezer are very common names, especially in post-exilic times and in lists of priests; with regard to the authenticity of the latter see EZRA i. §§ 1, 2, 5 end; ii. §§ 15 (1) d. 13 g.

1. ¹ *Al.* third son of Aaron and Elisheba (Ex. 6.23 [P]) is mentioned often in P. but only twice in JE, according to Driver—viz., in Dt. 10.6 and Josh. 24.33.² What we learn of him is to this effect. He discharged priestly functions together with Aaron and his brothers Nadab, Abihu, and Ithamar (Ex. 28.1), and after the two elder brothers had died childless Ithamar and he were left to carry on the duties alone (Nu. 34). Eleazar himself becoming the 'prince of the princes of the Levites' and superintending those that had the charge of looking after the sanctuary (Nu. 33.2; cp 16.37 f. [17.2 f.] 19.3 f.). His special duty with respect to the

¹ *בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* applied to persons is a late expression, and the words *וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* are omitted in *HP* 16, 54, 73, 77 and in the first hand of 131.

² From Dt. 10.6 Dt. and Dr. infer that JE, as well as P, knows of Aaron as a priest, and of Eleazar as Aaron's successor. Robertson Smith, however, holds (*OTTC* 20, 405, n. 2) that 17

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things necessary for the sanctuary and its service is detailed in Nu. 4.6. Shortly before Aaron's death he was invested on Mt. Hor with his father's garments of authority (Nu. 20.25 ff.; cp. Dt. 10.6 [D]). He now appears as Moses' condutor, taking the place of Aaron; together they took the census of the people (Nu. 26.63), and divided the spoil of the Midianites (Nu. 31.12 ff.). It was to them that the daughters of Zelophehad came to sue for an inheritance (Nu. 27.1 ff.), and the line Reuben and line Gad for a pasture-land for their flocks (Nu. 32.5 ff.).¹ The charge was given to Joshua in the presence of Eleazar, who was 'to inquire for him by the judgment of Urim before Yrhwé' (Nu. 27.13 ff.); just as his son Phinehas is said to have done, previous to the assault on Gibeah (Judg. 20.28). Henceforth in the accounts of the dividing of the land etc. Eleazar is mentioned before Joshua (Nu. 32.28 31.17 Josh. 14.1 17.19 21.1).² At his death he was buried at Gibeah of Phinehas (Josh. 24.33 [E]), which had been given to his son in Mt. Ephraim. He married 'one of the daughters of Pntel' (Ex. 6.25), and the priesthood is said to have remained in his family till the time of Eli, and again from Zadok till the time of the Maccabees—statements which need a strictly critical examination. See ZATOK, 1.

2. Son of Ahinadab, temp. Samuel. According to a comparatively late story the ark was deposited for twenty years in the house of Ahinadab at Kirjath-jearim under the guardianship of his son Eleazar (1 S. 71 f.). Eleazar in this 'idealisation' of history is intended as a contrast to that other son of Ahinadab (Uzza) who proved wanting in the reverence essential to a minister of the ark (2 S. 616). His name is probably meant to suggest this contrast. Observe that Eleazar was specially 'sanctified' for his functions. See ARK, § 5.

3. b. Dodo the Aholite (1 Ch. II 12), or b. Dodai b. Aholi (2 S 239); but see ANOTHER [2], one of David's 'three' heroes. His great exploit (which was in the valley of 'Rephaim': see PAS-DAMMIM) is recorded in 2 S 239 f. (C^u, however, has *עלזאר*) and 1 Ch. II 11 f. In both passages the text has to be emended; but there is much difference among critics (cp Klo., Marq. *Fund.* 16, and H. P. Smith). The name of Eleazar does not appear in 1 Ch. 27.4, though we expect to find him, not Dodai, in high command in David's army. Compare, however, DODAI, and note that an Eliezer b. Dodavahu occurs in 2 Ch. 20 37. See ELIEZER (3).

4. A Merante: 1 Ch. 23²¹ f. (ελιαζαρ v. 21 [A]) 24²³.

6. In *Fraxinus* an elevation of 6.10.

6. In Ezra 8:1 an Eleazar, son of Phinehas, is mentioned as superintending the weighing out of gold and silver in the temple; 1 Esd. 8:33 and (om. B⁷A, but ελεαζαρ κ^ε.α μ^εγ. l.) Neh. 12:42.

7. A priest in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i, 5 end), 1 Esd. 9:12 (ἀλλογενῶν (BA)) = EZRA 10:18, ELIEZER (?).
8. An Israelite (i.e., a layman), son of Parosh: EZRA 10:25
1 Esd. 9:26.

9. The fourth son of Mattathias (1 Macc. 25), who bore the surname Avaran (p. AURANS).⁴ According to 2 Macc. 8:21 ff.

1056 (the words after 'Moserah') is plainly a late and unauthorized gloss; he refers to Ex. 3, where the institution of the Levitical priesthood is assigned to a later stage of the wanderings. It is of EISENBERG that the older tradition speaks of Moses as brother, not of Aaron, but (together with Gerschon) as son, however, in JE, Moses has the prior claim to the priestly office, and Aaron originally is not mentioned at all. In the genealogies of Gen. I, even one main branch of the tribe of Levi is still called the Mosaic tribe, and another important member is called Mushî—i.e., the descendant of Moshe (*see* *Prod.* 4, 138 f., ET 142 f.).

² Judg. 20 in its present form is post-exilic, and *rev.* 27^b, 28^a are no doubt glosses (see Moore, *Judges*, 434; Kue. *Einh.* § 20, n. 10).

³ All in P; in JF on the contrary Joshua is always represented as acting alone; cp 146 1714 etc.

⁴ Ⓢ [4^πΥ] *avapav*, Jos. (*inf.* xii, 61) *avpav*, *apav* and *aβapav*; Syr. *ṣṣm*. In 643 Ⓢ gives *σavpav* which is probably a mistake

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his brother Judas appointed him to read aloud the sacred book, and with a variation of his own name as watchword ('the Help of God'), he led the first band of the army against Nicanor and completely defeated him; in 2 Mac. 13:15 this is credited to Judas himself. In the fight near Beth-zachariah against Antiochus Eupator (163 B.C.) Eleazar nobly sacrificed his life (see 2 Mac. 6:4).

10. A learned scribe, who at the age of ninety years suffered torture and martyrdom at the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes, a Macc. 2:18-19 (Ἀναγόρας [V.A.]). He was designated by the early Christian fathers 'protomartyr of the old covenant,' 'foundation of martyrdom' (Chrys. *Hom.* 3 in Macc. ed. al.). The narrative in a Macc. 2:18-19 is the only one of its kind.

The narrative in 3 Macc. 6 has apparently borrowed the name Eleazar from this scribe. See APOCALYPTIC, § 66.

12. Sirach Eleazar, father of Jesus (Ecclesi. 50:27); see ECCLESIASTICS, § 2.

13. b. Ehad, placed three generations above Joseph (Mt. 115).

ELEAZURUS, RV ELLASIMUS (ΕΛΙΑCΙΒΟC [Λ]),
1 Esd. 9₂₄ = Ezra 10₂₁ ELLASIMB, 4.

ELECTRUM (חֵיטְרִם), Ezek. 14 RVmg, EV AMBER.

EL-ELOHE-ISRAEL (אל אלהי ישראל). 'God, the

EL-ELOHE-ISRAEL (אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'God, the God of Israel'), the name given by Jacob to the altar which he had built at Shechem (Gen. 33²⁰). Perhaps we should read 'God of the tents (אֱלֹהֵי אֹהֶל) of Israel'; 'his tent' (אֹהֶל) precedes in r. 10. T. K. C.

EL ELYON (עֵלְיֹון). Gen. 14:18. See NAMES, § 118.

ELEMENTS (στοιχεῖα; *elementa*). Στοιχεῖον, from στοιχος, 'a row,' 'a line,' 'a rank,' means literally what

1. General history of word. belongs to a row or line, a member of a series, a part of an organism. This fundamental meaning gives the key to the ex-

ceedingly interesting history of the word from its use in Plato down to Modern Greek. All the special senses in which it is employed, whether 'usual' or 'occasional'¹—some of them very remarkable—can be carried back to this, though between the meanings 'one of a row' and 'demon' is a long way. It conduces to clearness if we keep in mind its three special concrete applications.

(a) It denotes a 'letter,' as one of the series of letters constituting a word or even a syllable—i.e., not a written sign (γράμμα) but a speech-sound (Plato, *Deff.* 414 E: στοιχείον φωνῆς φωνῆ δασύνητος; similarly Arist. *Poet.* 20). Thus, for example, the letter ρ is τὸ ῥῶ το στοιχείον (Plat. *Crit.* 426 D), the alphabet is τὰ στοιχεία, and 'alphabetical' is κατὰ στοιχείαν. This concrete meaning and

This concrete meaning explains the metonymy by which the plural is so frequently used to denote the beginnings, rudiments, or 'elements' of a science or art—the ABC as we say; cp the by-name Abecedarians given to a group of Anabaptists at the Reformation, and see the *Oxford Engl. Dict.* s.v. It is enough to recall the title of Euclid's work (*στοιχεῖα*) on the Elements of Geometry. Many other examples are to be found in the Lexicons.

In this sense the word is met with only once in the Bible, 'ye have need again that some one teach you the rudiments of the first principles of the oracles of God (*τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λόγων τοῦ Θεοῦ*).¹ Heb. 5:12, where the words *τῆς ἀρχῆς* intensify the idea, 'the beginnings of the elements.'²

(b) Shadow of the sundial (e.g., Aristoph. *Ecol.* 652 :
 ὅταν ᾖ δεικνόν τὸ στοιχείον, 'when the shadow
 measures ten feet'). The shadow is here doubtless
 thought of as a line which hour by hour grows longer
 or shorter and by degrees marks the progress of the
 day. Στοιχείον, properly speaking, is a fraction of this
 line, and then by synecdoche, becomes the line itself.
 This meaning is not met with in the Bible.

(c) 'Groundstuff,' 'element,' as constituent part of an organism. In this sense it was not used (so ancient

for *ελεαζαρος αυγαν*; *ΘΚΥ* corrects to *αυγαν*. The meaning is doubtful. Some connect with *αγα* 'be white' and refer it to Eleazar's white complexion; others understand it to mean 'beast-sticker'; see Stanley, *Jewish Church*, 3, 218.

² Cremer ⁴¹, 909.

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tradition has it before Plato; but from his time onward it became a current meaning. The early philosophers assumed sometimes one, sometimes more than one, primary constituent element of the universe. Empedocles reckoned four—fire, water, earth, and air. Many citations from non-biblical writers will be found in the lexicons; and Philo and Josephus also use the word in this sense. In the Greek Bible the following examples occur—Wisd. 7.17, 'For he himself gave me an unerring knowledge of the things that are: to know the constitution of the world and the operation of the elements (*συστάσιν κόσμου καὶ ἐνέργειαν στοιχείων*)'; 19.18, 'the elements changing their order one with another (*δι' ἑαυτῶν γὰρ τὰ στοιχεία μεταρρυθμίζονται*)'; 4 Macc. 12.1, '[the tongues of men] of like passions with you, self, and composed of the same elements (*τοῖς ὁμοιοπαθεῖς καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότας στοιχείων*)'; cp 2 Macc. 7.22, 'the first elements [*στοιχείων*] of each one of you'; and, according to most exegetes, 2 Pet. 3.10, 'the day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise (*στοιχεῖα δὲ καυσούμενα λιθίσονται*) [Kl., etc., *λιθίσονται*]', and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up'; also 1.12, 'the day of God by reason of which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat' (*δι' ἣν οὐρανοὶ πυρούμενοι λιθίσονται καὶ στοιχεία καυσούμενα τήσονται*). The rendering 'elements' here gives an excellent sense, and it would be mere pedantry to ask why the elements are named along with the heavens and the earth; the writer's purpose is to depict the last day in the boldest colours, and he seeks to heighten the effect of his picture by bringing in the *στοιχεῖα*. At the same time the interpretation which takes the word here to refer to demonic life-spirits (see below, 21) is entitled to attention. Though the sense of 'rudiments' or 'beginnings', alluded to above, is hardly to be traced to this last concrete application of the word, the very usual metonymic sense of 'fundamental condition,' 'thesis,' 'principle,' 'rule'—of which there is no example in the Bible—is doubtless to be taken from this meaning. On the other hand, the biblical passages receive much light from another part of the history of the word: the concrete sense in which in late Greek the word *στοιχεῖα* is specialised to mean the planets (as being the 'elements' and so to say 'supports' of the heavens)¹ and, more widely, the stars.²

Now every element has its god;³ so also every star. In the Orphic Hymns the personified ether is called the 'holdest element,' *στοιχείον ἀριστον* (54). Hephaestus is called the 'perfect element,' *στοιχείον ἀμειψές* (65a), in the great Paris magic-papyrus 1.1303 the moon-goddess is the 'immortal element,' *στοιχείον ἀφθαρτον*, and in the so-called 'nymph of the world,' the *Κόρη κόσμου* of Hermes Trismegistus (ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 1.385.1 ff.), the *στοιχεῖα* come as gods before the supreme God, and make their complaint of the arrogance of men.⁴ Conceptions such as these perhaps owe their origin to eastern influences; but at any rate they have their analogues in the Jewish idea that all things—as, for example, fire, wind, clouds, stars—have their proper angels or spirits;⁵ a thought which is operative in primitive Christian literature also; see Rev. 7.1 (four angels standing at the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth), 14.18 (another angel . . . which hath power over fire), 16.5 (the angel of the waters;

¹ Dieterich, 61. The present writer regards as much less probable the conjecture (see Pape's *Wörterbuch*) that the planets are so called as having a controlling influence upon the affairs of men.

² It is further applied to the signs of the zodiac, and even to the entire heaven with its system of stars; the metonymic signification, 'great stars' = 'great men,' also occurs.

³ Dieterich, 57, 61.

⁴ All the above examples are taken from Dieterich, 60 f.

⁵ Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas*, 1885, p. 265 ff.; Everling, 70 ff.

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cp Jn. 5.4), 19.17 (an angel standing in the sun). It is from these notions probably that we ought to explain the peculiar meaning of *στοιχείον*, in which it stands, by synecdoche, for 'divine being,' 'spirit,' 'demon,' 'genius.' At what period this use first arose is obscure, but doubtless it is comparatively old. Our main examples are found in the Testamentum Solomonis (see *Apocrypha*, § 14), which in its present form bears evidence of Christian editing, and by F. A. Bornemann is attributed to the time of Lactantius.²

Seven female spirits (*πνεύματα*) come to Solomon, and, questioned, reply: 'We are some of the thirty-three genii of the ruler of the underworld . . . and our stars are in heaven . . . and we are invoked as goddesses' (*ἡμεῖς ἰσμεν ἐκ τῶν τριάκοντα γυναικῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος τοῦ σκότους . . . καὶ τὰ ἀστέρη ἡμεῖς ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰσιν . . . καὶ ὡς θεαὶ καλοῦμεθα*; Fleck, 120 f.). Afterwards come six and thirty spirits (*πνεύματα*) to Solomon, and, questioned, make answer: 'We are the thirty-six genii the rulers of this underworld . . . since the Lord God has given thee power over every spirit, in the air upon the earth and below the earth, therefore we also like the rest of the spirits stand before thee' (*ἡμεῖς ἰσμεν τὰ τριάκοντα ἑξ στοιχείων οὗ κοσμοκράτορος τοῦ σκότους τούτου . . . ὅτι ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε σοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντων πνευματικῶν ἀέρος τε καὶ ἐπιγῆιου καὶ καταχθονίου, διὰ τούτου καὶ ἡμεῖς παραστήμεθα ἐνώπιόν σου ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ πνεύματα*). The first calls himself the 'first dervan of the *phylax* circle' (*πρώτος δεκάριος τοῦ φυλάκτου κύκλου*; Fleck, 120 f.). Plainly *στοιχεῖον* here is absolutely synonymous with 'god' and 'spirit,' and we are here dealing, in part, with star-gods. Further, the usage of writers of the Byzantine period has to be noticed. Sophocles (Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods, memorial edition, 1888, p. 1012) gives under *στοιχείον* 'genius,' 'the spirit guarding a particular place or person,' also 'talisman,' *Thesph. Cont.* 379.14, Leo Gram. 287, Anon. Byz. 1209 C. Cp the same Lexicon also, 1217, *στοιχειοδότης*, *στοιχειῶν* ('to perform talismanic operations upon anything'), *στοιχειωμάτων* ('talismanic'), *στοιχειώσις* ('the performing of talismanic operations upon anything'), and *στοιχειωτικός* ('talismanic'). Most instructive of all, however, is the usage of modern popular Greek. The ordinary name by which the local tutelary spirits are designated in modern Greece is *στοιχεῖο(ν)*—i.e., *στοιχείον*, 'element.'⁴ Skarlatos, *Λεξικόν* . . . gives the meaning 'αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν ἢ φαντασμα' (*ib.*). All sorts of *στοιχεῖα* occur; the *στοιχεῖο* of the threshing-floor, the rock, the river, the bridge, and so on (*ib.* 187-9); *στοιχειώμενος* may mean 'one under the protection of a *στοιχεῖο*' (*ib.* 190). This employment of the word for 'tutelary spirit' is a specialisation of the more general meaning of 'spirit,' and speaks for the relative antiquity of the latter use; in the ideas and vocabulary of the common people, as Jacob Grimm among others has shown, the conception of a remote antiquity will often be found to survive.

Here then is the historical line of progression from the original meaning of the word to that of tutelary spirit; member of a series, element, elemental deity, deity (demon, spirit), tutelary deity.

In Gal. 4.3, where Paul says: ' . . . so we also, when we were children, were held in bondage under the ele-

ments of the world (*ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*), and in 1.9, where he says, 'But now that ye have come to know God . . . how turn ye back again to the weak and beggarly elements (*εἰς τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα*) whereunto ye desire to be in bondage over again,' *στοιχεῖα* is taken by most interpreters as meaning 'rudiments' (so RV) in the sense indicated above (1a); Paul is supposed to mean the crude first beginnings of religion in those who belong to the *κόσμος*. Others, however, start from the meaning given in § 1c and take Paul to be speaking of the elements of the world, 'world' being here taken in its well-known ethical sense; *kosmos* is the central idea; 'under the elements of the world' (*ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*)

¹ Dieterich (*Abrahas*, 61) holds that in Wisd. 7.17 (see above) 'demon' is a possible rendering as well as 'element'; this, however, is not probable, the *πνεύματα* (not 'elements' but 'spirits') being named in 1.20.

² *Zeichn. für die hist. Theol.*, 1844, Hft. 3, 15. An edition and discussion of this hitherto much-neglected writing would be very welcome and, in view of recent discoveries in the field of oriental Greek magic, most opportune.

³ F. F. Fleck, *Anecdota* (Leipzig, 1837) = F. F. Fleck, *Wissenschaftliche Reise durch das süd. Deutschland, Italien, Sicilien, Frankreich*, 23.

⁴ Bernh. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen u. das hellenische Alterthum*, 1883 (71). For the history of the word Schmidt refers to Korais, *Ανακτ.* iii. 2. 122.

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is merely an amplification for 'under the world' (*ὑπὸ τὸν κόσμον*).

This last interpretation is certainly open to the objection that in v. 9 only *συνεργα* are mentioned, whereas if *ἀσθενες* had been the main place, we should have expected the shortened phrase *τὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τὸν ἀσθενῆ* and not *τὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τὸν συνεργόν*. The first interpretation also, however, is not free from difficulty. In v. 11 is the law, in one sense or another, that is being spoken of. This is shown by the context (e.g. especially v. 3: *τὸν νόμον*); but in v. 9 the topic is the goals of the Gentile Galatians. It is too easy to understand how Paul can here be speaking of the law as 'rudiments' after he had so shortly before been referring to it (3:24) as a 'tutor' (*παιδαγωγὸς*) and likening it (4:2) to 'guardians and stewards' (*ἐκτελεσται καὶ οἰκονομοὶ*); nor is it easy to see how he can say of 'rudiments' that they are *deform* and *strange*! A weak and beggarly ALC¹ is not a very happy phrase. Further, the whole context in both places points less to conceptions of material objects than to personal beings; see especially v. 9.

In view of these difficulties, there is much to be said for the interpretation which takes the word in the other sense (see § 1, end) of 'spirit,' 'demon.' Paul, in this view, is speaking of cosmic spiritual beings, and by them he understands, in v. 1, the angels by whom, according to Acts, the law was 'ordained,' and in v. 2 the heathen deities whom the Galatians had formerly served. Jewish bondage to the law, as being bondage to angels, and Gentile service of strange gods as being bondage to demons, are alike slavery to the powers of the world (die kosmischen Mächte). This interpretation, the essence of which consists in taking *συνδουλία* as meaning personal powers (persönliche Mächte) has been upheld with a large variety of modifications by Hilgenfeld,¹ A. Ritschl,² Holsten,³ Kloppe,⁴ Spitta,⁵ Everling,⁶ A. Dieterich,⁷ whose allusion to 'all the modern theological commentators' seems hardly called for.

It may fairly be conjectured that the phrase the 'elements of the world' (*στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*) is a technical expression which does not owe its origin to Paul. That it was a current one seems to be indicated also by the turn of phrase in the *Testamentum Solomonis* 'the elements, the rulers' (*τὰ στοιχεῖα οὐ κόσμου πατριάρχαι*), or 'the elements of the ruler' (*τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ ἀσκηνοπατριάρχου*).

In Col. 2:8, also, this last interpretation seems preferable to the rendering 'elements of the world' or 'rudiments of the world'. The context is in both places similar to that in Gal. 4:1. By the *σ-οχεία τοῦ κόσμου*, which he brings into sharp contrast with Christ, Paul intends in one sense or another the law; but he mentions, instead of the law, the personal cosmic powers standing behind the law, the angels; whom indeed, he goes on expressly to name in Col. 2:15 as the 'principalities and the powers' (*τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας*). We thus obtain a surprising light upon the much-disputed passage in Col. 2:18, where mention is made of a 'worship of angels' (*ἀρχαγγέλων*): by the 'angel service' of the Colossians he means their 'law service' (cp Gal. 3:12), all the learned discussions about one particular kind of angel worship or another now become superfluous.

That in 2 Pet. 3.10 the rendering 'elements' is an adequate one has already been shown (§ 1 c). Yet it is not impossible that personal powers might be meant here also, as Spitta⁸ and Kühl⁹ suppose. The main objection—that the expressions 'dissolve' and 'melt' (ἀθροῦσαι, τήκεται) could hardly be used of personal spirits—is well met by Spitta, by a reference to the *Test. xii. Patr., Levi*, 4 (cf. Sinker, 140), where, in a similar way, in the description of the judgment day, it is said 'the whole creation being agitated and the invisible spirits melting' (καὶ πᾶσι κτίσεως ἀνομομήνης καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων πνευμάτων τήκωσιν).

Literature.—Besides the commentaries on *tial.* and *Col.*, and various occasional contributions on the subject, cf. Schneckenburger, *Theol. Jahrbh.* 7 ('48), 445-453; Kienlen, *Beitr. z. d.*

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theol. Wissenschaften, ed. Reuss and Cunitz 153, 2: 713-743; Haushaus, *Commentatio* qua exponitur quid *στρογίον* seu *στρογιον* sit, *Commentatio*, 1882; *Hom., Iliad*, 1883, 1: 371; Ebeling, *Die paulinische Angelologie u. Pneumatologie* (188), 66 ff.; Albrecht Dietrich, *Historia: Studia seu Reliquiae de Apocryphis, Hieronymi* (181), 65 ff. (Cramer, *Bibl.-theol. Bibliothek* 1894, 107 ff.); F. V. Hincks, 'The meaning of *σά στρογία* *σού στρογιον*' in *IBL*, 1896 (181) 5; Hermann Diels, *Eleutherus*, 1896, 1: 106 ff. (see Greek text and Latin text *Eleutherus*, 99). This work provides abundant material for the history of *στρογιον* and *στρογίον*, if it does not contribute anything really new bearing on the biblical passages. The present article was written before the appearance of Diels' book; but, on the whole, it represents—as far as it comes into touch with this but more comprehensive work—the same ideas.

G. A. H.

ELEPH (עֶלֶף), *Ilā-eph* i.e., 'the thousand,' Josh. 19:28) is supposed to be a Benjamite town, and, according to Trender and Henderson, is the modern *Iyāz* see, however, NEPHOAH.

The Greek καὶ σηλασφ [Λ], κ. σηλασφ [Λ], to which apparently corresponds Εξ σηλασην (various from Η Ψ) are σηλασφ σηλασημ, σηλασηκ, σφασιθ (σηλασφ); Pesh. has כף 22, perhaps punctuating as כִּנְחָה 'a chieftain'.

Before 'identifying' it would have been well to examine the text. The two names before 'Jehus' in ^Q are καὶ Ζελαῖα καὶ Ταράλη (= זְלָא וְתָרָלַיָא), καὶ is a duplication of καὶ; Ζελαῖα corresponds to זְלָא, Zela and Taralah therefore answer in ^Q to Zelah and Har-leph in MT. Har-leph (which is an impossible name) must be a corruption of Taralah or rather (see TARALAI) of Irpeel (יִרְפֵּעַל); זְלָא comes straight from זֶלָה.

ELEPHANT (ελεφας). The word 'elephant' occurs, outside the Apocrypha, only in the AVug of Job 40:15 for *Behemoth* (זר, § 1) and in the AVug of 1 K 10:22 2 Ch. 9:21 ('elephant's teeth') for *Ivory* (זר). It is

an elephant of the Indian species that appears on the Black Obelisk (see below); but the African elephant also was no doubt known.

The two species, *Elephas indicus* (maximum) and *E. africanus*, together with such fossil forms as the Mammoth (name probably from Hebræish), the Mastodon, and others, constitute the Mammalian order, Proboscidea. The Indian elephant is now found, in a state of nature, in India, Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Assam, Cochin China, Ceylon, and Sumatra, frequenting the wooded districts; it has a congener lives throughout Africa south of the Sahara desert, but is retreating before the approach of civilised man. In Pliocene times it spread as far north as Europe.

The Indian species has been domesticated since prehistoric times and is still largely used in the service of man. The male alone as a rule has tusks. The African elephant is, in the male, larger than the Indian, the ear-flaps and the eyes are larger and the forehead more convex, there are two finger-like processes on the trunk instead of one, and the pattern on the teeth is different; both sexes have tusks. In temper this species is usually fiercer and the animal is undoubtedly more powerful and active than its Indian relative.

It is certain that elephants were known to the old inhabitants of Egypt and Assyria, by whom they were sometimes hunted for the sake of their ivory and their hides (*AB* 119, Tiglath-pileser I.; *As. n. Eur.* 263, Thimtes II; Houghton, *T.S.R.* 4812 ff.). There is an elephant among the animals figured on the Black Obelisk² of Shalmaneser II (858-824). Of course there may have been more than one elephant in the tribute from the land of Muṣri; but one was enough for the purpose of representation.

2. **Use in warfare** Elephants in warfare first appear among the Persians. Darius at Arbela (331 B.C.) employed 15 of them. They were often used by the Seleucids, frequent mention of them being made in the Maccabean wars (cp 1 Macc 3:34 6:30 8:6 11:56 2 Macc 11:4 13:15 etc.). These elephants,

² The term used for 'elephant' in Shalm Obel. Epigr. III. is *baziati*. The word *al'at* also occurs, but in the sense of 'ox' not 'elephant' (Wi. *KB* I 151). Houghton suggests the wild buff². Cp *IVORY*.

¹ *Der Galaterbr.*, 1852, p. 66; *ZW'TA.*, 1858, p. 99; 1860, p. 208; 1866, p. 314.

² Christl. Lehre von der Rechtfertigung³, 2252 f. (89).

Der Br. an die Kolosser, 360 ff. ('82).

As above, 265

⁶ Meyer's *Komm.* (I) 1:2450 f. (

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some of which carried towers (1 Mac. 6:17f.), were almost certainly of the Indian species. Special mention is made of the Indian driver (*śādhā*, 1 Mac. 14:1). The war elephants were placed under the care of a special officer (2 Mac. 14:12). In classical times the African species was tamed by the Egyptians and took part both in the Carthaginian wars and in the Roman shows. Since in recent times the natives of Africa have not shown sufficient ability to tame this somewhat restive animal it has been suggested that the Carthaginians imported their animals from the East,¹ but there is little reason to doubt that the true *P. africanus* was employed in the Punic wars and even accompanied Hannibal's army across the Alps. The presence of African elephants in modern menageries proves that this species is capable of domestication and education in the hands of competent trainers. The elephant rarely breeds in captivity.

A. E. S. — S. A. T.

ELEUTHEROPOLIS (ελευθεροπολις, 'free city')

with play on double meaning of *ελευθερία*, 'liberty' and 'free men'?

1. History. *ελευθερία*, 421, the name bestowed about A.D. 200 by the emperor Septimius Severus on Betogabara, now Beit Jibrin, an important place in Judaea, mentioned already (see B.S. 115:1), § 2. How central it was appears from the fact that Eusebius in the *Onom.* often reckons the distances of other towns with reference to it. It was in fact the capital of a large province during the fourth and the fifth centuries of our era. It was also an episcopal city of *Palestina Prima* (*Notitiae Ecclesiasticae*, 6). In the Talmudic period it had a large Jewish population, and produced some eminent Rabbins.

The Talmudic name is Beth-gubrin (Neub. *Gloss.* 122 ff.). The 'Doctrine of Aḥai' (3rd cent. A.D.) expressly refers to Eleutheropolis as called Bērgubrin in the Aramaic tongue (Neub. *Lev.* 79, p. 138; see F. K. S. 115:1, D). The name Betogabara (*Βετογαβαρα*) is given to it by Ptolemy (v, 166). It also appears in the Peutinger Tables as Betogabari, and we can hardly be wrong in correcting, in Niese's text of Jos. *BJ* (v, 81), *Βετογαβαρα* into *Βετογαβαρα*. Whether the name alludes to prehistoric 'giants,' is beyond our knowledge.

For some centuries the Greco-Roman name supplanted the older designation, but when, 150 years after the Saracenic conquest, the city was destroyed, the latter revived (Reiland. *Pal.* 222, 227, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1044).

On this site, which they called 'Tubelin' (a corruption of *Ar. Beth-gubrin*), the Crusaders in the twelfth century built a castle. After the battle of Hattin (1187 A.D.), it fell for a time into the hands of Saladin. Retaken by Richard of England, it was finally captured by Bihars, and remained in possession of the Saracens until its destruction in the sixteenth century; ruins of it still remain (see Porter, *Syria and Pal.*, 256f.).

The site of Eleutheropolis, in spite of the minute definitions of early writers, passed so completely out of mind that Robinson had to discover it. All

2. Site. the early statements point to Beit Jibrin, which is now a large village, N. of *Merash*, situated in a little nook or glen in the side of a long green valley. Near it begin the famous caverns, to the excavation of which the limestone of the adjoining ridges was very favourable. We may not follow the Midrash which ascribes their origin to the HORITES [2:7], but the antiquity of their use can hardly be doubted.

Jerome already noticed their wide extent (*Comm. in Obad.* 1), in which indeed they rival the catacombs of Rome and Malta. They have been explored by Robinson and more fully by Porter, who compares them to 'subterranean villages.'

Eleutheropolis, or Beth-gubrin, stands in close historical connection with MARESHAH (2:7). G. A. Smith has put this in a very forcible way (*JH* 233). If from the first to the sixteenth centuries Beit Jibrin (= Eleutheropolis) has been prominent, and Marešah forgotten, we may infer that the population moved under compulsion from the one site to the other. On the caves

¹ At all events there seems a close resemblance between *naḥṣ* and *naḥṣ*, the Ethiopic and Indian words respectively for elephant (Meyer, 6:14 1225).

ELHANAN

spoken of above, besides Robinson and Porter, compare Lucien Vanier (*Souvenir de la Terre-Sainte*, 63-67). He is of opinion that such caves have been in use for different purposes at many periods. Elsewhere a reference to them has been traced in a corrupt name in 1 K. 4:15, in the original text of which Marešah may have been designated Beth-Horim (see B.S. 115:1, § 2).

L. A. C.

ELEUTHERUS (ελευθερος, 'free'), a river of Syria (1 Mac. 11:7), the mod. *Aḥr al-Kebir*. See PTOLEMAEUS.

ELHANAN (עֲלְחָנָן 'He is gracious,' § 28, cp. Baal-hanan and Palm. בְּעֲלָחָן; *עֲלְחָנָן*; *עֲלְחָנָן* [1], Jos. *CPAN* [var. *NEPHAN*]).

1. In Sam. (1) The slayer of Goliath; one of David's warriors (ben-Jair). The MT of 2 S. 21:19 reads (RV), 'And there was again war with the Philistines at Goliath; and Elhanan the son of Jair the Bethlehemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.' The document to which the passage belongs (2 S. 21:15-22, and 21:18-19) is an extract from an ancient Israelite 'roll of honour,' and deserves more credit than the later story which ascribes the slaying of Goliath to the youthful David.

It is scarcely necessary to criticise the theory of Sayce (*Mod. Rev.* 1899 ff.), which is a development of Böttcher's, that David and Elhanan are the same person (cp. Solomon-Jedidah). This is in fact precluded by its origin. The Targ. on 2 S. 21:19 states that Elhanan was 'David the son of Jesse, who wore the curtains' (cp. *Jahre-origen* of the sanctuary); cp. also the Targ. on 1 Ch. 20:5 (*עֲלְחָנָן* [1]).

We have next to remark that definite information as to the time when Elhanan slew Goliath is wanting; in fact the meagreness of tradition as to the details of the Philistine war has excited a very natural surprise (see DAVID, § 7). All that is certain is that David was no longer in the prime of life, for an exploit similar to that of Elhanan was performed by the king's nephew Jonathan (2 S. 21:1), and in another episode of the same struggle David's warriors vowed that he should no longer encounter the risk of a single combat (1:17).

The place where Elhanan fought is mentioned; but the reading is uncertain. MT says that it was at Goliath (2:7); but the first of the three combats related (2:18) was possibly, and the third certainly (2:29), at Gath. We may feel sure that Goliath in 2:7 is a false reading.

The name of Elhanan's father also is slightly uncertain. In 2 S. 23:24 1 Ch. 11:26 we read of 'Elhanan ben-Dodo, of Bethlehem.' It is true, this Elhanan is sometimes (e.g. in BDB; but not in SS) distinguished from the slayer of Goliath; but the grounds do not seem to be conclusive. Dodo is certainly a personal, JAIR (2:7, n.) may be a clan-name. It is tempting to suppose that the circumstance that, according to one tradition, Elhanan's father bore the name Dodo (n.), facilitated the transference of Elhanan's exploit to the youthful David.

The description of three out of the four single combats related in 2 S. 21:15-22 occurs in nearly the same form in 1 Ch. 20:4-8. It is to this version (see 2:5) that we are indebted for a correction

2. In Ch. of the impossible name *Jaare-origim* in 2 S. 21:19; the name should undoubtedly be read *Jair* (i.e. not *Jaare* but *Jair*). The surprising appendage *origim* (i.e. 'weavers') is an accidental repetition of the closing word of the verse. The statement of Chronicles that Elhanan 'slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath' need give us no trouble. The words *לַחְמִי* (Lahmi the brother of) have been introduced by the Chronicler to harmonise this passage with the story of David and Goliath.¹ At the same time the Chronicler omitted the statement that Elhanan was a Bethlehemite (*beth-hallahmi*). Naturally enough, for from the latter part of this designation he obtained the name which he affixed to Elhanan's giant. He would not however deny that the giant had some connection

¹ This, however, is denied by Klostermann.

ELIAB

W. K. S. — (K. C.)

T. K. C.

² The transliteration of ζ by ϕ before θ is analogous to that of ρ by χ in $\sigma\phi\alpha\chi\theta\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$. See Dalm. Gram. 304.

1 The place-names of Palestine must in many cases have an origin very different from what the later inhabitants supposed, and a primitive divine name, famous in Babylonian mythology, is likely to have found a record in Palestine.

ELIEL

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- (i) or (j); but the name is $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta\alpha\theta$ in BA though $\epsilon\lambda\eta\alpha$ in L. (1 Ch. 12:11). 1. Ep ELIAN, and see DAVID, § 11 a, iii.
3. A son of Hebron, one of David's Levites ($\epsilon\lambda\eta\alpha$, - $\eta\alpha$ [B], - $\eta\alpha$, $\alpha\epsilon\lambda\eta\alpha$ [R]), 1 Ch. 15:9, 11.
9. One of Hezekiah's Levites ($\epsilon\lambda\eta\alpha$ [B], 2 Ch. 31:13).

ELIENAI (עֲלִינַי), otherwise vocalised as ELIENAI, b. Shimeon in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (7:7), § 9. ii. 31; 1 Ch. 8:20 ($\epsilon\lambda\iota\omega\lambda\alpha\delta$ [B], $\omega\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ [A], $\epsilon\lambda\iota\omega\lambda\alpha\delta$ [L]).

ELIEZER (עֲלִיעֶזֶר), God of help, or God (or, my God) is a helper: see ELIAZAR: $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ [BANI].

1. Abraham's chief slave and steward (Gen. 15:2). The clause in which he is referred to is a piece of E's work and perhaps originally followed 7, $\alpha\tau$ (Du). It states that Abram's most trusted servant, in lieu of a son, would inherit his property (cp 1 Ch. 24:7). It should be noticed, however, that the other narrator (J) does not give the name Eliezer (see 21:2), and the text is evidently in some disorder. The most probable way of emending seems to be to read $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ 'and my tent-dwelling will be deserted' (see the *E* 17, 11:47 [Oct. 99]).

Kalisch thought that the full name of the steward was Damiesek Eliezer, and RV implies the same theory. Grammatically the rendering 'is Damiesek Eliezer' ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$, $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\sigma\epsilon\kappa$ [Euseb]) is no doubt inevitable; but how absurd it is! The text, therefore, must be misread. The words $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$, 'he (or it) is Damascus', are taken by some to be an intrusive marginal gloss on the word $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ which the glossator misunderstood (although it is difficult to see how he would have construed $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$). So, long ago, Hitzig and Lohb; unfortunately the existence of a word $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ (or $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$) 'possession' is extremely doubtful. Ball's rendering 'and he who will possess my house is a Damiesene Eliezer', is not much more plausible than that of Hitzig. See *E* 17, 11:47.

2. Second son of Moses and Zipporah (Ex. 2:22), so called because 'the God of my father was my help' (18:4). The Chronicler assigns him an only son Rehobah (1 Ch. 23:13, 17, 26:23 f.). See ELIAZAR (1), n.

3. A prophet, b. Dablah of Mareshah, temp. Jehoshaphat: 2 Ch. 20:17 ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ [B], Gray [H. 17] 212) suggests that the name may have been derived from a good historical record, but the prophets of Chronicles are often of such doubtful historicity that the suggestion seems hazardous. Was not the name more probably suggested by 'Eliezer b. Dodai for Dodai in 2 S. 23:9, 1 Ch. 11:22? See ELIAZAR (2).

4. A Reubenite 'prince' (1 Ch. 27:1).
5. A Benjamite (BENJAMIN, § 3, ii. a), 1 Ch. 7:1.
6. A Levite (1 Ch. 15:24).

7. 8. and 9. A priest, Ezra 10:18, 1 Esd. 9:19, ELIAZAR (7) ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ [B], 1. Levite, Ezra 10:17 ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ [R]), 1 Esd. 9:23; 10:18; 11:12; 12:12; 13:12; 14:12; 15:12; 16:12; 17:12; 18:12; 19:12; 20:12; 21:12; 22:12; 23:12; 24:12; 25:12; 26:12; 27:12; 28:12; 29:12; 30:12; 31:12; 32:12; 33:12; 34:12; 35:12; 36:12; 37:12; 38:12; 39:12; 40:12; 41:12; 42:12; 43:12; 44:12; 45:12; 46:12; 47:12; 48:12; 49:12; 50:12; 51:12; 52:12; 53:12; 54:12; 55:12; 56:12; 57:12; 58:12; 59:12; 60:12; 61:12; 62:12; 63:12; 64:12; 65:12; 66:12; 67:12; 68:12; 69:12; 70:12; 71:12; 72:12; 73:12; 74:12; 75:12; 76:12; 77:12; 78:12; 79:12; 80:12; 81:12; 82:12; 83:12; 84:12; 85:12; 86:12; 87:12; 88:12; 89:12; 90:12; 91:12; 92:12; 93:12; 94:12; 95:12; 96:12; 97:12; 98:12; 99:12; 100:12).

10. Head of family, temp. Ezra (see EZRA 1, § 5 end).
11. A son of Josiah (see EZRA 1, § 5 end).
12. Son of Josiah, in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk. 3:29, $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho$ [L. WH]). See CHENEZAR (1), § 1.

ELIHOENAI (עֲלִיחֹנַי), Lxx S. 4. W. RV ELIHOENAI (2).

ELIHOREPH (עֲלִיחֹרֶפֶת), $\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\phi$ [B], $\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\epsilon\phi$ [A], $\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\phi$ [L], true name perhaps Eliahph (cp $\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi$), i.e., 'God is Eliahph' [Apis, see ARIS], of which Eliahph may be an alteration on religious grounds; cp Abishahar, from Abihur? so Marguerite, one of Solomon's 'sisters', son of Shisha (1 K. 11). The text of 27:1-28, however, is in much disorder, and 27:1 needs emendation. 27:2 promises a list of 'princes'. The first prince (27:2) is Azariah, son of the priest Zadok. The next should be 'Eliahph' (Eliahph?), and Abihph sons of Shaysha the secretary (Klost). See SHAYSHA (1), § 1.

ELIHU (עֲלִיחֻ), 'God is He' [Yihwe], $\epsilon\lambda\iota\eta\upsilon$ [AL], in Job 4: [BAC].

1. One of the interlocutors of the Book of Job (1:7, § 9).

1 The final η is omitted in 1 Ch. 26:7 (KL), 27:14 (KL), and once or twice in J.

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2. b. Tohu, in the genealogy of Samuel (1 S. 1:1 $\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ [B], $\epsilon\lambda\eta$ [L]). Samuel's pedigree, however, is composite (see JERONAM [1], TOHU), and Eliah of the clan of Tohu (so, for Tohu; cp EPHRAIM, § 12) corresponds to ELKANAH (7:1, 1) of the clan of Jerahmeel (so for Jerahmeel). In 1 Ch. 6:27 [12] Eliah is called ELIAN (7:1, 4) and in 1 Ch. 6:34 [19] Eliel (7:1, 6); whilst conversely ELIAN (7:1, 3), David's eldest brother, seems to be called Eliah in 1 Ch. 27:13, where $\epsilon\lambda\eta$ reads Eliah. Perhaps some early divine name has been excised (in various ways) by editors; the name, e.g., may have been Elimelech (cp RUGEM-MELECH beside RAAMIAH, and it is probable that this, rather than Elkanah, was the true name of Samuel's father. So Marg. *Fund.* 12 f.).

3. A Maassie, one of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12:20 [21] ($\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\phi$ [B], $\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\phi$ [A]). See DAVID, § 11, a, iii.

4. A porter of the temple, 1 Ch. 26:7 ($\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\phi$ [B]).

ELIJAH, in Mt 11:14 AV, ELIAS ($\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$ [sixty-three times], § 38, or, as in 2 K. 1:14 & 12 and in Mal. 3:23 (45), $\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$; i.e., 'Yahwe is God,' cp Joel; $\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\phi$ [B], Ti. WH) was among the greatest and most original of the Hebrew prophets; indeed it is in him that Hebrew prophecy first appears as a great spiritual and ethical power, deeply affecting the destiny and religious character of the nation. He lived and worked under Ahab (c. 875-853), contending with heroic courage for Yahwe as the sole god of Israel, and refusing to make any terms with plans favoured at the royal court for imitating the worship of the national god with that of the Syrian Baal. Thus he vindicated the true character of the religion of Israel and is not unworthy of a place by the side of Moses. We shall be better able to appreciate his position, however, when we have examined the legendary narratives in which his history is enshrined.

1. In 1 K. 17:19 we have a varied and singularly vivid account of his conflict with the foreign Baal-worship. It is from the hand of one who was a subject of the northern kingdom, and must therefore have written before the conquest of Samaria in 722 B.C.

Otherwise in mentioning Beer-sheba (19:1) he would scarcely have taken the pains to tell his readers that it belonged to Judah, or at least would not have expressed himself in that way. Again the type of his religious thought is clearly older than that of Hosea or even Amos. Not only does he speak, or make his hero speak, with reverence of Yahwe's altars in N. Israel (19:1), but, in spite of abundant occasion, he makes no protest against that worship of Yahwe under the accepted symbol of an ox, which provoked Hosea's bitter scorn. Accordingly, we may acquiesce in Kuenen's suggestion (*Ond.* i. 275) that he may have flourished in the ninth century, within a generation or two at furthest from the lifetime of Elijah. Only we must allow time for the creative work of popular fancy and the rise of partial misconception as to the points at issue in the deadly struggle.

The narrative has been mutilated at the beginning, and hence the abruptness with which the prophet appears on the scene; otherwise we might have attributed to dramatic art the sudden introduction, adapted as it is to the meteor-like character of Elijah's appearances, preserve throughout. The story must have begun with some account of the quarrel and its origin in Ahab's religious innovations; but the editor of the Book of Kings had already given an account of Ahab's defection (16:29-34) in his own way and naturally refrained from explaining the matter over again in the words of the older document which he used. Hence Elijah of Tishbe in Gilead ($\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\phi$ 17:1; but cp JARISH [1]) is brought at once before us as if we were already familiar with him and with his cause. He confronts the king

1 The statement that Elijah was 'of the inhabitants (rather, 'sojourners') of Gilead' is vague and unprofitable. Earlier we must read 'of Tishbe in Gilead,' or else (cp JARISH, § 1) the

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with a message from Yahwé 'before whom he stands' in constant service. No rain or dew is to fall for 'these years' save at the prophet's will or declaration. Straightway the scene changes to a lonely wady called Cherith (?) (so most; but see UHERITH). Here, in or near the wild and pastoral land of his birth, Elijah is shielded for a time from the famine which followed the drought. Ravens, forgetting their natural voracity, bring him bread and flesh morning and evening. Thus his supply of food was constant and beyond the needs of life in the East, where flesh is eaten only on festal occasions. In time, however, the stream of water fails, and Elijah at the bidding of his God passes beyond Yahwé's land to Zarephath, a Phœnician city to the S. of Sidon (but here again the name and situation of Elijah's place of refuge is disputable; see ZAREPHATH). At the gate of the city, where markets were held and remnants might be strewn about, a widow, who worshipped Yahwé¹ (1 K. 17:24), was gathering sticks. Water she gives at the prophet's request, but being asked for bread, protests that she has but a handful of meal and a little oil, with which she is about to prepare for her son and herself the last food they will ever eat. Finally, however, she does the prophet's bidding and is rewarded by the fulfilment of his promise that neither meal nor oil shall fail while the drought lasts. Nay, when her son dies, not of famine but of natural sickness, the 'man of God' bending over the corpse brings back by his prayer the life which had fled.

Elijah returns to Israel at the divine command and meets the prefect of the palace, Obadiah. This courtier, who 'feared Yahwé' and had saved the lives of a hundred prophets from the fury of Ahab's queen, was engaged like

2. The contest with Ahab. his royal master in seeking fodder for Ahab's horses and mules. He falls down in reverence before the prophet, but refuses to consent to let Ahab know where Elijah is, till the prophet has sworn that he will keep his trust, instead of suffering himself, after his work is finished, to be carried away by the spirit of Yahwé and thus leave Obadiah to bear the brunt of Ahab's disappointment. 'Is it thou,' says Ahab, 'thou troubler of Israel?' 'I have not troubled Israel,' is the fearless answer, 'but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken Yahwé and thou hast followed the Baalim.' Thereupon Elijah, the solitary champion of Yahwé, challenges the 450 prophets of Baal ('the 400 prophets of the Asherah' have been added by an interpolator in 1819 and in the 8th text of v. 22) to a memorable contest (see CARMEL, § 3, DANCING § 5). One bullock is to be laid on the wood for Baal, another for Yahwé, and the god who without human aid kindles the fire of his sacrifice is to be 'the God'—i.e., the sole recognised God of Israel. In vain Baal's prophets invoke him with wild dances and cries, and gash themselves with knives to appease the burning fury of the sun-god, while Elijah mocks their pains. Then they desist and at Elijah's prayer the lightning of Yahwé consumes the victim on his altar and 'icks up' the water which had been poured over and round the altar to enhance the marvel. Baal's prophets are slain by the Kishon, and now that the heart of the people is 'turned back,' the rain will come.

Already the prophet listens in spirit to its welcome splash. As yet in spirit only. He crouches down on Carmel with his face between his knees, and his servant, sent to look seawards from the highest point, returns six times, and can but report that 'there is nothing.' The seventh time he sees a cloud 'as small as a man's hand.' Soon the heavens are black, the king drives at full speed to Jezreel, fleeing before the terror of the storm. Borne by Yahwé's hand, Elijah runs on foot the whole

whole description must be read thus, 'Elijah the Japhethite, of Japheth in Gilead' (Klost.). The latter is the more probable view. In either case, the second part of the description seems to be a gloss.

[It is usual to suppose that the widow was of a strange religion; so e.g. Strahan in Hastings, *D.P.* 1898. Thus, at any rate, cannot be proved by her words 'Yahwé thy God,' which are merely an acknowledgment of the superior religious standing of the prophet (1819, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000]

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distance of something like 16 m., but, true to his Bedouin instincts, refrains from entering the city.

The momentary triumph at Carmel does but fan the persecuting zeal of Jezebel, and Elijah sets out for Horeb, as if Yahwé had forsaken his land and withdrawn to his ancient dwelling-place. In the wilderness beyond Beersheba (see MIZRAIM, § 26), weary and desperate, he sits down under one of the retem bushes (the retem is a species of broom; see JUNIPER) common in that region and prays for death. The angel of Yahwé, however, bids him rise and eat. He finds at his head a cruse of water and a cake baked on the coals, and in the strength of that he travels for forty days and nights to Horeb, the mountain of God. (If the text is right¹ the narrator is remarkably vague here, for the distance between the southern boundary of Palestine and the Sinaitic peninsula is only about 50 geographical m., and the earlier view of Horeb made it not very far from the S. border of Canaan.) Here on the sacred mount, when hurricane, earthquake, and lightning have cooled the air, Elijah in the rustling of a gentle breeze discerns Yahwé's presence. He had believed that the cause which he had held dearer than life was lost, and that he had better cease the unavailing struggle and die. Not so. He is to anoint new kings and inaugurate new dynasties for Damascus and Samaria. He is to anoint Elisha as his own successor. Each of these changes is to hasten the calamity which hangs over Israel, and only the 7000 who have not bowed the knee to Baal are to escape. Here as at the beginning, the narrative falls as a second time.

We do indeed learn how Elijah calls Elisha to the prophetic office; but in the text of the Book of Kings as it has come down to us, Elisha takes no part in the deeds of violence which brought Hazael and Jehu to the throne. On the early and very striking story of Elijah's ascent (2 K. 2) see ELISHA, § 3; and on the true scene of the legendary narrative in 1 K. 17:1-78-24 194-18, see UHERITH, ZAREPHATH, JUNIPER.

² Little need be said concerning the prediction of Ahaziah's death when he consulted Baal-zebub of Ekron in his sickness, and the fire from heaven

3. Other stories. which consumed two companies of soldiers sent to arrest the prophet. The story (2 K. 12-17) with its perverse supernaturalism and sanguinary spirit may safely be assigned to a period when the true notion of prophecy had grown confused and dim. The portrait of Elijah with his robe of goat's or camel's hair and his leathern girdle is, perhaps, the solitary fragment of genuine tradition which it contains. Very different in value and in date is the striking history of Naboth's judicial murder in 1 K. 21:1-20 (to be compared with and partially corrected by 2 K. 9:35). Naboth, probably on religious grounds, refused to sell his ancestral vineyard at the king's desire. He was condemned, on a false charge of treason against the god and the king of Israel by the elders of his city, for the kingly power in Israel was no Oriental despotism and the authority of the city sheiks, who had replaced the sheiks of the tribes, had to be respected (cp GOVERNMENT, § 24). Death was the penalty, and it fell, according to the custom of the time, not only on himself but also on his family. There was a judgment, however, higher than that of the earthly court. In after days Jehu remembered how he heard the divine sentence pronounced against the unrighteous king. 'I have seen yesterday the blood of Naboth and his sons: it is thy oracle of Yahwé, and I will requite thee on this plot.'

³ Such in brief outline are the early legends of the prophet's life, but we have still to estimate the residuum of authentic history and through the mist of tradition to see the prophet as he was. We must not change

¹ [W] (17:1-2) plausibly suggests that 'forty days and forty nights' is a later insertion. A later glossator, who may have had a different view of the general situation of Sinai, can more easily be supposed to have introduced the geographical vagueness than the original narrator.]

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Ahab with conscious apostasy from Yahwé. He had great merits as well as great faults. He was a chivalrous and patriotic king, and in the very names which he gave to his children he professed his allegiance to the god of his people. Nor can we believe that even Jezebel seriously endeavoured to exterminate Yahwé's prophets. Some four hundred of them gathered round her husband at the muster for his last and fatal campaign (1 K. 22:6), and the success of Jehu's revolution proves that only a very small minority of Israelites could have devoted themselves to the foreign worship. Ahab, however, did build a temple of Baal in his capital. No doubt it seemed to him the natural and fitting acknowledgment and consecration of the alliance between Israel and Tyre. Elijah would brook no such amalgam of worships radically diverse. He was not indeed a monotheist after the fashion of the later prophets. To him Yahwé was the sole god of Israel, in whose land Yahwé was all or nothing. No wonder then that he looked on the drought as a sign of Yahwé's anger. Here by the way we are on firm ground. The fact of the drought is attested independently by Menander of Ephesus (ep. Jos. Ant. viii. 132), according to whom, however, it lasted only one year and was stayed by a procession of Phoenician priests (ep. Hystoriceal. Lit., § 5).

Elijah's devotion to Yahwé was something infinitely higher than mere patriotic attachment to hereditary religion. To him Yahwé and Baal represented two principles—viz., worship of national righteousness and the sensual worship of nature. Again, the 'sons of the prophets,' like bands of dervishes, stirred the enthusiasm of the people, and encouraged them to believe that Yahwé must fight for Israel. Elijah, in the best and earliest accounts, stands alone or with a single disciple. He saw Yahwé's work not so much in national victory as in national calamity. He was able to believe that Hazael, the scourge of Israel, had been raised to power by Yahwé himself. Thus he opened a new era in the religion of Israel. Malachi speaks of him, 3:23 [45], as the minister of judgment and purification within Israel, the herald of 'Yahwé's great and terrible day.' Jesus beheld the spirit of Elijah revived in the stern and solitary Baptist, and on 'the holy mount' Moses and Elijah, representing the law and the prophets, bore conjoint testimony to the transfigured Christ. For the closing scene of Elijah's life, see ELISHA, § 3.

A few words, supplementary to the article KINGS (§ 8), may be added on recent criticism of the Elijah-narratives. The late character of the narrative in 2 K. 1:2-17²⁸ is generally admitted; but Kautzsch in his essay on the Book of Kings in Fisch and Gruber (*Altgem. Forsch.*) attributes the rest of the biography to one writer. On the other hand Wellhausen and Kuenen separate 1 K. 17-19 21, where the prophet stands alone, from 2 K. 2:1-13 (which, however, Kuenen observes, can hardly be much later than 1 K. 17-19) where, instead of being a wanderer, he has a home with Elisha at Gilgal, and where, too, he is associated with 'the sons of the prophets.' Further, Kuenen separates 1 K. 17-19, where Elijah contends against Baal worship, from 21 where the contest turns upon a political murder without so much as a passing allusion to foreign idolatry. The reason is far from cogent, and there is a similarity of language between 17:17 and 21:18 and 21:17 (cp Benzinger, p. 106). In *St. Ar.* 1862, Resch has endeavoured to show (cp Stade, *OTZ* 1:122 n.) that all the narratives are post-exilic, a theory which in the face of the reasons given above seems absolutely untenable (cp KINGS, § 8). (Koenig, *Einleitung*, 200.)

The Moslem tradition which identifies with the mythical personage El-Hadjir—the evergreen youthful prophet (for full see Weiland, *Zeitschr.* 1892, 1893) who has become the guardian of the seas, has been at an earlier time spoken of as dwelling 'at the entrance of two seas (rivers)', as the guide of the Israelites at the Exodus (equivalent therefore to the

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pillar of fire and cloud). Originally he was probably the rest hero of the Deluge-story. See HEBER, § 15 (col. 1962), and cp Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue arch.* 32 (1887) 1.

The monographs on Elijah are mostly out of date. His life and character are given from a critical point of view in the recent Histories of Israel by Stade (vol. 1), Kautzsch (*U. Keltig.* 1882 ff. 29; 1887 ff.). See also

8. Literature. (vol. ii.), and Wellhausen; also in Stade's *U. Keltig.* 1882 ff. 29; 1887 ff.). See also Cheyne's *Hallowing of a citizen* (65), and Grunzel's article on Elijah, *Preuss. Jahrb.* 98, pp. 18-51. On the apocryphal Apocryph of Elijah and its interesting connection with 1 Cor. 2:9 and Eph. 3:14, see Harnack's *U. Keltig.* 1882 ff. 29; 1887 ff.). See also Apocrypha, § 20. Fabianus, *Cod. Pseudoepigraph.* 171, 1070 ff., has illustrated the place of Elijah in Jewish folklore. 2. A priest, temp. Ezra, Ezra 10:21 (Elija [BAL], § 11.) (timid in 1 Esd. 9:21, § 1, however, has Elias). 3. A layman, temp. Ezra; Ezra 10:26 (AV ELIAH; ἡλίας [AL], § 11.), called in 1 Esd. 9:27 ARIAS (ἀριῆς [BAL], ἡλίας [11.]). 4. A Benjaminite (Benjamin, § 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8:22 (AV ELIAH, ἡλίας [BAL]). W. E. A.

ELIKA (עֲלִיקָא; probably corrupt). In the last of the two lists of David's thirty we find (2 S. 23:25 MT) 'Elika the Harodite' (rather, Aradite). This item is absent from *SV* but *SV* gives *עֲלִיקָא*, and from the list in 1 Ch. 11. Hence Driver (note on 2 S. 23:39) would omit it, thus making the number of David's minor heroes exactly thirty, but reducing the total of the heroes (including in this the five major ones) to thirty-five. The total given in 2 S. 23:39 may be due to a late editor. Margoliouth (*Stud.* 19) agrees, regarding 'Elika the Harodite' as an (incorrect) gloss on v. 33b. Wellhausen and Budde, however, retain 'Elika the Harodite,' remarking that the fraction of the list lkes, when he can, to couple two warriors from the same district. (Arad and Beth-palet, however, may very well be combined.) Another name, it is true, is still wanting to produce a total of thirty-seven. See ELIPHALET, 2, and cp DAVID, § 11 d. i. T. K. C.

ELIM (עֵלִים; אֵלִים [BAL], *Elim*; Ex. 15:27 Nu. 33:9), the second station of the Israelites after crossing the sea, where there were twelve tountains and seventy palms (the term 'Elim' covers palm-trees, see EL-VIT). On the n. of the route of the route of the Israelites, Elim is now generally identified with the beautiful oasis in Wady Ghazal, 63 n. from Suze, 7 from 'Am Hawara (*Ordinance Sur. conf. Suze*, 1851).

ELIMELECH (עֲלִמֶלֶךְ; 'God for my God' (Ising, §§ 24, 36, cp Malchiel), אֵלִימֶלֶךְ [A] אֵלִימֶלֶךְ [B], עֲלִי [L], a Bethlehemite husband of Naomi (Ruth 1:2). See RUTH.

ELIOENAI (עֲלִי־עֵנַי; § 34 i. c. towards God are mine eyes, or 'We [Elioenai] [Elioenai], 'God brought me forth [from Aram. עֵנַי עֵנַי], but analogy suggests that the word is corrupt. The true name may be עֲלִי־עֵנַי ('Che' coming from *g*, and *2* from *2* cp IUSAP HESD), אֵלִי־עֵנַי [A], עֲלִי־עֵנַי [L].

1. b. Nehemiah, 1 Ch. 3:21, (עֲלִי־עֵנַי, § 11.) 2. 24 (עֲלִי־עֵנַי [A]).

2. A prince of SIMON, 1 Ch. 4:2 (עֲלִי־עֵנַי [B], 190 [A]). 3. b. BEER in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (2 S. 9:11, 12, 1 Ch. 7 (עֲלִי־עֵנַי [B]).

4. One of the line PA 100:8 (cp 21) (among the priests in the list of those with foreign wives (1 K. 1:8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 (עֲלִי־עֵנַי [B], 190 [A]). 1 Esd. 9:22, 1 Esd. 9:23 (עֲלִי־עֵנַי [B], 190 [A]).

5. One of the line ZA 1:10 (in list of those with foreign wives (Ezra 1:8, § 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 (עֲלִי־עֵנַי [B], 190 [A]). 1 Esd. 9:23, 1 Esd. 9:24 (עֲלִי־עֵנַי [B], 190 [A]).

6. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZEK 4:6, § 11 c), perhaps the same as (4), Neh. 12:41 (cp B). See ELIENAI, ELIENAI.

7. 1 Ch. 26:1 AV, RV ELIENAI.

ELIONAS (עֲלִי־נָס; [A]). 1. 1 Esd. 9:22, 1 Esd. 9:23, 1 Esd. 9:24, 1 Esd. 9:25, 1 Esd. 9:26, 1 Esd. 9:27, 1 Esd. 9:28, 1 Esd. 9:29, 1 Esd. 9:30, 1 Esd. 9:31, 1 Esd. 9:32, 1 Esd. 9:33, 1 Esd. 9:34, 1 Esd. 9:35, 1 Esd. 9:36, 1 Esd. 9:37, 1 Esd. 9:38, 1 Esd. 9:39, 1 Esd. 9:40, 1 Esd. 9:41, 1 Esd. 9:42, 1 Esd. 9:43, 1 Esd. 9:44, 1 Esd. 9:45, 1 Esd. 9:46, 1 Esd. 9:47, 1 Esd. 9:48, 1 Esd. 9:49, 1 Esd. 9:50, 1 Esd. 9:51, 1 Esd. 9:52, 1 Esd. 9:53, 1 Esd. 9:54, 1 Esd. 9:55, 1 Esd. 9:56, 1 Esd. 9:57, 1 Esd. 9:58, 1 Esd. 9:59, 1 Esd. 9:60, 1 Esd. 9:61, 1 Esd. 9:62, 1 Esd. 9:63, 1 Esd. 9:64, 1 Esd. 9:65, 1 Esd. 9:66, 1 Esd. 9:67, 1 Esd. 9:68, 1 Esd. 9:69, 1 Esd. 9:70, 1 Esd. 9:71, 1 Esd. 9:72, 1 Esd. 9:73, 1 Esd. 9:74, 1 Esd. 9:75, 1 Esd. 9:76, 1 Esd. 9:77, 1 Esd. 9:78, 1 Esd. 9:79, 1 Esd. 9:80, 1 Esd. 9:81, 1 Esd. 9:82, 1 Esd. 9:83, 1 Esd. 9:84, 1 Esd. 9:85, 1 Esd. 9:86, 1 Esd. 9:87, 1 Esd. 9:88, 1 Esd. 9:89, 1 Esd. 9:90, 1 Esd. 9:91, 1 Esd. 9:92, 1 Esd. 9:93, 1 Esd. 9:94, 1 Esd. 9:95, 1 Esd. 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ELIPHALAT

ELIPHALAT. 1 1 1 sd 9 11 (ΕΛΕΙΦΑΛΑΤ [ΒΑ])
= Ezra 10 43 ELIPIELET, 5

ELIPHALET. 1. (𐤀𐤋𐤏𐤋𐤀𐤋) 2 S. 516 RV ELLI-
PHILET, 1.

2. 1. Esch. 819 W. - Esch. 813. LITNET 1 (4).

ELIPHAZ (עִלְפָּז), probably a corruption of an old name, but see § 38. ΕΛΙΕΦΑΖ {A. in Gen. B in Ch.}, ΔΖ {A. in Ch. E in Gen.}, z rarely becomes c).

2. A Tammite, one of Job's friends (Job 11 [ελ(ε)φας, BAC_h and often). See Job i. and ii.

ELIPHELEH. RV *Eliphelehu* (אֶלְיָפֶלֶאֱ) § 27: *Ελιφαλ* [L], *A* Levite name, 1 Ch. 15:18 (ΕΛΕΙΦΕΝΑ [BN], *Ελιφαλα* [A]), 21 (ΕΝΦΑΝ Α)ΙΑΣ [BN], *Ελιφαλαϊας* [A])

ELIPHELET (עֲלִיפֶלֶט) God is a deliverance. § 30 : **ΕΛ[Ε]ΦΑΛΕΤ** [אַנִּי]. According to the name a similar name, *Amphilet*, was borne by 'the Gileadite,' David's treacherous counsellor *phet*, 'deliverance,' being altered by tradition into *tephi*—i.e., lit., 'brother of insipidity' or 'folly'; cp 2 S. II. 41.

1. A son of David born to him in Jerusalem (2 S. 5:6-14 Ch 38-147). According to 2 S., David had eleven sons born to him in Jerusalem; but by a textual error (which occurs also in ^{Q¹} of S.) this number is increased to thirteen, by the addition of NOGAI and another biphet 1 Ch 36:145 (2 S. 5:16, E. PALLET [AV], E. PALLET [RV]). The latter is omitted by Bertheau, Thémis, and Wellhausen (*Genèse* 4:216, E. 1^{re}).

Readings are: 2 S. 615 ε[λ]ι[ε]βα[ι]θ [1A 615], ε[λ]φα[λ]α[ι]θ [1A], -βα[ι], ε[λ]ι[ε]βα[ι]θ [1.]; 1 Ch. 3 ε[λ]ι[ε]βα[ι]α [1.], ε[λ]ι[ε]βα[ι]θ [1.]; 1 Ch. 14 ε[μ]βα[λ]α[ι]θ [B], ε[ι] [K], ε[λ]ι[ε]βα[λ]α[ι]θ [1.]; 1 Ch. 36 ε[λ]ι[ε]βα[λ]α[ι]θ [B], ε[λ]ι[ε]βα[ι]θ [1.]; 1 Ch. 14 ε[λ]ι[ε]βα[λ]α[ι]θ [1.]. See [DAVID, § 11.6.]

2. One of David's 'thirty' (2 S. 23₃₄; in 1 Ch. 11₃₅ the name is given in error without the last letter, MT Elphal, עֲפָאֵל). The name of his father is variously given as Ahasbu (2 S. in MT) and as Ur (1 Ch. in MT), see DAVID, § 11 (3) 1 f.

Beth forms, however, are evidently corrupt; and to recover the original name we must not (with Weizsäcker) 'the son of' before 'the Maachathine' (בֶּת־מַחֲזִיבִית and בֶּת־מַחֲזִיבִית) be easily confounded), the words which now follow אֲשָׁחַב 'Ahsahab' in MT should probably be read (according to Klo.) אֲשָׁחַב־בֶּת־מַחֲזִיבִית, 'a man of Beth-machab'. And, if Klo. is right in supplying הַבְּרִיָּה (ii.) c. before the gentile noun, we can hardly doubt that he is right also in regarding אֲשָׁחַב בֶּת־מַחֲזִיבִית (i.) as a corruption of a gentile noun formed similarly to אֲשָׁחַב־בֶּת־מַחֲזִיבִית. If so, the original list ran thus, 'Eli-shela, a man of Beth-'; 'Bepher, a man of Beth-machab'. The number thirty-seven to 2 S. 24.33 is thus accounted for (Che.). The 'Pr' of Ch. might be a corrupt fragment of the last dace name. For a more tentative view see Driver, *Nam.*, 28. and for a bolder but very ingenious view Marquart, *Samit.* 7. The versions are equally obscure (S. 20. c. אלפחזב (B)).

φελαλ [f] = 1 (h, 11, 3), ελαφατ [B], ελεφαταλ [A], φεαλ [1, 1],
 φε, I shock in a kenology of BENJAMIN (2: 1, § 9, n B),
 (h, 8, 3, ελεφαταλ [1]).

¹ One of the *APONTIKAI* (2.3) in *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΝ* (see 28.1, § 2.1.1, § 15 [17], *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ* [13], *επιστολα*, for Epistle and Jew [A], *επιστολαί* [17] = *Isd.* 8.49 [17] [18], *ΚΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ* [επιστολαί] [13], *επιστολαρος* [A])

5. One of the bin HISTOLOGY in the list of those with foreign
names is: F/RAI, # 4, end); F/RAI 10, 3 (ALEPHAI 10, 3, -FAL
BIBR (ALEPHAI 10, 3) + F/RAI 10, 3, F/RAI 10, 3 (ALEPHAI 10, 3).

ELISABETH or ELIZABETH [D. WIL], c. c., FISHERY
7-11; the righteous and blameless wife of Zacharias,
and mother of John the Baptist (Lk. 1, 6).

ELISHA (עִישָׂא) means salvation. #28, the name of a prophet, derived from 'Amman, prob. of seventh century B.C.

1. Relation to Elijah.

¹ See, e.g., § 1111, cod. 1932. The copy upon which I used for translation seems to have been corrected to agree with C.

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his prophetic work, and for about half a century the 'father' and guide of the northern kingdom in its struggle for national life and independence. We have in the books of Kings a considerable collection of anecdotes illustrating his history. We cannot be surprised that much of this material from which we have to construct our view of the manner of in which he was, bears clear marks of its legendary nature. In this respect the traditions about Elisha do not differ from those about his master (cp *HISTORICAL LITERATURE*, § 5). Unfortunately, however, in the case of Elisha it is much harder to recover the kernel of literal fact, and we miss the clear and bold lines in which the portrait of the true Elijah stands out on the canvas. The difference springs from the vastly superior originality of Elisha. The ideas which came straight to the master's heart were taught to the disciple by outward word and example. He learnt as others might learn. Moreover, he sympathised more than Elijah had done with the natural thoughts and desires of his countrymen, and was much more on a level with them. For these reasons there is great difficulty in distinguishing the genuine history of Elisha from the overgrowth of popular imagination.

Reference is made elsewhere (see KISER, books or, § 8) to the disorder and chronological confusion

2. Disorder of the Anecdotes

In 2 K. the story of Naaman's cure implies that the relations between the Arameans and the Israelite kingdoms were ostensibly peaceful. Then, without any explanation of the change, we are introduced in 8:4-23 to the very midst of the warfare between the nations. In the closing verse of this section we are told that the Arameans made no further invasion of Israelite territory, whereupon in 9:24 we find the Aramean king besieging Samaria. In 10:26 Gehazi, Elisha's servant, is said to have been the cause of the king's death. It is clear, however, that he does not offer any obstacle to his familiar intercourse with the king in 8:1-6.

There is no unity therefore in the stories as a whole, though some of them are, no doubt, connected with each other (50.816-48.17-38.41-42.44). See also KINGS, § 8. Further, it is uncertain whether the editor made his selection on any definite principle, for the assertion that he has related twelve and only twelve miracles of Elisha cannot be maintained save on an arbitrary method of reckoning. In any case he failed to understand Elisha's connection with contemporary events, by placing all the anecdotes, with one exception, before Jhu's revolt; he has reduced the greater part of Elisha's public life to a mere idiom. Yet how energetic and fruitful in result that life was, we learn with unimpeachable evidence from the exclamation of the king who stood by the aged prophet's death-bed (2 K. 13.14).

Nevertheless the stories, despite their legendary character, are early in date. They belong to the literature of the Northern Kingdom and to the eighth century B.C. Thus, even when they cannot claim to be treated as sober history, they are of great value for the light they throw on the manners and beliefs which prevailed at the time when they were written; and sometimes at least we are justified in the confidence that we have before us fragments of tradition which will bear the test of criticism.

Elisha was the son of Shaphat and belonged to ABIE-
MEHOLAH (2:20) — it was there that Elijah found him.

3. Elisha's call.

the route from Horeb to Damascus (1 K. 19:15) would not lead through Abelmecholah and the word "thence" in 19:16 must refer to some place mentioned in a section of the narrative which stood between vv. 18 and 19, but has been omitted by the editor. Elsha had twelve pairs of oxen ploughing in the field before him, and was himself driving the twelfth pair. This implies that he was a man of substance, and Eli (therefore) fits in the common temptation to a prophesy for a price of bread (Am.

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712). Still, when Elijah threw his mantle upon him, he was ready to leave all and only asked leave to bid his parents farewell. The leave was given, but with the added warning to remember the sacred service to which he was now bound by the fact that Elijah had thrown his mantle over him (for this seems to be the meaning of the obscure words in 1 K. 19²⁰). Returning, Elisha slew the oxen, knifed a fire with the wood of the plough, and made a sacerdotal meal for the people about him. From that time forth he was known as Elijah's disciple, as one who had "poured water on his hands" (2 K. 3¹). His call had come mediately, through Elijah, not immediately from Yahwè. So also by Elijah's instrumentality he was perfected for the graver and more independent duties which awaited him when his master was gone.

He is said to have followed his master, when his end was near, from Jugged in the centre of Palestine to the sanctuary of Bethel and thence to Jericho. Elijah smites the Jordan with his mantle, and the two comrades cross dry-shod. "Ask thee," the disciple indulges no idle hope of becoming a second Elijah, but he would receive "a double portion" of his master's spirit - *i.e.*, the portion of the first-born, comparing himself with other "sons of the prophets," not with his and their mighty father. Even that is a hard thing to ask; but he is to gain this pre-eminence if he is enabled to behold the parting form, as it is borne upward in the storm and lightning. He sees the wondrous ascent; he gazes on his "father" till he vanishes to the height, and rends his clothe in grief for his bereavement. Then he lifts the mantle which he had fallen from the ascending prophet's shoulders, suites the river in it and it divides the waters in the strength of Elijah's God. Other members of the prophetic guild seek anxiously for their lost leader in hill and dale. Elisha has the calm assurance that Elijah is gone and that he is the heir.

The ascension of Elijah introduces a group of miracles. One miracle is stern and one is kind.

4. Miracles Bethel who mock him and forty-two of them are devoured by two she-bears (2:24-25). Another has at least a penal character. Gēhān is struck with life-long leprosy for his covetousness (5:2 ff.). The rest are deeds of beneficence. Elisha heals the blind and the leper.

Flisba had ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴

It may be noted that these miracles are in part modelled to some extent on the wonders ascribed to Elijah (cp. 2 K. 2:14 with 1 K. 17:17; 2 K. 4:1 ff. with 1 K. 17:14 ff.; 2 K. 1:2 ff. with 1 K. 17:17 ff.; 2 K. 8:1 ff. with 1 K. 17:17 ff.), and that solar rays they embody the spirit of active love, they contribute a first-class element (which is missed, however, in Ezech. 48:1-14) to the ideal of prophetic

Though both Elisha and his master were wonder-workers and champions of Yahwe's exclusive worship,

5. Political influence. Eljish's career presents points of marked contrast to that of Eljah. Instead of

Thus, Elisha accompanied the combined armies of Israel, Judah and Edom, then a vast state under Judah, in an expedition against Moab, and saved them from perishing of thirst.

12 K 27. We have assumed that the Gûgal here intended is Jûliha SW. of Shûh. See further *ETHEL*, 54. If we identify Elisha's Gûgal with the famous sanctuary by the Jordan, then we must suppose that there is some confusion in the text, and make Elisha start from his home in *Ḥaḥa*. Robertson Smith (*KINGS*, Books of *1 & 2*) held this to be the original intention of the narrator (see p. 25).

ELISHAH

The story is his, official in substance (cp JEROMAS, § 17). The allied army marched round the Dead Sea and crossing the Nahal ha-Arabiim (see above) attacked Moab from the S. This was just the course which would suggest itself. Moab, as we now know from Mesha's altar stone, had recovered and fortified cities on the N., the Arnon provided an obstacle to invasion from that quarter, and the Aramians, further N. still might have cut off all possibility of retreat. "Dig trenches on reaching the water which filters through the sand to the rock beneath, and one which still gives its name to the Wady el Ahab at the S. end of the Dead Sea (see W. R. Smith, *OPE* 147)." We may perhaps doubt whether the Moabites really mistook the allies under the sun for blood shed in the quarrel no reason to question themselves, though Stadel (*GF* 156) sees no reason to question the truth of even this feature in the narrative.

For his political influence, however, Elisha paid a heavy penalty. He felt, and was sometimes worsted by, the temptation to use means which his predecessor would surely have disdained. We may, indeed, on considering the relations between Samaria and Damascus, question the representation in 87-15 that he was largely responsible for the murder of Ben-hadad by Hazael, but he certainly was a prime mover in the revolt by which the crafty and murderous Jehu, a man with no character for religion (note especially 16:13), seized the throne of Israel (see *Jehu*). He bore a nobler part under other kings of Jehu's line.

If we follow Kuenen's plausible conjecture (*Interpret.*, 1, 2, 25, n. 12, but see J. H. Green, § 2), it was in the time of Jehoshaphat that the Arameans beset Samaria, till the famine within the walls made women devour their children, and the king, despairing of help from Yahwe and his children, and the Falsah supernatural power, sought the prophet's aid. The king, we are told, with a confidence like that of Ilisha, predicted victory and plenty. His prophecy was fulfilled; the Arameans, terrified by a rumour that their own land was invaded (see JEREMIAH, § 2), fled and left their supplies behind, and "Dinah."

There came a turn in the tide. The Arameans, struggling for life against Kammam-mur III., could no longer hope to subjugate Israel; and Hasha, now stricken in years, saw in spite the dawn of a brighter day.

He said that on his death-bed he made King Josiah stand by the open window and shoot an arrow eastward. The prophet laid his aged hands on the hand of the young king, and cried, a the arrow spell: "An arrow of Yahweh's victory; yea, an arrow of victory over Aram." Moreover he told the king to strike the ground with the arrow, and when he did so, declared it was the sign of three battles he won, chiding him, however, because he did not double the strokes and so double his success against the foe.

Well might Joash lament over Elisha: "My father, my father! Israel's chariots and horsemen art thou." This guiding and arming part had been worth many a troop to his people. Here lay Elisha's strength and here also is a citation. No new idea came to the birth through him. He was a faithful disciple, a true patriot, a man of loving heart. He worked for Israel, scarcely through Israel for the world, and it is not perhaps, by mere accident that in the N.T. he is mentioned only once (Eph. 4:14).

All the modern histories of Israel, especially those of Stade, Kautz, and W. B. Hausen, treat of Elisha; Smeul, *et Keli*, also may be consulted.

ELISHAH (^{Heb.} אֵלִישָׁה [ʾEliša] [^{Gr.} Ἐλῖσα [BADEL]], in Gen. 10.4. Ἀρχαία), a son of Javan, occurs chiefly only in the combination **E'N'X**, Ezek. 27.7, "coast lands of Elishah" (ἐν ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλίσαι) [BAQ]; whence violet and purple stuffs were brought to Tyre. The two most plausible identifications are that with S. Italy and Sicily, where were Greek colonies (Kiepert, Ital., Di. K., map Thas., end), and that with Carthage or Sicily, the N. African coast (Schulthess, Stat. v. Marit., I, esp. p. 16). Both regions were famous for the purple dye (Is. 63.9). The latter was favoured by the name, Elishah being at Tyre also the legendary founder of Carthage; whence perhaps originally called Elishah. On the other side Dilmun, from the glass in Syacelid (Is. 23.1), whence the Sicels, ἀσάροι ἔς οἱ σικελοί (Herodotus, *Athen.* 2.14), but this seems to tell against the identification of Elishah and Sicily.

ELISHAMA

Dillmann urges that Carthage, being a Phœnician colony, would not be represented as descended from Japheth; but this would have as much force against Tarshish or Tartessus (cp TIRAS). It may be granted, however, that מִן הַיָּם 'coast-lands of Elishah,' would be perhaps more natural of S. Italy and Sicily; 1g. on Ezek. 27 indeed explains this phrase by 'the province of Italy.' A decision is difficult; but perhaps Carthage has the more in its favour. F. B.

ELISHAMA (עִשְׂמָא), 'my God hath heard,' § 32; עִלְעִימָא [BAL.].

1. b. Ammihai, prince of EPHRAIM (q.v., i.) (Nu. 1 to 21 7 48 53 10 22), 1 Ch. 7 26 (עִלְעִימָא [B]). Cp TRIBES.

2. Son of David (2 S. 5 16 יֶלֶד דָּוִד [L.]); 1 Ch. 3 1 17, עִלְעִימָא [B], and

3. Another son of David, mentioned in 1 Ch. 3 6 (עִלְעִימָא [B]) = 2 S. 5 15 1 Ch. 14, Elishua, which name should be restored here, as it is scarcely conceivable that two of David's sons should bear the same name. See DAVID, § 11 (d).

4. A Judahite, son of Jehoniah. 1 Ch. 2 41, identified by some with

5. Grandfather of the royal prince ISHMAEL (2 K. 25 25 (עִלְעִימָא [L.]) Jer. 41 1 (E. 48 1; עִלְעִימָא [B], -עִימָא [L.], עִלְעִימָא [Q]). Cp Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 180 f.

6. Jehoiakim's scribe, in whose chamber Jeremiah's roll was laid up, Jer. 36 12 20 21 (E. 43, עִלְעִימָא 177, 20 21 [B]).

7. A Levitical priest introduced, by the Chronicler, into his life of Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. 17 8.

ELISHAPHAT (עִשְׂפָּת), 'God [or, my God] hath judged,' § 35; cp Jehoshaphat and Ph. עִשְׂפָּת; ΕΛΙΣΑΦΑΘ [B], ΕΛΙΣΑΦΑΘ [A.L.], b. Zichri, a captain in the time of Jehoiada (2 Ch. 23 1).

ELISHEBA (עִשְׁבָּה), 'God is an oath,' or perhaps rather 'God is health' (Che.), see ARISTHUA, ELISUA, and cp BATISHEBA, BATISHEA; similarly ELISABETH, JEHOISABA. §§ 33-50; עִלְעִיבָה [B.L.], -בַּת [A.], -בַּת [A.F.], wife of Aaron and daughter of Amminadab (Ex. 6 2 f.). She is also styled 'sister of NAHSHON,' and 'Nahshon b. Amminadab' in P is the well-known chief of Judah in the desert march. P hardly derived the 'sister' from a Judahite mother. 'Sister of Nahshon' is, therefore, most probably a gloss (R.) which has arisen from a confusion of Elisheba's father with the Judahite. It was, possibly, to avoid this confusion that the writer of 1 Ch. 6 22 [7] mentions a son of Kohath (Aaron's grandfather) named Amminadab, whose P is, however, is elsewhere taken by Izhar (cp 2 K. 28 1) as a tribal connection of Aaron's wife, therefore, is as obscure as that of the wife of his famous son ELIAZAR (q.v., 1).

The name Elisheba may well be pre-exilic (see Gray, *HPN.* 2 6), and with regard to the difficult question of the origin of Levitical names it may be pointed out that in this case a name of parallel formation is borne by a devout follower of Yahweh, the wife of the priest Jehoiada of Judah. See JEHOISABA.

ELISHUA (עִשְׂיָה), 'God is a help,' § 28; cp Elsha, ΕΛΙΣΟΥΕ [L.], 'a son of David' (q.v., § 11 d (B)) (2 S. 5 15, ΕΛΙΣΟΥΕ [BA.]; 1 Ch. 14 5, ΕΚΤΑΕ [B], ΕΛΙΣΟΥ [A]). In 1 Ch. 3 6 for ELISAMA (q.v., 3) Elisua should be restored (so E. 11 Ελίσου).

ELISIMUS, RV ELISIMUS (ΕΛΙΣΙΜΟΣ [BA.]), 1 Esd. 9 28 = AV Ezra 10 27 ELIASHU, 5.

ELIU (ΗΛΕΙΟΥ [BNA.], ΗΛΙΟΥ [B.], i.e., אֱלִיָּהוּ, ELIJAH), a forefather of Judith (Judith 81).

ELIUD (ΕΛΙΟΥΔ [P. WH.], i.e., אֱלִיָּהוּ, 'God [or, my God] is glorious'; cp Ammihud, Abihud), sixth from Zerubbabel in the ancestry of Joseph (Mt 1 14). See GENEALOGIES II. § 2 (c).

ELIZAPHAN (עִזְפָּן, i.e., 'God [or, my God] shelters'), cp Elizaphan; ΕΛΙΣΑΦΑΝ [BA.].

1. A Kohathite prince, according to Nu. 3 30 1; but in 1 Ch. 1 13 he is said to be a descendant of Kohath (עִזְפָּתָר [B]). He is also named in Gal. 2 9 14. See GENEALOGIES I. § 2 (c).

2. A prince of ZEPHRAIM, N. 11. P. See PARNACH.

ELIZUR (עִזְרָא), 'God [or, my God] is a rock,'

ELKOSHITE

§ 29; cp ZURIEL, PEDAHZUR; ΕΛΙΕΚΟΥΡ [BAL.], a Reubenite prince (Nu. 1 5 2 to 7 30 35 10 18 f.). See ZUR, NAMES WITH.

ELKANAH (עֵלְכָנָה, 'God hath created (him)' or 'God hath bought him,' § 36; ΕΛΚΑΝΑ [BAL.]).

1. The father of the prophet Samuel (1 S. 1 1). He was the son of Jerahmeel (see JEKHAM [1]) according to one form of the genealogy of Samuel; but the name of Samuel's father is also traditionally given (it would seem) as Elihu or rather (see ELIUT, 2) Elimelech.

2. Eponym of one of the three divisions of the Korahite Levites (Ex. 6 24; see KIDRAN [3]), the others being ASHTAR (1) and ABISAPH. In 1 Ch. 6 the genealogy of the sons of Korah is given in two forms, both differing from that of Exod. 6, and Samuel's father is represented as a descendant of the Korahite Elkanah. This may mean either that the descendants of Samuel were actually incorporated after the exile in the Korahite guild under the name of sons of Elkanah, and that an older Elkanah, son of Korah, was inserted to give symmetry to the genealogical tree, or simply that the Korahite guild of Elkanah was led by its name to claim kinship with the prophet Samuel and incorporate his ancestors in its genealogy. See GENEALOGIES I. § 7 (iii).

3. A Levite: 1 Ch. 9 16 (ηλκαρα [B]).

4. One of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12 6 (ηλκαρα [BAL.]). See DAVID, § 11 (a).

5. A Levitical door-keeper for the ark: 1 Ch. 15 23 (ηλκαρα [BNA.]).

6. A Judahite noble: 2 Ch. 25 7 (ελκαρα [B.]). W. R. S.

ELKIAH (ΕΛΚΙΑ [BNA.], AV ELICIA—i.e., Elhiah), an ancestor of Judith (Judith 81).

ELKOSHITE, THE (עֵלְכֹשִׁי, Ginch., with most MSS and editions; אֱלִיכֹשִׁי, Baer, with the small MS Massora; אֱלִיכֹשִׁי and אֱלִיכֹשִׁי also are found in MSS., ΕΛΚΕΑΙΟΣ [BNAQ.], a gentile noun, derived from **Elkosh**, the name of the town to which the prophet Nahum belonged (Nah. 1).

According to Peiser (*JAT* 7 4, 7 149 C 57), the word contains the name of the deity, אֱלִי (cp KISH), which he finds likewise in the name Kushiath (1 Ch. 15 17), and in Prov. 30 31 (he reads אֱלִי for אֱלִי).

Three sites have been proposed.

a. There is an el-Kuṣ not far from the left bank of the Tigris, two d's journey N. of the ancient Nineveh, where the grave of the prophet Nahum is pointed out. According to Friedrich Delitzsch and A. Jeremias,¹ this is the place referred to in Nah. 1 1. This theory involves the assumption that Nahum belonged to the 'ten tribes' and was born in exile, and has been thought to be favoured by the prophet's (presumed) accurate knowledge of local details respecting Nineveh. On the one hand, however, the N. Israelish exiles were not settled in Assyria proper (2 K. 17 6 18 11), and we find no trace in Nahum of any hope of a return home such as an exile would certainly have expressed somewhere (cp Kue., *Oud.* (2) ii. § 75, n. 4), and, on the other, quite enough was known of Assyria in Palestine in the time of Nahum to enable a prophet of such power to sketch the picture that we have in chap. 2. We must rather suppose that it was at a later day that the graves of the two prophets who prophesied against Nineveh were sought in the neighbourhood of that city. Whilst a resting place for Jonah was found in Nineveh itself (Nela Yunus), the village called el-Kuṣ seemed, in view of Nah. 1 1, to be appropriate for the grave of Nahum. That there was a village there, however, in the seventh century B.C., cannot be shown. The earliest reference to it, according to Jeremias, is in the eighth century A.D.; nor is the grave mentioned before the sixteenth.

b. A ruined site in Galilee, *Elkosh*, was shown to Jerome as the birthplace of the prophet, and is attested,

¹ See the treatise by Bitterbeck and Jeremias cited under NAHUM (beg.).

ELLASAR

with slight variations, as **EA** also by the Greek fathers. As **EA** is also the form of the name in Nah I **EA** [N^o]. **EA** [N^o] it is possible that **EA** was a collateral form by the side of **EA** (Kue.), or, rather, that the name of Nahum's birthplace was **EA**, not **EA**. Indeed, since the *scriptio plena* is in no case binding, **EA** might itself be read **EA** and derived from **EA**. In this case the name would have nothing to do with the deity **EA**. If then, the tradition reported by Jerome to be correct, we must suppose that Nahum, assuming that he lived in the seventh century (see **NAHUM**, § 2), was born in Gahlee amongst the Israelites left there in 722, and then, as the book itself refers us to Judea, removed thither at a later date (cf. further **CAERNAM**, §§ 1, 5).

c. Against the statement of Jerome, however, is to be set that of the *Vita Prophetarum* of Pseudo-Ephraïmus. The text of the latter is indeed uniformly very unsettled, and in its common form the *ἄκροσι* of Nahum is located E. of the Jordan. Nestle, however, has made it very probable that 'Ἰσδράου *els* is due to a corruption of the text, and that the genuine text says that Elkesay 'beyond Betogabra' (= ΕΛΕΚΤΗΚΕΡΟΥΤΙΣ, the mod. Bet Jibrin) in the tribe of Simeon (*ZHP* 1 222 ff. [78]; transl. in *PEFQ*, 1879, pp. 130-138; cp. *Marg. u. Mat* 226 f., 43 ff [93]). Beyond question a place in Judah would be much more in harmony with the age and contents of the book (cp. We. *Kl. Proph.* 155 [2.], 158), who asserts that Nahum was 'at all events a Judean from Judah'), and it should likewise be considered that all similar names of places point to the S.—viz., *ἄραβ* *ἡραβ*, *ἡραβ* to the kingdom of Judah; *ἡραβ* to the S. part of the trans-Jordanic district. Certainty is, however, unattainable

ELLASAR (עֲלָסָר, ΕΛΛΑΣΑΡ [1]). CΕΛΛ. [A]. ΕΛΔ.

[L. ~~Ḫur~~]. *Ponti* [gen.], the land or city and district ruled over by ARIOCH (Gen. 141). It was natural to think, with Menant and others, of Asūr, the old capital of Assyria, and its territory. Ellasar might very well be a Hebrew transiteration of the Assyrian *alu Asūr* (city of Asūr), Assyrian (not Babylonian) *š* (𐎶) is represented in Hebrew by *š* (שׁ). Most scholars, however, have rightly adopted Sir H. Rawlinson's view that Ellasar means Larsa or Larsan, the ancient Babylonian city of the sun-god, the ruins of which are still to be seen at *Senkerēh* (cp BABYLONIA, § 3) because the name (*Arioch*) of the king is identified with Eri-aki, son of Kudur-maduk, and vassal-king of Larsa. This, no doubt, requires one to assume either a slip on the part of the writer or a corruption of the text;¹ but, since the narrator speaks of allies or vassals of the Elamitic over-king (Chedorlaomer), it is clear that he must mean, not Asūr, but Larsa. See *Del. Par.* 224, and, on the historical value of the account, CHEDORLAOMER, § 4 f.

ELM, a misleading rendering of עֵלָם in Hos. 4:13 AV, for TERIBINTH [q r] Palestine is too warm for elms.

ELMODAM or better RV **Elmadam** (עלמאדאם [Th. VII]), six generations above Zerubbabel in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk 3:28).
Eub. (see A.)

Pesh. (cp Arm.) gives Eimodad; -p. AMODAD (Gen. 10:26), a poorly conjectured. Read Eimatham *i.e.*, Eimatham (see *JA* 2 K. 24); *d* and *th* were confounded, see *JA*'s readings of ELIZABAD. Cp GEN. 10:26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

ELNAAM (אלנאם). Good is graciousness. § 38. cp
Phoen. **נרנאם**: CZS I no 38 in David's army list of 1917

⁴ Ordinary processes will not account for the change of *Larsa* to *Ellasar*. If it were a Greek document, we could understand such a change better, as the Greeks take great liberties in the transcription of Semitic names; but the Hebrews are more accurate. [Hall (*ROF*) suggests as the original *-il Larsam*, 'the city of Larsa'.]

EL-PARAN

1146; ΕΛΛΑΔΑΜ [B], -ΑΜ [X^{vi}], ΕΛΝΑΔΑΜ [A], ΘΑΝ.
[1.]. Cp JOSHAVIAH, and see DAVIS, § 11 (a) ii.

ELNATHAN (עֶלְנָתָן, 'God has given,' §§ 24, 27.
ΕΛΝΑΘΑΝ [BAQ^{me}]).

1. Grandfather (on the maternal side) of Jehoiachin, designated, 'Ethanath of Jerusalem'; 2 K. 24¹⁸ (עֲתָנָה-אֲבָהָם [B], -אֲבָהָם [A], -אֲבָהָם [I]). Most probably the same as Elnathan B. Achbor, Jer. 36:12 (עֲתָנָה [B], -אֲבָהָם [I], -אֲבָהָם [I]). Jer. 26:22-24 (עֲתָנָה [B], -אֲבָהָם [I], -אֲבָהָם [I]).

Three men of this name are mentioned in Ezr 8:16. Two were "chief men" (עֲרָאֵר) and the third, one of the עֲרָאֵרִים or "teachers," RV (*ארמור, ארמור, ear*, [BAH] *ear, ear*, II, who gives only two). In 1 Esd. 8:44 there are only two names, AMATHAN, RV EGNATHAN (*עגנאֵר* [II]), and EUSATAN, a misprint which is corrected in the RV EUSATAN (*עוסאֵר*).

ELOHIM (אֱלֹהִים), see NAMES, § 114f.

ELOI (ελωι), Mk. 15:34. See **ELI**, **ELI**.

ELON (ē'lŏn, *i.e.*, '[sacred] oak,' § 69, cp ALLON).
One of the names of the oak.

1. One of the cities assigned to Dan in Josh 19:41, where it is mentioned along with Shaalbim, Ajalon, Timnah, and Ekron (E has: $\alpha\alpha\lambda\alpha$ [H], $\alpha\lambda$ [A], $\alpha\alpha$ [L], but $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ for 'Ajalon' in v. 42—a case of transposition.) The site has not been identified, but it is obviously to be looked for in or near the Valley of Sorek (H: *Sorek*). The same Ekron is referred to in 1 K. 4:9 (crit. extend v. where it follows Shaalbim and Bethshemesh. See ELON in TH-THANAN (where E's readings are given).

See *Alphon*, 2; and cp below, *Eron* ii, 1.

ELON (עֵלֹן, *Gen. 38*; ἄλων [BAL]). 1. A son, that is, family or clan, of ZERUJAH: *Gen. 38* (ἀσρων [B]) = Nu. 26 (αλων [L]); perhaps the same as 2. One of the sons of ZERUJAH: *Gen. 38*.

2. One of the six 'minor' judges, most of whose names 'appear to be those of clans rather than of individuals' (Moore, *judges*, xxiii); Judg. 12:11 f. (Gn. 31:32, Ba. 31:32, αἰῶμα [Hb., -u [N], *Aihalon*). Elion is really the *avos eponymos* of Aijdon (or rather Elion; see AIAJALON, 2), in the land of Zebulun. The gentile is **Elonite**, 31:32; Nu 26:26 (αἰῶνι[te] [BAF], αἰῶρι [I.]).

3. (p. 88, Cin. Ba.; properly a place-name; see NAMES, §69), a Hittite, father of BASHMATH (1), one of Esau's foreign wives; Gen. 26 34 (אֲשֻׁמַּת [A.L.], אֲשֻׁמַּת [P]), called father of ADAM, 2: Gen. 36 2 (אֲשֻׁמַּת [A.L.], אֲשֻׁמַּת [P], אֲשֻׁמַּת [E.], אֲשֻׁמַּת [L.]). See BASHMATH, 1. (P. 88, Cin. Ba.)

ELON BETH HANAN (אֵילֹן בֵּית־חָנָן), but some MSS have בֵּית for בֵּית, and others prefix י; ελαιωνας ΒΗΘΑΝΑΝ [B], ελαιωνας ΒΗΘΑΝΑΝ [A], αιλωνας ΒΑΙΘΑΝΑΝ [I.]. A name, or rather names, at the end of the description of Solomon's second prefecture (1 K. 49). **Β** is probably right in reading '... and Elon as far as B' (cp 7: 12, end). Elon is probably the first ΕΙΛΩΝ (1: 1) mentioned above, though it is also possible to read Agalon. 'Beth-hanan,' if a frontier town is meant, can hardly be right; some well-known name is wanted.

Possibly we should, with Klostermann, read *Beit Hanann*, an important place, marked out by nature for a frontier town. Conder's suggestion of *Beit 'Amn* (Socin, *Beit 'Amn*, a village 8½ m. from Jerusalem, on the road to *Amca* (PEF M. 316), *Beit Hanann*, a h. NE. of Gaza (BR 237), may be mentioned.

ELOTH (אֵלוֹת), 1 K 9:26 2 Ch 8:17 See FLAITH.

ELPAAL ^{עֶלְפָּאֵל}, § 31. **ΔΕΛΦΑΔ**. **ΕΛΧΑΔΔ** [B].
ΔΕΛΦΑΔ **Λ**, **ΕΛΦ**. [A]. **ΕΛΕΙΦ** [I]. a name in a
genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 9 n. 31). 1 Ch. 8:11
f. 18. See **ΔΕΛ** 11 n. 27, § 1 (p. 174, 1).

ELPALET (עֶלְפֶּאֶת), 1 Ch. 11:5, or RV **Elpelet**
(1 Ch. 11:5) see **ELPHALET** (א).

EL PARAN אֵל פָּרָן *i.e.* the tree [ע' terebinth',
better, 'juniper-tree'] of Paran
עֶלֶךְ תְּרֵמִין

EL-ROI

ΤΗΣ ΦΑΡΑΝ [A] (D)]. ε. τ. ΤΕΡΜΙΝΘΟΥ Τ. Φ. [E]. ε. ΤΕΡΕΒΙΝΘΟΥ Τ. Φ. [L]. Gen. 1461. See PARAN (Onk., Sim., 'plain [מִשְׁכַּנִּי] of Parān', see MOREH, ZAAANIM.)

EL-ROI (עֶלְרֹי), Gen. 1613, RV^{ms}; see NAMES, § 116, and cp ISAAI, § 2.

EL-SHADDAI (עֶלְשַׁדַּי), Gen. 1711; see NAMES, § 117.

ELTEKE or **ELTEKEH** (עֶלְתֵּקֶה or עֶלְתֵּקֶה, Assy. *El-ta-ku-u*, ΕΛΘΕΚΩ [A]), a town of the Judæan lowland, mentioned with Ekron and Timnah, in the book of Joshua (1944, ΔΑΚΑΘΑ [B], ΕΛΘΕΚΕΙΝ [L]), was (2173) ΕΛΚΩΘΑΙΜ [B], ΕΛΘΕΚΑ [L]) a Levitical city in the inheritance of Dan. It was taken and destroyed by Sennacherib on his way to Timnah and Ekron after his defeat of the Egyptian forces that had come to the help of the Ekronites (see his 'prism' inscription, Schrader, *AT 172*, 171 f., 289, 292 [E.T. 159 f., 282, 285]). The army overthrown by Sennacherib probably consisted of Jews as well as Ekronites and Egyptians, and a likely spot for them to unite and take their stand would be up the Wādī Sarār (Vale of Sorek) on the high road between Ekron and Jerusalem, at the foot of the hills—a position which equally suits the data in Joshua. Sennacherib might reach it from the coast and the neighbourhood of Joppa (where he was previously), by the Vale of Ajalon and the easy pass from the latter to the Vale of Sorek. No trace of the name, however, has been discovered here or elsewhere. *Ahikar* *Leckl.* 7 m. SW of Ekron and near the great N. road (PEF map, Sh. xvi; see map to I.D.K.A.) suits the data of Sennacherib's inscription, but seems incompatible with those of Joshua. *Rest Likid* in Ajalon (Conder) is too far N. (cp Guthe, *Zukunftsbild d. Jesaja* 48). See CHRONOLOGY, § 21.

G. A. S.

ELTEKON (עֶלְתֵּקֹן; ΘΕΚΟΥΝ [B], ΕΛΘΕΚΕΝ [A]), a town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 1550), mentioned in a small group of six along with Halhul (Halhul), Beth-zur (Buz Sūr) and Gedor (Jedūr). The site is therefore to be sought, most probably, somewhere on or near the route from Hebron to Jerusalem. The reading *Θεουα* of *Θ*ⁿ suggests that the element *sk* in this name was sometimes taken to represent the definite article (cp ELTOLAD). Some have thought of this Eltekon as the site of Sennacherib's victory at Al-ekūn, and indeed, in spite of what Schrader says (*AT 172*, 171 f.), the spelling of the latter is nearer Eltekeh than Eltekeh, but the geographical reasons he gives in favour of Eltekeh are well grounded. See ELTEKE.

ELTOLAD (עֶלְתֹּלָד), one of the cities of Judah in the Negb near the border of Edom (Josh. 1530, ΕΛΘΩΛΔΑΔ [A], ΩΛΑΔ [L], ΕΛΘΩΝΔΑΔ [B]), but in Josh. 194 (ΕΛΘΟΥΔΑΔ [A], ΛΑΔ [L], ΛΑ [B]) assigned to Simeon. In 1 Ch. 429 the name is TOLAD (תֹּלָד; *θωλαδ* [A], *θουλαειν* [B], *θολαθ* [L]), the prefixed Arabic article *sk* being omitted (so at least Kon. 2417, but apparently not Ges.-K. § 35 m., cp ELTEKON, above).

ELUL (עֶלּוּל), ΕΛΟΥΛ [B; N^{as}]; in Assy. *Ululu*; see Schr. *AT 7380*, and cp *לול* in Palm. (de Vogüé, *Syr. Cent.* no. 791) occurs in Neh. 615 (ΕΛΟΥΛ [B], ΔΛΟΥΛ [L]) and 1 Macc. 1427 (ΕΛΟΥΛ [V]). om. N) as the name of a MONTH (q. v., § 5).

ELUZAI (עֶלּוּזַי), i. e., 'God is my refuge?' § 29; אזאי [B], ΕΛΙΟΥΖΙ [A], ΕΛΙΕΖΕΡ [L]), one of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 1251. See DAVID, § 11 (a) m.

ELYMAIS (ΕΛ[Α]ΥΜΑΙΣ [B]). 1 In 1 Macc. 617 AV has, 'king Antiochus, travelling through the high countries, heard say that Elymais in the country of Persia was a city greatly renowned for riches, silver, and gold, and that there was in it a very rich temple,' etc (cp NANEIA). RV, however, reads, 'that in

EMBALMING

Elymais in Persia there was a city,' etc. AV follows TR; RV represents *ἐν Ἐλυμαῖδι ἐν τῇ Ἠερσίδι*, *Θ*ⁿ reads *ἐν Ἐλυμαῖ* (*Ελυμαῖ* [A]) *ἐν τῇ περσῇ*. Whether RV is justified in adopting this text seems doubtful, *en* before *Ελυμαῖ* may be the correction of a scribe who knew that there was no city bearing the name of Elymais. Polybius (3111), it is true, states that the temple on which Antiochus had designs was in Elymais, but 2 Macc. 92 places it at Persepolis, which was not in Elymais but in Persia proper.

C. Hoffmann (*Antiquae Asiae Syr. Acta Pers. Martyr.* 132 f.), quoting a passage to τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀζάρα, assumes that Ἀζάρα is the city referred to, and identifies Ἀζάρα with the Ar. Azar, which is in Kōbistān, SE. of Susa, one day's journey on the road from Rām-hormāz to el-Ahwāz (cp al-Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, 41913). Possibly, however, the real name was one which admitted of being mutilated and corrupted so as to produce *Ελυμαῖ*. Grätz (*MGH*, 1883, p. 241 f.) seeks a clue in the obscure passage Dan. 1445; but it seems hazardous to assume that *עֲזַרְיָה* (RV 'his palace,' which does not suit *עֲזַרְיָה* 'the tents of') is equivalent to *Αρφαδάρα*, the name of an Elamite city in Ptolemy, for Grätz himself holds that the rest of the clause is deeply corrupt. Compare, however, Vg. and Aq. in Dan. 1445; both take *ε* to be a proper name.

'Elymais' recurs in Tob. 210, where RV^{ms} certainly adopts the correct reading. For the statement that Achiacharus went to Elymais (*εἰς τὴν Ἐλ[α]υμαῖδα* [BNA]) possibly *εἰς γῆν Ἐ* support has been found in the semi-apocryphal romance which bears his name (Rendel Harris, *Story of Ahikar*, lii.). Dillon, however, ingeniously suggests that the name has arisen from the underground cell—the original narrative had some derivative of *עֲזַרְיָה*—in which Ahikar hides himself from the wrath of Sennacherib and Nadin (*Contemp. Review*, March 1898). It is to be noted that the allusion to Achiacharus has little bearing upon Tobit—at least in its present form (see TOBIT).

ELYMAS (ΕΛΥΜΑΣ [Ti. WH]), Acts 138. See BARJESUS.

ELYON (עֶלְיֹן), Gen. 1418 RV^{ms}. See NAMES, § 118.

ELZABAD (עֶלְזָבָד), 'God has given,' § 27, cp Palm. *עֶלְזָבָד*, de Vogüé, *Syr. Cent.* no. 73. El-zabadi, a Jewish name of fifth century B.C., has been found on a tablet from Nippur (Hilprecht).

1 One of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 1212 (ΕΛΙΑΖΕΡ [B]), probably only a scribe's error, *Ελζαβὰδ* [A], *Ελζαβὰδ* [L]. See DAVID, § 11 (a) m.

2, b. Shemariah, a Korahite door-keeper, 1 Ch. 267 (ΕΛΙΑΖΑΒ [B], *Ελζαβὰδ* [A]; cf. [L]).

ELZAPHAN (עֶלְזָפָן), 'El conceals' or 'defends,' § 30, cp Zephaniah; ΕΛΙΖΑΦΑΝ [B; N^{as}], b. Uzziel, a Kohathite Levite (Ex. 622 Lev. 104). Cp ELIZAPHIAN.

EMADABUN (ΕΜΑΔΑΒΟΥΝ [BA]), 1 Esd. 543 RV, AV MADIABUN.

EMATHEIS (ΕΜΑΘΕΙΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 929 RV = Ezra 1028, ATULAI.

EMBALMING. The Egyptian belief in the continued existence after death of the human *ka* (see EGYPT, § 18) seems to be of very great antiquity. To make this existence happy precautions of every kind were taken; food and drink were placed in the grave that the *ka* might not starve; his favourite movables in like manner were buried with him; but above all the body had to be preserved so that the *ka* could resume possession at pleasure. Hence the very ancient practice of embalming.

A minute description of the methods employed in his own time is given by Herodotus (226 f.), with this may be compared the account of Diodorus Siculus (191). According to Herodotus embalming was the business of a special guild. He distinguishes three methods:

1 Read 'and Elzabad and his brothers with *Θ* and some Heb. MSS (Kt.).

EMBROIDERY

Italian (*ricamar*) and Spanish (*recamar*). It has η $\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon$, $\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\upsilon$, $\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$. In Ex. 28.4, RV has 'a bordered coat' for $\text{כִּתְיֹנָת} \text{מְעִינָה}$; RV 'a coat of chevron work.' Use TUNIC, and observe that, though in Ps. 45:15 $\text{מְעִינָת} \text{כִּתְיֹנָת}$ (RV 'in, or upon, bordered work') is plainly corrupt, the reference to brocade-work in Ps. 14:11 is unquestioned (see Che. *P's*, 61).

2. Home of
the art.

2. The second method was simpler, and correspondingly cheaper. Cedar oil was introduced into the body and removed after it had decomposed the viscera; the body was then laid in castron, which, according to Herodotus, wholly consumed the flesh, leaving nothing but the skin and bones.

3. The third and cheapest method substituted for the cedar oil of the second some less expensive material.

This custom of embalming was specifically Egyptian. The Hebrews did not practise it. It is only as being an Egyptian custom that the narrator speaks of it as applied in the cases of Jacob and Joseph (Gen. 50^{2f} [2], 50.6 [F]). With his statement that the embalming lasted forty days (50.3) may be compared that of Diodorus (4.9) which makes it at least thirty days. Ordinarily, however, it seems to have taken seventy days. There is a statement of Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 7.4), referring to a later period — a statement which stands by itself — that the body of Aristobulus was embalmed with honey so as to allow of its being afterwards removed to Jerusalem. See Wilkins.

See Wilkinson, *Ann.* fig. ii. 2451 ff.; Maspero, *Mém. sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, II.; le rituel de l'embaumement; J. Vercillac (as in note); articles in Winer, *Reichen*, and *PRE3*; Erman, *Fests.*, chap. 11.

EMBROIDERY RV's substitute for the 'needle-work' of AV in Judg. 5:30 Ps. 45:14 (6) (2777 'broidered work'), and virtually in Ex. 26:30 27:14 28:39 36:37 38:18 39:20 (2777 2777). EV gives 'broidered work' in Ezek. 16:10-11 (2777), 'their broidered gar-

ments in 26.16 (עֲרֵבָה עֲרֵבָה) 'their interlarded garments', metaphorically in Ezek. 17.1 (feathers of an eagle) and 1 Ch. 29.4 (ornamented stones, or mosaic work). The cognates of עֲרֵבָה are Eth. *rekena*, Ar. *raḥama* 'to embroider', also 'to write' ('to make points'), with which the Targ. עֲרֵבָה 'coloured spots', and the Syr. *ḥarḥamithā* 'red pimples', may be compared, from which it seems to follow that the first step towards embroidery was making points, or little strokes; diversity of hue would be sought for in the next stage. In its usual specialised sense of needlework or ornamentation of woven fragments, Ar. *raḥama* has passed into

Egyptian embroidery is known only through late specimens; but from these we can safely infer the production of similar fabrics in earlier times. Herodotus (3.47) mentions that Amasis (570 B.C.) sent to the Athenae (Minerva) of Lindos a linen corset laced with figures and embroidered with gold and cotton; and Ezekiel (27.7), addressing Tyre, says 'Of embroidered byssus from Egypt was thy sail'. Lucian (10.140-141) speaks of Egyptian embroidery. The thread is called Sicilian, the silk is from the Seres, the needle is Egyptian (Nilotic).

In Greece the invention of the art was ascribed to Athena: hence the offerings of foreign work of this kind to her temple (see above). Embroidery with the needle cannot be shown to be mentioned in the Homeric poems. Almost always the terms used are those applicable to weaving (*Il.* 3. 123 ff., 22. 40 f.; *Od.* 19. 225 ff.).

¹ It is said that the *toga picta* worn by the emperor on festal occasions, by the consuls on entering office, by the magistrates when giving public games, and by the Roman generals on their triumphs, was of Phrygian embroidery.

¹ Compare especially the results of Urmann's physical examination of two mummies at Prague, in *SH'AN*, 1852.

EMEK-KEZIZ

To the value set on embroidery in ancient Palestine Judg. 5:30 supplies an eloquent testimony; it is presumably Babylonian work that the poet refers to. At any rate, Achan's mantle

3. Biblical references.

was Babylonian (Josh. 7:21-24). In the account of Hezekiah's tribute (Taylor cylinder, 334 ff.), there is no mention of embroidered garments, but, though we may perhaps assume that the veil of the temple (see below) was not Jewish work, it is probable (especially if P is late) that the art of embroidery was practised in Judaea. The account of the process of preparing the gold thread for the embroiderer, in Ex. 39:1, deserves notice. 'And they beat out the plates of gold, so that he could cut them into wires, to work these into the blue, and the purple, and the scarlet, and the fine linen, the work of an artist.' In this passage the word צַנִּיף, *tsnif* (EV 'cunning workman') takes the place of צַנִּיף, *tsnif* (EV 'embroiderer'); another similar but perhaps higher class of work may be meant.

According to the Talmudists צַנִּיף, or embroidery, was when the design was attached to the stuff by being sewn on, and visible, therefore, on one side only, and the work of the צַנִּיף was that in which the design was worked in by the loom, appearing on both sides.¹ The correctness of this, however, may be doubted, for the statement that the צַנִּיף worked golden threads and also cherubim into the fabric (Ex. 26:13; 28:13) implies that he, too, was a needle-worker (cherubim being probably much too difficult for a loom-worker at that period) and moreover an 'artist,' not only on account of the more complicated nature of the work he executed, but also because he worked from new and much more varied designs than the צַנִּיף.

Josephus (*J. Ant.* xii. 5:4; *Ant.* v. 5:4) speaks of the wonderful veils both of the first and of the second (Herod's) temple. Clermont-Ganneau has suggested² that the veil of the first, which Antiochus Epiphanes certainly took away, was the curtain of the sanctuary of Olympia, of Assyrian workmanship, dyed with Phoenician purple, and given by Antiochus. Josephus's description of the highly artistic veil in Herod's temple, sets us wondering where it was made. He calls it a Babylonian curtain. It is doubtful whether any but priests' families remained on the site of ancient Babylon; but of course the art of embroidery may have been practised in other cities of Babylonia.

T. G. P.

EMEK-KEZIZ. AV. The valley of Keziz (כְּזִיז; AMERACEIC [B] KKA. [V]. EW. [L.]), an unidentified city in the territory of Benjamin (Josh. 18:21), enumerated between BETH-UTOGA and BETH-ARABAI. 2. The name *Keziz* sounds like the word *Kezai*, another name of the H. *Hardeh*, between Tekoa and En-gedi (see ZU); but this *Wady* could not belong to Benjamin. If Q is right in reading Beth-abarah in Josh. 18:21, we may conjecturally identify Emeke-keziz with the broad and deep *Wady en-Nazet'meh*, NW. of the modern Jericho, which Robinson explored on his way from Jericho to Bethel. The place intended was possibly near the springs of *'Am el-Duk* (see DOUGLAS).

T. K. C.

EMERALD (σμαράγδα, *smaragdus*)¹ represents in Q (see, however, PICTURES) the Heb. מַרְקָשׁ, *marqash* (Ex. 28:17, 39:10) or מַרְקָשׁ, *marqash* (Ezek. 28:13).

1. **Name.** It is also the rendering of RV^{me}; EV, wrongly, has 'CARBUNCLE'. Targ. and Pesh. retain the Heb. word מַרְקָשׁ [Jerus. Jon. 1:17; [Onk.], דְּמַרְקָשׁ [Pesh.]]. The GK. name, which occurs also without the initial letter, seems to be the same as the Heb. w; but the ultimate origin of the word is unknown. The Semitic root *marak*, 'to lighten,' readily suggests itself; but cp Sans. *marakata*, *marakta*. In Arabic two varieties of emerald are distinguished, *zabard* and *zamarud*.

¹ In Phoen. מַרְקָשׁ = weaver (Ges. 13: Ba. 32). Cp WEAVING.

² *PEPQ* 1878, pp. 73-2.

³ Whence *emerald*, though (presumably) *smaragdus*.

EMERODS

The emerald is classed mineralogically with the beryl (see BERYL), from which, however, it differs in having a fine green colour, attributed to the presence in it of chromium sesquioxide; it also never presents the internal striae often seen in the beryl.

2. Description.

It occurs in six-sided prismatic crystals of the hexagonal system, the edges of which not infrequently show various modifications. The emerald is transparent or translucent, and has a vitreous, rarely resinous luster. It was highly valued by the ancients (see Pliny, *NH* 37:5). Various virtues were ascribed to it. It was said to be good for the eyes, to colour water green, to assist women in childbirth, and to drive away evil spirits; in the East it is still credited with talismanic and medicinal properties.

Besides being mentioned in Ezek. 28:13 as one of the precious stones with which the king of Tyre was decked, and in Ex. 28:17, 39:10 as among the gems in the high priest's breastplate, the emerald is alluded to in Tobit 13:16

Judith 10:21 Eccles. 3:26 Rev. 4:3 (σμαράγδινος, of the rainbow) and Rev. 21:19.

2. "28:13 39:10 Ezek. 27:16 28:13 EV has 'emerald' for מַרְקָשׁ, *marqash*, but RV^{me} renders 'carbuncle.'

The resemblance between the letters of Heb. מַרְקָשׁ and Egypt. *mrksh*, or, as commonly written, *mrshat*, may be urged in favour of 'emerald' as at any rate a better rendering of מַרְקָשׁ than 'carbuncle.' The Egyptian word represents, according to WMM, a green stone, not however the emerald, but malachite. It is not less plausible to identify מַרְקָשׁ and *mrshat* with the *mrshat*-stones in the Amarna Tablets (202, 16), sent by the prince of Ashkelon to the king of Egypt. In S. Philistia, where the roads from Sinai terminated, it would be easy to obtain מַרְקָשׁ from the Egyptian mines. If we follow Q in Ezek. 27:16 and read 'Eloni' (עֲלֹנִי) for MT's 'Aram' (אַרָּם), it will appear that מַרְקָשׁ as well as other precious stones came from Eloni. This too is quite consistent with the equation מַרְקָשׁ = *mrshat* (see WMM, *OTL*, Feb. 1899, p. 39 ff.). Maspero, however, interprets מַרְקָשׁ as 'turquoise.'

EMERODS. RV 'tumours,' except in Dt. 28:27; but see mg. (עֲלֵי עֵינַי, *alim*; עֲלֵי הָעֵדָה, *al edai*; in 1 S. 5:6 עֵינַי תָּאֵר עֲלָיָהּ [A] נָאֵר [B]), both renderings combined in L., mentioned with other diseases in Dt. 28:27 [EV] and in the account of the affliction of the Philistines 1 S. 5:6, 9, 12, 64 f. (11:17). According to the ordinary view *alim* became at length a vulgar word, and K^{re} therefore substitutes the more seemly word מַרְקָשׁ, *marqash*, which is also to be found in the late insertions 1 S. 6:11, 17:34 (see Budde, *Sam. SBOT*). Since, however, *marqash* is no euphemism at all,¹ and analogous K^{re} readings (see HUSK) have been argued to be corrupt, it has been proposed to read for the improbable and unpleasant word מַרְקָשׁ, רֶמֶס (= רֶמֶס, 'ulcers'). K^{re} is therefore not a euphemism but a gloss (Che.).

The reading *marqash* must, it is true, have been an early one, for it seems to be implied in the *alim* of Q, not, however in P, 78:6, where a small corruption has obscured the true sense.² Tradition has in fact radically misunderstood the meaning of *alim*, which (like the gloss *remes*) must be a descriptive term for the disease, and probably means 'tumours' (so RV; 1 p. *alim*, 'hill'). This suits the (almost certainly correct) reading, מַרְקָשׁ, of the verb in 1 S. 5:6 (for MT's *marqash*).³ According to the emended text the passage runs thus: 'And he smote the men of the city, both small and great, and tumours broke out upon them.'⁴

That hemorrhoidal swellings *in ano* are referred to is rendered possible by the usage of the Ar. *al* (see Ges.).

¹ The chemical composition of the emerald may be represented by the formula $6SiO_2 \cdot Al_2O_3 \cdot 3CrO_3$. It has an uneven and conchoidal fracture, a hardness of 7.5-8, and a specific gravity of 2.670 to 2.732.

² 'Emerods' is found only in AV. The nearest approach to the form is 'emeraudes,' Mid. Eng. in the *Tramptorium Parvulorum* of 1400, which is nearly the same as old Fr. *emeraudes* = i.e., hemorrhoids (or piles).

³ See BDB and Ges. Buhl, *et. ar.* 772.

⁴ For עֲלֵי עֵינַי read עֲלֵי עֵינַי, 'And made his foemen turn back.' Retreating and ignominy are constantly connected in the Psalms (e.g., 6:10 [11]).

⁵ Cp Ex. 9:9 f.; ע and ע, ה and ה were confounded (Che.).

⁶ This happens to be H. P. Smith's rendering, but it is put forward by him as a mere conjecture. The lexicographers, on the other hand, seek to justify the sense of 'break out' (cleave) by comparing Ar. *Intara* ('to have a cracked eyelid'). מַרְקָשׁ would have been more natural.

EMIM

Ther.), and by the case of the alleged punishment of the Athenians for dishonour done to Dionysos (schol. ad Aristoph. *Acharn.* 243). The sense of 'plague-bowl' (RV's second read. *Ex* 28:7 mg.) is favoured—not indeed by the (imaginary) symbolism of the mouse—but by the statement of the rapid spread of the disease among the Philistines. The most decisive passage is 1 S. 5:12, 'And the sick (*עֲרֵמִים*, *Klo*) that died not were smitten with the tumours, and the cry of the city went up to heaven, *i.e.* as soon as the ark reached Ekron there came on the whole population a plague which killed some at once, while the rest were afflicted with painful tumours, so that a cry of mourning and of pain resounded through the city. 'Plague-boils' in the technical sense of the expression, however, occur only in the groins, the armpits, and the sides of the neck, *phthirim* therefore cannot be so rendered. Plainly a thorough treatment of the text is a necessary preliminary to a consistent and natural explanation of the narrative in 1 S. 5. As the text of 1 S. 6:4 f. 17 f. now stands, 'golden tumours,' as well as 'golden mice,' were sent by the Philistines as a votive offering to Yahwe. H. P. Smith however thinks that the original narrative mentioned only 'golden tumours,' the mice wherever they appear being the result of late redactional insertion. This view is certainly preferable to that of H. Zieg, who thought that the only golden objects sent were symbols of the pestilence which had devastated the Philistine cities (Ashdod, Gath, and Ekron) in the form of mice, a theory which, being so widely accepted, ought to be correct, but is unfortunately indefensible. The idea of 'golden tumours' is very strange, however. Votive offerings, both in ancient and in modern times, represent not the disease from which the sick man has suffered but the part of the body affected. Indeed it could hardly be otherwise, for most morbid conditions do not admit of plastic representation so as to be distinguishable by untrained eyes.¹ So Dr. C. Creighton, who proposes to interpret *phthirim* in 1 S. 6:4 f. and *phthirim* in v. 17 of the anatomical part of the body affected, and to make the disease dysentery; but it is plain from 6 that the narrative in 1 S. 5 f. has been interpolated, and it would seem that not only 1 S. 6:17 18a but also the references to 'golden tumours' in 17: 4 f. must be late insertions.² *עֲרֵמִים* and *עֲרֵמִים* are not very unlike; out of a false reading a false statement may have developed.

T. K. C.

EMIM, THE (עֲרֵמִים, 'עֲרֵמִים', as if 'the terrors'; probably corrupted from עֲרֵמִים, 'the strong', cp ZUZIM; in Gen. τοὺς ἐμμάτους [A], COMA, [E], EMMA, [L]; in Dt. οὐ μᾶται [BFL], COMMAINE, COMMAINE [A], prehistoric inhabitants of Moab (Gen. 14:5 Dt. 2:10 f.). See SILAVEI-KIRIATHAIM, REPHAIM (i.).

Schwally (*Z. A. F. H.* 1845 [1908]) compares Ar. *ayyīm*, 'serpent,' as if 'serpent-spirits' were meant (cp ADAM and EVE, col. 61, n. 1); but the text is more probably corrupt. The parallel names all admit of simple explanations.

T. K. C.

EMINENT PLACE (עֲרֵמִים), Ezek. 16:24. See HIGH PLACE, § 6.

EMMANUEL (ἐμμανουήλ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1:23 AV; RV IMMANUEL.

EMMAUS (ἐμμανους [Ti. WH]; deriv. uncertain; cp עֲרֵמִים, 'hot [spring]'; see HAMMATH, or עֲרֵמִים, 'spring, fount,' see MOZAI and cp below, no. 2).

1. A city in the 'plain,' at the base of the mountains of Judaea, near which was the scene of the defeat of Gorgias at the hands of Judas, 164 B.C. (1 Macc. 3:40, ἀμμ[α]ο[υ] [ARV]; 57, ἀμμανοῦ [A], -[N], ἐμμανοῦ [V]); 43, ἐμμανοῦ [AN⁴ b], ναμμανοῖν [N⁴], ἀμμ. [V]). It was among the strongholds afterwards fortified by Bacchides (1d. 9:50 ἀμμανοῖς [N⁴], ἀμμανοῖς [N⁴ a V], ἀμμ.

1 Possibly the original reading in 1 S. 6:17 was *עֲרֵמִים*, which was displaced by the *עֲרֵמִים*.

ENAIM

[A]t. Emmaus, mod. *Amusi*, was situated 2 k. N. from Jerusalem on the road to Joppa, and to the SSE. from Lydda. In Roman times it was the seat of a bishopric, and frequently enters into the history of that period (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 112, *BJ* i. 112, ii. 5:204, iv. 84, v. 16). From the third century it bears the name Nicopolis, the origin of which is variously explained (see Schürer, *i. l.* 1317 ff., *E. J.* 2:517), and in Christian times it was an episcopal see. Emmaus was renowned for a spring believed to be endowed with miraculous powers (cp Mid. *A' sheleth* 77), from the existence of which it may have derived its name. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 257, 1216), whom early writers followed, agreed in identifying Emmaus-Nicopolis with 2.

2. The Emmaus of Lk. 24:13 (referred to, but unnamed, in Mk. 16:7), a 'village' (ἐκώμη), 60 (R and some others read 160) stadia from Jerusalem. The identification has found supporters in modern times (notably Robinson *I. H. A.* 147 ff.), but is unlikely. Emmaus was too important a city to be called ἐκώμη, and not to mention other reasons, the supposition that the disciples accomplished so long a journey (for no specific purpose) is at variance with the narrative. It is very evident that the reading 160 is an intentional alteration to harmonise with the tradition shared by Eusebius and Jerome. Emmaus is to be sought for in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and it is agreed that it can be no other than the Emmaus of Josephus (*BJ* vii. 461 30 (so Niese; others read 60) stadia from Jerusalem, which Vespasian colonised by assigning to it 800 discharged veterans. Now about 34-35 stadia to the NW. of Jerusalem lies *Kuloneyeh*, a little village, which derives its name, it would appear, from 'coloma' and reminds us of the 800 veterans above.¹ In close proximity is the ruined *Beit Mizza*, probably the Benjaminite עֲרֵמִים of Josh. 18:20, which according to the *Génara* on *Sukla* 43 was also a 'coloma' (see MOZAI). The close resemblance between the names עֲרֵמִים (*Beit Mizza*) and Emmaus is sufficiently striking, and since it is almost the required distance from Jerusalem, there can be little doubt as to the identity of *Kuloneyeh* and the Emmaus of Josephus. The further identification of *Kuloneyeh* and the Emmaus of Lk. becomes equally probable, and is accepted by most moderns (H. Caspari, *Bibl.* 186, Schultze, *PAE* 11:69 77, Wolff in *Rechn. III B.* Wilson in Smith's *DB*²; see also Sepp, *Jer. u. d. heil. Land*, 154 71).³

By those who adopt the less accredited distance of 60 stadia, several sites have been proposed for Emmaus. (a) Conder (*I. H. A.* 148 f., *PEEF* 3:10 ff.) finds in the name el Khamasa (according to him Emmaus), SW. of Fattir (see BETHUR I.); the antiquity of the place is vouched for by the existence of rock-hewn tombs. El Khamasa, however, is 72 stadia from Jerusalem direct, and the distance is even greater by road. (b) el Kulbech about 64 stadia from Jerusalem, W. of Nebi Samwil. Further support for this is claimed in the tradition (which, however, is not older than the 14th cent.) associating this place with Christ's appearance (cp *Itaer* 16, 114, and esp. Zschokke, *D. neutest. Emmaus* [1851]). (c) Kariet el Enab (or Aba 116sh), to the S. of el Kulbech, about 66 stadia from Jerusalem (cp Williams, *D. It.* 66, and *Rom. Geog.* Thomson *I. B.* 514, 666 f., and see *JPA* 4262). Cp KIRJATH-ETEM, § 2.

S. A. C.

EMMER (ἐμμηρ [A]), 1 Esd. 9:2 = Ezra 10:20, IMMER II.

EMMERUTH (ἐμμηροϋθ [A], etc.), 1 Esd. 5:24 RV = Ezra 2:37, IMMER II. 1.

EMMOR (ἐμμορ [Ti. WH]), Acts 7:46 AV, RV HAMOR.

ENAIM (עֲנַיִם—*i.e.* probably 'place of a fountain,' §§ 101, 107, cp ENAN, AINAN, ADEI.), mentioned only in Gen. 38:14 21 RV (AV^{ms} Enajim), where AV following Pesh. Vg. and Targ. (see Spurrill's note)⁴

1 See KULOS. A little to the WSW. is *Kastal*, whose name also bears a trace of a former Roman encampment.

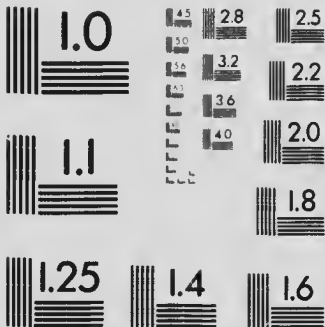
2 It is interesting to recall that, according to Wilson, *Kuloneyeh* was, and still is, a place to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out for recreation.

3 The apoc. Book of Jubilees (chap. 11) omits the name. *Gen.* (23:18 22:18) follows *עֲנַיִם*, *אֲנַיִם*, *אֲנַיִם*.



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ENAN

treat the word as an appellative, 'an open place.' Enan, however, is obviously a place; it lay between Adullam and Timnah, and is the **Enam** (עֲנַם; *ḡnaem* [M.], *ḡnaem* [B]) named in Josh. 15:34 in the first group of towns in the lowland of Judah. The fuller form of the name in Gen. and Josh. is probably Tappuah of Enam (or, of Enam); see TAPPUAH, 1, and NEPHTHAH. The Talmud mentions a place called Kefar Enaim (*Pesik. Rab.* 23), and here and elsewhere distinctly states that Enaim is a place-name, on the authority of Rab (*Sota*, 102). Conder's identification with Kh. Wady 'Alin does not suit the reference in Genesis.

T. K. C.

ENAN (עֲנַם), § 101, cp ENAIM, HAZAR-ENAN; ANAN [BAF.1].
1. Father of ANKA (Nu. 1:15 2:29 [אֲנָם A] 7:28 8:3 10:27, P). See ANER, 1.

ENASIBUS (ΕΝΑC[Ε]ΒOC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:34 = ENA 10:36, ELIASIB, 6.

ENCAMPMENT (מַחֲנֶה), Gen. 25:16 Ezek. 25:4 etc., RV; see CAMP, § 1; CATTLE, § 1, n. 2.

ENCHANTER, ENCHANTMENTS (מַכְשֵׁף, etc.), See MAGIC, § 3; DIVINATION, § 3.

ENDIRONS (עֲנִידוֹן), Ezek. 40:43 AVms. See HOOK (7).

ENDOR (עֵדוֹר [Josh. 1 S.], עֵדוֹר [Ps.], ΕΝΔΩΡ [BNARTL; Euseb.], ΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ [Jos.]). (a) Endor appears in Josh. 17:11 (MT) among those Manassite towns within the territory of Issachar from which the Manassites were unable to expel the Canaanite inhabitants; but it is not mentioned in *Gen.* (unless *עדωρ* [B. 10:36] is a trace of the name) nor in the *Judg.* 1:27, and has evidently slipped into MT through the similarity of the name to that of Dor (cp Bennett, *SBOT, Josh.*, ad loc.).

(b) Saul's visit to the witch of Endor before the battle of Gilboa is related in 1 S. 28:25 (αελδωρ [B], *ενηδωρ* [A]). Although the name Endor was recognised in the fourth century A.D. as attaching to a large village 4 R. m. S. of Tabor (*OS* 25970; 22625), and though this fourth-century name still lingers at Endür, a miserable village on the N. slope of the Nabi Dahī, the question arises whether the narrator of 1 S. 28:25 did not mean a village called En-harod, close to the fountain spoken of in *Judg.* 7:1. The true order of events in these narratives probably is: (1) the Philistines mustered their troops at Aphek (in Sharon), and Achish promises to take David with him, while Saul musters at 'En Harod (28:17, 29:1); (2) Israel encamps in the plain of Jezreel, and the Philistines send David away, etc. (29:2-11); (3) the Philistines penetrate as far as Shunem (28:4); (4) Saul seeks an oracle and finds it by night at Endor (28:25; so Budde). Note that in 1 S. 28:5 it is said that Saul's heart 'trembled exceedingly' (וַיִּרָדּוּ; cp *Härod*); how naturally after this, if our conjecture is right, comes the speech of the servants of Saul in 7:7 respecting the wise woman at the Well of Trembling (En-Harod)! Almost certainly 'En-dor' in 1 S. 28:7 should be emended as proposed.

(c) In Ps. 83:10 [11], 'they perished at Endor' does not accord with the mention of Sisera and Jabin. 'At Endor' (בְּעֵדוֹר) is obviously corrupt. The context requires 'without survivors,' and we should probably read 'ואין נשאר' and *א* and *נ* are liable to be confounded (Che. *Ps.* 83). Gratz's conjecture 'at the fountain of Harod' (בְּמַעְיַן הָרֹד), adopted by Winckler and Wellhausen, only removes a part of the difficulty. It is suggestive, however. Formerly Gratz read 'En-dor' for 'En-harod' in *Judg.* 7:1, and *Gen.* 28:11 'Endor' in 1 S. 29:1 may come from 'En-harod' (see *HAROD*, *WELL OF*, 2).

The village of Endür (not 'Endor') is 7 or 8 m. from the slopes of Gilboa, partly over difficult ground' (Grove-Wilson). Nor is it quite beyond question that there

EN-GANNIM

was a place called Endor in pre-exilic times. There may perfectly well have been two spots called En-harod. The fourth-century village of Endor may have owed its name to a corruption of the text of 1 Samuel.

The meaning of *עֵדוֹר* is by no means perspicuous, and the confusion of *עֵדוֹר* and *עֵדוֹר* was easy. At any rate we need not speculate as to whether one of the caves in the calcareous cliff on the slope of which Endor stands, was the scene of the visit of the unhappy Saul to the wise woman (so J. L. Porter, in *Kitto's Bib. Cyc.*, s.v. 'Endor'). What 'Harod' really means is uncertain (cp *HAROD* 1). Perhaps we should read *Ador* (אֲדוֹר), from which *דֹּר* [cp 'Dor] would come even more easily than from *עֵדוֹר*.

T. K. C.

EN-EGLAIM (עֵין עֵגְלַיִם), 'fountain of Eglaim' = Eglam, i.e., 'cult-place' on form of name, see NAMES, §§ 101, 104, 107; ΕΝΑΓΓΑΛΕΙΜ [BA], ΕΝΑΓΓΑΔΕΙΜ [Q]; *ENAGALLIM*, one of the two points between which fishing in the former 'Salt Sea' was to be carried on when Ezekiel's vision was fulfilled (*Ezek.* 47:10). Since the vision relates to the land W. of the Jordan, and the other point mentioned is En-gedi, we naturally look for En-eglaim near the influx of the Jordan into the Dead Sea. At present, the salt water and the fresh intermingle some way above the mouth of the river, and fish that are carried down are thrown up dead on the beach (cp *DEAD SEA*, § 4). It will therefore be in the spirit of the vision if, with Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 93) we identify En-eglaim with 'Ain Hayleh about 1 hr. from the N. shore of the Dead Sea, which is regarded by the Bedouins as the best fountain in the *Ghor*. It is hardly too bold to emend the text and read for Eglaim, Hoglah (הֹגְלָה); see BETH-HOGLAH.

T. K. C.

ENEMESSAR (ΕΝΕΜΕC[CAP]OC [BA]), *S. L. MANASSER*, *Tol.* 12:115 f.; a corruption of *SUALMANESIR* (which the Syr. reads).

ENENIUS, RV *Eneneus* (ΕΝΗΝΙΟC [BA]) 1 Esd. 5:8 = Neh. 7:7, NAHAMANI.

ENGADDI (Εγκεδδ), 24:14, AV. See EN-GEDI, II.

EN-GANNIM (עֵין גַּנִּים), i.e., 'fountain of gardens,' § 101.

1. A city in the first group of towns in the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15:34 *adullam* [A]), if we follow the Hebrew order; but this really represents *עֵין גַּנִּים* [A], *ḡnaim* [I.], *ḡnaim* [B] apparently *ḡnaim*, unless this form represents 'Tappuah'; according to Clermont-Ganneau, the modern *Umm Jina*, W. of Beth-shenesh. Jerome and Eusebius (*OS* 121:26, *Engannim*; 259:66, *Ἡγγαννίμ*) say 'now a village near Bethel.'

2. A Levitical town of Issachar (Josh. 19:21, *αεγ και τορμαν* [B], *ḡganaim* [A], *ḡganaim* [I.]; 21:20, *πηγήν γραμμάτων* [BA], *πηγήν ḡganaim* [Aq. Sm. Th.]). The parallel passage in 1 Ch. 6:73 [58] has *ANEM* (עֵנַם, *anem* [A], *anem* [I.], B om. it.) which seems to be a mere corruption (Be., Ki.). There is mentioned in Egyptian texts a place called *King* (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 174), which Budde (differing from Müller) would identify with En-gannim (see *HERER*, 1). In *Am. Tib.* 164:121, we find a district called *Gina*. En-gannim is the *Γινάη*, *Γίνα*, or *Γινάα* of Josephus (*B. J.* iii, 34 and elsewhere), on the frontier of Galilee, and, though no ruins of the ancient place are still left, we can hardly doubt that it is the modern *Jenin*.² This is a large and picturesque village 17 m. N. from Shechem, at the entrance of a valley which opens into the plain of Esdraelon. The slopes at the foot of which it lies are covered with plantations of olive trees and fig trees, and the houses of the village are surrounded with gardens fenced by hedges of cactus. A few palm trees add to the charm of the place. The secret of this

¹ Apparently reading *עֵין גַּנִּים*. Compare *πόλις γραμμάτων* (i.e., *ḡnaim*) in Josh. 15:49 for *KIRJATH-SANNAH*.

² Stade's spelling *Jennin* is less accurate, and his doubt as to the reading *En-gannim* seems unnecessary (*GI* 71:542).

EN-GEDI

luxuriance is a spring, or rather torrent, which rises in the hills behind the village and sends its waters in many rivulets to fertilise the gardens and meadows, and at last disappears in the undulating plain of Esdraelon. The name of the place was therefore well chosen, and the author of the ancient song (Cant. 4:12-15) might almost have been thinking of En-gannim when he made the newly-married husband liken his fair young wife to a 'garden' and a 'fountain of gardens' (צִיָּה וְגִּבְרִין). The historical associations of *Jenin* are scanty. It is hardly probable that the 'fountain in Jezreel' referred to in 1 S. 29:1 is the great fountain of En-gannim. 'Jezreel' being intended for the whole district (GASN. HG, 402); see HAROD, 2; but most scholars (not, however, Conder) agree in identifying BETH-HAGGAN (q.v.), in the direction of which Abiah fled from Jehu, with Jenin, and therefore with En-gannim. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 6:1 *BJ* ii. 12:3) describes a fatal dispute between the Galilean pilgrims to Jerusalem and the Samaritans which took place at *Γενά*, 'a village of the Samaritans,' and thereby illustrates the unfriendly reception accorded to Jesus in just such a village (Lk. 9:52 ff.).

T. K. C.

EN-GEDI (גִּדִּי עֵין) [so also outside *paise*, Ezek. 47:10 for גִּדִּי עֵין, —i.e., 'fountain of the kid,' §§ 101, 104; ΕΝΓΑΔΔΑ[Ε] [BNAC]), the modern *En Jidi* (overlooking the western shore of the Dead Sea), 680 ft. below sea-level, and 612 ft. above that of the lake. 'The beautiful fountain bursts forth at once a fine stream upon a narrow terrace or shelf of the mountain.' It was, and is, a spot of rich vegetation in a severely desolate wilderness. Its vineyards and henna flowers are referred to in Cant. 1:14, whilst an allusion to its palm-trees is preserved in its alternative name, HAZAZON-TAMAR (q.v.) in Gen. 14:7 2 Ch. 20:2, and also in Eccles. 24:14 ('I was exalted like a palm tree in Engaddi').¹ Hazazon may be connected with the modern *Wady Haseish*, up which runs one of the main roads from Engedi to the interior (cp. 2 Ch. 20:16, and see ZTZ, ASCENT OF). Engedi was one of the scenes of the wanderings of David (1 S. 23:29 [24:1] γαδδὲ [L]). The cave which plays a part in this narrative is described as being not at Engedi, but somewhere in the wilderness. In the oasis itself the present writer found only insignificant caves; but Tristram mentions in the neighbourhood 'a fairy grotto of vast size.' The 'strongholds' which David and his men inhabited must have lain about the fountain; the narrow shelf could be easily made impregnable, and it is here that most of the ruins are scattered. Solomon appears to have fortified Engedi; for the MT of 1 K. 9:18 reads 'Tamar' [Kt.] = 'Tadmor' [Kr.] 'in the wilderness in the land (?)' (cp. Josh. 15:61 f. ἀναδης [B], ηγγαδδὲ [A], αγγαδδὲ [L], 'in the wilderness . . . En-gedi'). It was worthy of fortification, for it commands one of the roads from the Dead Sea Valley to the interior of Judah, and by it the Edomite invasion of Judah seems to have been made in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 20, εγγαδὲ [B], εγγαδδὲ [L]). It is mentioned once, if not thrice, in Ezekiel's vision of the renovated land (Ezek. 47:10, ηγγαδδὲ [B], εγγαδδὲ [A], αγγαδδὲ [Q]; see TAMAR, i.). Josephus praises its fertility, especially its palms and balsam (*Ant.* ix. 1:2), and says it was the centre of a toparchy under the Romans (*BJ* iii. 3:5); but Pliny omits it in his list of the toparchies (*HN* 5:14:70). To Pliny it was known as Engadda, a place supplied with palm-groves and a centre of the Essenes (*HN* 5:15:17). It is mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 168). In the fourth century, according to Eusebius and Jerome, it was still 'a very large village, whence opobalsanum was obtained' (OS 119:15 254:67) 'and with vines' (Epit. Paulæ, xii.).

¹ This particularly apt parallel is spoilt by RV, which follows *QBA* in reading *εν αιγιαλοις* (as against *εν εγγαδδὲς* *QBA*, Pesh., and presupposed by Vg.), and renders 'I was exalted like a palm tree on the sea shore.'

ENOCH

During the Crusades there were vineyards held by a convent under Hebron (Key, *Colonies Franques en Syrie*, 334), and to these times probably belong most of the ruins. The site was recovered by Robinson in 1838; it is held and cultivated by the Rushdeh Arabs; but there are now neither palms nor vines. The great staircase for no other name adequately expresses the steepness of the ascent from the spring to the plateau — is hard for beasts of burden, and the camel-drivers who bring salt from Jebel Usdum prefer to go farther N. before turning up to Jermsalem.

For further description see Robinson, *RR* 2:439 ff.; Lynch, *Narr.*, 281; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 226; Conder, *Tent Work*, new ed. 265 ff.; *Pal.*, 200; GASN. HG, 269 ff. G. A. S.

ENGINE (הַיָּסֵבֶן), lit. 'invention,' from חָשַׁב, see Eccles. 7:29, in the expression 'engines invented by cunning men' (חֲשִׁבוֹת חָשִׁבִּים הַיָּסֵבֶן), ΜΗΧΑΝΑΙ ΜΕΜΗΧΑΝΕΥΜΕΝΑΙ ΛΟΓΙΣΤΟΥ [BA], Μ. Μ. ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΙΣ [L], — *engi genets machinas* to denote contrivances for hurling stones and arrows, 2 Ch. 26:15; see SIEGE.

For the קִבְּרֵי מִלְחָמָה (AV 'engines of war,' RV 'battering engines') of Ezek. 26:9 and the מִשְׁבֵּן (EV 'mount,' AVmg. 'engine of shot') of Jer. 6:32 24 Ezek. 26:8 (2 S. 20:15, AV 'bank'), see also SIEGE.

ENGRAVE (פָּתַח), Ex. 28:11 Zech. 3:9, etc., ἐντυπώω, 2 Cor. 3:7; **Engraver** (חָקַק), Ex. 28:11, etc.; **Engraving** (חֲקִיקָה), Ex. 28:11, etc.; or GRAVE (קָבֵר), 1 K. 7:39 2 Ch. 24:37, EV; חָקַק, Job 19:24; חָקַקָה, Is. 40:16; חָקַקָה, Is. 22:16; חָקַקָה, Jer. 17:14; חָקַקָה, Ex. 32:16 [all EV]; **GRAVING** (חָקַקָה), Ex. 39:6 AV, Zech. 3:9 2 Ch. 24:37 EV; חָקַקָה [plu.], 1 K. 7:31 EV; **GRAVING TOOL** (חָקַקָה), Ex. 32:4. See HANDICRAFTS, SEAL, WRITING, and on GRAVEN IMAGE (סֵפֶת), see IDOL, § 1 d.

EN-HADDAH (עֵין חֲדָה), §§ 99, 101; ΗΝΑΔΔΑ [A], ΑΝ. [L], ΑΝΑΡΕΚ [B]), in the territory of Issachar (Josh. 19:21 f.), apparently not far from En-gannim (*Jenin*). The identifications with the mod. Kefr Adhān, to the W. of Jenin (Conder), or with 'Am Judeide, on the E. side of Mt. Gilboa (Kn.), assume the accuracy of MT. For 'spring of Haddah' we should perhaps read 'Spring of Harod' (חָרֹד, חָרֹד), the most probable site of which, *Ein Jidud*, is nearly 10 m. NNE. from Jenin. See HAROD.

S. A. C.

EN-HAKKORE (עֵין הַקֹּרֶן), §§ 101, 104 — i.e., 'spring of the partridge,' but, in the legend, 'spring of the caller'; ΠΗΓΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ [B], Π. ΕΠΙΚΑΛΗΤΟΣ [AL]), the name of a fountain in Lehi (Judg. 15:18). Identifications of the site are fanciful (see LEHI).

EN-HAZOR (עֵין הָצֹר), § 101; ΠΗΓΗ ΑΔΟΡ [BA], ὥρ και ιεσώρ [L]), a fenced city of Naphtali (Josh. 19:37), possibly to be identified with *Hazirah* to the W. of Kedesh (but see Guérin, *Gall.* 2:118). The name, Hazor, however, is not uncommon in Upper Galilee; see HAZOR, 1.

EN-MISHPAT (עֵין מִשְׁפָּט), § 101, 104 — i.e., KADESH I., § 2.

ENNATAN (ENNATAN [BA]), 1 Esd. 8:44 RV = ΕΝΤΑΝΑΒ, ΕΛΝΑΤΙΑΝ, 2.

ENOCH (חֲנוֹךְ), ΕΝΩΧ [ADEL and Ti. WH], ΗΝΟΧ [L]. The name of the best-known Enoch seems to be distinct from the names of 2 and 3. It has probably a Babylonian origin (see CAINITES, § 6), though to a Hebrew ear it suggested the meanings of 'dedication' and 'instruction'.²

1. A hero or patriarch mentioned in Gen. 4:17 f. [L. *ενωχ* in both *תנ*] 5:18 19:21-24 (1 Ch. 1:3); also in Ezekiel (emended text), in the Apocrypha, and in the

¹ Gesenius's interpretation of חָקַק, 'sharp' — i.e., 'rapid' — must be deemed improbable.

² See CATECHISE, DEDICATE. חָקַק and its derivatives, however, are found only in late passages.

ENOCH

NT. It is shown elsewhere (see CAINTES, § 6, NOAH) that Enoch played a great part in a legend of which fragments alone remain. (Confirmations of this view will be supplied presently.)

The Genesis passages need no further comment; but the restoration of Enoch in passages of Ezekiel is

1. Biblical references. MT of Ezek 14:20, Noah, Daniel, and Job appear as proverbial for their righteousness, and in Ezek 28:3 the prince of Tyre is said, poetically, to be wiser, and to have more insight into secrets, than Daniel. This strikes one as strange. The personage referred to should be a hero of legend, and would most naturally be of the same cycle as Noah. The name Daniel, however, is not at all suggestive of this. The type is not ancient, in spite of the occurrence of Daniel in 1 Ch. 3:1 as the name of a son of David (the reading is corrupt, see DANIEL, i. 4). It is extremely probable that the name was introduced into Ezekiel by a mistake similar to that which has been conjectured in Gen. 22:2 (see ISAAC, § 2; MORIATT). The name is spelt not דָּנִיֵּאל but דָּנִיָּא; this must surely be a misreading of דָּנִיָּא—i.e., Hanāḳ (Enoch). This acute suggestion is due to Halévy (*RE* 14:20 f.). It is supported by the discovery of the true text of Ecclus. 44:14 (see below), and supplies fresh material for the criticism of Daniel and Job, and the exegesis of Ezekiel (cp *Expositor*, July 1897, p. 27).

We pass now to the NT passages. The notice in the genealogy in Lk. 3:37, and the description of Enoch as the 'seventh from Adam' in Jude 14, need not detain us. Note, however, that the description in Jude is borrowed from Enoch 60:8, and is followed by a quotation (2:14 f.) from Enoch 19:5, 4:27. Heb. 11:5 mentions Enoch's 'translation' (μετετέθη; *translatatus est*), and refers to Gen. 5:22-24 in GÄDEL's rendering εἰσέπραττε τῷ Θεῷ as by implication a testimony to Enoch's faith, 'for without faith it is impossible to please [God]'. The translation of Enoch is also twice mentioned by Sirach (Ecclus. 44:16 ἡμεῖς, μετετέθη; 49:14 ἀνελημφθῆ [ἢ μετετέθη] ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; cp *Gen.* 2 K. 2:10 ἀναλαμψανόμενον = ἡμεῖς, 2:11 ἀνελημφθῆ = ἡμεῖς, also Mk. 16:19 etc.). Ecclus. 49:14 merely extols the unique destiny of Enoch; but 44:16, after stating that he was 'taken,' adds the notable phrase ἡμεῖς. The Syriac version omits the whole verse, the Greek instead of 'an example of knowledge' gives ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας 'an example of repentance,' as if ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς (cp Heb. 4:11, ὑπόδειγμα ἀπειθείας). Noldeke suggests reading ἐνοίας for μετανοίας (see also ECCLESIASTICUS, § 7 (c), n. 1); but the Greek translator may have drawn the same uncritical inference from Gen. 5:22 ('Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah') which was drawn by some of the later Rabbis¹ (see the sayings quoted in *Ber. Rabba*, 25; Wünsche, 112 f.), and seems to have arisen out of hostility to the Book of Enoch. ἡμεῖς, however, seems to mean 'wisdom' (Prov. 17:27); the writer must surely have heard the tradition of Enoch's wisdom alluded to (as has been shown) in Ezek. 28:3, and largely developed by subsequent writers.

We have thus found that the later belief in Enoch's wisdom is traceable in Ecclesiasticus and even in Ezekiel. The 'Secrets of Enoch' (a phrase used as the

¹ For parallels see ENOS (l. end), NOAH (end). The Alexandrian scholars seem to have interpreted Enoch's supposed moral crisis in a good sense (cp Philo, *De Abraham*, § 3); those of Palestine (so Frankel) in a bad, as if Enoch were on the point of repenting of his former pious life when God in mercy 'took' him. In Wisd. 4:1-14, however, nothing is said of Enoch's repentance or change of life; 'he was caught away (ἁρπαγή), lest wickedness should change his understanding' (ἀνέστη), where the 'wickedness' is that of Enoch's contemporaries. See Edersheim on Ecclus. l.c.; Frankel, *Einfluss der palästin. Exegese* (51), 44 f.; Geizer, *Urschrift*, 198; Drummond, *Philo judaeus*, 2:323; and, on the connection of the antipathy of certain rabbis to Enoch. Hal. *RE*, 14:21. Cp also APOCALYPTIC, § 10 n. 1.

ENOS

title of an apocryphal book, see APOCALYPTIC, § 33 f.) receive their first record in an exile prophet, and the prophetic recorder even takes it for granted

2. Later belief. Phœnicia. That the later belief is not a mere accretion on the older Enoch-story will be plain to those who recognise the solar origin of the original hero; a child of the 'all-seeing' sun must be wise as well as pious. At the same time speculative inferences must be largely responsible for the details of the later beliefs.

To this subject we now address ourselves. It was the belief of the later Jews, adopted by Christians and Mohammedans (*En. Prop.* 9:17; d'Herbelot, *Or. Bibl.* 1924 f.), that Enoch invented writing, arithmetic, and astronomy. The *Book of Jubilees* says, 'He was the first among men who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom, and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of the months in a book.' And he was with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything on earth and in the heavens. And he was taken from among the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour' (Chap. 4, Charles's trans.). Very similar statements are made in Enoch (note the phrase 'scribe of righteousness', 124); probably the writers of both books drew from, and amplified, a still living tradition (see CAINTES, § 2, n.). It will be noticed that Enoch's translation, according to *Jubilees* (cp Enoch 70:1-60:8; cp Charles's note), is to Paradise. This reminds us of the story of Part(2)-napistim (DELLUC, § 2). The Palestinian Targum, however, says that Enoch 'ascended to the firmament.' This agrees with the story of the hero Enoch, who was carried to the heaven of Anu by an eagle (ETIEN, 1). The Targum also states that Enoch's name was called 'Metatron, the great writer.' Now the *Metatron*, as the divine secretary, sits in God's inner chamber, where, according to Enoch 14:14 f., not even Enoch can presume to enter. Enoch, then, grew in honour as time went on. Mohammed, too, declares of Idris (the 'instructed') that he was 'a confessor, a prophet,' and that God 'raised him to a lofty place' (*Koran*, Sur. 19:57).

The early Church was not behindhand in its respect for the patriarch. It regarded him, for instance, as one of the two witnesses² of whom such great things are said in Rev. 11, who finally 'went up to heaven in the cloud.' That some share in the accomplishment of God's purposes should be allotted to those who had left the earth long ago without tasting death, seemed natural. The other 'witness' was Elijah, and in Enoch 70:1 the 'translation' of Enoch is described in terms suggested by 2 K. 2:11. In fact, the same idea underlies the traditions of the disappearance of both personages (cp Che. *OT*, 383). Why Noah, who was equal in piety to Enoch, was not also said to have been translated, is a problem on which criticism has been able to throw some light (see CAINTES, § 6; NOAH). On the composite Book of Enoch, see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 18 f.

² The third son of Midian, Gen. 25:4 (EV 'Hanoch'), 1 Ch. 1:33 (AV 'Henoch', RV 'Hanoch').

³ The eldest son of Reuben (EV 'Hanoch'), Gen. 46:9 Ex. 6:14 Nu. 26:5 1 Ch. 5:3. Not improbably off-shoots of the Midianite clan of Enoch became Israelitish. The name can hardly be connected with (1). Kn. compares that of the village called Hamakiya by Burckhardt (*Trav. in Arab.* 2:365), and Hamakiyah by Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 2:183 185), which formerly belonged, says the latter, to the great nomad tribe of el-'Anezy. It is not far to the NE. of Medina. T. K. C.

ENOS, or rather (so RV) **Enosh** (עֲנוֹשׁ, 'man'; ΕΝΩΣ [BADEL]). Son of Seth, and grandson of Adam (Gen. 4:26 5:7-11 1 Ch. 1:1 Lk. 3:38 f.). 'It was he who began to call on the name of Yahweh' (Gen. 4:26, Vg., B. Jub.; so We., reading עֲנוֹשׁ—i.e., Enos introduced forms of worship. He is thus represented as the first and greatest of founders, worthy to be the father of a city-builder (see CAINTES, § 3). This tradition cannot, however, be very ancient. Early myths always ascribe forms of worship to the teaching of a god; cp the statement (see CAINTES, § 3) that Marduk erected the temples, and the epithet given to the Moon-god, *mukin mindabi*, 'appointer of sacrifices' (4 R. 9:33; see Del. *Ass. Hist.* 5:7; 'mindabi'). Enos, therefore (a name that is merely a synonym of Adam, 'man'), which Hommel

¹ See Weber, *Altassyriac. Pal. Theol.* 172 f. (ed. 2, p. 178 f.).
² See e.g., Jerome, *Ep. ad Marcellam*; Aug. *De Gen. ad lit.* 9:2.

EN-RIMMON

traces to the Amelon (= Bab. *amīl*, 'man') of Berosus, must have been substituted for some other name. On the original position of Gen. 4 23 f. see CAINITES, § 2.

The MT reading, *הַר רִמּוֹן* is 'possibly' (Di.) if not certainly, to be rendered 'Then was profaned', the object being to avoid contradiction of the statement in Ex. 6:3 (P). Such a phrase, however, as *הַר רִמּוֹן* with *הַר* is unparalleled in the Genesis narratives. *הַר*, 'begin', occurs again in 22:10, where, it is true, according to R. Simon (*Ber. rabba* 23), it has the sense of profanation. The alteration of *הַר* into *רִמּוֹן* involved a disparagement of Enos similia, to that inflicted upon Enoch (§ 1, end) and Noah (i, end) in certain circles. According to an Aggadah, in the time of this patriarch, and in that of Cain, the sea flooded a great tract of land (*Ber. rabba*, as above). The same extraordinary view of *הַר* is implied in Tg. Onk. and Jon. and is adopted by Rashi.

EN-RIMMON (רִמּוֹן; § 95, 'fountain of Rimmon' = *En-Rimmon* [see RIMMON i.]; *רִמּוֹן* [B.A.L.], mentioned in a list of Judahite villages (EZRA II, § 5 [d], § 15 [1] a), Neh. 11 29 (*רִמּוֹן* [N^o 24. 28. 31], B.A. omitt), but also referred to in Josh. 15 32 (Ain and Rimmon; *רִמּוֹן* [B.], *אֵין קַי רִמּוֹן* [L.]), 197 (*רִמּוֹן* [B.], *אֵין קַי רִמּוֹן* [L.]) and 1 Ch. 4 32 (*אֵין רִמּוֹן*, *עֵנֶן* [L.]), Zech. 14 10 ('from Geba to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem'). En-rimmon is the *Ἐρεμῶν* or Eremmon of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 256 92; 1206), described by them as a 'very large village' 16 m. S. from Eleutheropolis. It is usually identified with modern *Umm er-rumāmin*, 9 m. N. of Beersheba. Zech. 14 10, however, suggests that it lay further to the S. Elsewhere (HAZAR-ADAR) it is suggested that Azmon, a place on the extreme S. of Judah (Nu. 34 4; Josh. 15 4) is a corruption of En-rimmon, and that this is represented by the once highly cultivated *el-Anejh* in the Wady Hanein, called by Arab tradition a 'valley of gardens' (E. H. Palmer).

EN-ROGEL (רֹגֶל; § 101; *πηγή ρωγῆλ* [B.A.L.], *הַר* [B. in 1 K. 16], *הַר הַר הַר הַר* [L. in 2 S. 1 K. 16], a famous land-mark near Jerusalem. It was the hiding-place of David's spies, Jonathan and Ahimaaz (2 S. 17 17), and lay close to the stone Zohéleth where Adonijah held a sacrificial feast when he attempted to assert his claims to the throne (1 K. 16). In later times it was one of the boundary marks between Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15 7 13 16). The obviously sacred character of the spring (cp also GITHON [1], 1 K. 1 38) suggests that it is the same as the Dragon Well of Neh. 2 13 (cp DRAGON, § 4 g; but see ZOHÉLETH). There can be little doubt of its antiquity, and it may well have been a sacred place in pre-Israelite times. The meaning of the name and its identification are uncertain.

The interpretation 'Fuller's Well' does not bear the mark of antiquity, and is rightly omitted in *Ges.* (19); *רֹגֶל*, 'fuller', is nowhere else found in biblical Hebrew (see FULLER, ROGEL 190). It is probable that, like Zohéleth, the original name had some sacred or mythic significance.

Two identifications of the place have met with considerable favour: (1) the Virgin's Fountain (Ain Sitti Maryam), now 'Ain Umm ed-Dera', 'the only real spring close to Jerusalem', exactly opposite to which lies *er-Rawitch*, perhaps Zohéleth (Clermont-Ganneau, *PIRE* 1860-70, p. 253); and (2) Bir-Eyyub, otherwise known as the Well of Nehemiah, at the junction of the W. er-Rababi and Kedron (Robinson, *BR* 1 332). Against (2) (which has found recent support in H. P. Smith, *Sam.*, and Benz., *Kings*) it is urged that Bir-Eyyub is a well, not a spring, that it lies too far from *er-Rawitch*, that it is in full view of the city, and does not suit the context of 2 S. 17 17, and that its antiquity is uncertain. The chief points in favour of (1) (which Bied. identifies with GITHON [1]) are: its antiquity (cp CONIETERS, § 4) and the evidence of Jos. (*Ant.* vii. 14 4), who places the well in the royal gardens.² Other arguments based upon the fact that in later times the well was used by fullers are necessarily precarious.

S. A. C.

¹ H. P. Smith, however, observes that water flows into the well, sometimes coming over the top, so that it might readily be called a spring (*Sam.* 254).

² The identification of En-rogel with *עֵינֵי יוֹב* (*Ant.* ix. 10 4; see Grove, *Smith's DB* 2) seems difficult; the reading is substantially the same in all MSS (see Niese), and appears to be based upon *אֵינֵי יוֹב* which follows.

ENSIGNS AND STANDARDS

ENROLMENT *ἀπογραφὴ*, Lk. 22 Acts 5 37. AV 'taxing'), to be enrolled (*ἀπογραφεῖσθαι*; Lk. 21 15, AV 'taxed'; Heb. 12 23, AV 'written'; cp 3 Macc. 1 15). See QUIRINIUS, TAXATION.

RV has 'enrolled' also in 1 Tim. 5 9 (*καταγεγραμμένοι*, AV 'taken into the number') and in 2 Tim. 2 4, *στρατολογεῖν* ('enrolled him as a soldier', AV 'chosen him to be a soldier').

EN-SHEMESH (שֶׁמֶשׁ; § 157, 'fountain of the sun', § 9, 15; Josh. 15 7 (*πηγή ἡλίου* [B.A.L.]; 18 17 *πηγήν βαϊθαμῶς* [B.], *π. came* [L.], *πηγήν* *camec* [L.]), on the border of Benjamin, between EN-ROGEL and ADI-MAMM. The favourite identification with the modern 'In el-Had' or 'Apostles' shrine' near Bethany is questioned by Bied. (149, who seems to prefer the tradition which identifies the Well of the Sun and the Dragon's Well with 'Ain Sitti Maryam' (see EN-ROGEL). Van Kasteren, however (*ZDP* 13 116; see also Buhl, *Pal.* 98), would find En-shemesh in 'Ain-er-Rawabi in an offshoot of the Wady of the same name, situated on the ancient road to Jericho.

ENSIGNS AND STANDARDS. Two questions have to be considered here: (1) how are the Hebrew terms to be rendered, and (2) what inferences are to be drawn from the historical passages containing these terms?

(1) *נֵס*, *nes* (*σημεῖον*, *σίσσημον*; also *σημαία* and *σημαίωσις* [B.A.L. etc.]).

In Is. 32 11 10 (*ἑσπερίαι*) 12 18 30 17 31 9 (text corrupt; see *SBOT*) *נֵס* is rendered by EV 'ensign', but in Jer. 46 4 (*ῥομβεῖον*) 21 (*ῥομβεῖον*) 30 2 31 12 27 'standard'.

1. **Renderings.** In 1 S. 18 2 (RV 'ensign') and by EV in Ps. 60 4 [6] (see below), also by EV in Ex. 17 13 (*ῥομβεῖον*). In Nu. 21 9 AV gives 'pole', RV 'standard'.

'Banner', being still in common use, seems the best rendering for *נֵס* except in Nu. 21 9, where 'pole' is more natural. 'Banner' is required also in Ex. 17 15 f., where Moses is said to have named an altar Yahwe-Nissi, 'Yahwe is my banner' (see JEHOVAH-NISSI), and to have broken into this piece of song:—

Yea, lifting up the hand towards Yahwe's banner,
(I swear that) Yahwe will give battle to Amalek everlastingly.

Here, too, we must not pass over four disputed passages in which AV (and in some cases RV) assumes the existence of a denom. verb from *נֵס*, viz., (a) Ps. 60 4 [6] ('a banner . . . that it may be displayed'); (b) Is. 10 13 (*נֵס*, EV 'standard-bearer', RV^{ms} 'sick man'; (γ) Is. 59 19 ('lift up a standard,' so RV^{ms}; but RV '[which] . . . driveth,' AV^{ms} 'put to flight'); (δ) Zech. 9 16 ('lifted up as an ensign,' but RV 'lifted up on high,' RV^{ms} 'glittering'). All these four passages must be regarded as corrupt. (a) Ps. 60 4 [6] should probably be read thus, 'Thou hast given a cup [of judgment] to thy worshippers that they may be frenzied because of the bow' (*דְּרִיחֵם*); cp Jer. 25 16. In compensation Ps. 116 13 becomes, 'I will raise the banner (*נֵס*) for *נֵס*) of victory.' (β) Is. 10 13 *נֵס* (*ῥομβεῖον*) should apparently be *נֶצֶץ*, 'a thorn-bush.' (γ) Is. 59 19, *נֵס* should probably be *נֶצֶץ* (*Klo.*, Che.), 'when Yahwe's breath blows upon it.' (δ) The text of Zech. 9 15 f. needs some rearrangement (see Che. *JQR* 10 32). 'Stones of a diadem lifting themselves up over his land' is nonsense. In *נֶצֶץ* probably *נֵס* should be *נֶצֶץ*. Glittering stones, used as amulets (see PRECIOUS STONES), are meant.

(δ) *נֵס*, *desel*, is rendered by EV 'banner' in Cant. 24, (*ῥομβεῖον*), by 'standard' in Nu. 15 22, etc. (all P; *τάγμα* [B.A.L.]). EV also finds a denom. verb from *נֵס* in Ps. 20 5 [6] Cant. 5 10 6 10. Gray thinks (*JQR* 11 92 ff.)

¹ Schick (*ZDP* 13 157) observes that the name 'Ain esh-shems', 'eye of the sun', is popularly given to holes in prominent rocks.

² The name dates from the fifteenth century. It is the last well on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho before the dry desert is reached, and it is therefore assumed that the apostles must have drunk from it on their journey.

ЕРНАН

EPHESUS

not improbably be inserted by the redactor from 7.19, which verse seems to have come from another version of the tradition (see Klo.).

The present writer, who prefers the former of the alternatives suggested above, supposes (1) that 'in the valley of Ephraim' (or Ephraim) is a discrepant statement of the scene of the fight with Goliath, and (2) that it is the *correct* statement. Others may have an insuperable objection to this, and for their benefit another suggestion is made. It is not inconceivable that 'Valley of the Terebinth' (תרבות) was the name of that part of the valley in which David won his victory, whilst a larger section of the valley was called 'Valley of the red-brown [lands]'; cp. 'the ascent of the red-brown [hills]', Josh. 15:7; red-brown in each case is אדום. 'Large patches of it (the ploughed land in the valley of Elah) were of a deep red colour, exceptional, and therefore remarkable' (Miller, *The Last of all Lands*, 125). From אדום to דום is an easy step. H. P. Smith is hardly decisive enough in his rejection of Lagarde's דום דום.¹ The torrent was of course dried up, and no longer a landmark. See ELAH, VALLEY OF.

EPHESIANS. See COLLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS.

EPHESUS (εφεσος, [Tl. VII]; gent. 'Εφεσίους. EPHESIAN) lay on the left bank of the Cayster (mod.

1. **Early history.** *Kuchuk Menderes*, Little Meander), about 20 m. from the sea, nearly opposite the island of Samos. Long before the Ionian immigration the port at the mouth of the river had attracted settlers, who are called Carians (Paus. vii. 2.2), but were probably the Hittites whose centre of power lay at Mteria in Cappadocia; see HITTITES, § 11 ff. To the E. of Mt. Kerosos, in the plain between the isolated height of Prion (or Pion) and the eminence at the foot of which the modern village stands, there arose a shrine of the many-breasted Nature-goddess identified by the Greeks with their own Artemis (see DIANA). The population lived, in the primitive Anatolian fashion, in village groups (κῆμαι) round the shrine, on land belonging to it wholly or in part, completely dominated by the priests. With the coming of the Ionians, who, after long conflict, established themselves on the spur of Mt. Kerosos now shown as the place of Paul's prison (ancient Athenarum), began an obstinate struggle between the Oriental hierarchy and Hellenic political ideas, which were based upon the conception of the city (πόλις). The early struggles of the immigrants with the armed priestesses perhaps gave rise to the Greek Amazon-legends. Even after actual hostilities had ceased, and the two communities had agreed to live side by side, this dualism continued to be the key to Ephesian history. The power of the priestly community remained co-ordinate with, or only partially

2. Government. subordinate to, that of the civic authorities; the city and the temple continued to be formally distinct centres of life and government (cp Curtius, *Beitr. z. Gesch. u. Top. Kleinas.*, 14). The situation of the shrine, near one of the oldest ports of Asia Minor, at the very gateway of the East (Strabo, 1663) brought the worship into contact with allied Semitic elements. These and similar influences gave the Ephesian worship that œcumenic character which was its greatest boast (Acts 1927; Paus. iv. 313; Hicks, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 482, see Ramsay, *Class. Rev.* 1393, p. 78 f.). Even apart from the existence of the *hieron*, the greatness of Ephesus was assured; for, admirably placed as were all the Ionic cities (Herod. 142), none were so fortunate as Ephesus, lying as she did midway between the Hermos on the S. (at the mouth of which was Smyrna) and the Mæander on the N. (port, Miletus). On the downfall of Smyrna, before the Lydians, about 585 B.C., and

¹ See BA 76, and cp *Levins*, 76. For the grounds of this reading see Dr. TBS Levins, 292, and note Dr.'s criticism on 292.

ΕΡΗΛΗ (Ἠρῆ), οἰφ. εἰη. Lev. 5:11, 6:20. Nu 5:15, 29:5. Judg. 6:10. Ruth 2:17, 1 S. 1:24, 17:17. Ezek. 45:1, 6. **ΜΕΤΡΩΝ** [Dr. 25:14 f., Tr. 20:10, Amos, Zech., Ezek., etc.]. See WRIGHTS AND MEASURES.

EPHAI (פִּי'ה, Kt.; פִּי'ה, Kt.; ופִּה [N], ט [A], ופִּה [B], θ [Qmg sub θ ut vid.], *ephā*, Syr. Hex ^{mg} **ܐܦܗ**), according to MFL, a man of Netophah, whose sons were among the adherents of Gedaliah (Jer. 1023). In the parallel text, 2 K. 2523, פִּי'ה **פִּי'ה** is not found. Apparently 'sons of . . . ' (פִּי'ה) is a corruption of a duplication of the following word 'Netophathite,' פִּי'ה (Che.); note the warning Pasch which precedes. The Netophathite meant is SERAIAH (2 K. 25, 3).

EPHER (עֶפֶר, 'gazelle,' § 68, cp EPHRON; ἀφερ [BADEL]).

1. A Midianite clan, Gen. 25.4 (אֶפְרַיִם [I.]), 1 Ch. I.13 (אֶפְרַיִם [I.]), 70. [I.]). Knobel and Delitzsch compare the Bani Gifar of the stem of Kāmān in Hijaḥ, but if HANOOCH (I. 7, 1) has been rightly identified, Ephr may very possibly be the modern 'Ofr, which is near Hamakiya, between the Tihama mountain range and Aḥin (so Wetstein; see Du.). Glaser (*Skizze*, 249), however, prefers to connect the name with the *ʿUppara* of the inscriptions of Asur bini-pal (K 2221). From its mention in connection with Judah, E. Minasseh, and Reuben (see below), it is possible that various layers of the tribe of Ephr were incorporated with the Israelites at a later time (cp Nold, in Schenkel, *RL* 4218. See MIDIAN).

2. b. E/rah, of JUDAH, 1 Ch. 4 17 (γζφερ [A], εφερ [I]); ср. Еврейск. יְרָחָה.

3. A head of a subdivision of MANASSEH, 1 Ch. 5:24 (o^opep [BA]); cp ECHRON 1., 2.

EPHES-DAMMIM (עִפְרַת דָּמִימ; ΕΦΕΡΜΕΝ [B],

ἈΦΕΣΔΩΜΜΙΝ [Ἄ. ΑΦΕΣ, ΔΔ]ΜΕΙΝ [L. : ܐܦܫܕܡܝܢ
 [Pesh.]; ΕΝ ΠΕΡΑΤΙ ΔΩΔΕΙΜ[Ag.], in *finibus dommin*
 [Vg.]; cp OS 35 11, 96 13, 226 13), or, if *ephes* be
 taken to mean 'end' [of?], Dammin is, according to
 MT, the name of a spot where the Philistines encamped
 between SOCOH 1, and AZEKAH (IS, 171). By Van
 de Velde (who is followed in Richlin's *IIIFB*) it is
 identified with *Damun*, on the N. side of the Wādy
 es-Sant, E. of the Roman road to Bet Netuf; but a
 different name for this ruin was obtained in the
 Ordnance Survey, and the name Dāmūn, if it occurs
 at all, seems to belong to a site nearer the high hills.
 Conder (*PEFQ*, 1875, p. 193), on the other hand, finds
 an echo of the name in *Bet Fased* ('a place of bleeding')
 which is close to Socoh (*Shawwkeh*) on the SE. This
 will not do for the site of the encampment—for the
 reason given in Che. *Aids*, 35, n. 1—but Conder's
 view is not that Bet Fased represents the site (Buhl,
Gazette, 90, n. 92), but that it is an echo of a name of
 the great valley of Elah (see ELAH, VALLEY of) which
 arose out of the sanguinary conflicts that frequently
 occurred there. This is too fanciful a conjecture.
 We must, it would seem, either regard 'in Ephes-
 dammin' in IS, 171 as (on the analogy of PASDAM-
 MIM) a corruption of ܐܦܫܕܡܝܢ 'in the valley of
 Rephaim' (or Ephraim; see REPHAIM), or else take
 -dammin to be a corruption of some proper name,
ephes being in this case also a corruption of ܐܦܫܕܡܝܢ
 'valley'. The latter view is less probable, but hardly impossible.

The Philistines appear to have encamped on the southern, and the Israelites on the northern side of the valley of Elah (see *Che. Aids*, 85), and, considering how often the same valley has more than one name, we may conjecture that the site of the Philistine encampment was described as 'in the valley of X' - 'in the valley of Elah' (or, 'terebinth-valley'). In 1 S. 17.2 some point in the valley of Elah is mentioned as the site of the encampment of the Israelites; but 'in the valley of Elah' would

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the ruin of Phokina and Mileus by the Persians in 494 B.C., she inherited the trade of the Hermos and Mander valleys. The port had always suffered from the alluvium of the Cayster, and its ultimate destruction from that cause had been rendered inevitable by an unfortunate engineering scheme of Attalus II. Philadelphus, about a century and a half before Strabo wrote; yet in Strabo's time and in that of Paul the city was the greatest emporium of Asia (Str. 641. ἐμπορίον οὕσα μέγιστον τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου; reflected in Rev. 18:11-14). Shortly after Paul's visit the proconsul Eren Soranus tried to dredge the port (61 A.D.; Tac. *Ann.* 16:24). Its commercial relations are illustrated by the fact that even the *minimum* (μῆτρος) of Cappadocia was shipped from Ephesus, not from Sinope (Str. 540), and by the travels of Paul himself (Acts 18:19-21; cp 18:24). Ephesus was the centre of Roman administration in Asia. The narrative in Acts reveals an intimate acquaintance with the special features of its position. As the Province of Asia was senatorial (Str. 840), the governor is rightly called proconsul.¹ Being a free city, Ephesus had assemblies and magistrates, senate (βουλή), and popular assembly (ἐκκλησία) of its own; but orderliness in the exercise of civic functions was jealously demanded by the imperial system (Acts 19:4; cp *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1883, p. 506). The theatre, which was probably the usual place of meeting for the assembly,² is still visible. Owing to the decay of popular government under the empire, the 'public clerk' (γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου) became the most important of the three 'recorders,' and the picture in Acts of the 'town-clerk's' consciousness of responsibility, and his influence with the mob is true to the inscriptions (e.g., *CIG* 2994, 2966, etc.). From its devotion to Artemis the city appropriated the title 'Neokoros' (Acts 19:35: νεωκόρος, lit. 'temple-sweeper'), and, as the town-clerk said, its right to the title was notorious.

The word Neokoros was an old religious term adopted and developed in the imperial cultus, -i.e., under the empire the title Neokoros, or Neokores of the Emperors, was conferred by the Senate's decree at Rome, and was coincident with the erection of a temple and the establishment of games in honour of an Emperor. When a second temple and periodical games were, by leave of the Senate, established, in honour of a later Emperor, the city became δις νεωκόρος ('twice Neokoros'), and even (cp N.) 'thrice Neokoros' in inscriptions and on coins. Hence under the empire not only Ephesus but also Laodicea and other Asiatic cities boasted the title. See Rams, *Hist. Phys.*, 158; Borchert, *de Neokoria*.

Naturally Ephesus was the head of a *conventus*, -i.e., it was an assize town (Plin. 5:27. Ephesum vero, alterum lumen Asiae, remotiores conveniunt); hence in Acts 19:38 'the courts are open' (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10:21, Strabo, 6:29). From its position as the metropolis of Roman Asia Ephesus was naturally a meeting-point of the great roads.

On the one side a road crossing Mt. Finolios ran north-eastwards to Sardis, and so into Galatia (cp GALATIA). More important was that which ran southwards into the Mander valley. Ephesus was, therefore, the western terminus of the 'back-bone of the Roman road system' - the great trade route to the Euphrates by way of Laodicea and Colosse (Rams, *Hist. Geogr.* of A.M. 49), and the 'sea-end of the road along which most of the criminals sent to Rome from the province of Asia would be led' (Rams, *Ch. in R. Emp.*, 318); hence Irenaeus, writing to the church there, says, 'ye are a high road of them that are on their way to the unto God' (*Eph.* 12, παροδος ἵστε τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἀναγόμενων; cp Rev. 17:6).

It was, in part, by the route just described, that Paul on his Third journey reached Ephesus from the interior, avoiding, however, the towns of the Lycus valley by taking the more northerly horse-path over the Duz-bel pass, by way of Scilium (Acts 19:1, διελεύθοντα τὰ

¹ Acts 19:38, ἀνθρώπων; the plural is generic, although others take it to allude to P. Celer, imperial procurator, and the freedman Helius, who may have remained in Asia with joint proconsular power after murdering the proconsul Junius Silvanus at the instigation of Agrippina, in 54 A.D. - Tac. *Ann.* 13:1; Lewin, *Festi Sacri*.

² Cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8:2, Agrippa at Caesarea. Tac. *Hist.* 2:80, 'Iun Antonium theatrum inaccessum, ubi illis consulare mos est...'; Jos. *BJ* vii. 3:2; Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 7, § 16; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 4:10 (p. 147), ἵππον ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τῷ θεατρῷ, of Ephesus.

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διωρεπὰ μέρη. See Rams, *Ch. in R. Emp.* 94). True to his principle, Paul went to the centre of Roman life; and along the great lines of communication, without his personal intervention, his message spread eastwards into the Lycus valley (see Colosse, Hierapolis, Laodicea). All the 'seven churches' of Rev. 1-3 were probably founded at this period, for all were great trade centres and in communication with Ephesus. The labours of subordinates were largely responsible for their foundation, perhaps in all cases, though it is only in one group that evidence is forthcoming (Col. 17:12-17). The position of Ephesus as the metropolis of Asia is clearly reflected in her primacy in the list (Rev. 1:11-21). In this way, 'all they which dwell in Asia heard the word... both Jews and Greeks' (Acts 19:10).

Jews we should expect to find in great numbers at Ephesus. As early as 44 B.C., Dolabella in his consulship had granted them toleration for their rites and Sabbath observance, and safe conduct in their pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10:12); they must then have been a rich community to have been able to buy these favours. Their privileges were confirmed by the city (ibid., 10:23), and subsequently by Augustus (*ibid.*, xvi. 6:27). To them, as usual (cp Acts, § 4), was Paul's first message on both visits (Acts 18:19-20); but the good-will with which he had been welcomed on his first appearance (Acts 18:20) cooled,

4. Attitude to Christianity. and he was compelled at last to take his teaching from the synagogue to the philosophical 'school of one Tyrannus' (Acts 19:9, διὰ τὴν σχολὴν Τυράννου - from the fifth to the tenth hour' added by D - i.e., after the usual teaching hours; cp *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1887, p. 400; Rams, *Expos.* March, 1893, p. 223).

Soon Paul came into collision with the beliefs and practices peculiar to the place in a twofold manner.

Ephesus was a centre of the magical arts of the East. It is significant that the earliest Ephesian document extant deals with the rules of anurgy (6th cent. B.C.; *Inscr. Brit. Mus.*, 678). The so-called 'Ephesian letters' (Ἐφεσίου γράμματα) were mystic symbols engraved upon the statue of the goddess (Eustath. *Op.* 14); they were inscribed upon tablets of terracotta or other material, and used as amulets (Athen. 12:48, ἐν σκευατοῖς ῥητοῖσι φέρων Ἐφεσίου γράμματα καλά). When pronounced they were regarded as powerful charms especially effective in cases of possession by evil spirits (cp Plut. *Sympos.* vii. 54: οἱ μαγοὶ, τοῖς δαιμονιζομένοις κελεύουσιν τὰ Ἐφεσίου γράμματα καταλεγεῖν καὶ διουλεῖν). The study of these symbols was an elaborate pseudo-science.

The miracles ascribed to Paul were therefore clearly designed to meet the circumstances; they were 'special' (Acts 19:11: οὐ τὰς τεχνήσας) the expulsion of diseases and of evil spirits by means of 'handkerchiefs or aprons' (συνδάρμα ἢ σιμικτήρια) which are, possibly, to be connected with Paul's own daily labour for his living (1 Cor. 1:12: κοπιῶμεν ἐργαζόμενοι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσίν; 1 Thess. 2:9). Especially was his power brought into comparison with that claimed by the Jewish exorcists (see EXORCISTS), as previously in Paphos (Acts 13:6); although in the story of the sons of Sceva and the burning of the treatises on magic there are considerable difficulties - the writer is here rather a picker-up of current gossip, like Herodotus, than a real historian' (Rams, *St. Paul*, 273).

In the second place, the new teaching came into collision with the popular worship. Even before the great outbreak, fierce opposition must have been encountered from the populace (1 Cor. 15:32: ἐθνημαχίᾳ, 'I fought with beasts' - a word which contains a mixture of Roman and Greek ideas: the Platonic comparison of the mob to a beast. *Rep.* 493, and the death of criminals in the circus; cp 1 Cor. 19: ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐσχάτοις ἀπέδειξεν, ὡς ἐπιθανάτους, and 7: 13). In the conviction that 'a great door and effectual' was opened in the province, in spite of there being 'many adversaries' (1 Cor.

¹ [F] on the seven letters, chap. 1 f., we see how carefully the author had studied the situation in the Christian communities accessible to him. - *Binet, Rev. in Hist. A.T.*, 169.]

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16 f.), the *apollon* had resolved to remain at Ephesus until Pentecost (cf. *Acts* 18, probably). The great festival of the goddess occurred in the month Artemision (cf. *Acts* 2454) = Mid-April, but whether it must be brought into connection with the riot or not is uncertain. The opposition did not originate with the priests, but was organised by a second tradesmen engaged in the manufacture of 'shrines' (*naoi*), led by Demetrius who was one of the chief employers of labour (*Acts* 1934; see *DIANA*, § 20). Such trade guilds (*τετρα, ἐργασιαί*) were common in Asia Minor.¹ It is clear, however, that the riot was fully organised (see *Acts* 1932).

The watchword, 'Gent is Artemis' (Μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτέμις) raised by the workmen, diverted the excitement of the populace, and the demonstration became anti-Christian. The nationality of Gains and Aristarchus (Macedonians, AV). Aristarchus alone Macedonian according to some few MSS. Gains in that case being the Gains of Derbe of Acts 20:4; cp GALT 8, 2) would tend in the same direction so long as Paul remained inviolable (iv. 30), as, apart from the Romans, the Jews formed the only conspicuous foreign element in the city, and one notoriously hostile to the popular cult. The solicitude of certain Asarches (iv. 31; cp Enseb. *HE* 4.15; see ASTARCH) for the apostle is significant, as they were the heads of the politico-religious organisation of the province in the cult of Rome and the Emperor; whence we must infer that neither the imperial policy nor the feeling of the educated classes was opposed to the new teaching as yet. The town-clerk's speech is virtually an *apologia* for the Christians. It is true that a very different view has been suggested (Hicks, *Litton*, June 1890; cp Rams. *Atph.*, July 1890), in which Demetrius the silversmith is identified with the Demetrius named as President of the Board of Neopoietai (temple-wardens), *Insur. Brit. Mus.* 578). Hicks supposes that the priests persuaded the Board to organise the riot, and that the honour voted in the inscription to Demetrius and his colleagues was in recognition of their services in the cause of the goddess. Apart from the doubt attaching to the restoration Ν[εοποιῶν], and to the date of the decree, the theory does not show why the priests acted by intermediaries who were civil not religious magistrates; nor how the interests were affected—*i.e.*, it involves the assumption that the author of Acts misconceived the situation, and in recasting his authority altered νεοποῖτοι Ἀρτεμίδος into ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀρτεμίδος Ἀρταμίδος. Further, in order to explain the difference between the friendly attitude of the Asarchs and the supposed hostility of the priests, it is necessary to assume that the Asarchs represented a different point of view from that of the native hierarchy. There is no evidence that they represented the point of view of the Roman governors, and probably they had themselves previously held priesthoods of local cults before becoming Asarchs; they represented the view of the upper classes generally, one which prevailed outside Jewish circles wherever Paul preached (for complete discussion, see Rams. *Ch. in Rom. Emp.* 112 f.),

The short visit during the voyage from Corinth to Caesarea at the close of the Second journey, and the two and a half years' labour there during the Third journey, together with the interview with the Ephesian elders at Miletus on the return voyage (Acts 20:17), form the only record of Paul's personal contact with Ephesus, unless we admit the inferences drawn from the Pastoral Epistles.²

1 (p. *RI* 108): οἱ ἐν Ἑλίῳ ἐργάζονται προσηλυτίζονται. See especially Thuyana, where we have, among others, χαλκῆς, γυαλισμῶς. Possibly classification by trade was piecemeal. Herod. I, 131 the trade being a Greek introduction; Rams, *Hist. Pong.* I, 135. Cf. *Περὶ Ἰσχυρῶς Παγῆς*, v. d. i. p. 85: remits of stock in trade by Egyptian guilds, κοινὸν τῶν χαλκοκολλήτων, τῶν ὑφιστοαίων, etc. See Menander, *Phæd.* 25.

² [The Pastoral Epistles, though they may possibly contain fragments of genuine letters of Paul (worked up with freedom),

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Platoni. 22 (Compare me also a folioing, i. ep. 19 l. 2-3) expresses an expectation of visiting Calisto, which inevitably implied a visit to Ephesus. Platon l. 1 implies that this intention was realised, and perhaps there are hints also of a fourth visit, some ten years later, for the twenty-first line of these years is to give even a million a sixth visit (Calisto and Howson 2, 17-7) before the local departure for Nicopolis by way of Miletus and Corinthus (Ep. l. 2).

On the destruction of Jerusalem the surviving apostles and leading members of the church fled to

5. Post-Christian times.

the circle Polycur passed his youth.

[illegible]

(now resumed in the town by the Augustus, York, &c. 1877).

6. Bibliography

For history, culture, and flora, see *Pop. Kalmukov*, 1972; but Gold's *Life in the Steppe* is also valuable. The ethnographic results of Wood's labors are given in *Arctic Ins.* of 1861, *Memo.* The result also Zimmermann, *Feldzug im arktischen West. Kalifornien*; Weber, *Guide du Voyageur*; and *Leaves* (Smyth) and *Arctic* with good maps (plate of Fehobas after Gold) in *Travel to the Arctic*, Murray, 1855, p. 64; also partly, with good views and maps, by Reinhold, *Leaves* (the Ukunde and Fehobas), in *Leaves for the*

EPHIAL¹ (E¹PHAL, meaning ?), a Jerahmeelite name, 1 Ch 2.37. The MT is virtually supported by Ἐφαφάν (ἡδ, B), ὀφλαδ² [A] Δ from A, but the name was perhaps originally theophoric. Read, therefore, EPH¹, an abbreviated form of עֲפֹרָה (see EAPHALIT), or, more probably, עֲפֹרָה (cp Ἐφραῖμ). See EPHAM¹, and cp G's readings there cited.

EPHOD (תֵּן, תֵּן, n Pent. שֵׁם, ἑπιθαις, Ἀγ. *superthumalis*, in Jude, and ἱ. σ. εφοῦδ, εφωδ, *ephod*: in 2 S. 6:14 1 Ch. 13:7 στήλη, but εφοῦδ [1:] in 1 Ch.; Hos. 3:1 ἱερατεία [BAG]), a Hebrew word (*ephod*) which the LXX-translators have taken over as a technical term. The word is used in the historical books in two meanings, the connection between which is not clear.

1. As a garment. The boy Samuel ministered before Yahwê, 'girt with a linen ephod' (2 S 2:18, 1 S 2:18); in the same garb, David, when he brought the ark up to Jerusalem, danced before Yahwê with all his might (2 S 6:14; in 1 Ch. 15:27

1. As a garment.

the words are a gloss. It was long the accepted opinion that the linen ephod was the common vestment of the priests; but in 1 S. 22:13 'himen' (*bañl*) is a gloss (see **C**^o, as also **C**^o in 1 S. 2:7), and the other passages usually alleged in support of the theory speak of *bearing* or *carrying* the ephod, not of wearing it (see below, § 2). This ephod was manifestly a scanty garment, for Melchizedek David with indecency exposing himself like any lewd fellow. It was probably not a skirt tunic, as is generally thought, but a loin-cloth (*σκιρτήλαια*) about the waist; Samuel's tunic (**ῥῆμα**) is mentioned separately, and the verb rendered 'gird' (**ῥαψ**) is used in Hebrew not of belting in an outer garment, but only of binding something (girdle, sword-belt, loin-cloth) about the loins; additional support is given to this view by the shape of the high priest's ephod (see below, § 3). David's assumption of this meagre garb on an occasion of high religious ceremony may perhaps have been a return to a primitive costume which antiquity had rendered sacred, as the pilgrims to Mecca are in Pauline in language and in theological position, nor can there be fitted into a chronology of the life of Paul. See Hilcher (*op. cit.*, § 13), and cp PASTORAL EPISTLES.—[Ed.]

EPHOD

ЕРИРНАТНА

that x and y is a point in $\mathbb{R}^n$ whose i -th coordinate would possibly be x_i or y_i (or one that has x_i if $x_i \neq y_i$ and y_i for $x_i = y_i$ in $\mathbb{R}^n$). If $x \neq y$, then $x_i \neq y_i$ for some i and x_i and y_i are different words.

The etymology of *zōō* is discussed, with the author concluding that there is no evidence for the derivation of *zōō* from *zōō* (the root of *zōō*), but that the root of *zōō* is *zōō* (the root of *zōō*). Although the compound *zōō* (the root of *zōō*) is not a root of *zōō*, it is a root of *zōō* (the root of *zōō*). The author concludes that the root of *zōō* is *zōō* (the root of *zōō*), but that the root of *zōō* is *zōō* (the root of *zōō*).

5. Literature.

[illegible]

ΕΡΗΡΗΑΤΗΑ (ΕΦΙΦΑΘΑ [E. WILKINSON, MUMFORD]

used by Jónas, according to Mk. 7:1. It is glossed by *δυναμὴ* *dynamē*, and is properly the passive of *δύναμις* or *δύναμι* 'dynamis', 'power'. Opinions differ as to the origin

The assimilation of the π before β can be paralleled in Latin *Aranea*;¹ but it would perhaps be simpler to suppose that the older reading was (correctly) $\epsilon\phi\alpha\theta\alpha$. See Kuhn, *Gram.* 12; *Diehm, Gramm.* 2, § 2, 286.

EPHRAIM

Sum (65%)	On 12th (65%)
Full 12 (65%)	Full 12 (65%)
People (65%)	People (65%)

Ephraim 2:28, § 100, on meaning of name see below, § 2. Ephraim, occasionally Aḥ, or ḥm, ² on

1. Application
of names.

designation in Hosea originally denoted the north of the northern kingdom of Israel. This usage was not confined to Jewish or to northern writers. It occurs also in Isaiah and Jeremiah³ and in post-exilic prophetic and poetic.⁴ There is no evidence that the name was used by other nations. The Moabites called the northern kingdom 'Israel' (IZ. I, 5); the Assyrians called it *Bit-Humri* (see OVIEN, or Israel *sup.* Ahubbi Sur'dim). Nor does 'Ephraim' in this sense occur in the earlier historical books.⁵ The explanation probably is that it was not a correct, formal style. An orator may speak of 'England', a diplomatist must say 'Great Britain'.

The form of the name suggests that it is really geographical (cp the many place-names ending in *-arm* [NAMES, § 107], and, for the prefixed **Σ**, such names as *Akhāb*, *Achshaph*, cp also *Achab*).

¹ 'Land of Ephraim' ($\text{Ephraim}^{\text{LXX}}$), if it is true, occurs only once, late (Judg. 12:1), and 'Waste of Ephraim' may be corrupt (see EPHRAIM [Wood 1963]); but 'Mount Ephraim' ($\text{Ephraim}^{\text{LXX}}$) occurs over thirty times (p. 16, 17, 18), and it is significant that we never hear of 'House of Ephraim' (as we do of 'House of Joseph').²

¹ See, *Inter.*, § 3.

² The following forms occur in Josephus: for the *epōnymia* *ἐπωνυμία*; for the title *ἐπὶ πραιποσίτου*; variants *ἐπὶ πραιποσίτου*, *ἀδελφῶν*, *ἀδελφῶν*, *ἀδελφῶν*.

∴ Γ is not a $\mathbb{Q}$ -algebra.

⁴ Cp. Ecclus. 17.29, 'out of Ephraim a ke[en] stem of violence' (אֶפְרַיִם שָׁטָן מֵעֵץ זָרוּחַ).

Statistics as to the number of the young men sent

found conveniently collected in W. Staerk, *Station. Exs.*

⁶ For κ -negative we have in (Osh. 1) κ -neg. If the text of these two words is correct (see N. 10),

ing it has in Assyrian (*šaz/z*) viz. 'to make'.

FIELD, 4).

⁷ The late passage, June 10th, cannot be considered an exception. The pl

exception. The phrase is artificial, modelled after others. GB

EPHRAIM

[illegible]

The second series of experiments (see Table 1, Experiment 2) was identical to the first, except that the stimulus was played by the computer. As in the first experiment, the stimulus was played by the computer, and the subjects were the program, MM-2 (Figure 1). The name of the program was not mentioned to the subjects, and they were not aware of the fact that the stimulus was played by the computer.

[illegible]

It is most probable, therefore, that Ephraim is strictly the name of the central highlands of West Palestine. The people took the name of the tract in which they dwelt just as their neighbors to the east, the S. who were called "men of the south," "sons of the south" (see BENJAMIN, § 1). Ephraim would thus be simply the country of Joseph, called his son, as Ephraim called the son of Manasse. It is just possible that Manasse, too, was at one time used in a wider sense, more nearly equal to Joseph. His story says (Gen. 37:36, cp. Lev.) that it was because Joseph was sold into Egypt that he was found living in Egypt (Gen. 45:7). Manasse was sold into Egypt. When Joseph was regarded as consisting definitely of three collections of clans—Michael (Manasse), Ephraim, and Benjamin—the main body retained the name Ephraim. The people

The genitive occurs with *phōtē* (John 12:35) and *phōtē* (1 K 11:2) in MI, and the text is difficult to read with *phōtē* (8, 5, 1). Analogously, we had us to expect *phōtē* (φωτῆ) as a genitive from φωτός; but not *phōtē* (φωτῆ) as a genitive from φωτός; as if from a neuter *phōtē* 'phōtēma' (φωτῆμα) in the sense of [AV] 12:12, 14; [AV] 12:5; [AV] 12:16; an invariable 'EV' in the sense of [AV] 12:12, 14; 12:5 is probably genuine (epithetophoric [14], *ἐκ τοῦ φωτῆμα* [AV]) in the sense of 'belonging to MI and E phōtēma'.

1. From the days of Hosea (13:5), **אֶת־עַמִּי** and the Blessings of Jacob (Gen. 49) and of Moses (Deut. 33:9) men

2. Meaning
of name.

well-watered; and modern scholars (*cf.* W. *Thürs d. Gsch.* 5) regard the name as originally a Hebrew unit 'house of.' The Chronicle speaks of the 'sons of Ephraim' (8:22), 2 Ch. 25:12.

¹ For the literature see coll. in Kittel, *Gesch.* I 169 n. 2, Marq. *Chronologische Unterred.* 276, 134.

² Another phonetic hiccup, that medial **g** is normally represented by *j* not *p* (so WMM, *ly. n. / az. 6*), is not decisive. *p* also appears, for example, Baš-tu-pa-pa **בשטופא** (gasp, Anat. 1.22.3).

⁴ Achishaph occurs in the list of towns in Upper Egypt.

i. 214 it appears as **k-sap-fu* (initial *u*).

²⁰ As the Egyptian pronunciation of *šm* was less emphatic than the Canaanite it might be thought possible that an emphatic Semitic *šm* should sometimes be represented by *š* in Egyptian.

What is found, however, is the converse effect – Egyptian 'abph for Semitic 'ain, and it is hardly possible to believe that

in the case of people for many centuries in the employment of the Egyptians a name which was spelled by the Egyptians with initial *r* invariably, really, however.

(Meyer, *G.I.*, 207, n. 2; Maspero, *Il. M.*, 29, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834

[†] The place of the incident of the sale in the life of Joseph is referred to by

^a L. applies the etymology differently (Gen. 41:52: 'fruitful in the land of my affliction').

in the land of my affliction' (1:22b); and again, I. Ephraim 1:17: 'restoring' ($\alpha\nu\theta\omicron\delta\theta\eta\sigma\iota$) 'because of the restoration' ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\nu\theta\omicron\delta\theta\eta\sigma\iota$) 'to the freedom of his forefathers'.

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[illegible]



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of 'Askar connects with the plain of Sālim leading on to Ta'nā (TAANATH-SHILON) at the head of W. el-Kerād, which leads through the steep W. Ifjim down to the Jordan.

4. On the right the plain of 'Askar (see SYCHAR) leads S. into the plain of Rūjib and the plain of Makhneh, the route to the S. passing on across ridges and valleys through the deep plain of Lubban, round the heights of Sinjil—leaving up on the left, shut in between high bare mountains, the ancient temple-city of Shiloh (near it the open plain of Merj el-'Id)—on through the W. el-Jib, under the heights of Tell 'Asūr (E. of which is the enclosed plain of Merj Sūa), up to the plateau of Bētin (Bethel) and el-Bireh, and so on to Jerusalem and the south.

5. West of the line just described, leading south from the plain of 'Askar, a maze of valleys gradually simplifies itself into the great arterial wādys that lead down to the maritime plain and finally unite in the lower course of the 'Aujā.

These are the W. Kānah, the W. Deir Ballūṭ, and the W. Malākeh; the Deir Ballūṭ, with its two (or three) great converging branches (the straight W. Ish'ar beginning in a little plain south of the village of 'Akraha upon the main watershed, and the deep W. en-Nim; the W. Malākeh, with its deep head valleys beginning below el-Bireh. South of the W. Malākeh is the W. Selmān, the country drained by which is enclosed in the great sweep of the W. Sarār, which, beginning just below el-Bireh, describes a semicircle and enters the sea as N. Rūbin due W. of er-Ramleh.

6. South of Gerizim the watershed lies east of the traveller's route. Just as, north of the W. Fārī'a, we have seen, there runs along the watershed a succession of valleys or plains, so from the S. foot of et-Tawānik (2847) the Jehr 'Akrahah runs S. as far as Mejd el-Beni-Faḡel (2146), overlooked by Yānūn (JANOAN) in the northern part, and by the modern village of 'Akrahah (2045) about midway. Then, however, the system becomes more complex, till at Tell 'Asūr we reach the Bethel plateau.

7. The district of the open valley of Fandakūnyye and the enclosed plain Marj el-Garaḡ is, we saw, partly separated from the Samaria valley by the Bayāzid range. Farther north are the plains of Dothan, 'Arrābēh, and the W. Selhab. If the W. Fārī'a was the route of the invasions from the east (Nomads, Arameans, Assyrians), the upland plain of Dothan was the great route across from Sharon to the east end of the plain of Megiddo. There were other routes (W. 'Ara, etc.) farther NW. By these routes the armies of Egypt and the other great states passed and repassed for centuries and centuries. The low hill-land beyond the plain of Dothan culminates in the height of Sheikh Iskander, north of which the W. 'Ara divides it from the still lower hill-land called Bilād Rūha which stretches across to W. el-Milh, beyond which rises the range of CARMEL [p. 7].

Mt. Ephraim is thus divided across the middle (by the great valleys that continue the vale of Shechem) into a northern and a southern half. The northern of these again is divided by the great line of plains and valleys that reaches from the Jordan plain near Gilboa southwestwards to the Makhneh. The NW. quarter is remarkable for its plains; the NE. for its series of parallel valleys (especially the great W. Fārī'a) running down SE. to the Ghōr. In the southern half the SW. is remarkable for its maze of wādys (note the long straight W. Ish'ar that runs down thirteen miles without a bend SW. from 'Akrahah) conculating at the base of Tell 'Asūr and below el-Bireh, and its great valleys converging into the 'Aujā; the SE. for its heights, plains, and plateaus, and the series of deep rugged wādys (note in particular the deep W. el-'Aujah leading up to Tell 'Asūr and the W. Kelt-Suwēnit leading up to the Benjamin plateau) that furrow its eastern declivity.

Such is Ephraim; a land well watered and fertile, a land of valleys, plains, and heights, a land open to the commerce, the culture, and the armies of the world.

i. *Relation to Manasseh.*—Not all the Ephraim district, however, was regarded as belonging to the Ephraim tribe; part was peopled by

men of Machir-Manasseh (see MANASSEH). Their towns were apparently chiefly in the

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N. A writer of disputed date tried to delimit a northern portion to be assigned to Manasseh (see below, § 11); but from the fragments of another account (*ib.*) it would seem that there was in reality no geographical boundary. The whole highland country was Ephraim; certain towns were specially Manassite. The fact that in the whole OT there is scarcely a case of a man being called an Ephraimite suggests that Ephraim was hardly ever a tribe name in the ordinary sense: the leading men were men of Ephraim unless they were otherwise described.

The two cases occurring in the MT are those of (a) Jeroboam and (b) Elkanah the 'father' of Samuel. Both are doubtful.

(a) Jeroboam is called 'an Ephraimite' (עפראיט) [B.M.] in 1 K. 11.26 (= MT); but in 2 K. 12.28 = 2 K. 12.24b, in the other recension of the story (see KINGS, § 3), he is only 'a man of Mount Ephraim' (עַם עֹפְרַיִם [B.M.]).

(b) The 'genealogy' of Samuel (1 S. 1.1) is corrupt (see ELLIUS, 2; ELKANAH, 1). It follows MT (ἐπὶ Σοφρ Εφραϊμ); but 2 S. 1.1 read Ephraim (ἐπὶ Σοφρ εἰς ὄρους Εφραϊμ [L.]; cf. NABUL Εφραϊμ = 'εἰς ὄρους Εφραϊμ' [B.M.]).

The mutual relations of the branches of Joseph are somewhat perplexing (see MANASSEH, and cp JOSEPH i.).

J. E. and P. appear to agree in representing Ephraim as the younger (Gen. 48.13 [J], 41.51 [E], Josh. 17.1 [P]); but whilst J and E lay stress on the preeminence attributed by Jacob-Israel to the younger (Gen. 48.14.15 [J], vs. 20b [E]), P usually speaks of Manasseh and Ephraim.²

The significance of the distinctions just referred to has been explained in various ways.

It has been supposed that in the seniority of Manasseh lay a reference to early attempts at monarchy (GIDEON, JEPHTHAH, AMYI ECH); whilst in the blessing of Ephraim lay a reference to the undisputed preeminence of the monarchy established by Jeroboam I. Of this latter reference there can be no doubt. The meaning of the seniority of Manasseh is not so certain, especially when we bear in mind how in Israelitish legend preference of the younger is almost universal. Jacobs has acutely argued that this preference is simply a survival of the forgotten custom of junior birthright, which the later legend-moulders misunderstood.

There is a rather obscure allusion in Is. 9.21 [20] to discord between Ephraim and Manasseh. The reference may be to conflict between rival factions in the last years of the northern kingdom. Legend told of rivalries also in the pre-historic period (see JEPHTHAH, GIDEON).

The currents that stirred the troubled waters of Samarian politics cannot now be fully traced; Shalium and Pekah may have been Giladites (see JABESH, 2; ARBON, 2). Menahem was perhaps a Galilean (see GAD, § 10). The family of Jehu may have belonged to Ephraim (see, however, ISSACHAR, § 4).³

ii. *Relation to Joseph.*—If there is some difference of usage in regard to the order of the tribes Ephraim and Manasseh, there is agreement as to their being brothers. Still there is at times a tendency to regard them as a single tribe (see JOSEPH i.). The question therefore arises whether their distinctness was on the increase or on the decrease. Did they unite to form Joseph, or did Joseph split up into Ephraim and Manasseh (for a similar question see BENJAMIN, § 1 f.)?

In the 'Blessing' of Jacob as we find it in our Genesis, Ephraim and Manasseh do not appear;⁴ they are represented by Joseph. There is indeed a play on the name Ephraim (v. 22);⁵ but as there is no reference to Manasseh, Ephraim might be not part but the whole of Joseph. This may be so. On the other hand the Song of Deborah already recognises two tribes; Ephraim

¹ See, further, Cheyne's theory of Jeroboam's origin on the mother's side (JEROBOAM, 1).

² Sometimes, however, P gives the other order. See, especially, Gen. 48.5. See, more fully, MANASSEH.

³ Baasha was an Issacharite; Tibni may have been a Naphtalite (see GINATH). It was, according to Cheyne, against the Ephraimite city of Tappuah that Menahem took such cruel vengeance (see TIBNAN). It has been conjectured that Omri also was of Issachar (Guthrie, *GTZ*, 138). Cp ISSACHAR, § 4.

⁴ It is to be noted that in this family the name Jeroboam recurs.

⁵ The same is true of the 'Blessing' of Moses (Dt. 33). 17. 17b is a gloss.

⁶ Cp We. *CH* (2) 322, (3) 324. C. J. Ball, however, would transfer the word נָפְתָלִי to the saying on Naphtali (*PSBA* 17.173 [195]). For other views see Dr. S. commentary. Cheyne's suggested restoration of the passage is mentioned in the next note.

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and Machir seem (already) to be found side by side W. of the Jordan.¹

Whether the designation of Benjamin as a brother, and of Ephraim and Manasseh as sons of Joseph implies a popular belief that when Benjamin definitely separated from Joseph, Manasseh was not yet distinguished clearly from Ephraim we cannot say; nor yet whether such a belief, if it existed, was based on any real tradition (cp MANASSEH).

The general result is: on the whole, Joseph was in early times equated with Ephraim, which included Machir-Manasseh and Benjamin (cp above, § 3; JOSEPH i.). On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that 'Joseph' was doubtless originally a group of clans.

There seems to have been much speculation as to how Ephraim came to be settled where he was. The

great sanctuaries would have their legends. At GILGAL [q.v.] in the plain of Jericho which, though not in the highlands, belonged to N. Israel, priests may have told how a great Ephraimitish hero, after erecting their sacred circle of stones (Josh. 4:20, E) and leading the immigrant clans from Gilead against JERICHO and other places, had encamped for long by their sanctuary (Josh. 10:15=43; G om.; perhaps late), and how there Yahweh had instructed the tribes to what part of the highlands they were to ascend to find a home (Judg. 1:1). Up on the plateau, at the royal sanctuary of Bethel, it was told how their fathers had effected an entrance into the city (Judg. 1:25), and how the mound that now stood two miles off in the direction of Jericho had once been a royal Canaanite city, till their fathers, with much difficulty, had stormed it and made it the 'heap' it now was (Josh. 8:28). At the great natural centre of the land, home of many stocks, conflicting stories were told of quiet settlements, of treaties, of treacherous attacks, of a legal purchase (cp DINAH, § 3), of a great assembly gathered to hear the last admonition of the veteran Ephraimite leader (Josh. 24), and how he had set up the great stone under the terebinth (7:26). Shiloh, too, must have had its settlement stories to tell, especially how the great Ephraimite shrine (see ARK) had been there; but these stories have perished (for a possible trace of a late story see MELCHIZEDEK, § 3). When its temple was lying in ruins there was written (in circles of students who had never seen Shiloh) a book which explained that after Israel had conquered the whole of Canaan, they were assembled there by the successors of Moses and Aaron to set up a wonderful sacred tent and to distribute by lot the holy land (Josh. 18:1-14). Timnath-heres boasted that it was the resting-place of the great leader of Ephraim (see below). Shechem even claimed that near at hand were buried the bones of the great eponym of the house of Joseph (Josh. 24:32, E).

The legendary history was carried back still farther. Joseph, though he entered by way of Gilead, came from Egypt, where Ephraim and Manasseh were born.² In fact they were really Egyptian; but Jacob-Israel had adopted them (Gen. 48: E).³ Even before that, Joseph had been at Shechem and Dothan (JOSEPH i. § 3), Jacob-Israel had founded the royal sanctuary at Bethel (Gen. 35:14 [J], and 28:18 [E-D], and reared the sacred pillar at Shechem⁴ (Gen. 33:20 [E-D], and Abraham had built altars at Shechem (Gen. 12:7 [J]), and at Bethel (7:2 [J]).

It is pretty clear that Ephraim had forgotten how he came there. Some seem to have thought that before the Israelites known to history settled in Ephraim there were others, who eventually moved southward (see SIMEON, LEVI, DINAH, JEDATH). It was remembered that there had been more Danites on the western slopes of Ephraim than there were in later times (1: N. § 2 ff.). It is unlikely that it was believed that there had been a

¹ It has been suggested that in an earlier form of the text the 'Blessing' of Jacob also perhaps mentioned not Joseph but Ephraim and Manasseh (Che. *PSBA* 21 233 ff. 1905).

² This, however, may be merely an incident in the story, unavailable since Joseph, the hero, never left Egypt.

³ Cp Herthofelt, *Stellung*, 50.

⁴ On 'Jacob's well' see SYCHAR.

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settlement of Amalekites.¹ On the other hand, it has been suggested that there may be a trace of an ancient tribe in the neighbourhood of Shechem (see GIRZIT). The evidence for the preponderating Canaanite element in Shechem has been referred to already. The ancient Canaanite city of Gezer, once an Egyptian fortress, which, we are told, became Israelite in the days of Solomon, was hardly in Mt. Ephraim; but it belonged to Ephraim (see GEZER). Issachar may have been represented on Mt. Ephraim's NE. slopes (see ISSACHAR, § 8). There were late Israelitish writers who thought that Asher, too, had its claims, and it has recently been suggested that there may really be traces of an early stay of people of Asher south of Carmel (see ASHER, § 3). Timnath-heres is said to have been settled by Joshua (see JOSHUA i.). Of a clan of this name in historic times we have no evidence, and the same is true of RAHAB [q.v.]. On the extraordinarily meagre Ephraimite 'genealogy' in Chronicles and on its points of contact with other tribes, see below (§ 12).

The extra-biblical hints are vague in the extreme and difficult to turn to account.

7. Extra-biblical data. i. The long list of places conquered by Thotmes III. probably contains some towns in central Ephraim.

Flinders Petrie (*Hist. Egypt* 2 323-332) proposes a considerable number of identifications, including, e.g., Shechem and several places near it; Yezeh, Teyasir, and Raba in the NE; and not a few places in the SW, from W. Dkr Ballu southwards.

When the land of Hatti was added to the Egyptian Empire it can hardly have sufficed to seize the towns on the margin: Y-ra-da (?), Mi-k-ti-ra (Mejdel Yaba? so WMM), Gezer (Ka-qi-ru, 104). Even if we could identify with certainty, however, many names of towns, we should still know nothing about the people who occupied them. Special interest and importance, however, attaches to two unidentified sites which, it would seem, must be in Ephraim—the much-discussed 'Jacob-el' and 'Joseph-el.' The reading 'Jacob' may be treated as fairly sure; but that of 'Joseph' is questionable (see JOSEPH i. § 1). For the interpretation of these names we must be content to wait for more light (see, for a suggestion, JACOB, § 1). We may hope, however, that they have something to tell us of the origin of Ephraim.

ii. As the report of the early expedition of Amenhotep II. contains nothing that casts light on our present problems,² our next data belong to the time of Amenhotep IV. Unfortunately, though the Amarna correspondence tells us a good deal about the fortified towns in Palestine³ and their conflicts, it sheds little light on the central highlands. Knudtzon's proposal to read *mi-Sa-ak-mi* for Winkler's *mi-su la-a(?)mi* in letter 185, l. 10, however, brings the Habiri into connection with 'the land of Shechem'⁴ in a very interesting way.⁵ Moreover, we must remember that the tablets rescued from destruction are only some of those that were found at Tell el-Amarna. Those that were allowed to perish may have referred to other Ephraimite places. If, however, there really were few (if any) Egyptian fortresses in that tract,

¹ On Judg. 5:14 see below, § 8; on Judg. 12:15 ('mountain of the Amalekite'), see PIRATHOS, 1.

² We have no details of Syrian expeditions of Thotmes IV. Amenhotep III. was engaged in other concerns.

³ Ashkelon, Bit-Nimh (see IR-HERES), Ajlun, Zorah, Ginti (see GATH), Gezer, perhaps Beth-shean (see Knudtzon, *Bibl. 2. Assyriol.* 4 111), Megiddo.

⁴ The passage remains obscure. Knudtzon (*l.c.*) says that tablet 185 is a continuation of 182. In addition to reading *mi-Sakmi* for *mi-su la-a(?)mi* he reads *mi-gar-ti* for Winkler's *mi-ku-ut* in l. 7, and provisionally renders lines 6-11 (*KB* 5 no. 185) thus: and the people of Ginti are a garrison in Bit-Nimh, and, indeed, we have to do (in the same way) after Labaya and Sakmi have contributed (cp no. 185 l. 16) to the Habiri (so Knudtzon kindly informs the present writer).

⁵ Are we to compare with this the story of Gen. 34? According to Marquart (*Philologus*, suppl. bd. 1860 ff.), the Habiri immigration is to be brought into connection with the settlement of the Leah-tribes; Joseph came later. Cp Steuernagel, *Josua*, 151 (in *HK*). See LEBAN.

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the Habiri might be already settling there without our hearing of them.¹

iii. The contests of Seti I. were in S. Phœnicia and Galilee. When we again get a glimpse of Palestine in the time of Ramesses II. it is once more the border towns that are named: Heres, Luz, Sa-na-na-na.²

iv. To Ramesses' successor we owe what is perhaps the most interesting statement of all. 'Israel,' says Merenptah, is devastated; and 'Israel,' it is to be noted, is not a place but a people. If we assume that the people referred to were settled in Ephraim, nothing very definite can be urged against the assumption—or for it³ (cp ISRAEL, § 7; EGYPT, § 59).

The cities mentioned in Ramesses III.'s list seem to be Amorite, north of Galilee (*Is. u. Eur.* 227).

Until hieroglyphic or cuneiform (or Hittite) records shed some more light on the scene, accordingly, we must remain without definite information as to the early history of Ephraim. It is clear, however, that the girdle of Canaanite cities was of remote antiquity and practically certain that there were already towns up in the highlands—Shechem, perhaps Luz, and others. The population was no doubt mixed; Habiri, although we have no certain mention of them, may have immigrated there also.

The earliest incontestable fact that Ephraim remembered was the great fight with Sisera;⁴ but they may have known no more about who he was than we do (see SISERA). What part Ephraim played in the great conflict, the condition of the text in Judg. 5.14 does not enable us to say with certainty.⁵ Perhaps we should read: 'Out of Ephraim they went down into the plain.' It is not likely that Ephraim supplied the leader (see DEBORAH).

It was not only along its northern border that Ephraim was exposed to attack. The open valleys and easy fords,⁶ which, when circumstances favoured, united it with Gilead, exposed it to the inroads⁷ of the still nomadic peoples of the east. Stories were told at OPHRAH (q.v.) and elsewhere of heroic fights (see GIDEON), and of spirited colonies sent out (see MANASSEH). PIRATHON⁸ and SHAMIR, an unidentified place in Mount Ephraim, seem to have boasted that they had produced heroes in the time of old (see ABDON, TOIA). The Shechemites even told of how they came, for a time, to have a *tyranny*, and how they got rid of him again (ABIMELECH, 2).

Of greatest historical importance was the life-and-death struggle with hated non-Semitic rivals (see PHILISTINES). North Ephraim claimed a share in the glory of the struggle of those dark days; but when the cloud lifts the

1 C. Niebuhr also suggests that the Habiri were already settled in Mt. Ephraim (*Der alte Orient* 165).

2 The pap. Anast. I., however, appears to mention again 'the mountain of Shechem' (*Is. u. Eur.* 394, note to pp. 172-175).

3 It has even been suggested that Vis-si-ra-al may be not really Israel at all (see JERUSALEM, § 1). On the other hand Marquart (*loc. cit.*) tries to explain the name as referring to the Leah-tribes, supposed to be still resident in central Palestine (see JUDAH).

4 S. A. Fries (*Opusc.* 1214 [Upsala, '97]), and Hommel (*MTF.* p. xiii n. 3) find a genuine tradition of a still earlier event in the quaint story in 1 Ch. 7.21b-25. See, however, below, § 12 (towards end) and cp BIRIAH.

5 J. Marquart (*Recht.* 6 [196]), following Winckler (*JOF* 113) reads,

כִּי אֶשְׂרָאֵל שָׁרָה בְּנֵי

'Out of Ephraim they descended into the plain
Out of Machir went down leaders.'

So also Budde, *KHC ad loc.* P. Ruben (*JQR* 10 550 f.) reads

כִּי אֶשְׂרָאֵל שָׁרָה בְּנֵי בְּנֵי

6 There are said to be, between the Lake of Galilee and the Dead Sea, 54 fords; 5 near Jericho, the rest between W. ez-Zorka and the Lake of Galilee (Guthrie, *617* 147).

7 We read of attacks by Ammon, Moab, Midian, and Assyria, in addition to the Philistines and the Egyptians. Judah often escaped.

8 Even if the view advocated in the article PIRATHON be adopted, Abdon may perhaps be claimed for Mt. Ephraim. Abdon is Benjamite.

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hegemony is passing to Benjamin. If the monarchy thus involved a loss to N. Ephraim, there was also a gain; Gilead and Ephraim were bound together more closely (on earlier relations see JEPHTHAH, §§ 3, 5 [end]; GAD, § 2; MACHIR). Indeed when the disaster of Gilboa laid Israel once more at the feet of the Philistines, the connection with Gilead was found to be very valuable (see ISHBAAL, 1). How, exactly, Ephraim was brought under the sway of the state that was rising beyond the belt of Canaanite cities to the S., is not very clear (see DAVID, § 6; ISHBAAL, 1; ABNER, ISRAEL, § 16 ff.). The skill and energy of David must have been great. It is difficult to believe, however, that he effected in Ephraim all that has been attributed to him by Winckler. Still the change must have been profound. How far there may have been an influx of people from the S. we cannot tell. Others besides Absalom (2 S. 13.23) may have acquired possessions in Mt. Ephraim. Although we must on general grounds assume that there were dialectical differences, chiefly in pronunciation, between the various Hebrew-speaking, as between other, communities—peculiarities of the Shibboleth type are universal—they cannot have had any effect on freedom of intercourse. The fixing of the capital at Jerusalem was most politic. It was perhaps in a belt hitherto unclaimed, scarcely ten miles from Bethel. Ephraim might regard it and the other Canaanite cities annexed as a gain in territory. The fairs at the great Ephraimite sanctuaries would now be open to people from Mt. Judah and the Negeb in a way that would hardly have been possible before. Ephraimite legend became enriched. Abraham, e.g., it came to be said, had built an altar at Shechem (Gen. 12.7 [J]) and at Bethel (7.8 [J]).

Many interesting questions arise.

When did the general interweaving of legends take place? How was it possible to deposit the great Ephraimite shrine in Jerusalem? (see ARK). How did Ephraim act in the Absalom rebellion and in that of Sheba? How was Solomon's 'overseer of the whole house of Joseph' related to his prefect of Ephraim? The former, of course, had his official residence at the natural centre of the land, Shechem. The latter, whether or not he was a son of Zadok and of Beth-horon (see BEN-HUR), may have resided nearer Jerusalem (see also below, § 12).

The final schism cannot have taken anyone by surprise (JEROBOAM, § 1; SOLOMON, § 2; ISRAEL, § 23). The old royal city of Shechem

10. **Monarchy.** was naturally the scene of the negotiations and the first seat of the monarchy of Ephraim.¹ The links between Gilead and Ephraim, geographical and historical, were too close to be severed now. The kingdom of Ephraim included Gilead. That is to say, Gilead, if it befriended David (against Judah? see MAHANAIM), would not go out of its way to help his sons. For two eventful centuries Ephraim maintained a real or nominal independence. How it subordinated Judah, contended with Aram, allied itself with Phœnicia, was distracted by constant dynastic changes and yet reached a high level of civilization and produced a wonderful literature, is told elsewhere.

Shechem, indeed, centre of the land though it was, was not able to maintain itself as the capital. It may not have been quite suitable from a military point of view. It had to yield to Tirzah (an important but somewhat tantalising place-name, see TIRZAH) and then to Samaria, which was well able to stand even a regular siege. In historical times the great sanctuaries were Bethel and Gilgal. See also GIBEON, SHILOH. That any attempt was made to centralise religious festivals at one sanctuary in Ephraim there is no evidence.

A. Duff, however, has propounded² the interesting theory that such a project had been conceived,—that indeed the kernel of the book of Deuteronomy originated in Ephraim, and that the (now) unnamed sanctuary meant in it was originally that of Shechem (see now *Theol. of OT*, 2.25 39 n., 50 n., 59 f.).

¹ On the Egyptian incursion see SHISHAK.

² In a paper read before the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford (1921).

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However that may be, there must have been other great thinkers besides Hosea. Ephraim produced a DECALOGUE and a longer code (see EXODUS II. § 3), and must have had otherwise a share in the development of that mass of ritualistic prescription which was ultimately codified in JUDAH (see LAW LITERATURE). If it had its Elis,¹ Samuels, and Elishas, whom legend loved to glorify, we must not forget the men of name unknown whose only memorial is their work: the work of its story-tellers, annalists, poets, and other representatives of social or religious movements, whose achievements are dealt with elsewhere. We probably under-estimate rather than over-estimate the debt of Judah to Ephraim.²

See HISTORICAL LITERATURE; POETICAL LITERATURE; EPISTAS; EPIGRAM; PROPHET; HOLY WRIT.

The accessibility to the outer world, however, to which Ephraim owed its rapid advance, occasioned also its fall. In the struggle with Aram, it lost much; and when Aram was swamped in the advancing tide of Assyrian conquest another great turning-point in Ephraim's history was at hand. How, precisely, it was affected by the Assyrian conquest, how it fared when the Semitic Empire passed to Persia, what befel it during the long struggles between Ptolemy and Seleucid, Seleucid and Maccabee, Palestinian and Roman, will be discussed elsewhere (see SAMARIA, and cp ISRAEL).

On the late notion of a Messiah called 'Ephraim,'³ or 'son of Ephraim,'⁴ or 'son of Joseph,' etc., alongside of the 'son of David' (cp *ḥayy* *ben* *David*) see Hamburger, *KE*, mtt. 'Messias-leiden' and 'Messias Sohn Joseph'; cp MESSIAH; JOSEPH (husband of Mary).

Great difficulty in the way of a true knowledge of the history of Ephraim is occasioned by its rivalry with Judah. This has distorted the perspective, broken the outline, and tinged the colour, of the picture that has reached us.

11. P's boundary. A. Bernstein tried to show how Ephraimite patriarchy might account for many points in the patriarchal stories. It is certain that Ephraim has suffered at the hands of the writers of Judah. The account of the occupation of the Ephraim highlands in Joshua is surprisingly meagre. All that lies N. of Bethel is passed over in silence (JOSHUA II. § 9). The indications of the boundary of Ephraim as they appear in the post-exilic book are very incomplete and only partly intelligible. The critical analysis is still disputed. Great confusion prevails, and the text is bad. Apparently the southern border is represented as reaching from the Jordan at Jericho up to Bethel (*Bēthin*), to Ataroth Addar (*Atārā*?; see ARCHITES, ATAROTH, 2), down westwards to the territory of the Japhletite (PALTI) and of the BETH-HORONS (*Bēth 'Ur*), and on to GEZER (*Tell Gezer*) and the sea. The northern boundary is given eastwards and westwards from [the plain of] MICHI-METHATHU (*el-Makhna*?). Eastward it reaches to TAANATH-SHILOH (*Ta'na*), on to JANOHAN (*Kh. Yānūn*), Ataroth (unidentified), NAARATH (*Ain Sāmīch*?), Jericho and the Jordan; westwards it proceeds from 'Asher of the Michmethath' (see ASHER II.) east of Shechem southwards to EN-TAPPUAH, and the course of the KANAII (*H. Kānah*?), and on to the sea (177-9). One of the writers who have contributed to the account just sketched, however, is aware that this representation is somewhat arbitrary (cp above, § 5. i.), and so he proposes (Josh. 169) to give a list of Ephraimite cities beyond the Manassite border. Some editor has unfortunately removed the list. The list of Ephraimite cities, too, that E must have given has been removed.

P's 'genealogy' of Ephraim is not only very meagre

¹ Are we to add Moses? Guthe says yes (*GI* 23).

² A. Duff throws out the suggestion that Nahum may have been of northern descent (*op. cit.* 276-46).

³ *אֶפְרַיִם בֶּן יוֹסֵף*. See the statements in *Pesikta Fabbathi* (ed. Friedmann, 161 f.).

⁴ Targ. Jon. on Ex. 40.11.

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(cp above, § 11) but also somewhat obscure. We have it in two forms: ¹ in Nu. 26.35 f. and, as reproduced by the Chronicler, in 1 Ch. 7.20-25.

12. Genealogies. A study of the variants in C and Pesh. and of the repetitions (noticed by A. C. Hervey)² in MT, leads to the following hypothetical results (reached independently of Hervey; see further *JQR* vol. 13, Oct. [1900]).

Bered (7.20) should be deleted as a corruption of BACHUR 17.74, which has strayed hither from the genealogy of Benjamin. Zabab is simply a duplicate of Bered, and Ezer of Elcad. The middle letter (*sh*) of Resheph (7.25) belongs really to the next name, Telah. What is left—Reph—is a duplicate of Replah (see below). Thus emended the list stands

- | | | |
|---------------------|------------|-----------------|
| 1. (7.20) Shihelah, | Tahah, | Fleadah, |
| 2. (7.21) Talath, | Shutlelah, | Elcad (or Ezer) |
| 3. (7.25) Shihelah, | Tahan, | Ladan. |

We have thus simply a triplet written thrice. The third name may be really Elcadah or (so Pesh. in 7.21) Eleazar: Azanah, Klostermann has suggested, may have been the name of Solomon's prefect over Ephraim, perhaps of Beth-horon (cp EXODUS 14.3); see below, and above, § 9 (end).

The middle name appears here and elsewhere (in the genealogy of Sammel; and in that of Reuel the Midianite) in many forms: Tahath, Tahn, Tahan, Nahath. The last may be what the Chronicler wrote; note the story of the Ephraimites who descended against Gath (*ḡṡ* = 'descend').

The triplet is followed by an appendix—the 'prince' of Ephraim and its great hero.

The Ephraimite clans mentioned in the historical books are few: Nabath or Tahath, Zuph (in one genealogy of Samuel; the first also a 'son of Reuel', Gen. 36.13.17), Nebat (cp JEREMIAH 1.1). On the story in 7.21 f. cp *BEHATH*, 2 f.

Between the recurring triplets and the genealogical appendix there is a list of towns: the Beth-horons (see above, § 11) and Hepher (?), founded perhaps by Eleazar.³ In the blank, MT has *Uzen-sheerah*. Perhaps we should read Ir-erah (cp *Q*) or Ir-heres. The degree of probability of the suggestions in § 12 varies. Several seem almost certain.

To the 'genealogical' list are appended two geographical lists: 7.23, a pentad of Ephraimite border towns mentioned in Joshua, with the addition

13. Town Lists. of Ai; and 7.29, a pentad of towns which Manasseh was unable to occupy (= Josh. 17.11 = Judg. 1.27).

Of other towns that must have been in Ephraim we find mention of MIGRON (*Makron*), GIBEAH of Phinehas (*Gibā*), GIBEATH-HA-ARALOTH, BAAL-HAZOR, Ramah (*er-Rām*) was fortified by Baasha against Judah. It has been suggested that Jericho was fortified by Jehu against the Arameans (JERU, § 3).

Many of the most famous Ephraimite sanctuaries were in the part of Ephraim that was called BENJAMIN (cp above, § 61); but the holy mountains EBAL, GERIZIM, and CARMEL must always have had a high place in the regard of Israel. Ramah (*Bēit-Rāmā*), Shiloh, Shechem, Ophrah, Timnath-heres, and Samaria must all have had important sanctuaries. We perhaps learn incidentally of the destruction of some unnamed Ephraimite sanctuary in the story of the founding of Dam.

H. W. U.

EPHRAIM (עִפְרַיִם, §§ 100, 107; ΕΦΡΑΙΜ [B.A.], ΕΦΡΑ, [L.]), a city near Baal-Hazor (see HAZOR, 2), mentioned in the story of Absalom (2 S. 13.23; see Dr. TBS, *ad loc.*). Possibly the name should be 'Ephraim, with 'ain for *aleph* (עִפְרַיִם; cp *Q*), and the place identified with Ephron in 2 Ch. 13.19 (see EPHRON, i. 1). So, cautiously, Buhl (p. 177), who also thinks the same city may be meant (1) in 1 Macc. 11.34 (where the governments of AMITHREMA [q.v.], Lydda, and Ramathem are said to have been added to Judaea from Samaria); (2) in Jn. 11.54 (where Jesus is said to have 'withdrawn to the country near the wilderness, to a city called Ephraim' *ἐφραίμ*, all editors, but BL, Vet. Lat., Vg., Memph. *εφραιμ*); and (3) in Jos. R. iv. 99.

¹ The omission of it in Gen. 46 [MT] may be due to P's mentioning only 'grandsons' of Jacob (cp MANASSE II).

² *The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 361-64 (31).

³ *Q* gives the names in line 2 in the same order as in 1 and 3.

⁴ For *עִפְרַיִם* and *עִפְרַיִם* read perhaps *עִפְרַיִם* or rather *עִפְרַיִם*.

⁵ On the proverb about 'bringing straw to "Ephraim"' (עִפְרַיִם), see JANNES.

EPHRAIM, GATE OF

(Bethel and 'Ephraim, two 'small cities' taken by Vespaasian).

A village called *Ephraim* is defined by Jerome (ON 91-5) as being 5 R. m. E. of Bethel; Euseb. (222-40) writes the name *εφραϊμ*. We also hear (118-9) of an Ephraim, 20 R. m. N. of Olla. This position agrees well with that of the modern *el-Jayyich*, which occupies a splendid (and no doubt ancient) site crowning a conical hill on a high ridge 4 m. NE. of Bethel (BA 2121-427). See OUDKAIL.

These identifications, however, are by no means all certain. The site of Baal-hazor, and therefore also of Ephraim in 2 S. *loc.*, cannot be said to be fixed. Indeed, the reading may perhaps be questioned (for analogies see MAHANAIM); Gratz would read 'in the valley' (עמק) of Reprim. The 'city' in Jn. 11:54 also is very doubtful (for different views see Keim, *Jesus von Nazara*, 37, n. 2). It is even possible that the Greek text is corrupt, and that *εφραϊμ* arose out of an indistinctly written *ερεμχω*.¹ By this hypothesis we can reconnect Jn. with the Synoptic tradition. Keim's remarks (*Jesus von Nazara*, 37) may be compared with those of Ewald in *Gesch. Christus*, 416. The 'round-about journey' of which Ewald speaks may be avoided by the view here proposed. There is nothing in the context of Jn. 11:54 to favour the view that the evangelist is at all influenced by Lk.'s statement (9:52 f.) that Jesus took the route by Samaria to Jerusalem. Cf. JERICHO. T. K. C.

EPHRAIM, GATE OF (עַשְׂרָתֵי עֵמֶק), 2 K. 14:13 Neh. 8:16. See JERUSALEM.

EPHRAIM, WOOD OF; or (RV) **FOREST OF** (עֵשְׂרָת עֵץ). The scene of the battle between 'the people of Israel' and the 'servants of David' (2 S. 18:6 f.). For 'Ephraim' (עֵשְׂרָת) *BA* has *μααθαν* 'Mahanaim', which Klostermann adopts. Certainly it is not very probable that Ephraim should have given its name to 'a wood or jungle on the eastern side' (GLSM. II: 335); the reference to Judg. 12:4 implies a doubtful view of that passage (see Moore, *ad loc.*). 'Mahanaim', however, has the appearance of an attempt at correction. More probably the original reading was עֵשְׂרָת, 'Rephraim'. Where should we more naturally expect to find this name? The converse error has been pointed out in Is. 17:5 (*SBOT*, 'Isaiah', Heb. 195). 'Jungle' (so H. P. Smith) seems hardly the best word (cp Tristram's and Oliphant's descriptions of the forest of 'Ajlun). The site cannot be determined without a study of the whole narrative. See MAHANAIM. T. K. C.

EPHRAIM (עֵשְׂרָת), 2 Ch. 13:19 AV RV^{ms}, RV EPHRON i. 1.

EPHRATH (עֵשְׂרָת, Gen. 48:7) or **Ephrathah** (עֵשְׂרָתָה, AV Ephrathah; εφραθα [*BA*]).

1. The place near which Rachel died and was buried is called in MT Ephrath (Gen. 35:16-19 48:7); but we should probably read Beroth (בִּרְוֹת). See RACHUEL, § 2; JOSEPH i. § 3.

2. Another name of BETHLEHEM (*q. v.*, § 3), or perhaps rather a name of the district of Bethlehem, Ps. 132:6 (εφραθα [*A*] -ρα [*R*]); Mic. 5:1 Ru. 4:11 Josh. 15:59 (only *BA*, εφραθα [*BA*]); ethnic Ephrathite (עֵשְׂרָתִי, εφραθאים [*BA*]), Ru. 1:2 1 S. 17:12 (εφραθαι οι [*A*]). In Ps. *loc.* and Mic. *loc.* the reading is uncertain. On 1 S. 1:1 1 K. 11:26 Judg. 12:5, see EPHRAIM i. § 5, i.

3. 'Wife' of Caleb, 1 Ch. 2:19 (εφραθ [*BA*]). φραθ [*A*] 24 (see CALEB-EPHRAIM) so 44. The passages reflect the post-exilic age, when the Calebites had migrated from the Negeb of Judah to the districts surrounding Jerusalem. Was Ephrath a clan-name? See CALEB, § 3.

¹ The phrase 'the Jews' in Jn. 11:54, as usually in the Fourth Gospel (so Plummer, *St. John*, 72) means 'the opponents of Jesus among the Jews' (cp JEW). The people of Jeri ho seem to have been to a large extent friendly to Jesus, and were therefore in so far 'Israelites indeed', rather than 'Jews'. Strabo (162), speaks of the mixed population of Jericho, like that of Galilee and Samaria.

EPICUREANS

EPHRON (עֵפְרוֹן, R. i. עֵפְרוֹן; εφρων [*BA*]).

1. One of the places won by Aijah, king of Judah, from Jeroboam, king of Israel (2 Ch. 13:19 RV, AV EPHRAIM). Since the ending -aim or -am sometimes interchanges with -on, and since Ephron or Ephraim (RV^{ms}) was near Bethel, some critics identify it with the city of Ephraim (although Ephraim in MT begins with *א* not *ע*; see EPHRAIM *ii.*).

2. Ephron (עֵפְרוֹן, *ANV*); cp the Manassite EPHR, 3), a city on the E. of Jordan, between Canaan and Scythopolis, attacked and destroyed by Judas the Maccabee in his expedition to Gilead (1 Macc. 5:49-51 2 Macc. 12:27 f.; cp Jos. *Ant.* vii. 8:5) is probably the εφρων or εφρωνίς (cp εφρωνίς, 2 Macc. 12:13) of Polybius (v. 70:12). We are told that it lay in a narrow pass which it dominated in such a manner that 'the Jews must needs pass through the midst of it.' This description will not suit Kafat er-Rabad, with which Seetzen identified it, but agrees perfectly with the watch-tower called Kase Wady el-Ghafr, which completely commands the road at a certain point of the deep Wady el-Ghafr (W. of Hbid. towards the Wady el-Arab), on which see Schumacher, *Northern Aflan*, pp. 179, 181. So first Bullh. *Geog.* p. 256; *Topogr. d. NO Jordanlandes*, 17 f. See CANON, GILPHYRON.

3. MOUNT EPHRON (עֵפְרוֹן הַר; εφρων [*BA*]), a district on the northern frontier of Judah (Josh. 15:9) between Nephtoth and Kirjath-jearim (cp the Judahite name EPHR, 2). If the latter places are Lifta and Karyat el-Enab respectively, Mt. Ephron should be the range of hills on the W. side of the Wady Bet-Hannan, opposite Lifta, which is on the E. side (see, however, NEPHTHOTH). Conder, however, thinks (in accordance with his identifications of Nephtoth and Kirjath-jearim) of the ridge W. of Bethlehem, and (in Hastings' *DB*) does not even mention any rival view.

According to MT the district in question had 'cities', עִירֵי is supported by *BA* (עִירֵי קִרְיָת עֵינָב וְעִירֵי עֵפְרוֹן) and apparently by *BA* (εφρων εφρων); but עִירֵי may be a dittograph of עִיר (Che.); *BA* does not express 'cities'. Two other (probable) mentions of 'mount Ephron' should be noticed. One is in Josh. 15:10 (see JEARIM, MOUNT); the other is Judg. 12:15 (see EPHRAIM).

EPHRON (עֵפְרוֹן), 'young gazelle' ? see EPHR, § 68, 77; εφρων [*BA*DEFF.], b. Zohar, a Hittite, the seller of the cave of Machpelah, Gen. 23:3 ff. 25:9-19 29 f. [1]. As to the question in what sense, or with how much justice, he is called a Hittite, see HITTITES, § 1 f.

EPICUREANS (οἱ ἐπικουριοί [*TL WH*]), Acts 17:18. What opinions the Epicureans really held do not now concern us, but only what faithful Jews or Jewish Christians believed them to hold. This is how Josephus describes the Epicureans, 'who cast providence out of life, and deny that God takes care of human affairs, and hold that the universe is not directed with a view to the continuance of the whole by the blessed and incorruptible Being, but that it is carried along automatically and heedlessly' (*Ant.* x. 117). Some, both in ancient and in modern times, have thought that the system, thus ungently characterized, is referred to in ECCLESIASTES *q. v.*, § 13]. Jerome remarks (on Eccles. 9:7-9), 'Et haec, inquit aliquis, loquatur Epicurus, et Aristippus et Cyrenaici et ceterae pecudes Philosophorum. Ego autem, mecum diligenter retractans, invenio,' etc. According to Jerome, then, the author of Ecclesiastes only mentions the ideas of these 'brutish' philosophers in order to refute them. In later times certainly the leaders of Judaism could find no more reproachful designation for an apostate than *אפיקורוס* *Ephikuros*. The author of Ecclesiastes, however, is not a sufficiently fervent Jew to justify us in assuming that he would altogether reject Epicurean ideas, if they came before him. A fervent Christian, like Paul, doubtless did reject them, if he ever came into contact with them. Did he, then, encounter these ideas?

¹ *Opera*, ii. (1699), *Comm.* in Eccles.

EPILEPTIC

From Acts 17:18 (if the narrative is historical) we only learn that certain Epicurean and Stoic philosophers met with him (συνέβησαν αὐτῷ)¹—observe in passing the precedence given to the Epicureans. There is nothing in the sequel to suggest that he held any conferences with them; the speech beginning 'Men of Athens' ('Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι) is plainly not intended for them. It looks as if the reference to the philosophers were merely a touch suggested by the writer's imagination, which he did not permit to exercise any influence on the following narrative. That Paul had examined and rejected Epicureanism elsewhere, is probable enough. See ATHENS, § 2, HILLENISM, § 9. T. K. C.

EPILEPTIC (ΕΠΙΛΗΝΙΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ). Mt. 4:24 17:15 RV. See MEDICINE.

EPIPHANES (ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ). 1 Macc. 1:10 See ANTIUCHUS, 2.

EPISTOLARY LITERATURE

'Letters' and 'Epistles' (§§ 1-3). Letters (§ 6 f.).
Extra-biblical (§ 4). Epistles (§ 8 f.).
OT terms (§ 5). Literature (§ 10).

For the understanding of any document a knowledge of its true character and object is essential. Thus,

1. The problem. brings to light a papyrus fragment containing a negotiation between a Roman emperor and an Alexandrian gymnasiarch.² we cannot understand or appreciate it accurately until we know the general character of the writing to which it presumably belonged. If it is a fragment from the record of an actual negotiation in which a Roman emperor took part, it becomes a historical document of first importance; if it is merely a scrap from a work by a writer of fiction, it falls into a wholly different category.

The NT contains a large number of writings which are usually referred to as 'Epistles.' The designation seems so plain and self-evident that to many scholars it has suggested no problem at all. A problem, nevertheless, there is, of great literary and historical interest, underlying this seemingly simple word. We cannot go far in the study of the history of literature before we become aware that alongside of the real 'letter,' which in its essential nature is non-literary, there is a product of art, the literary letter, which may for convenience be called the epistle. The problem is in each case to determine the category to which such writings belong: are they all 'letters'? or are they all 'epistles'? or are both classes represented? First, let us realise the distinction more clearly.

The function of the letter is to maintain intercourse, in writing, between persons who are separated by distance.

2. Meaning of word 'letter.' Essentially intimate, individual, and personal, the letter is intended exclusively for the eyes of the person (or persons) to whom it is addressed, not for publication. It is non-literary, as a lease, a will, a day-book are non-literary. It differs in no essential particular from a spoken conversation; it might be called an anticipation of telephonic communication. It concerns no one but the writer and the correspondent to whom it is addressed. So far as others are concerned, it is supposed to be secret and sacred.

As with life itself, its contents are infinitely varied. The form also exhibits endless variety, although many forms have specialised themselves in the course of the ages and are not infrequently met with in civilisations widely separated and seemingly quite independent of each other. Neither contents nor form, however, are the determining factors in deciding

EPISTOLARY LITERATURE

whether a given writing is to be considered a letter or not. Equally immaterial is it whether the document be written on clay or on stone, on papyrus or on parchment, on wax or on palm-leaves, on scented note-paper or on an international post-card; whether it be conched in the conventional forms of the period; whether it be written by a prophet or by a beggar; all such considerations leave its special character unaffected.³ The one essential matter is the purpose it is intended to serve—frank intercourse between distant persons. Every letter, however short and poor, will from its very nature be a fragment of the *vie intime* of mankind. The non-literary, personal, intimate character of the letter must constantly be borne in mind.

There is a sharp distinction between the letter as thus understood and the 'literary' letter which we find it convenient to designate by the more

3. Meaning of word 'epistle.'

technical word 'epistle.' The epistle is a literary form, an expression of the artistic faculty, just as are the drama, the dialogue, the oration. All that it has in common with the letter is its form; in other respects they differ so widely that we might almost resort to paradox and say that the epistle is the exact opposite of the letter. The matter of the epistle is destined for publicity. If the letter is always more or less private and confidential the epistle is meant for the market-place: every one may and ought to read it; the larger the number of the readers, the more completely has it fulfilled its purpose. All that in the letter—address and so forth—is of primary importance, becomes in the epistle ornamental detail, merely added to maintain the illusion of this particular literary form. A real letter is seldom wholly intelligible to us until we know to whom it is addressed and the special circumstances for which it was written. To the understanding of most epistles this is by no means essential. The epistle differs from the letter as the historical play differs from a chapter of actual history, as the carefully composed funeral oration in honour of a king differs from the stammering words of comfort a father speaks to his motherless child, as the Platonic dialogue differs from the unrestrained confidential talk of friend with friend—in a word, as art differs from nature. The one is a product of literary art, the other is a bit of life.

Of course in all these forms will occur; such as the professed letter, in which the writer is no longer unrestrained, free from self-consciousness in which with some latent feeling that he is a great man, he has the public eye in view and coquettes with the publicity which his words may perhaps attain. Such letters are no letters, and with their artificiality and insincerity exemplify exactly what real letters should never be.

A great variety alike of letters and of epistles has come down to us from antiquity. The survival of a

4. Ancient letters and epistles.

letter is, strictly speaking, non-normal and exceptional. The true letter is from its very nature ephemeral!—ephemeral as the hand which wrote it or the eye for which it was meant. It is to pity or to chance that we owe the preservation of such letters. The practice of collecting the written remains of great men after their death is indeed an old one.

In Greek literature, the earliest instance of publication of such a collection is held to be that of the letters of Aristotle (ob. 322 B.C.), which was made soon after his death. Whether the still extant *Letters of Aristotle*² contain any fragments of the genuine collection is indeed a question. On the other hand the letters of Isocrates (ob. 338 B.C.) which have come down³ to us are probably genuine in part; and we have also genuine letters of Epicurus (ob. 270 B.C.), among them the fragment of a perfectly charming little note to his child,⁴ worthy to be compared with Luther's letter to his little boy Hanschen.⁵ Among the Romans it will be enough to refer to the multitude of letters

¹ EV's rendering 'encountered him' is to be preferred to Rausay's 'engaged in discussions with him.' Cp. Acts 20:14; Jos. Ant. I. 123. Would not 'discussed with him' be συνέβησαν αὐτῷ (see Acts 4:13)?

² Cp. Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. I, p. 62 ff., no. xxviii. verso [193], with Deissmann's observations in *Tafel des 602 ff.* (193).

¹ See Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 190.

² Published by Hercher (*Epistolographi Graeci*, 172-174 [73]).

³ See Hercher, *op. cit.* 319-339.

⁴ See Usener, *Epicurea*, 154 (87); also Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 210 f.

⁵ See *Luther-Briefe in Auswahl und Uebersetzung*, herausg. von C. A. Hase, 224 f. (67).

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of Cicero (ib. 43 n.c.) of which four collections, brought together and published after his death, have come down to us.

As compared with such letters of famous men a value in some respects still greater attaches to the numerous letters of obscure men and women, dating from the third century B.C. to the eighth A.D., which have become known to us through recent papyrus finds in Egypt.¹ They have, to begin with, the most valuable advantage that the originals themselves have reached us. Nor is this all. The writers had absolutely no thought of publication, so we may take it that their self-portraiture is wholly unconscious and sincere. The light they throw upon the essence and the form of the letter in ancient times² is important, and is of value in the investigation of the letters found in the OT or the NT.

That ancient epistles have survived in large numbers is not surprising. The literary epistle is not intended to be ephemeral. From the outset it is published in several copies and so has less chance of disappearing than the private letter. The epistle, moreover, is a comparatively easy form of literary effort. It is subject to no severe laws of style or strict rules of prosody; all that the essay needs is to be fitted with the requisite formulae of the letter and to be provided with an address. Any dabbler could write an epistle, and thus the epistle became one of the favourite forms of literature, and remains so even at the present day.

Among ancient 'epistolographers' we have, for example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch in Greek, and L. Annaeus Seneca and the younger Pliny in Roman literature, not to speak of the poetical epistles of a Lucilius, a Horace, or an Ovid.

Specially common was the epistle in the literature of magic and religion.

Another fact of literary history requires notice here: the rise of pseudepigraphous epistolography. In the early period of the empire, especially, epistles under names other than those of the real authors were written in great numbers, not by impostors, but by unknown *literati* who for various honest reasons did not care to give their own names.³ They wrote 'Epistles' of Plato and Demosthenes, Aristotle and Alexander, Cicero and Brutus; it would be perverse to brand offhand as frauds such products of a certainly not very original literary activity. Absolute forgeries undoubtedly there were; but it is equally certain that the majority of the 'pseudonymous' epistles of antiquity are products of a widely spread, and in itself inoffensive, literary custom.⁴

We now come to the question whether the biblical 'epistles' admit of being separated into the two distinct classes just mentioned.

The immense masses of cuneiform writing which have recently been brought to light abundantly show that

5. OT terms. epistolary correspondence was extensively practised by the people using that script from very early times. It is not surprising, therefore, to find frequent mention of letters in the OT.

The Hebrew terms so rendered are (1): *šepher*, 2 S. 11 14; 1 K. 5 Jer. 29 1; in Is. 37 14 39 1, where MT gives *šepher*, the text is corrupt (see *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb.); 'letters', *šepherim*, 1 K. 21 Esth. 1 22, etc.

(2) *šepher*, *šepherim*, 1 Ch. 1 20 (see Meyer, *Entst.* 23); in Bibl. Aram. Ezra 1 7 Dan. 4 14 17, etc.

(3) *šepher*, *šepherim*, Ezra 4 7 11 (see Meyer, *op. cit.* 22); in Bibl. Aram. Ezra 4 18, etc.

(4) *šepher*, *šepherim*, Neh. 27 Esth. 1 22, etc. (see Meyer, *op. cit.* 22); in Bibl. Aram. Ezra 4 11 15.

¹ A selection of such papyrus-letters will be found in Deissmann, *Bibl. stud.*, 201-216.

² There is thus a promise of good results in the theme proposed for its prize essay by the Heidelberg Faculty of Philosophy in 1889-90: 'On the basis of a chronological survey of the Greek private letters which have been brought to light in recent papyrus finds, to characterise and set forth historically the forms of the Greek epistolary style.'

³ Cp. Deissmann, *Bibl. stud.*, 202 ff.

⁴ A well-known modern instance is that of the famous 'Letters of Junius.'

The Ass. terms for 'letter' are *dappu* (tablet; cp. Syr. *dappā*), whence *dapparu* (Heb. *dappār*, 'scribe,' and *egritā* (cp. no. 4 above). In *Am. iab*, 30 rev. 30 *dapparu* 'message' or 'missive' is virtually *dappu* 'letter' (cp. 17). This suggests that *šepher* (see 1) may be a loan-word; cp. *šepher*. In B. besides *šepher*, we find *šepher* (1 S. 11 14), *šepher* (Jer. 29 1), *šepher* (Ezra 1 22), *šepher* (Ezra 4 11), *šepher* (Ezra 4 15), and *šepher* (cp. Acts 25 21 (pl.)).

Special interest attaches to the cases in which the actual text of the letters is professedly given, as in

6. OT letters. 2 S. 11 15 (David's letter to Joab about Uriah), 1 K. 21 9 f. (Jezebel to the elders about Naboth), 2 K. 5 5 f. (king of Aram to king of Israel), 2 K. 10 2 f. 6 (Jehu to the authorities of Samaria).

On the letter of Jerem. in Jer. 29, see JEREMIAH ib.; on that of Elisha in 2 Ch. 11 17-18, see JEREMIAH, 27; on the official letters in Ezra 4 9 ff. 17 ff. 27 ff., see EZRA, ib. § 6; and on the letter of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan. 4, see DANIEL n.

Many instances occur also in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books of the OT, especially in Maccabees. In the last-named books in particular, we find, exactly as in Greek and Roman literature,¹ letters, mostly official, embodied word for word in the historical narrative. It would be wrong to cast doubt on the genuineness of such insertions on this ground alone. In many cases, it is true, they are in all likelihood spurious (cp. MACCABEES, FIRST, § 10); but in some instances we are constrained to accept them. The decision must rest in each case on internal evidence alone.

Turning now to the NT, we find in Acts two letters which, like those in Maccabees, are introduced

7. NT letters. into a professedly historical narrative: the letter of the apostles and elders to the Gentile Christian brethren in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia (15 23-29), and that of Claudius Lysias to Felix (23 26-30). The question of their genuineness must be decided by the same rules of criticism as apply to the cases mentioned in the preceding section (see, for example, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 16 f.). In both cases the documents, at any rate, claim to be true letters.

Turning next to the other writings which frankly bear the designation *epistole* in the NT, we must again bear in mind the distinction already established between 'letters' and 'epistles.' It is accordingly not enough if we are able merely to establish the existence of a group of *epistole*; the question as to their definite character remains. The answer must be supplied in each case by the writing itself. In some cases not much reading between the lines is necessary for this; and even in those cases where the answer is not quite obvious, it is, for the most part, possible to arrive at something more than a mere *non liquet*.

(a) To begin with, the Epistle to PHILEMON stands out unmistakably as a letter, and it is as a self-revelation of the great apostle that it possesses a unique value for all time. If (as seems very probable) Rom. 16 is to be taken as being in reality a separate letter, addressed by Paul to Ephesus, it also is an unmistakable example of that class of writing. (b) PHILEMON also is a true letter; it becomes intelligible only when referred to a perfectly definite and unique epistolary situation. The same remark applies to THESSALONIANS, GALATIANS, COLOSSIANS (and EPHESIANS). They are indeed more didactic and general than those previously mentioned; but they too are missives occasioned by perfectly definite needs of the Pauline churches, not fugitive pieces composed for Christendom at large, or even for publicity in a still larger sense of the word. To the same class in like manner belong the first and the second extant epistles to the CORINTHIANS. What is it in fact that makes 2 Corinthians everywhere so difficult? It is that it is throughout a true letter, full of allusions to which we, for the most part, have not the key. Paul wrote it with all his personality; in deep emotion and thankfulness, and yet full of reforming passion, of irony, and of

¹ Cp. Deissmann, *op. cit.* 220.

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stinging frankness. 1 Corinthians is quieter in tone; but it too is a real letter, being in part, at least, an answer to one from the Church of Corinth.¹

(c) In the case of ROMANS, one might perhaps at first hesitate to pronounce. Its character as a letter is undeniably much less conspicuously marked, much less palpable, than in the case of 2 Corinthians. Still, neither is it an epistle written for the public, nor for Christendom at large, designed to set forth in compendious form the apostle's dogmatic and ethical system. In it Paul has a definite object—to prepare the way for his visit to the church in Rome: such is his aim in writing, and it is that of an individual letter-writer. He does not yet know the church to which he writes, and he himself is known to it only by hearsay. The letter, therefore, from the nature of the case, cannot be so full of personal detail as those he wrote to communities with which he had long been familiar, such as Corinth and Philippi. Our first impression of Romans, perhaps, may be that it is an epistle; but this judgment will not stand scrutiny.

We need not hesitate longer then, to lay down the broad thesis that all the Pauline epistles hitherto enumerated (the genuineness of none of them is doubted by the present writer) are real letters.² Paul is a true letter-writer, not an 'epistolographer.' Nor yet is he a man of letters. His letters became literary products only after the piety of the churches had made a collection of them and had multiplied copies indefinitely till they had become accessible to all Christendom. At a later date still they became Holy Scripture when they were received into the 'New' Testament, then in process of formation. As an integral part of the New Testament they have exercised a literary influence that is incalculable. All these later vicissitudes, however, cannot alter their original and essential character. Paul, who with ardent longings expected the coming of the Lord, and with it the final judgment and the life of the coming age—Paul, who reckoned the future of this present world, not by millennia or centuries, but by a few short years, had not the faintest surmise of the part his letters were destined to play in the providential ordering of the world. It is precisely in this untrammelled freedom that the chief value of his letters consists; their absolute trustworthiness and supremely authoritative character as historical records, are guaranteed thereby. The letters of Paul are the (alas, only too fragmentary) remains of what would have been the immediate records of his mission. Each one of them is a piece of his biography; in many passages we feel that the writer has dipped his pen in his own heart's blood.

(d) Two other real letters in the NT remain to be mentioned—the SECOND and the THIRD EPISTLE OF JOHN.³ Of 3 John we may say with Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, 'It was a quite private note, and must have been preserved from the papers of Gaius as a relic of the great presbyter.' 2 John does not present so many of the features of a letter in detail; but it also has a particular object in view just as a letter has, even if we do not find ourselves able to say with complete confidence who the 'lady' addressed may have been—whether a church or some distinguished individual Christian. That the letter was addressed to the Church at large seems hardly admissible. Both writings are in point of form interesting, as in many respects clearly exhibiting the ancient epistolary style of their period.

No instance of an epistle is met with in the canonical books of the OT; but we have several in the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. i. The most instructive ex-

ample is undoubtedly the (Greek) Epistle of Jeremiah,

appended to Lamentations (so in G).⁴ 8. Apocryphal or to Baruch (in Vg. as Baruch 6).

This short composition, which certainly was originally written in Greek,⁵ contains a warning against idolatry, which is held up to scorn and refuted by every kind of argument. A comparison of this epistle with the genuine letter of Jeremiah (Jer. 29) to the Jews in Babylon furnishes an excellent illustration of the difference between a letter and an epistle.

In the Greek epistle we observe that the address is adventitious, and that 'Jeremiah' has been chosen as a convenient name merely at the pleasure of the undoubtedly Alexandrian author. This by no means constitutes a 'forgery'; the author is simply availing himself of a generally current literary artifice. His intention—to put his coreligionists on their guard against idolatry, and he therefore makes Jeremiah the speaker. Five hundred years after the lifetime of Jeremiah it could not occur to any one to suppose that the writer was seeking to represent himself as editor of a newly discovered writing of the ancient prophet.

ii. Another epistle in the category now under consideration is the (Greek) Epistle of Aristea, which contains the well-known legend as to the origin of the LXX version; it also was the work of an Alexandrian of the time of the Ptolemies.⁶ iii. The Epistle of Baruch to the nine and a half tribes in exile (appended to the Apocalypse of Baruch) also ought to be mentioned here—unless indeed we are to regard it (which is quite possible) as a Christian writing.⁷ iv. Finally, that epistolography was a favourite form of literary activity with Grecian Jews is shown perhaps by the 28th Epistle of Diogenes,⁸ and by some of the epistles that pass current under the name of Heraclitus.⁹

We can define certain writings in the NT as epistles with just as great security as we have been able to call the writings of Paul real letters. Most

9. NT Epistles. clearly of all do the so-called 'catholic' epistles of JAMES, PETER, and JUDE belong to this category.

That they cannot be real letters is evident from the outset by their addresses; a letter to the 'twelve tribes scattered abroad' could not be forwarded as a letter. The author of the epistle of James writes after the manner of the Epistle of Baruch (see above, § 8, iii.) addressed 'to the nine and a half tribes, which were across the Euphrates.' In both cases it is an ideal 'catholic' circle of readers that the authors have in view; each dispatched his *ἐπιστολή* not, as we may presume Paul to have dispatched the letter to the Philippians, in a single copy, but in many.

The Epistle of James is essentially a piece of literature, an occasional writing intended for all Christendom—an epistle. In accord with this are its entire contents: nothing of that detail of unique situations which meets us in the letters of Paul; nothing but purely general questions such as, for the most part, might be still conceivable in the ecclesiastical problems of the present day. So with the Epistles of Peter and Jude. They too bear purely ideal addresses; all that they have of the nature of a letter is the form.

At this point we find ourselves standing at the very beginning of Christian literature in the strict sense of that word. The problem of the 'genuineness' of these epistles becomes from this point of view much less important than it would undoubtedly be on the assumption of their being letters. In them the personality of the writer falls entirely into the background. It is a great cause that addresses itself to us, not a clearly distinguishable personality as in the letters of Paul.

¹ Swete, 3 379-384.

² Schürer, *Galat.* 3 344 (98).

³ The epistle most probably belongs to the second or to the last century B.C.

⁴ Latest edition by M. Schmidt in Merx's *Archiv*, 1 (69). A new edition, founded on material collected by L. Mendelssohn, is in preparation by P. Wendland, for the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. A German translation of this has already appeared in *Kant Apok. u. Pseudepigr.* 21-31.

⁵ Greek text in Fritzsche, *Liber I T pseudepigraphi selecti* (71), 122 ff.; for Syriac text, with E.T. see Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 124 ff. (96).

⁶ Cp. J. Bernays, *Lucian u. die Kyniker*, 96 ff. (70).

⁷ J. Bernays, *Die heraklitischen Briefe*, 61 ff. (69).

¹ Cp. Joh. Weiss, 'Der Eingang des ersten Korintherbriefs', *St. Kr.* 1900, pp. 125-130.

² The Pastoral Epistles, also, may perhaps contain fragments from genuine letters of Paul.

³ Cp. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, 'Lese-früchte' in *Hermes*, 55 5-9 ff. (92), especially instructive on the question of form.

Whether we know with certainty the name of the author of each of these epistles is of no decisive importance for our understanding of them. In this connection it deserves to be noticed that the longest of all the NT epistles, that to the Hebrews, has come down to us without any name at all, and even its address has disappeared. Indeed, were it not for the word ἐπιστολὰ ('I have written a letter') in 13:22 and a few slight touches of epistolary detail in 13:21f, it would never occur to us to call the writing an epistle at all. It might equally well be a discourse or an essay; its own designation of itself is λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως ('a word of exhortation,' 13:22); all that seems epistolary in its character is manifestly only ornament, and the essential nature of the whole is not changed though part of the ornament may have fallen away.

The so-called First Epistle of JOHN has none of the specific character of an epistle, and still less is it a letter. Though classified among the epistles it would be more appropriately described as a religious tract in which a series of religious meditations designed for publicity are somewhat loosely strung together.

The so-called pastoral epistles to TIMOTHY and TITUS are in their present form certainly epistles. It is probable, however, as already indicated (above, col. 1327, n. 2), that some portions of them are derived from genuine letters of Paul. As we now have them they are manifestly designed to lay down principles of law for the Church in process of consolidation, and thus they mark the beginnings of a literature of ecclesiastical law.

To speak strictly, the APOCALYPSE of JOHN also is an epistle; the address and salutation are obvious in 1:1 and 22:1 constitutes a fitting close for an epistle. This epistle in turn contains at the beginning seven smaller missives addressed to seven churches of Asia—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea. These also are no real letters such as we might suppose to have been actually sent to each of the churches named and to have been afterwards brought together into a single collection. On the contrary, they are all of them constructed with great art on a uniform plan, and are intended to be read and laid to heart by all the churches, not only by that named in the address of each. They seem to the present writer to represent a somewhat different kind of epistle from any we have been considering. Their writer has definite ends in view as regards each of the individual churches; but he wishes at the same time to produce an effect in the Christian world as a whole, or at any rate on that of Asia. In spite of the intimate character they formally possess, they serve a public literary purpose, and therefore ought to be classed among the epistles, rather than among the letters, of ancient Christianity.

In judging the numerous *epistolae* which have been handed down in the Christian church outside of, or later in date than, the NT canon, it is equally necessary to settle in each case the question whether the writing ought to be classed as an epistle or a letter; but this investigation lies beyond the limits of the present work.

G. A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien: Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri u. Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums u. der Religion des Hellenismus* (1905); *Abh.* 5; *Prolegomena zu den biblischen Briefen u. Episteln*; K. Ditzko, art. 'Brief' in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Wissowa; F. Zimmer in *ZKWI*, 7 (86), 443 ff.; J. Rendel Harris, 'A Study in Letter-Writing,' *Expositor*, 98b, 161 ff.; see also Christ, Johnston, *The Epistolary Lit. of the Ass. and Bab.* (1908).

G. A. D.

ER (עַר, ἡρ [BADEL]). 1. A Judahite subdivision of Canaanite (i.e., non-Israelite) origin, which at a later time became merged in the more important brother-tribe SIMEON [1] (the genealogical details in Gen. 38:37 [J], Gen. 46:12 Nu. 26:19 [P], 1 Ch. 2:3 [in the second occurrence אַרְרָא (A) 4:21; see JUDAH].

2. A name in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk. 3:23; ἡρ [Ti. WH]); see *GENEALOGIES* II, § 3.

ERAN (עֲרָן, § 77), the **Eranites** (עֲרָנִי), an Ephraimite clan, in the one case individualised, in the other

regarded as a tribal group, Nu. 26:16. The name reminds us of the Judahite ER (see above); but in the parallel Ephraimite list, 1 Ch. 7:20-27, it is ELADAN (עֲלָדָן, 7:20), of which another form is LADAN (לָדָן, 7:26). Probably the list in Nu. 26 originally had neither Eran nor Eladani, but Ladan, and we should read עֲרָן and עֲלָדָן. See further, EPHRAIM, § 12.

The initial Sin עֲרָן may have been mistaken for a preposition, just as in 1 Ch. 27:29, עֲרָן has עֲדָן for עֲרָן throughout. The ע is omitted for by Sam. Pesh. עֲרָן, and also by S (עֲרָן, עֲדָן [עֲרָן] [BAFL], cp Gen. 46:20 (עֲדָן [AD]), וְעֲרָן [L]; om. MT).

Ladan is doubtless shortened from Elad(d)an (עֲלָדָן; cp עֲרָן).

S. A. C.

ERASTUS (ἐραστὸς [Ti. WH], 'the treasurer (ἐκονομῶν) of the city [of Corinth]'; 1 Rom. 16:23; cp 2 Tim. 4:20), is probably mentioned as one of those that 'ministered' to Paul (Acts 19:22) and as having been sent by him with Timothy from Ephesus on some errand into Macedonia. This combination of passages, however, is plausible only if Rom. 16 was originally a letter to the church of Ephesus.

ERECH (עֲרַח, אֶרַח [ADEL], אֶרַח, classical 'Orxon, Ass. *Arku, Uruk*) is named in Gen. 10:10 as one of the four cities originally founded by Nimrod in Babylonia. The explorations of Loftus (*Travels in Chaldaea and Susiana*, 1892 ff.) established its site at the mod. Harka, halfway between Hilla and Korna. The enormous mounds and ruins scattered over an area six miles in circuit testified to a large population in ancient times; but the discoveries did little to restore the history of the city. The earliest inscriptions recovered were those of Dungi, Ur-Bau, and Gudea, kings of Ur (which lay 30 m. SW.). The next in date were those of Simgasid and another, kings of Erech as an independent state. Erech was then capital of the kingdom of Annanu. The later kings of Babylon (Merodach-baladan) also left traces of their buildings and restorations. Many commercial documents of all periods down to 200 B.C. attest the continuous prosperity of the city. As if to make up for the lack of historical documents furnished by the site itself, we have perpetual reference to the place in the Assyrian and Babylonian literature. No place had a greater hold on the affection and imagination of the literati. The author of the Creation Tablets (non-Semitic version) ascribes its foundation to the god Marduk. It is the theatre of the Gilgamesh or Nimrod epic (see DELUGE, § 2). Its poetical names (3 R. 4:15 ff.) show how often it was the theme of story and legend. Some of them—e.g., the 'enclosure' (*suburn*), 'the seven districts'—seem justified by its ruins. Surrounded completely by a wall, intersected by many canals, flanked by two large streams, and probably then, as now, almost inaccessible for most of the year, it was a secure refuge. Later in its history—perhaps in Assyrian times, certainly in the Parthian period—it became a sort of national necropolis.

The city deity was the goddess Nanā, whose statue had such strange vicissitudes (see NANE). During her absence a goddess, Ishtar, whose temple was E-nmaš, seems to have taken her place. Continual reference is made to Uruk even by Assyrian kings (*AB i.* and *ii.*, *passim*). Their correspondence (Harper, *AB i. passim*), when fully published, will throw much light on the city life of Uruk during the Sargonic period. At present it would be premature to attempt to write its municipal history.

C. H. W. J.

ERI (עֲרִי, surely not 'watcher,' אֲרִי [BAFL], cp Samar. Pent. 7), a subdivision of GAD (§ 13), Gen. 46:16 (אֲרִי [ADEL]), Nu. 26:16 (עֲרִי); ethnic **Erites** (עֲרִי, Nu. 1:20; אֲרִי [BAFL]).

ESAIAS (Ἡσαΐας, *Isaias*), 4 Esd. 2:18 EV; Mt. 3:1 etc., AV, RV ISAAH (*Isai*, 1).

1 Notice that Cenebrex is mentioned in 7:2.

ESARHADDON

ESARHADDON (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. Ἀσαρδάν [B]). ἈΣΟ. [L]. ἈΣΑΡΑΔΔΑΔ. [os.]; ἈΣΑΡΔΑΝΟΝ. [Pto.]; ἈΣΑΡΙΔΑΝΟΝ. [Ass. Asar-ahd-ah-dan. 1. c.].

1. Early History.

Assur has given a brother¹, son and successor of Sennacherib on the throne of Assyria (2 K. 19. 37; Is. 37. 3, Ἀσαρδάν [O]. ΝΑΥ. [N^o 12th]. Ἀσάρ. [N^o 12th]). His brother Asur-nadin-sum, who had been made king of Babylon by Sennacherib, was carried away captive after a reign of six years by Halhush king of Elam 694 B.C. (K. 2. 278). Asur-nadin-sum was then regarded as crown-prince (*mar-burru*) in Nineveh, as appears from a contract tablet dated sept. Oct. 694 B.C. For another son, Asur-munik, Sennacherib built a palace in the suburbs of Nineveh (see ADAMMELT 1. c. 2). The so-called 'Will of Sennacherib' (3 K. 16, No. 3) records some rich gifts to Esarhaddon and the wish that his name should be changed to Asur-edil-ukin-apla (Asur-the-hero has established the son). In the Hebrew notice of Sennacherib's murder, two sons of Sennacherib, named ADAMMELT (2. 9. 7) and SIARIZIR (1. 9. 7), are referred to, occasioning a historical difficulty, which is dealt with elsewhere. The expressions of the Babylonian Chronicle have led some to think that Esarhaddon himself was the parricide² (Edwards, *The Witness of Assyria*, 147). It is certainly singular that in no inscription set up in Assyria (yet published) does Esarhaddon refer to the event. On the stele found at Samalla, however, he distinctly calls himself the 'avenger of the father who beget him' (*mutir gimilli abi aliditu*).³ Sennacherib died on the 20th of Tebeth, B.C. 682, and Esarhaddon was crowned on the 28th of Adar, B.C. 682-1.

The chief sources for the history of Esarhaddon's reign are his cylinders (K. 2. 122 ff.). The opening paragraph of the broken prism (K. 2. 141 f.) has usually been taken to refer to his struggle with his brother for the throne. It is a very fragmentary account, as remarkable for its gaps and omissions as for its information. From it we learn that, presumably early in his reign, Esarhaddon, who was evidently away from Nineveh, was called to face a formidable foe. He could not take all his troops with him. The march was made 'hastily and under difficulty' in the winter-month of Sakhnu. His enemy met him at Hamrabbat and was signally defeated. That it was a fight for the throne is clear from the fact that the enemy said of their leader, 'This is our king.'

On a more or less plausible combination of this account with the biblical data it has been asserted that Esarhaddon was in command of an expedition to Armenia. The time of year is against this supposition. Hamrabbat was near Malatya, and therefore a great distance from both Nineveh and Armenia (see map in K. 2 and in vol. 1. of this work between cols. 352 and 353). If Esarhaddon had left the bulk of his forces behind on the confines of Armenia it is not easy to see how the rebels could have escaped further. Winckler (*GBA* 259) argues better that Esarhaddon was in Babylon at the time of his father's death.⁴ The Babylonian Chronicle states that on the 2nd of Adar the revolt in Nineveh was at an end. This gives six weeks for Esarhaddon's receipt of the news and march to Nineveh. On his arrival the regicides and their party must have retreated and, doubtless with reinforcements, he pursued them at once. They made their stand at Hamrabbat, and on their defeat escaped to Armenia. Esarhaddon seems then to have returned to Nineveh and ascended the throne on the 28th of Adar (682-1 B.C.), about eight months after the murder of his father.

Esarhaddon's residence in Babylon before his accession may account for his friendly treatment of the fallen capital. He made good the damage

caused by SENNACHERIB [9. 7], brought back the gods, and re-peopled the city. During the reign of Merodach-baladan Chaldean supporters of that king had dispossessed the native Babylonians; after Babylon had been rendered helpless, the Chaldeans continued to encroach. Esarhaddon expelled

¹ This document is not dated, but has been used to support the contention that Esarhaddon was the favourite son.

² Cp the Hebrew version of T. 101 (*2SR* 18260) which ascribes the murder to 'Esarhaddon and Sharezer.'

³ *Ausgrabungen in Sam'al*, 16.

⁴ He was appointed regent there by his father in 681 B.C.

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the Chaldeans from the neighbourhood of Babylon and Borsippa, and crippled their power.

This policy of restoration extended to Ereh. At Nineveh too, the king built a great palace (cp Layard, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, also palaces at Kaba and Larba), the last for his son Asurbanipal (2 K. 23, Nos. 4 and 8; K. 2. 141; cp Layard, *op. cit.* 19). Throughout Assyria and Mesopotamia he rebuilt some thirty temples.

It was perhaps due to this antiquarian taste, so strongly developed in his son Asurbanipal, that Esarhaddon, first of the Sargonids, lays claim to ancient royal lineage. He calls himself the descendant of Belsham, son of Adasi, king of Assyria, and offspring of Asur (K. 2. 122, n. 1).

As a fighting king Esarhaddon was not behind any of his race. At the very beginning of his reign he was threatened by the Gimirri (see GIMIRRI, 1). His official requests to the sun-god Samaš (Knudtzon, *Gebete*, 72-264) mention his fears of Kasirtu of Karkass, Mamitu-arsu the Mede, the Mannu (see MISHI), and other branches or forerunners of the great Manda horde. The peril culminated in an actual invasion of Assyria by the Gimirri, who were, however, defeated before the fourth year of this reign (K. 2. 32). The next year was a busy one. An expedition penetrated the Arabian desert, conquering eight rulers in the districts of Bazu and Hazu (cp BAZU, 1; HAZU). Sidon having revolted was taken and destroyed, a new city Kar-Esarhaddon being built to overshadow it. The king of Sidon, Abdi-Milkuni, and Sandamri a Chaldean prince who had sided with him, were captured and beheaded.

Following up this success, the Assyrian king received the submission of all Syria and Palestine. Of the vassal kings who then paid him homage Esarhaddon has left us a very important list (K. 2. 143). Among them are Baal king of Tyre, and MANASSEH [9. 7], king of the city of Judah. The terms of the agreement between Esarhaddon and Baal king of Tyre are recorded on the tablet K. 3500 from which Hommel gives some extracts (*HHF* 196); the full text is now given by Winckler, *AOF* 210. These events occurred in 677-6 B.C. The Chronicle also tells us of a colonisation of Samaria by Esarhaddon, 1. 212 12 (*asaprahuv* [B]. -*paduv* [A]. -*vaḫorḫar* [L.]); but the accuracy of this statement has been questioned (see SAMARIA, SAMARITAN). Being now in full possession of the route to Egypt, Esarhaddon made a reconnaissance of it in 675 B.C. He returned next year to the attack. In 672 B.C. he lost his queen and seems to have remained a year or more at home. In 670 B.C., leaving the government in the hands of his mother, he departed for a supreme struggle with Egypt, in which he was completely victorious (see EGYPT, § 66). As a 'hard lord' he ruled over the Egyptians,² garrisoning some cities with Assyrian troops, and in others installing native dependent rulers. He returned home by way of Samalla, where he set up the stele mentioned above.

Esarhaddon was not allowed to rest long. A revolt broke out in Egypt, and he set out to repress it. However, he never saw Egypt again. On the way he fell ill and died; it was on Arahšamma (November; see MONTH, §§ 3-5) the 10th, 669 B.C. (not, as usually stated, 668). He divided his kingdom, giving Asurbanipal Assyria and the Empire, but making Samaš-šum-ukin king of Babylon under him. A third son, Asur-mukin-pala, was raised to the high-priesthood; the youngest, Asur-edil-šaniš-n-ersutu, was made priest of Sin at Harran. Another son, Sin-iddin-aplu, seems to have died before his father. We find the names of a daughter, Šerua-etirat, and a sister, Matti.

The name of Esarhaddon's mother is best read Nakia.

¹ To this lady Nakia are addressed many letters from the provincial governors (Harper, *ABL*). During her regency occurred the Elamite invasion of 675 B.C., which threatened Sippura. The gods of Akade were carried off by the Elamites.

² See 1. 182, according to one interpretation (see *Chm. Intr.*, 15. 114 f.).

which is rendered in Assyrian by Zakutu, and seems to be Hebrew, 'the pure one.' She survived her son, and on his death issued a proclamation to the Empire, demanding its allegiance to the princes Asur-lam-pad and Samas-sum-ukin.¹

C. H. W. J.

ESAU (עֵשָׂו, HCSAY [HAL.])

1. A popular etymology, which may, however, be correct, is suggested in Gen. 25:25 (f): 'And the first came out tawny, all over like a hairy mantle; and his name was called Esau.'

1. Name.

As Budde (*Genesch.* 217, n. 2, not directly reported by Dt.) has pointed out, 'tawny' (עֵשָׂו, *adumim*)² cannot have been the original word. Budde's own conjecture, however (that it displaced some rare word meaning 'hairy') is not probable. It may have arisen out of עֵשָׂו, 'twines,' which intruded from the margin where it stood as a correction of עֵשָׂו (Gen. 25:24). Miswritten as עֵשָׂו, it would be easily changed into עֵשָׂו (Gen. 25:24 and 25:25 are frequently confounded); cp. 25:25.

We must assume a root עֵשָׂ, 'to have thick hair,' and regard עֵשָׂ 'the shaggy,' as the equivalent of Seir 'the hairy' (שֵׁיר, שֵׁירָה, Gen. 27:11), which appears to have been regarded by J as a synonym for hunter (Gen. 25:25, cp. 27:27). In this, as in the former case, J really appears to have hit upon a sound interpretation. It seems impossible to show that the mountain district of Seir (whether E. or even W. of the Arabah) was 'hairy' in the sense of 'wooded,' nor would the sense 'wooded' accord with the gloomy oracle of Isaac. The probability is that Esau and Seir are names of a hunter-god;³ and though the hero Usoos in Philo of Byblus (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 1:107) may conceivably be simply the personification of Usu (Pabetyrus),⁴ it seems more probable, since his brother Sumenrimos is a divine hero of culture, that Usoos represents a hunter-god, after whom the city of Usu was named. Certainly Philo of Byblus describes Usoos as entering into conflict with wild beasts, though also as the first who ventured on the sea (as if a personification of Old Tyre). However this may be, Esau never displaced Edom as the Hebrew name for the people of Mount Seir. The phrase 'sons of Esau' is found only in late writers (Dt. 24:9; Obad. 18); 'Esau the father of Edom' (Gen. 36:9-43) also is late (see Holzinger's analysis).

The early traditions on Esau are given in Gen. 25:21-34, 27:1-45, 31:1-21, 33:1-17; these belong to JE.

2. Traditions. The editor has done his best to cull the finest parts from both J and E. At the beginning he depends solely on J, unless we may assume with Dillmann and Bacon (*Genesis*, 152) that the *adumim* ('tawny') of Gen. 25:25 (see above) was taken by the editor from E, who, however, surely knew and had to account for the name Esau. The foreshadowing which J gives of the differences of national fortunes (cp. Mal. 1:2f.) and national character in the story of the two tribal ancestors is most effective. That

¹ See Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, vol. 2.
² This verse gives J's explanation of the name Edom. 'Let me quickly eat some of that *adum*, for I am faint; therefore his name was called Edom.' For עֵשָׂו read עֵשָׂ; cp. Ar. *adum*, 'a by-dish, as vegetables, etc.' So T. D. Anderson, with the assent of Dillmann.

³ It is difficult not to compare Ar. *athiyā*, 'to have thick or matted hair,' *athā*, 'having thick hair' (Lane), though Fleischer (in Levy, *Wörterbuch* 722) points out that this comparison violates the ordinary laws of phonetic changes.

⁴ Præsek assents to this view (*Forsch.* 2, *Gesch. d. Alt.* [98] 233).

⁵ See Hosan, and cp. note in *Z. ITHP*, 1897, p. 139. The present article, including the above view, is of older date than that note. The writer has since found that the identification of Usu belongs to Præsek, and that Halevy has already connected Usoos and Usu, though in conjunction with the improbable theory that Usu—the *usur* of the Talmud, which he identifies with Umm el-'Awamid (see HAMMOND, 1). Enough remains to justify the writer's claim to have advanced the investigation by a new suggestion.

⁶ Whether the Syrian desert goddess 'Asi, whose name is connected by W. M. Müller with that of Esau (cp. HAMMOND, § 2) is a female form of this hunter-god, we can hardly venture to say. Nor can we make any use of the divine name Esu, apparently of foreign origin, found in a cuneiform text (Pinches, *PSBA* 18255).

the two brothers strove in the womb is a purely etymological myth (see JACOB, § 11). Edom is an independent people when tradition first brings it into contact with Israel. That the older people was gradually eclipsed by the younger, however, and that nevertheless the older people at length achieved its liberation, are facts which agree exactly with the legend. How naturally, too, and with what regard to primitive sentiment, that legend (cp. ISAAC, § 5) is told! Of conscious purpose on the narrator's part there is not a trace. It seems as if by a kind of fate the course of future history were prescribed by the forefathers, who in their blessings and cursings discharged divine functions.¹

That writers like J and E, who have infused so much of the pure prophetic religion into the traditional material, should not be without traces of primitive superstition, will startle only those who are fettered by an abstract supernaturalism. J and E unhesitatingly believe that by his blessing or his curse a father may determine the fate of his children; of any rate the forefathers of Israel could do this. Those writers certainly mean us to regard the oracles in Gen. 27:27, and 49:7, which are imaginative reproductions of what Esau would be likely to have said as creating history. The latter oracle has often been misunderstood. It should run thus: 'Surely, far from fertile ground shall be thy dwelling, and uncultivated by the dew of the heaven above; by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother; but when thou shalt revolt, thou shalt shake off his yoke from thy neck.' For another view of the blessing (shared by Vg. and AV) see I JACOB, § 8.

Most readers sympathise more with Esau than with Jacob. This may perhaps be to some extent in accordance with the wishes of the narrators. Surely J and E must have condemned the fraud practised by Jacob at his mother's bidding upon his aged father. Whether they would have condemned Jacob's shiftness (apart from the special circumstances) as immoral, may, however, be doubted. The later prophets, it is true, denounce shiftness in no measured terms,² but the contemporaries of J and E were not so far from the old nomadic period, and not so open to new moral ideas, as to do the same (see CHE. *Isid.*, 35). To them the quiet, cautious, calculating character of Jacob seemed to be more praiseworthy than the careless, unassuming, good-natured, passionate character of Esau; Jacob, they said, 'was a blameless man' (Gen. 25:27, dwelling in tents' (Gen. 25:27 [J]). What P thought of these stories does not appear; he confines his attention to Esau's marriages (Gen. 26:34f., [cp. 27:46 (R)], 28:6-9), and to geographical and statistical information respecting the Edomites (chap. 36; but how much is P's, is uncertain).

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews presents Esau as the type of a 'profane' person, on the ground that he sacrificed his birthright 'for one mess of food' (Heb. 12:16). He addresses Hebrews who were tempted to hanker after their privileges in the church for the external satisfactions of the temple services. As a matter of fact, however, it is only J who makes Esau willingly resign his birthright; E apparently knows only the second of the two accounts of the loss of the *ḥutorōtia*. It is obvious that J despises Esau for his conduct (see 25:34 in the Hebrew). To him Esau represents Edom. To the later Jew Esau becomes the symbol of the heathen world (see a striking Haggada in Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 401).

2. 1 Esd. 5:29 (שָׂוָא [BA]). See ZIMA, 1. T. K. C.

1 See BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS. Robertson Smith points out that Jacob, when seeking the paternal benediction, wears the skins of sacrificial animals. His father is a quasi-divine being. So the priests in Egypt wore the skins of sacred animals (cp. LEOPARD), and several examples of this can be indicated within the Semitic field (*Rel. Sem.* [2] 417; cp. 467). The antique flavour of the narrative in Genesis now becomes much more perceptible. (Sayce has already connected the dress of Jacob with the 'robe of goat's skin, the sacred dress of the Babylonian priests,' *Hibb. Lect.* 37, p. 285). See DRESS, § 8.

2 For the impossible *ḥutorōtia* read *ḥutorōtia*, of which another corruption is *ḥutorōtia* ('Book of Jubilees,' *JQR* 6734). It may be added that *ḥutorōtia* in Hos. 12:1, *ḥutorōtia* in Jer. 2:31, and *ḥutorōtia* in Ps. 55:3 are also demonstrably due to corruption.

3 Hosea does not indeed mention this action, but he accuses the Israelites of a deceitfulness which he traces back to Jacob's overreaching of his brother in the womb (Hos. 12:13f.; cp. JACOB, § 2).

4 Or, harmless (innocent of acts of violence). It was said of Esau, 'By thy sword shalt thou live,' *ḥutorōtia* may have begun to acquire a specialized sense in popular use. In Job 9:22 *ḥutorōtia* and *ḥutorōtia* are opposed.

ESCHATOLOGY

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I. HEBREW OLD TESTAMENT.

In studying a great religion the inquirer naturally seeks to trace an organic connection between its central conceptions and the most remote portions of its system. He expects to find a certain degree of logical coherence between all its parts. In dealing with such religions as Christianity, Mohammedanism, or Buddhism, his expectations are not disappointed. In those religions the eschatology or teaching on the final condition of man and of the world follows in the train from the fundamental doctrines. The early religion of Israel, however, must not be approached with such expectation. There is an organic connection between its theology and that portion of its eschatology which deals with the nation as a whole; but this connection does not extend to the eschatology concerning the individual.

I. THE INDIVIDUAL.—The ideas about the future life which prevailed in the earliest times and were current indeed in some degree down to the second century B.C., were in many respects common to Israel and to some other Semitic nations. They were not the outcome of any revelation. They were survivals. With these antique elements advancing thought was at strife centuries before it succeeded in completely expelling them and in furnishing in their stead a doctrine of the future life in harmony with its own character. Such a doctrine, though foreshadowed in the earlier literature, was not definitely taught till the fourth century B.C.

The antique elements belong in all probability to the system of belief and practice known as ancestor worship.

2. Ancestor worship. At first this phase of religion dominated to a great degree the life of the Israelite. The religion of Yahwe, however, as it developed, engaged with it in irreconcilable strife. Still, for several centuries, many of those primitive tenets and usages were left unaffected. Early Yahwism had no distinctive eschatology regarding the problem of the individual; it concerned itself only with the nation. The individual, accordingly, was left to his hereditary

beliefs, which, as we have said, were connected with ancestor worship.¹

In this system the departed were not regarded as in a full sense dead. They shared in all the vicissitudes of their posterity, and possessed superhuman powers to benefit or injure. With a view to propitiating these powers the living offered sacrifices. The vitality of the dead was thus preserved, and their honour in the next world upheld. A man made sacrifice naturally only to his own ancestors; these with their living descendants formed one family.

That such beliefs prevailed in Israel is shown by customs observed with regard to the dead.² The mourning usages have a religious, not merely a psychological significance. They indicate reverence for the dead and a confession of dependence upon them.

1. The mourner girt himself with sackcloth (2 S. 3:31 1 K. 20:31 Is. 58:15 22:12 Jer. 6:26), and sat on his biers (Gen. 37:34 Jer. 48:37). This practice expresses submission to a superior; it is thus that the servants of Benhadad go forth from Aphek to Ahab (1 K. 20:31 f.).

2. The mourner put off his shoes (2 S. 15:30 Ezek. 24:15). This is explained by the removal of the shoes required in approaching holy places (Ex. 3:5 Josh. 5:15).

3. Mourners cut off the hair (Is. 22:12 Jer. 7:29 Am. 8:1 Mic. 1:16 Ezek. 7:18 27:1), or the beard (Jer. 41:5), or both (Is. 15:2 Jer. 48:37); and made baldness between the eyes (Dt. 14:1 f.). The hair was designed as an offering to the dead (see CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 3, and SACRIFICE). These rites are condemned as idolatrous in Dt. 14:1 f.; but they are mentioned by the prophets of the eighth century without any consciousness of their impropriety (cp. Am. 8:10 Mic. 1:16 Is. 15:2 22:12). They appear still to have been the universal custom (Jer. 41:5).

4. Mourners made cuttings in their flesh for the dead. Such incisions were regarded as making 'an enduring covenant with the dead' (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 322 f.). They were made by the priests of Beal (1 K. 18:28). They were forbidden by the Hebrew law (Dt. 10:1 Lev. 19:28) on the same grounds as in the case of §.

¹ Cp. Schwally, *Die Leben nach dem Tode*, chap. 1, 'Der alte Glaube'; Stade, *GLT* 1387 ff.; Marti, *Gesch. d. israel. Rel.* 22-26, 30, 40-43, 48, 103. The conclusions of these scholars are attacked by Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelencult im alten Israel*, 1896, but on the whole without success.

² See Stade, *GLT* 1387 ff.; Schwally, *op. cit.* 9-16.

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5. The covering of the head by the mourners (*Is. 15.30* *Ezek. 24.17* *Jer. 14.17*) is probably to be regarded as a substitute for cutting off the hair; similarly the covering of the beard represents its removal (*Ezek. 24.17*). This practice expresses reverence for the dead. The same custom was observed by the worshipper in approaching God (cp the case of Elijah at Horeb) and is universal in the synagogue and the mosque at the present day.

6. The mourner offered sacrifices to the dead (*Ezek. 24.17-22* *Ch. 16.14-21*). They are probably implied in *Is. 8.19-21*; for when a man wished to consult the dead, he would naturally present an offering. Their object is clear from *Deut. 26.14* *Jer. 16.7* (?); it was to give sustenance to the dead and to win their favour. In later times they came to be regarded as mere funeral feasts. This had not come about in the second century B.C., however; for sacrifices to the dead appear to be commended in *Eccles. 7.11* ('For a dead man withhold not a gift *לֹא יִשְׁקָטוּ אֶת הַנְּפֻשׁוֹת הַיָּמִינִי*'), and in *Tob. 4.17* ('Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just'), though they are derided in *Eccles. 30.14* *Eccl. Jer. 31.7* *Wisd. 14.14-15* *Or. Sibyl. 8.382*. In *Jubilees 22.7* they are referred to as prevailing among the Gentiles.

The *téráphim* mentioned in *Gen. 35* were household gods.¹ They are called 'strange gods,' and their worship is regarded as incompatible with that of Yahwe.

4. By the worship of *Téráphim*.

Their sacred character appears from their being buried under a sacred tree, the *térébinte*. An earlier mention is in *Gen. 31.19-20*, where Rachel steals the *téráphim* of her father. In *Ex. 21.2-6* we have another passage attesting their worship. According to this section there was in private houses a god close to the door, to which the slave who desired enrolment in his master's family had to be brought. Originally this meant admission to the family cult with all its obligations and privileges (see statement of Eliezer's position below, § 5). Later the *téráphim*, which were of human form (*Is. 19.11*), were regarded as images of Yahwe (*cp Judg. 17.5*, and *18.17*; see also *Is. 18.17-18*); for it is difficult to believe that David, the champion of the religion of Yahwe, would have worshipped the *téráphim* in their original character as household gods. In *Hos. 3.4* and *Zech. 10.2*, however, they seem to retain their original character as images of ancestors (*cp TÉRAPHIM*).

In *Deut. 15.12-18* the rite of initiation mentioned in *Ex. 21* is, by the omission of the term 'god,' robbed of all its primitive religious significance, and given a wholly secular character.

It is ancestor worship that explains the importance of male offspring. The honour and wellbeing of the dead depended on the worship rendered and the sacrifices offered by their male descendants. Even in the after life, therefore, men could be punished by Yahwe by the destruction of their posterity (*Ex. 20.5* *34.7* *Nu. 14.18* *Deut. 5.9*); for the sacrifices then ceased to be made.² If a man failed to have male offspring, the difficulty could be surmounted by adoption. The adopted man passed from his own clan to that of his adopted father, and thereby took upon himself all the obligations attaching to the latter. Even a slave could be so adopted (see *FAMILY*, § 2). Eliezer is regarded as Abraham's heir in default of male issue (*Gen. 15.2*).

It is to be presumed that he had already been adopted into the family cult. The right of inheritance is thus derived in principle from ancestor worship; only the son and heir could fulfil its rites (see *LAW AND JUSTICE*, § 18). Illegitimate sons, therefore, could not inherit (*Stade, G171* 391); their mother had not been admitted by marriage into the cult (*cp Judg. 11.2*). In *Nu. 30* the law has already undergone a change. A daughter is allowed to inherit if she has married a man belonging to her father's family or tribe. In Athens, on the other hand, the property descended to the next male heir; but he was obliged to marry the daughter of the deceased (*Stade, ib.*).

¹ On *Stade's* and *Schwally's* identification of the *téráphim* with an ancestor image (accepted by *Budde* on *Judg. 17.5*, *Holzinger* on *Gen. 31.19*, *Nowack* on *Hos. 3.4*, etc.), see *TÉRAPHIM*.

² On the same principle a man destroyed his enemy and all his sons with the object of depriving him of respect and worship in the lower world.

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It is thus clear that the living and the dead formed one family, and the departed participated in all the vicissitudes of their living descendants. Rachel in her grave shared in the troubles of her children in northern Israel (*Jer. 31.15*).

The necessity of a son who should perform the family ancestor worship gave birth to the levirate law. A man must marry the childless widow of his deceased brother. Where the deceased had no brother, the duty fell on the nearest male relation. The firstborn son of such a marriage was registered as the son of the deceased, who was thus secured the respect and the sacrifices which could be rendered only by a son legitimately begotten or adopted. This law appears to be assumed as in force in *Gen. 38.26*, but its significance is forgotten in *Deut. 25.5-6*. According to old Israelish views, Tamar fulfilled a duty of piety towards her dead husband (*Stade* 1904); similarly Ruth. Even the daughters of Lot may have had the same end in view.

The fact that, even in David's time, the clan constituted a sacramentally united corporation (*1 S. 20.29*) points back to an earlier worship of ancestors. The customs just considered (§§ 3-6) regulate the conduct of the living. We have now to consider more directly the beliefs regarding the dead themselves, their place of abode and the nature of their existence there.

These beliefs are no less essentially connected with ancestor worship, but they had a much more extended lease of life. Long after the practices we have described had become unintelligible or sunk into complete abeyance, the beliefs flourished in the high places of Judaism; they chained the adherence of no small portion of the priesthood down to the destruction of the temple by Titus.

As in the religions of Greece and Rome, burial was held to be indispensable to the comfort of the departed. It was hardly ever withheld.

Criminals who were hanged (*Deut. 21.22*) or stoned (*Josh. 7.24-26*), and suicides (*Jos. Bell. 1.11.85*), were accorded burial; as were even the most heinous criminals (*Ezek. 39.12*). Of the calamities that could befall a man the lack of burial was one of the most grievous.

Such was the sentence of punishment pronounced on Jezebel (*2 K. 9.10*). It was the fate that awaited the enemies of Yahwe (*Jer. 25.33*). Even the materialistic writer of *Ecclesiastes* (6.3), if the text is correct, regards such a misfortune as outweighing a whole lifetime of material blessings.

This horror at the thought of being unburied cannot be explained in the same way as in the religions of Greece and Rome, where it involved exclusion from Hades; according to Hebrew views all without exception descended to Sheöl. It may be explained on two grounds. (1) In earlier times unless the dead had received burial no sacrifice could be offered to them. The grave, in ancestor worship, was in some measure the temple. (2) In later times, when such conceptions were forgotten, to be deprived of burial entailed a lasting dishonour and subjected the dead in Sheöl to unending reproach (*Ezek. 28.10-32.1*).

Not simply burial, however, but also burial in the family grave, was the desire of every Israelite. Hence the frequent statement that a man was gathered to his fathers (*Gen. 15.15* *Judg. 2.10*) or to his people (*Gen. 49.29-33* *Nu. 27.13*). The departed must be introduced into the society of his ancestors. In the earliest times the abode of this society was conceived to be the family grave or its immediate neighbourhood. Everyone wished to be buried with his father and mother

9. In the family grave. The frequent statement that a man was gathered to his fathers (*Gen. 15.15* *Judg. 2.10*) or to his people (*Gen. 49.29-33* *Nu. 27.13*). The departed must be introduced into the society of his ancestors. In the earliest times the abode of this society was conceived to be the family grave or its immediate neighbourhood. Everyone wished to be buried with his father and mother

¹ [The context is against this reference to the law of burial. We must perhaps either strike out the entire phrase 'gathered to his fathers' (with *Hirzig*), or else the negative 'gathered to his fathers' (with *Wildeboer*).

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(2 S. 17.23 19.37 [38]). Jacob and Joseph are said to have directed that their bodies should be carried back to Canaan to be buried in the family grave (Gen. 47.30 50.25 Ex. 13.19). This was originally in the house. It was there, e.g., that Samuel was buried (1 S. 25.1); similarly Joab (1 K. 2.34). As no family stood in isolation, however, but was closely united with others, and as these together made up the clan or tribe, at these tribes in due time were consolidated into the nation, a new conception arose; all the graves of the tribe or nation were regarded as united in one. It was this new conception that received the designation of *Shēōl*.

In all probability, therefore, the Hebrew *Shēōl* was originally conceived as a combination of the graves of the clan or nation, and thus as its final abode.

10. Origin of *Shēōl*. In due course this conception was naturally extended till it embraced the departed of all nations, and became the final abode of all mankind. It has already reached this stage in Ezek. 32.14 Job 30.24. Strictly regarded, the conception of an abode of the dead in the grave and of one in *Shēōl* are mutually exclusive. Being popular notions, however, they do not admit of scientific definition, and their characteristics are treated at times as interchangeable. The family grave, with its associations of ancestor worship, is of course the older conception. As burial in the family grave enabled a man to join the circle of his ancestors, so burial with honour was a condition of his attaining an honourable place in *Shēōl*—i.e., joining his people there. Otherwise he is thrust into the lowest and outermost parts of the pit (Ezek. 32.23). When, however, *Shēōl* is said to have distinct divisions (Prov. 7.27), the statement may be merely poetical.

Regarding the condition of the dead in *Shēōl* (on which see below, §§ 15-18) it will here be sufficient to point out two main characteristics.

(a) In early times (and down to the fourth century B.C. there was little change¹) *Shēōl* was quite independent of Yahwē and outside the sphere of his rule.

11. Two characteristics. Yahwē was originally the god of the tribe or nation, and his sway for long after the settlement in Canaan was conceived to extend, not to the whole upper world, much less to the lower (*Shēōl*), but only to his own people and land. The persistence of this conception of *Shēōl* for several centuries side by side with the monotheistic conception of Yahwē as creator and ruler of the world is, for the Western mind, hard to understand, the conceptions being mutually exclusive. It is clear, however, that Israel believed that when a man died he was removed from the jurisdiction of Yahwē (Ps. 88.5 [6] 31.22 [23]), and relations between them ceased (Is. 38.18).

(b) As independent of Yahwē, *Shēōl* knew nothing of the moral distinctions that prevailed on earth.

According to the OT death means an end of the earthly life, not the cessation of all existence; the person still subsists. As the nature of this

12. 'Soul,' 'blood.' continued existence depends on the OT theory of man's composite personality, it will be necessary at this point to make a study of that theory. In its most primitive form it regards man as consisting of two elements, 'soul' (*nep̄esh*) and 'body' (*bāšār*). What was thought of the body does not concern us here (see, however, § 18).

Regarding the soul we may note four points.

1. The soul is identified with the blood.

As the shedding of blood caused death, the 'soul' was conceived to be in the blood (Lev. 17.11 a), or it was actually identified with it (Dt. 12.23 Gen. 9.4 f.). Hence men avoided eating blood; they offered it to God. Hence, too, blood unjustly spilt on the earth—the 'soul'—cried to heaven for vengeance (Gen. 4.10).

Again, since the 'soul' was the blood and the central seat of the blood was the heart, the heart was regarded as the organ of thought. A man without

¹ Though God's power is conceived from the eighth century onward (cp. Am. 9.2 Job 26.11 Prov. 1.31 Ps. 139.7) to extend to *Shēōl*, yet *Shēōl* maintains its primitive character. In the earlier centuries the powers that bore sway in *Shēōl* were the ancestors of the living.

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intelligence was a 'heartless' man (Hos. 7.11); when a man thought, he was said to 'speak in his heart.' Thought is not ascribed directly to the 'soul,' however, though a certain limited intelligence is.

2. To the 'soul' are attributed not only purely animal functions such as hunger (Prov. 10.3), thirst (Prov. 25.25), sexual desire (Jer. 2.24), but

13. Feeling. also psychical affections such as love (Is. 42.1), joy (Ps. 86.4), fear (Is. 15.4), trust (Ps. 57.2), hate (Is. 1.14), contempt (Ezek. 36.5).¹ To it are ascribed also wish and desire (Gen. 23.8 2 K. 9.15 1 Ch. 28.9), and likewise, but very rarely, memory (Lam. 3.20 Dt. 4.9) and knowledge (Ps. 139.14). As the seat of feeling and desire (and, in a limited degree, of intelligence) it becomes an expression for the individual conscious life. Thus 'my soul' (*anī*) means 'I,' 'thy soul' means 'thou,' etc. (Hos. 9.4 Ps. 32.3 [7.2] 11.1).

So 'many souls' means so many 'persons' (Gen. 46.13 Ex. 1.5). This designation of the personality by 'soul' (*nep̄esh*) shows how meagre a conception of personality prevailed in Israel. *anī* ('my spirit') was never so used in the OT.

3. The soul leaves the body in death (Gen. 35.18 1 K. 17.21 2 S. 1.9 Jn. 1.1), not necessarily immediately,

14. Soul departs. but (apparently) at least on the appearance of corruption. In certain cases, after outward death the soul was regarded as still in some sense either in or near the body; a dead person was called a *nep̄esh* (Lev. 19.28 21.22 Nu. 19.67 10.11ag. 2.11) or a dead *nep̄esh* (*anī nep̄esh*; Nu. 66 Lev. 21.11).

4. The soul therefore also dies. Its death, however, is not absolute. Moreover, we must note the

15. Its condition in death. prevalence in Israel of two inconsistent views—a fact (not hitherto fully brought to light)² that has

forced its recognition on the present writer in the course of the present study—(a) an older view, which attributes to the departed a certain degree of knowledge and power in reference to the living and their affairs; (b) a later view, which denies this.³

(a) According to the older view the departed possessed a certain degree of self-consciousness and the power of

16. Earlier view of death. speech and movement (Is. 14); a large measure of knowledge—hence their name, *anī*, 'the knowing ones' (Lev. 19.31 20.6 Is. 19.3; cp. DIVINATION, § 4.

iii.); acquaintance with the affairs of their living descendants and a keen interest in their fortunes—thus Rachel mourns from her grave for her captive children (Jer. 31.15);—ability to forecast the future (whence they were consulted about it by the living; 1 S. 28.13-20 [where observe that the dead person invoked is called *Elōhim*] Is. 8.19 29.4); whence the practice of incubation⁴ (Is. 65.4). As we have already seen that the departed were believed to have the power of helping or injuring their descendants (see § 2), we need only observe here that it follows from Is. 63.16 that Abraham and Israel were conceived as protectors (see Cheyne and Duhm, etc., *in loc.*).

The relations and customs of earth were reproduced in *Shēōl*.

The prophet was distinguished by his mantle (1 S. 28.14), kings by their crowns and thrones (Is. 14), the uncircumcised by his foreskin (Ezek. 32). Each nation preserved its individuality and no doubt its national garb and customs (Ezek. 32). Those slain with the sword bore for ever the tokens of a violent death (Ezek. 32.25), as likewise those who died from grief (Ezek. 42.38). Indeed the departed were regarded as possessing exactly the same features as marked them at the moment of death. We can appreciate, accordingly, the terrible significance of David's

1 These are so essentially affections of the 'soul' that they are hardly ever attributed to the 'spirit' (*ruah*); yet see § 10.

2 Only Stade appears to have apprehended the fact, and that but partially—as far as we may judge from his published works.

3 It follows logically from the doctrine of man's nature, unknown in pre-prophetic times, which is set forth in Gen. 2.7; see below, § 16.

4 i.e., the practice of sleeping in a temple in the hope of receiving a communication of a visit from the god.

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departing counsel to Solomon touching Job; 'Let not his hoar head go down to Sheol in peace' (1 K. 2c).

In many respects the view just sketched is identical with that which underlies ancestor worship. This worship had withdrawn entirely into the background before the prophetic period; but, as we have said (§ 7), many of its presuppositions maintained themselves in the popular belief till late in the post-exilic period. The most significant fact to observe is the comparatively large measure of life, movement, knowledge, and power attributed to the departed in Sheol. How important this is becomes obvious when the earlier view is contrasted with the later and antagonistic view.

(b) The later view follows logically from the account in Gen. 2:4-3, according to which it was when animated by the 'spirit' that the material form

17. Later view of death

'soul' is due to the presence of the 'spirit,' death ensues on its removal.¹ Death, however, even here does not imply annihilation, though it logically should imply it; the 'soul' still subsists in some sense. The subsistence, however, is purely shadowy and negative: all the faculties are suspended.

Sheol, the abode of the shades, is thus almost a synonym for abandon or destruction (Job 26: Provs. 15:11). In opposition to the older view that in Sheol there is a certain degree of life, movement, and remembrance, the later view teaches that it is the land of forgetfulness (Ps. 88:12), of silence (Ps. 94:17, 115:17), of destruction (Job 26:28, 22); in opposition to the belief that the dead return to counsel the living, the later teaches that the dead cannot return (Job 7:9, 14:12); in opposition to the belief that they are acquainted with the affairs of their living descendants, the later teaches that they no longer know what befalls on earth (Job 14:21); in opposition to the belief in their superhuman knowledge of the future—as the 'knowing ones'—the later teaches that all knowledge has forsaken them (Eccl. 9:5), that they have neither device nor knowledge nor wisdom (Eccl. 9:10). Whereas the older view permitted their being invoked as 'Elohim,' the later view regards them as 'dead ones' (נפשות) (Is. 26:14, Ps. 89:10, 111:10).² See DEAD, § 2.

Finally the relations of the upper world appear to be reproduced, if at all, more faintly; the inhabitants of Sheol, king and slave, oppressor and oppressed, good and bad, are all buried in a profound sleep (Job 3:14-19). All existence seems to be at an end.

Thus we read in Ps. 39:13, 'O spare me, that I may recover strength, before I go hence, and be no more'; and in Job 14:7-10, 'There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again—but—man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?'³

5. Though in death the 'soul' leaves the body and departs, the departed in Sheol are never designated simply 'souls.'⁴ The early Israelites were

18. Shadowy body

metaphysically unable to conceive the body without psychical functions, or the soul without a certain corporeity. The departed were conceived, accordingly, as possessing not only a soul but also a shadowy body. This appears in the use of the term 'shades' (נְפִשִׁים), which was current in all ages (see REPHAIM I.). Elohim, the title by which in earlier times the shades were addressed, passed out of use. In later times, when such a doctrine of man's being as that underlying Gen. 2:4-3, became current,

¹ This view strikes at the root of the worship of ancestors. The deceased can have no vitality or power; for the 'spirit' is the spring of life, and the departed are only 'souls' that are dead—i.e., 'souls' in which every faculty is dormant. Gen. 2:4-3, which did not originate till the prophetic period, is the outcome of monotheism, whether we regard it as being of Hebrew or of foreign origin. It is needless to add that, when monotheism emerged, for various reasons ancestor worship became impossible.

² The term 'shades' נְפִשִׁים (used also in the Phœnician religion) was applied to the departed in both systems; but possibly with a difference (contrast Is. 11:9 f. 26:14 to Ps. 88:10, 111:10). Prov. 2:18, 23:18 etc., where it is synonymous with the dead.

³ It will be observed that the currency of the later view is attested by the second Isaiah, by Ezekiel, Job, and Ecclesiastes. In these books the teaching in Gen. 2:4-3 has reached its logical consequence. That teaching is implied in Is. 42:5 Ezek. 37:8 f. Job 27:1, 33:4 Eccles. 12:7 'the spirit shall return to God who gave it' (yet it is doubtful if this verse belongs to the text; cp. 3:21).

⁴ We seem to find in Job 14:22 Ps. 10: to such a use, or at all events the preparation for it.

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the epithet 'dead ones' was employed. To designate 'the dead' simply 'souls' without any qualification would hardly have been possible; according to the later view, souls in Sheol were bereft of all their natural psychical functions.

The Hebrew writers speak, however, of a 'spirit' as well as of a 'soul,' and we must consider briefly the relation of the terms to each other.

19. Spirit: earlier view: man a dichotomy

Originally they were synonymous meaning 'breath' or 'wind.' The primitive conception was arrived at by observation. When the breath—i.e., the *nephesh* or *raah*—left the body, the body died. The *nephesh* or *raah* was, therefore, regarded as the principle of life. As Stade has remarked (*GLT* 1419), *raah* probably designated specially the stronger and stormier emotions; the custom of personifying the psychical affections generally as *nephesh*, once introduced, led to the practice of naming the stronger expressions of this personification *raah*. Thus anger is an affection of the *raah* (Judg. 8:3, see below). So long as a man was wholly master of his powers, he possessed his *raah*; but when he became lost in amazement (1 K. 10:5) or despair (Josh. 2:11), or when he fainted (1 S. 30:12 Judg. 15:19), his *raah* left him. On his reviving it returned (Gen. 45:27).

In keeping with this view of the 'spirit' (*raah*) it is said to be the subject of trouble (Gen. 41:8), anguish (Job 7:11), grief (Gen. 26:35 Is. 54:4), contrition (Ps. 51:17 [19] Is. 66:2), heaviness (Is. 61:1). It is the seat of energetic volition and action—the 'haughty spirit' (Prov. 16:18), the 'lowly spirit' (22:23), the impatient spirit (Prov. 14:29), etc.

As its departure entails a paralysis of voluntary power (see above) the *raah* expresses the impulse of the will (Ex. 35:21). The purposes of man are '... of the *raah*' (נַפְשׁוֹ) (Ezek. 11:5); the false prophets follow their own 'spirit' rather than that of Yahweh (Ezek. 13:3); God tries men's 'spirits' (Prov. 16:2). '*raah*' seems also to express character—the result of will—in Nu. 14:24, 'Caleb... had another "spirit" with him.' By this development in the application of the term *raah* it has become the seat of man's highest spiritual functions.

To sum up: 'soul' and 'spirit' are at this early stage identical in essence and origin; the distinction is one of function.

(b) This primitive view was in part superseded by a later doctrine (later from the point of view of the genesis of ideas), taught in Gen. 2:4-3.¹

The most complete story of the creation of man² represents that Yahweh Elohim formed man of earth from the ground, and

20. Spirit: later view: man a trichotomy

blew into his nostrils 'breath' (*neshama*) of life (נִשְׁמָה) so that man became a living 'soul' (*nephesh*), Gen. 2:7. The *neshama* of 2:7 is called *raah* (נִשְׁמָה) in 6:17, 7:15. There are therefore in man three elements: 'soul' (*nephesh*), 'body' (*basar*), and 'spirit' or *raah* (נִשְׁמָה), which last, in the later theory, is simply that which gives life to the 'soul.'³ This 'spirit' of life (נִשְׁמָה) is in the lower creation as well (Gen. 6:17, 7:15, 22 Ps. 104:30), and by virtue of it they too become living 'souls.'

According to the story worked up by a late priestly writer (Gen. 1:24) the brute creation is only indirectly the product of divine creation; whereas man is so directly. Angels, however, are never, either in the canonical or in the apocryphal books, said to have 'souls,' though occasionally the term is used in regard to God; he swears by his 'soul' (Am. 6:8; cp. Is. 42:1 Lev. 26:11 cp. below, § 63). In the account of the relation of 'soul' to 'body' and 'spirit,' in Gen. 2:7, the 'spirit' has become quite distinct from the 'soul' in essence and origin. It is the divine element in man. According to the older view the difference was one of

¹ [Into the historical relation of this doctrine to the Hebrew conceptions of CREATION (§ 7.) we cannot here enter at length. It cannot be denied that the statement in Gen. 2:7 is of early origin. That remains a fact, even if the narrative in Gen. 2:4-3 has passed through more than one literary phase. Critics are of opinion, however, that the myth of creation utilized for didactic purposes in that narrative was not very widely spread among the Israelites, and that the religious ideas attached to the myth but slowly became operative in the popular mind.]

² [On the references to creation, whether in narratives or in other forms, see CREATION; on the question as to the early or late date of the ideas in Gen. 2:7, 3 see preceding note.]

³ Cp. below, § 61 (1).

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function, hardly of essence, certainly not of origin. Now 'spirit' is the life-giving power in the body. When it enters the material form the man becomes a living soul. Without *nephesh* there is no life (Hab. 2.19). In death the 'soul,' robbed of every vital function, descends into Sheol and practically ceases to exist. The 'spirit' (*nephesh*) never dies; it merely leaves the body and returns to God who gave it (Is. 146.4 Eccles. 12.7).¹ Of this view the logical result is the scepticism of Ecclesiastes and of the Sadducees.

We have found that the Israelite derived from the circle of ideas underlying ancestor worship his views as to the nature of 'soul' and 'spirit,' and

21. Résumé. of Sheol and the condition of the departed there. On these questions no light was thrown for many centuries by anything distinctive of the religion of Yahweh, which had originally no eschatology of its own relating to the individual. Looking back, however, on the far-off days of the origins of the religion of Yahweh, we can see that the beliefs connected with ancestor worship were doomed to extinction by their inconsistency with that religion, though centuries had to elapse before the doom was fully accomplished.

The preparation for a higher doctrine of the future life was made essentially when a new value came to be set on the individual. The early Israelite was not alarmed by the prosperity of the wicked man or the calamities of the righteous; Yahweh was supposed to concern himself only with the well-being of the people as a whole, not with that of its individual members. It seemed natural and reasonable that he should visit the virtues and vices of the fathers on the children (Ex. 20.5 Lev. 20.5 Josh. 7.24 1 S. 3.13), or of an individual on his community or tribe (Gen. 12.17 20.18 Ex. 12.29). Indeed, in postponing the punishment of the sinner till after death and allowing it to fall on his son,² Yahweh showed his mercy (1 K. 11.12 21.29).

Towards the close of the kingdom of Judah, the popular sentiment expressed itself in the proverb, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge' (Jer. 31.29). Explicitly this denied the responsibility of the people for the overthrow of the nation—a view that naturally paralysed all personal effort after righteousness and made men the victims of despair. Implicitly it expressed, not a humble submission to the divine judgments, but rather an arraignment of the divine method of government.

In opposition to this popular statement Jeremiah answered as follows:—'In those days they shall no more say, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge; but every one shall die for his own iniquity' (Jer. 31.29 f.). At an earlier date the same prophet had delivered a divine oracle of a very different import, 'I will cause them to be tossed to and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth, because of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah' (Jer. 15.4). The new departure in his teaching recorded in the later passage is to be explained by the 'new covenant' described in Jer. 31.31-34 (see COVENANT, § 6 (v.)). Jeremiah foresaw a new relation between Yahweh and his worshippers—a relation determined by two great facts: man's incapacity to reform himself, and God's repugnance to any but a spiritual worship (see JEREMIAH i., § 4).

Jeremiah's idea was further developed by Ezekiel. Every soul is God's and is in direct and immediate relation to him (Ezek. 18.4). If the individual is faithful in this relation, he is unaffected by his own past (18.21-28), or by the sins or the righteousness of his fathers (18.20).

24. Individual retribution: Ezekiel and others.

¹ Cp. below, § 102 (1) & note.

² Rewards and punishments were necessarily conceived as limited to the earthly life; for Sheol was regarded as outside Yahweh's jurisdiction.

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14.12-20). Righteousness raises him above the sweep of the dooms that befall the sinful individual or the sinful nation.¹ Since the achievement of this righteousness is possible for him, he possesses moral freedom, and his destiny is the shaping of his own will (18.30 f.). There is, therefore, a strictly individual retribution, and the outward lot of the individual is exactly proportioned to his moral deserts.

This doctrine rooted itself firmly in the national consciousness. It is taught and applied in detail in those great popular handbooks, the Psalter and the Book of Proverbs. Though the righteous may have many afflictions, Yahweh delivers him out of them all; all his bones are kept, not one of them is broken; but evil slays the wicked (Is. 34.18 [19] f., see also 37.28 etc.). The righteous and the wicked are to be recompensed on earth (Prov. 11.31). Life is the outcome of righteousness; death, of wickedness (Prov. 2.21 f. 10.2 11.19 15.24 f. 19.16 etc.).

Such a doctrine was, naturally, a continual stumbling-block to the righteous when trouble came. Doubts as to its truth were freely expressed.

25. Criticism. notably in the Psalms. Nor was it to the sufferer alone that this difficult view was an impediment. The doctrine of an adequate retribution in this life blocked the way that led to a true solution of the problem of prosperity and adversity. Indeed it denied the existence of any problem to solve; the righteous as such could not suffer. As long as this was regarded as the orthodox doctrine, the doctrine of a future life could not emerge, and progress was impossible.

It was only some of the elements in Ezekiel's teaching that were sanctioned by subsequent religious thought; others were opposed. It is his undying merit that he asserted the independent worth of the individual; but he fell into two errors. He taught (a) that the individual suffers not for the sins of his fathers, but for his own, and (b) that the individual's experiences are in perfect keeping with his deserts. In other words, sin and suffering, righteousness and wellbeing are, according to Ezekiel, always connected; the outward lot of the individual is God's judgment in concrete form.²

Now as regards a, the experience of the nation must have run counter to this statement. It was evident that the elements in a man's lot which lie outside the sphere of his volition are shaped for better or for worse in accordance with the merits or demerits of his father and people. The older view accordingly continues to be attested in Jewish literature (see Ps. 109.13 Eccles. 23.25 40.15 41.6, and especially Dan. 9.7 f., Judith 7.28, Tob. 3.3, Ass. Mos. 3.5, Baruch 1.8-21 2.6 3.8, Apoc. Bar. 77.34-40): it is freely acknowledged that men are punished for the sins of their fathers and brethren.

Ezekiel's second error (b), that the individual's experience agrees with his deserts, is the corollary of a. It gave birth to a long controversy, of which two notable memorials have come down to us in Job and Ecclesiastes. Eccles. is much the later; but we will for convenience sake deal with it first.

Against the statement (b) that the experience of the individual is in perfect keeping with his deserts, the writer of Ecclesiastes enters a decided negative. He declares, in fact, that there is no retribution at all.³

26. Protest of Eccles. He asserts that sometimes evil prolongs a man's days, and righteousness curtails them (7.15); that the destinies of the wise man and of the fool (2.14), of the righteous and the wicked (9.2) are identical; that the wicked attain to the honour of burial, whilst this is often denied to the righteous (8.10). If any one

¹ That there is an inconsistency between Ezek. 9.3-6 and 21.1 f. cannot, however, be denied.

² Both a and b seemed to Ezekiel to follow logically from God's righteousness, and rightly, if there was no retribution beyond the grave.

³ The passages where judgment is threatened (3.17 11.9 12.14) are, according to an increasing number of critics, intrusions in the text, being at variance with the entire thought of the writer. 8.12 is no longer in its original form.

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complaints of the shallowness of Ecclesiastes,¹ is not Ezekiel on the opposite side equally shallow?

In the book of Job the principal elements of Ezekiel's teaching reappear. The doctrines of man's individual

27. Of Job. worth and of a strictly individual retribution, however, are shown to be really irreconcilable (see JOB, BOOK OF, §§ 5-8). Conscious in the highest degree of his own worth and rectitude, Job claims that God should deal with him in accordance with his deserts. Like his contemporaries his belief is (for Job and the author of the dialogues may be identified) that every event that befalls a man reflects God's disposition towards him; misfortune betokens God's anger, prosperity his favour. This belief, however, is not confirmed by the fortunes of other men (21-15), and, with the added insight derived from a sad personal experience, Job concludes that, as the world is governed, righteousness may even be awarded the meed of wickedness. Faith, in order to be sure of its own reality, claims its attestation by the outward judgments of God, and Job's faith receives no such attestation. Still it does not entirely give way; from the God of circumstance, of outer providence, Job appeals to the God of faith (by Job, as we have said, we mean the author).

The fact that Job does not seek to solve the problem by taking into his argument the idea of a future life, shows that this idea or belief had not yet won acceptance among the religious thinkers of Israel. The main views and conclusions of Job, however, point in that direction. The emphasis laid on man's individual worth, with his consequent claims upon a righteous God—claims which are during life entirely unsatisfied—should lead to the conclusion that at some future time all these wrongs will be righted by the God of faith. Such a conclusion, however, is never explicitly drawn.

The poem of Job cannot be said to teach the doctrine of a future life. Still, the idea seems for a moment to have gleamed on Job's mind, and the fancy expressed in 14.13 f. became the accepted doctrine of later times. If the Hebrew text of 19.25-29 is sound, perhaps there also Shēōl is conceived as only an intermediate place. At any rate Job declares in this great passage that God will appear for his vindication, and that at some time after his death he will enjoy the divine vision face to face. It is not indeed stated that this vision will endure beyond the moment of Job's justification by God. Nevertheless the importance of the spiritual advance here made cannot be exaggerated. The soul is no longer regarded as cut off from God and shorn of all its powers by death, but as still capable of the highest spiritual activities *though without the body*. A belief in the continuance of this higher life is certainly in the line of many of Job's reasonings. On the other hand, if Job had not merely *wished* but also been *convinced* that this idea was sound, would it have been possible for him to ignore such an all-important conviction throughout the rest of the book? There are likewise textual difficulties, which recent critics have considered to justify a very radical treatment of the text.

The words rendered in RV 'And after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God,'² are specially doubted. RVmg gives two alternative marginal renderings for the first part of this passage, and for 'from my flesh' suggests the widely different rendering 'without my flesh', which is that generally adopted by those scholars who adhere to MT. Cp Dillmann *ad loc.*, and, on the other side, JON, § 6.

[Siegfried (Job, *SBO* f., Heb.) looks upon v. 25 f. as 'a later gloss, in which the resurrection of the just is regarded as a possibility, contrary to the opinion put forth in the book of Job with regard to Shēōl (ib. 3 etc.).' The result, however, is not satisfactory. Siegfried appeals to Q; but we have a right to suspect theological glosses in the Alexandrian Jewish version.

¹ Cp ECCLESIASTES.

² ואני עור נקמות
בבשר אמות אלוק

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Something different must have stood where our present v. 25 f. stands, and it is the work of the textual critic to trace its relics. See also Hudde, *ad loc.*, and Che.'s criticism, *Expos.*, 1897a, p. 410 ff.]

In spite of this criticism it is true to say that this great poem *suggests* the doctrine of a future life. Later students may or may not have found it in 14.13-15 19.25-29; but in any case the rest of the book presents the antinomies of the present so forcibly that thinkers who assimilated its contents could not avoid taking up a definite attitude towards the 'higher theology.' Some made a venture of faith, and postulated the doctrine of a future life; others, like the writer of Ecclesiastes, made the 'great refusal' and fell back on unbelief and materialism. We have arrived at the parting of the ways.¹

It remains to consider whether there is evidence of a belief in the immortality of the individual in the Psalter.

29. In the Psalms. It is unfortunate that the text of this book should be so far from accurate as (from textual criticism) it appears to be. The psalms that chiefly have to be considered are 16, 17, 49, and 73. Here we find one of the most recent critics receding from his original conclusion (in favour of the existence of the hope of immortality), on the ground that 'a searching textual revision' is adverse to it. As regards the first two, at any rate, of the psalms just referred to, the evidence, even if we assume the trustworthiness of all that the unemended text contains, is inadequate to prove the point.

In Ps. 16 there is nothing that necessarily relates to an individual future life. The psalm appears to express the fears and hopes, not of the individual, but of the community.

30. In Ps. 16. In Ps. 17 likewise the Psalmist speaks not as an individual (cp the plurals, v. 71), but as the mouthpiece of the Jewish people, who are to Yahwē as the apple of the eye (v. 8); in fear of a foreign invader (v. 9, 13) the Psalmist prays for help. This being so, however, instead of 'I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness,' we should expect some reference to God's help. In any case the context does not admit of a reference to a future life.²

In Ps. 49 the present text admits of two interpretations. In v. 14 [15] the speaker announces speedy destruction for the wicked but complete redemption from death

31. In Ps. 49. for himself; but who is the speaker? Does the 'I' here denote the Psalmist as a representative pious Israelite, or the righteous community? In favour of the collective meaning it is argued that those for whom the Psalmist speaks are the righteous poor who are oppressed by the wicked rich; that v. 10 [11] states: 'all die, alike the wise man (i.e., the righteous) and the fool'; and that when the individual is undoubtedly intended (v. 16 [17]) he is addressed as 'thou.' The escape from death is, therefore, on this interpretation, that of the righteous community.³ On the other hand, it seems to be in favour of a reference to immortality that, as Cheyne has pointed out, Shēōl appears in v. 14 [15] as a place of *punishment* for the wicked rich.⁴ As such it could never become the abode of the righteous. It is reasonable therefore to expect that the speaker should somewhere state his own consciousness (as a representative pious Israelite) of exemption from this fate. This seems to give us the key to the words, 'Surely my soul God will set free; for from the hand of Shēōl will he take me.'⁵

We must, therefore, lay stress on the naturalness

¹ On the belief in retribution in early Judaism, see especially Che. *OPs.* 331-452; *Jew. Rel. Life.* 229-247. For translations from the psalms, cp Weilh.'s and Driver's recent works. A complete translation from a critical text of Job is still a desideratum.

² So Smend, *ZATW* 895 [88]; Che. *Jew. Rel. Life.* 240 f.

³ So Smend, Schwally, and now Cheyne.

⁴ This is one of the results reached in *OPs.* by Cheyne, who (going much beyond previous writers) regards Ps. 49 as incidentally a protest against the old Hebrew notion of Shēōl, with its disregard of moral distinctions, and confirms this view by the parallels between Ps. 49 and chap. 102 f. of Enoch (written probably between 134 and 94 B.C.). The rich man holds that neither in life nor in death has he to fear a judgment; but all the details of this pleasant dream the psalmist contradicts. The moral significance of the descent of the rich into Shēōl is still more visible in Cheyne's attractively emended text (*Jew. Rel. Life.* 238). This conception of the penal character of Shēōl is all the more credible from the reference made in the OT to two other places of punishment for special offenders—the so-called 'pit' (Is. 24.21 f.), and a place strikingly resembling Gehenna for Jewish apostates (Is. 66.24).

⁵ The present writer is of opinion that to the authors of Ps. 49 and 73 Shēōl is the future abode of the wicked alone, heaven that of the righteous.

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of our own interpretation, that there is in Ps. 49 a reference to immortality, an interpretation which is in fact that maintained, with fulness of argument, by Cheyne himself in his *Origin of the Psalter*.

In Ps. 73, as in Ps. 49, the wicked enjoy prosperity; but they are speedily to meet with unexpected retribution

32. In Ps. 73. (18-20). As for the righteous, their highest good and blessedness consist in communion with God. In comparison with God the whole world is to them as nothing (22-25). He is their portion. Despite deadly perils they can safely trust in him (25), and all the more assuredly that he destroys the wicked (27). A new thought, however, emerges in v. 24. God, we are told, 'will guide the righteous with his counsel, and afterwards take him to (or, with) glory.'¹ In the latter phrase, if we may acquiesce in the received text, there must be a reference to the story of Enoch (Gen. 5:24), which was very popular in post-exilic times (see ENOCH, 1), and the whole passage is an assertion of individual immortality (so Delitzsch, Davidson, Baethgen, and originally Cheyne), for the text would be unfairly treated if we restricted the reference to this present life. On grounds which he has not yet fully stated, but which, from the note of Wellhausen on the passage,² we may assume to be partly grammatical, Cheyne now regards v. 24 b as corrupt, and reads, 'And wilt make known to me the path of glory.'³ Assuming, however, with König⁴ that the grammatical difficulties can be overcome, can we show that the new thought of which we have spoken is thoroughly consistent with what follows?⁵ To the present writer no incongruity is visible. He would venture to rest his case on the impassioned words of v. 25a, which prove that the speaker felt assured of the continuance of his union with God not only on earth but also in heaven. For themselves the righteous make no claim to material prosperity either here or hereafter; they look for and indeed possess something far higher. As a corollary of the truth of the justice of God, however, they do expect retribution for the wicked, both here (v. 27, 18-21, 27) and (apparently) hereafter (v. 19 f.).

We have now done with the question of individual immortality so far as it is dealt with in the OT. In Job it emerges merely as an aspiration.

33. Result as to individual immortality. Only in Pss. 49 and 73 (if our interpretation is valid) does it rise to the stage of conviction. The evidence, therefore, in favour of an origin not later than 400 B.C. is far from strong. Even were it wholly wanting, however, we should be obliged, by the logical necessities of thought, to postulate the doctrine. The doctrine of an individual immortality of the righteous, and the doctrine of the Messianic kingdom are presupposed as the chief factors of the complex doctrine of the Resurrection which was developed towards the close of the fourth century or at latest early in the third century. With the evolution of this resurrection hope, however, the entire doctrine of individual immortality falls absolutely into the background, and is no longer attested, till the growing dualism of the time leads to the disintegration of the resurrection hope into its original elements about 100 B.C. (see § 64). Indeed, never in Palestinian Judaism down to the Christian era did the doctrine of a merely individual immortality appeal to any but a few isolated thinkers. The faithful looked forward to a blessed future only as members of a holy people, as citizens of a righteous kingdom that should embrace their brethren.

II. THE NATION.—When we turn to the eschato-

¹ H. Schultz (*17 Theol.* 760) rejects these translations. 'With glory' is that adopted by Driver (*Par. Ps.* 211) and formerly by Che. (*Psalms*). ² *Psalms*, SBOT (Heb.) 88.

³ i.e., the glory of God and of Israel and its members in the Messianic age (*Jew. Rel. Life*, 240).

⁴ *Syntar*, 319 (pointed out to the writer by Prof. Cheyne).

⁵ Schwalli (*Das Leben*, etc., 128 f.) denies this. For a much fuller statement of the present writer's view see his *Doctrine of a Future Life*, 73-77.

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logical ideas that concern the nation as a whole we can hardly venture to go beyond the

34. Eschatology regarding the nation. facts and hopes contained in the prophecies. In the main these cluster at the outset round the familiar conception of 'the day of Yahwé.'

The day of Yahwé in itself, however, constitutes not the blessed future, but only the divine act of judgment which inaugurates it. Hence the eschatology of the nation centres in the future national blessedness introduced by the day of Yahwé.

This future was variously conceived. According to the popular conception down to the eighth century, it was merely a period of material and unbroken prosperity which the nation should enjoy through Yahwé's overthrow of Israel's national foes. This conception gave place, however, in the eighth century, to the prophetic doctrine of the coming kingdom, for the realisation of which two factors, and only two, were indispensable. This kingdom was to be a community of Israelites first and chiefly, and in the next place a community in which God's will should be fulfilled. Whether this kingdom was constituted under monarchical, hierarchical, or purely theocratic forms was in itself a matter of indifference. Since the Messiah formed no organic part of the conception, he was sometimes conceived as present at its head, sometimes as absent. How far the eighth century prophets foretold this kingdom is still an unsettled question. As regards the day of Yahwé there is no such critical difficulty. Our study of the eschatology of the nation will begin with this unquestioned element in Israel's expectations. It is with a development of some complexity that we shall have to deal—a complexity most marked in exilic and post-exilic times, where, as we have seen, the individual no less than the nation began to maintain his claims to righteous treatment. Ezekiel's attempt to satisfy these claims will demand our attention afterwards. Some centuries later what he had essayed to do was achieved in a true synthesis of the eschatologies relating to the nation and to the individual respectively (see § 49).

The day of Yahwé concerns the people as a whole, not the individual. It is essentially the day on which

35. Day of Yahwé; popular idea. Yahwé manifests himself in victory over his foes. Amongst the Hebrews, 'day' had sometimes among the Arabs, 'day' had the definite signification of 'day of battle' (e.g., Is. 93[4] 'the day of Midian'; see WRS *Prophecy*, 397). The belief in this 'day' was older than any written prophecy. In the time of Amos it was a popular expectation. Unethical and nationalistic, it was adopted by the prophets and transformed into a conception of thoroughly ethical and universal significance. It assumed the following forms.

(1.) *Popular conception*; a judgment on Israel's enemies. This conception originated, no doubt, in the old limited view of Yahwé as merely the national god of Israel. We can distinguish two stages.

(a) In its earlier form it was held by the contemporaries of Amos (8th century B.C.). The relation of Yahwé to Israel in their minds was not ethical; to a large extent it was national (Am. 3:2). Israel's duty was to worship Yahwé and Yahwé's was to protect Israel. As the Israelites were punctual in the performance of ceremonial duties (45:5-21 f.), they not only confidently looked forward to, but also earnestly prayed for, 'the day of Yahwé' as the time of his vindication of them against their enemies.¹ Not so, says the prophet. It is a day in which, not the claims of Israel, but the righteousness of Yahwé, will be vindicated against wrong-doing whether in Israel or in its enemies.

(b) The primitive conception of the day of Yahwé was revived by Nahum and Habakkuk: there was to be a judgment by Nah. Hab. Israel's enemies—i.e., the Gentiles.

36. Revived by Nah. Hab. Israel's enemies—i.e., the Gentiles.

¹ This belief that Yahwé must save his people survived, despite the prophets, till the captivity of Judah in 586 B.C.

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(650-600 B.C.). It was the bitterness and resentment engendered by the sufferings of the Israelites at the hands of their oppressors that led to this revival. The grounds, however, on which the expectation of the intervention of Yahwé was based were somewhat different. According to the primitive view Yahwé was bound to intervene on behalf of his people because of the natural affinities between them. According to Nahum and Habakkuk,¹ the affinities are ethical. In fact, such was the self-righteousness generated by Josiah's reforms that neither Nahum nor Habakkuk makes any mention of Israel's sin. In this they represent their people, who felt themselves, in contrast with the wickedness of the Gentiles, relatively righteous (see Hab. 14.13). Hence the impending judgment will strike not righteous Israel, but the godless Gentiles. Here we have the beginnings of the thought that Israel is right, regarded as over against the world—the beginning, for in Nahum and Habakkuk this view is applied only to a single nation, not, as in later times, to all Gentiles. The later usage of designating the Gentiles absolutely as the godless (גוֹיִם) and Judah as the righteous (צַדִּיקִים) is only the legitimate fruit of Habakkuk's example. Cp Is. 26.10 P'ss. 95 [6] 16 [17] f. 102-4 58.10 [11] 68.2 [3] f. 125.3. In most subsequent representations of the future the destruction of the Gentiles stands as a central thought.

(iii.) *Prophetic pre-exilic conception.*—The prophetic conception also passed through several stages.

(a) A of judgment directed *mainly against Israel*. For Amos, as we have seen, the day of Yahwé² is the day in which Yahwé intervenes to vindicate

37. Early prophetic ideas. himself and his righteous purposes. It appears in this prophet only in its darker side (cp 5.13). Other nations will feel it in proportion to their unrighteousness; but unrighteous Israel, being specially related to Yahwé, will experience the severest judgments (3.2). Hosea is of one mind with Amos.³ He does not use the phrase 'the day of Yahwé'; but he describes in awful terms the irreversibility of the judgment (Hos. 13.12-14 [11-13]). (AMOS, § 18 f., HOSEA, § 7 f.).

(b) *Mainly against Judah.*—In Isaiah⁴ and Micah the day of Yahwé receives a new application; it is directed against Judah. Not that warnings of judgment against Israel are neglected **38. Later Isa. etc.** (26.21 8.1-4 93 [7] f. 176.11 23.1-4). The prophet takes all the chief surrounding nations within his range; but he does so only in relation to the judgment on his own people. Although he declares that Yahwé's purpose of 'breaking Assyria' concerns all the nations (14.25 f.), there is no evidence to show that he arrived at the conception of a universal or world judgment. In 3.13, where there appears to be a reference to it, the text is corrupt.⁵ The idea of its universality seems to be given in 21.1-21; but the language is poetical.

Isaiah had now and then gleams of hope, and at all times believed in a remnant, however minute. In 1.24-26 he even anticipates a second and happier Jewish state. Micah, on the other hand, as far as the evidence goes, was persistently hopeless. Jerusalem was to become a ruin, and the temple-hill like 'a height

¹ On the interpolations in these prophets, see NAHUM, HABAKKUK.

² This day of Yahwé, in its double character as a day of punishment and a day of blessing, is also spoken of as 'that day' (Is. 17.7 30.23 28.5 29.18 Hos. 2.18 Mic. 2.4 4.6 5.10 [9] Zech. 9.16 14.4 60), 'that time' (Jer. 31.33 15.50 4 Zeph. 3.19 f. Joel 3 [4] 1), 'the day' (Ezek. 7 to Mic. 30), 'the time' (Ezek. 7.12).

³ On the interpolated passages, see AMOS, § 8 f., HOSEA, § 4.

⁴ The present article builds on the critical results of the article ISAIAH [the book]; see also ISAIAH [the prophet]. Hence the following passages which deal with the Messianic age and the Messiah are rejected as interpolations (they are assigned to the exilic or post-exilic period by Cheyne; generally also by Duhm, Hackmann, Marti, and Volz); Is. 2.2-4 4.2-6 7.14-16 9.1-7 [8.23-9.6] 11.16-19 18-25 25.6-9 28.16-29 32.1-5 35.1-10. On the age of the conception of world-judgment, cp Cheyne, *Isaiah*, p. 53 240.

⁵ For גוֹיִם read, with E, גוֹי (see SEOT, Heb., ad loc.).

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crowned with brushwood' (Mic. 3.12; see Nowack). Cp ISAIAH i., MICAH ii.

(c) *Against the whole world*—resulting in a survival of a righteous remnant of Israel, the Messianic kingdom.

39. Later Zeph. In the prophets with whom we have dealt (except Nah. and Hab.) the judgment of the Gentiles is never conceived independently of the judgment on Israel or Judah. In Zephaniah for the first time it appears to be universal. It deals with the whole earth, including the brute creation (1.2 f.); with Jerusalem (1.8-11); with Philistia, Ethiopia, and Assyria (2.1-6);¹ with all nations (3.8); with all the inhabitants of the earth (1.18). There is, however, a certain inconsistency in the picture. The instruments of judgment are a mysterious people, called 'the guests' of Yahwé (1.7; probably the Scythians), who do not themselves come within the scope of the judgment.

The conception is thus wanting in definiteness and clearness. Zephaniah moves in the footsteps of Isaiah in the account of the impending judgment; but whereas, in Isaiah, judgment on Israel and the nations stands in inner connection with the prophet's conception of the divine character and purposes, in Zephaniah it is without definite aim;² its various constituents appear to represent eschatological expectations already current, while its wide sweep shows the operation of the prevailing monotheism. One point in the description is that, in order that Yahwé's anger may destroy them, the nations are to be assembled (3.2). We meet with this idea here for the first time.

Later prophets make it very prominent (Ezek. 38 f. Is. 45.20 63.6 66.16 34.1-3 Zech. 12.3 f. 14.2 f.); earlier prophets are wont to mention definite and present foes (e.g., the Assyrians in Is. 17.12 f.). In later prophets, the scene of this judgment on the Gentiles is Jerusalem (Zech. 14.2 12-13; Joel 3 [4] 2 Is. 66.15). A small righteous remnant will be left in Israel (3.11-14).

(iii.) *Exilic conception:* judgment of Israel, man by man, and of the Gentiles collectively; restoration

40. At the Exile. of a new Israel in the Messianic kingdom and destruction of Gentiles.³ The individualising of religion in Jeremiah and Ezekiel (see above, § 23 f.) was the precondition of the restoration of Israel after the fall of Jerusalem. According to Ezekiel, in God's visitations only the wicked in Israel should be destroyed. When a new Israel was thus created, Yahwé would further intervene to vindicate his honour and his sole sovereignty over the world, Israel should be restored to its own land, and the Gentiles be destroyed.

A synthesis of the eschatologies of the nation and the individual was in this way attempted wholly within the sphere of this life. We are thus entering on a new period in the development of eschatological thought. Israel is already in exile or on the eve of exile; but Yahwé's thoughts are thoughts of peace, not of evil (Jer. 29.11); the exile will be temporary. The day of Yahwé assumes a favourable aspect almost unrecognised in pre-exilic prophecy. Israel shall be converted and brought back to its own land and an everlasting Messianic kingdom established. This kingdom will be ruled over by Yahwé or by his servant the Messiah, who is apparently mentioned here for the first time.

¹ This idea of the destruction of the nations hostile to Judah thus appears first in the prophets of the Chaldean age; cp Jer. 25.15-24. In the earlier prophets it is the destruction of definite present or past foes that is announced. In the later it is that of the nations generally; cp the Jewish reviser's addition in Jer. 25.32 f. Ezek. 38 f., fifth-century passages in Is. 34.63.1-6 Zech. 12.1-3, and the much later writings, Is. 66.16 18-24 Zech. 14.1-12.15.

² Interpolations must be carefully separated (see ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF).

³ This is true only of Ezekiel. There is nothing in the genuine Jeremiah about the destruction of the Gentiles as a whole, and there is probably in 10.19 (but not in 3.17) a genuine prophecy of the ultimate conversion of the nations. See also 42.12-15. Only the impenitent Gentiles will be destroyed (12.17). Jeremiah and Ezekiel are here fundamentally at issue. It is their agreement on other points that led to their joint treatment here.

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Although the judgment of Israel is not strictly individualistic in Jeremiah as it is in Ezekiel, we shall give the eschatological views of the two together—they can hardly be considered apart; Ezekiel's are in Jeremiah's. In Jeremiah¹ the day of Yahwè is directed first and chiefly against Judah—the

41. In Jeremiah. enemy will come upon it from the north (11-10); the city and temple shall be destroyed (37-10)—although account is taken also of other nations (25-15-24; cp 1-18). There is, however, a hopeful outlook; Israel shall be restored (23-7 f., 24-5 f.). The restoration is to be preceded by repentance (31-19-25), and accompanied by a change of heart (31-33 f.). Restored to its own land, Israel shall receive from Yahwè a king, a righteous Branch of the house of David, who shall deal wisely and execute judgment and justice (23-5 f.).²

The individualism appearing in Jeremiah is developed in Ezekiel to an extreme degree. Judgment on Israel shall proceed individually (only on the Gentiles is it to be collective).

42. In Ezekiel. Yahwè will give Israel a new heart (11-17-21 36-25-32) and restore Israel and Judah to their own land, where, in the Messianic kingdom (17-22-24), they shall be ruled by the Messiah (21-27), by one 'king, namely 'David' (34-23-31 37-21-28). As for the Gentiles, referred to as Gog, they shall be stirred up to march against Jerusalem and shall there be destroyed (38). On the surviving Gentiles no gleam of divine compassion shall ever light.³ Monotheism has become a barren dogma. Particularism and Jewish hatred of the Gentiles are allowed free scope.

(iv.) *Universalistic Conception of the Kingdom* (550-275 B.C.); redemption and earthly Messianic blessedness for Israel and thus for the Gentiles.⁴

43. Second Isaiah. We are now to consider (a) the second Isaiah and (b) later writers.

(a) According to the second Isaiah (Is. 40-48) and his expander (Is. 49-55) there is in store for Israel not punishment but mercy.

Already she has received double for all her sins (40-2). Cyrus shall overthrow Babylon (41-25 43-14 45-47 48-14 f.), and the exiles shall return (40-3-5 43-2-7 48-20-22 49-6). Jerusalem shall be gloriously rebuilt (54-11 f.), and its inhabitants become (like the prophetic writer, 50-4) disciples of the divine teacher (54-13). Never more shall it be assailed (49-24-26 54-8-10 14-17).

Further, the salvation of Israel does not end in itself. The author of the Songs of the Servant⁵ reaches the great conception of Israel as the Servant of Yahwè (42-3 f., 49-1-6 50-4-9 52-13-53-12), through whom all nations shall come to know the true religion. In these writers the legitimate consequences of monotheism in relation to the Gentiles are accepted.

(b) A somewhat similar representation of the future appears in the post-exilic passage Mic. 4-1-3 (= Is. 2-2-4) and the later additions in Jer. 31-7 f.

44. Other later writers. according to which all nations, laying aside wars and enmities, are to be converted and to form under Yahwè one great 'spiritual empire with Jerusalem as its centre.⁷

¹ See JEREMIAH [Book of], and JEREMIAH [the prophet]. Interpolations must be separated, before Jeremiah can be properly understood.

² On this passage, as well as on other late Messianic prophecies, see Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, Lect. iii. Cp also MESSIAH.

³ The Messiah is not conceived here as an individual but as a series of successive kings; cp 45-8 46-16.

⁴ Some scholars find in 17-23 a promise that the Gentiles will seek refuge under the rule of the Messiah; but 17-24 shows that this interpretation is unsound. The Gentiles are symbolized, not by the 'birds of various wings' in 17-23, but by 'the trees of the field' (17-24). As 'the cedar' (17-23) represents the kingdom of Israel, so 'the trees of the field' represent the Gentile kingdoms. The only object with which the latter seem to be spared is that they may recognise the omnipotence of Yahwè.

⁵ See Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, lect. iii. and vi.

⁶ A like conception is probably at the base of the post-exilic Is. 11-9 = Hab. 2-14 (both editorial additions?), which declare that the earth shall be filled with the true religion.

⁷ See ISAIAS II., § 5, and cp Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, lect. iii.

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The same thought¹ is set forth in the Psalms.

See 22-27-31 [28-32] 80-7 and note the fine expressions 'thou confidence of all the ends of the earth'² (65-5 [6]), and 'to thee doth all flesh come' as to one who hears prayer (65-2 [3]).³ In Ps. 87 we have a noble conception which sums up in itself all the noblest thought of the past in this direction. 'Jerusalem is to be the mother city of all nations, 'the metropolis of an ideally Catholic Church' (Che.). 'Whole nations shall enter the Jewish Church' (87-4). So shall also individuals (87-5).

Only two more passages, Is. 14-16-25 and Mal. 1-11 call for attention; but these are beyond measure remarkable. In Is. 19-10-25 (275 B.C.; Che.) the hopes of Is. 87 reappear but are far surpassed in universality. Jerusalem, though the source of spiritual blessedness to Egypt and Assyria (Syria), is neither nationally nor spiritually paramount; rather do these nations form a spiritual and national confederacy in which Israel holds not the first but the third place.

The widest universalism of all, however, is found in Mal. 1-11, where in regard to the surrounding nations the prophet declares 'From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering.' Here, as most critics recognise, we have a testimony to the working of the one divine spirit in non-Jewish religions (cp MALACHI, § 3). Similar universalism had already, it appears, been expressed by Zoroastrianism.⁴

(v.) *Narrow Nationalistic Conception of the Kingdom* (about 520 to 300 B.C.); deliverance and Messianic blessedness for Israel: (a) ministry or bondage, or (b) destruction (partial or complete) for the Gentiles.⁵—Concurrently with the large-hearted universalism

(of the post-exilic writers) just described, there were narrow one-sided views, which held more or less closely to the particularism that originated with Ezekiel. Such were the views most widely current in Judaism. According to these the future world, the Messianic age, belonged to Israel—to Judah and Israel reunited (Hos. 3-5 Mic. 5-3 [2] post-exilic)—under the Messianic descendant of David (Is. 9-1-6 [8-23-9-5] 11-1-8 Mic. 5-2-4 [1-3]; all exilic or later); the Gentiles had either no share at all, or only a subordinate share as dependents or servants of Israel. Their destiny was subjection or destruction—generally the latter, always so in the case of those that had been hostile to Israel.

(a) The Gentiles are to escort the returning Israelites to Jerusalem and become their servants and handmaids, Is. 14-1-3 (cp 60-12-20). They shall build up the city walls (60-10), bow and be subject to Israel, 60-14 (or perish, 60-12), becoming Israel's herdsmen and ploughmen and vinedressers (61-5).⁶

(b) Still more frequently what is predicted for the Gentiles is destruction. In 34-7 (450-430 B.C.; Che.) there is described a universal judgment in which all of them are thus involved (34-1-3).⁷ In the fifth-century fragment 59-15-20 those hostile to Yahwè and Israel⁸ are singled out, whilst those that fear the name of Yahwè are spared 59-15 f., 66-16 19 f. (66-16 18-22 belong to the age of Nehemiah and Ezra);⁹ but in another

¹ Cp also the addition in Zeph. 3-9 f.

² Cp also 25-6 in the small apocalypse in Is. 24-25-6-8 26-20 f., 27-1 12 f. This Che. assigns to the fourth century, Duhm to the second. The later date would help to explain the very advanced eschatology appearing in 24-21-23, which speaks of a preliminary judgment and then after a long interval of the final judgment. On the latter judgment follows the theocratic kingdom (24-23).

³ On the expectation of proselytes see also Is. 14-1 25-6 65-3-6 and cp STRANGERS, PROSELYTE.

⁴ Che. *OP.*, 292, 305 f.

⁵ There are many passages in the post-exilic additions to Is. which speak of Israel only in relation to the Messianic age; cp 4-2-6 19-16-24 35-1-10.

⁶ The only exception is Malachi.

⁷ Cheyne regards these verses as alien to 13-2-14-21.

⁸ These passages are post-exilic; 60 and 61 about 432 B.C. (Che.).

⁹ We have a world-judgment described in 13-2-13, though the judgment is there directed primarily against Babylon (cp 13-5 11), just as in 34 it is specially directed against Edom.

¹⁰ In the post-exilic (?) passage 9-1-7 it is the Messiah who destroys the oppressors of Israel (v. 4). This active rôle of the Messiah is rare in the OT.

¹¹ Cp the world-judgment in the fourth-century apocalypse in Is. 24-25-8, where, after the judgment (24-15-23), the surviving

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fragment of the same date (63-1-2), which closely resembles the preceding passage in subject and phraseology, only destruction is announced for all.

In Haggai and Zechariah, where the establishment of the Messianic kingdom is expected on the completion of the temple¹ (Zech. 8:15), to be rebuilt by the Messiah,² a pre-condition is the destruction of the Gentile powers. We have, thus, a further development of that opposition between the kingdom of God and the world-kingsdoms which appears in Ezekiel and is presented in its sharpest features in Daniel. See, e.g., Zech. 1:19-21 [2:4] 6:1-8, Hag. 2:21 f.

In Joel (4th Cent.; cp JOEL, § 4) the enemies of Judah who are not present foes but *the nations generally*, are to be gathered together in order to be annihilated (3[4]:1-6). Even the place of judgment is mentioned—the valley of Jehoshaphat, the choice being obviously determined by the etymological meaning of the name. Yahwē will sit in judgment (3[4]:12) and all the Gentiles shall be destroyed. This is a nearer approximation to the idea of a final world-judgment than there is elsewhere in the OT save in Dan. 7:9 f. Still the judgment is one-sided. The 'day of Yahwē' does not, as in the pre-exilic and some exilic prophets and the exceptional post-exilic Mal. 3:2-5 4:1-3 [3:19-21 23], morally sift Israel; it serves to justify Israel (2:25-27 3:16 f.) against the world (cp the interpolation in the Second Isaiah, —i.e., 45:25). See JOEL, § 6.

With Joel and his successors prophecy is beginning to change into apocalypse. The forecasts do not, as a rule, stand in a living relation with the present; frequently they are the results of literary reflection on earlier prophecies. This lack of organic relation with the present, such as we find in the earlier prophets, is specially clear in Joel's 'day of Yahwē.'

According to the late post-exilic fragment Zech. 12:1-13:6, all the Gentiles while making an attack on Jerusalem shall be destroyed before it (12:3 f. 9), whereas in the still later fragment, chap. 14, it is only the hostile nations that are to be annihilated (Zech. 14:12 f.), the remnant being converted to Judaism and led to attend the yearly feast of Tabernacles (Zech. 14:16-21). This fragment is peculiar also in postponing divine intervention till Jerusalem is in the hands of the Gentiles (14:1).

In the apocalypse of Daniel there is a great advance on the eschatological ideas of its predecessors. When the need of the saints is greatest (7:21 f. 47. In Daniel. 12:1 in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes) the Ancient of Days will intervene; his tribunal shall be set up (7:9); the powers of this world shall be overthrown (7:11 f.), and everlasting dominion given to his holy ones (7:14 22 27). These will destroy all rival powers (24), and become lords of all the surviving nations (7:14). To the contrasted fates of the faithful and the unfaithful in Israel who have deceased (12:1-3) we shall return (§ 50).

In defiance of historical sequence we have reserved to the last the consideration of the composite chapters 48. In Is. 65 f. They call for special treatment because they seem to present a new development as regards the scene of the Messianic kingdom—there are to be new heavens and a new earth.³

Gentiles shall be admitted to the worship of Yahwē 25:6. It is very remarkable that in 24:21 f. we read of an *intermediate place of punishment*. The judgment, therefore, appears to be conceived as consisting of two distinct acts. The clause 25:2a declaring the annihilation of death appears to be an interpolation. It is against the general drift of the content, and wholly alien to the thought-development of the period.

For Yahwē the temple is indispensable as his dwelling-place. This thought is apocalyptic. It is not through moral reformation but through divine intervention that the kingdom is to be introduced.

² After the example of Jer. 23:5 33:15 Zechariah names him 'the Branch' (6:12 3:8 f.). He identifies him with Zerubbabel (cp Hag. 2:6-23).

³ See ZEPHANIAH II, § 3 ff.

⁴ Cp Che. *OPs.* 404 ff.

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We must not be misled by appearances, however. When, in chap. 65, Jerusalem is to be especially blessed—it is to be transformed into a blessing (65:18)—the reference is apparently not to a New Jerusalem. It is the same material Jerusalem as before, but supernaturally blessed; men still build houses and plant vineyards (65:21 f.), sinners are still found (65:20),¹ and death still prevails. 65:17, therefore, where the creation of new heavens and a new earth is proclaimed, seems out of place. In the Messianic times here foreshadowed men live to a patriarchal age, and the animal world, as in an earlier prophecy (11:6-9), loses its ferocity and shares in the prevailing peace and blessedness (65:25). In 66:16 18b f. we have a fragmentary apocalypse (see Che. *Intr.* 16. 374-385) which describes the judgment of the hostile nations (66:16 18b f.).

Those of the Gentiles who escape are to go to the more distant peoples and declare the divine glory (66:16). Thereupon the latter are to go up to Jerusalem, escorting the returning exiles.

This apocalypse concludes with a remarkable reference to the new heavens and the new earth, which is all but unintelligible. Does the new creation take place at the beginning of the Messianic kingdom? or at its close? By neit' r supposition can we overcome the inherent difficulties of the text. If the new creation is to be taken literally, it can only be supposed to be carried out at the close of the Messianic kingdom; but this kingdom has apparently no close. Either, then, the expression is used loosely and vaguely, or—the present writer inclines to this view—66:22 is a later intrusion.²

III. SYNTHESIS.—Concurrently with the establishment of the Messianic hope in the national consciousness (see

49. Synthesis. § 34) the claims of the individual had, as we have seen, pressed themselves irresistibly on the notice of religious thinkers—so irresistibly in fact that no representation of the future which failed to render them adequate satisfaction could hope for ultimate acceptance. The two questions naturally came to be regarded as essentially related. The righteous individual and the righteous nation must be blessed together—or rather the righteous man must ultimately be recompensed, not with a solitary immortality in heaven or elsewhere but with a blessed resurrection life with his brethren in the coming Messianic kingdom. If, as we have seen, the doctrine of an individual immortality failed to establish itself in the OT, the grounds of such a failure were not far to seek, and the very objections against the belief in a blessed immortality of the righteous man apart from the righteous community are actual arguments in favour of the resurrection of the righteous to a share in the Messianic kingdom.

The doctrine of a resurrection is clearly enunciated in two passages of great interest, (a) as a spiritual conception in Is. 26:1-19, and (b) as a mechanical conception in Dan. 12.

50. Resurrection in Is. 26. Dan. 12. (a) Is. 26:1-19 forms an independent writing composed, according to Cheyne, about 334 B.C. The writer, who speaks in the name of the people,

looks forward to the setting up of the kingdom, with a strong city, whose walls and bulwarks are salvation, and whose gates will be entered by 'the righteous nation' (26:1 f.); and since the nation is but few, the righteous dead shall rise and share the blessedness of the regenerate nation (26:19). This notable verse should, with Duhm and Cheyne, be read as follows:—'The dead men (Israel) shall arise: the inhabitants of the dust shall

¹ Unless 65:20b is a gloss, as Haupt thinks (*SBOT*, Heb. *ad loc.*).

² Is. 51:6 and 60:19 can hardly be quoted in support of 65:17 66:22, for in the last two passages the language is obviously meant to be literal, whereas in the former it is metaphorical.

A synthesis of these two eschatologies, of the individual and of the nation, was attempted by Ezekiel wholly within the sphere of this life. The reconciliation, however, was achieved only through a misconception and misrepresentation of the facts of the problem. Still this doctrine of retribution gave such general satisfaction that the need of a theory that would do justice to the facts of the problem was not experienced save by isolated thinkers till the close of the fourth century B.C.

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awake¹ and shout for joy;² for a dew of lights is thy dew, and the earth shall bring to life the shades.³

This positive belief in the resurrection of the righteous did not win its way into acceptance, however, till over a century later. Still, that it gained some currency and underwent some development in the interval is obvious from the text and only remaining passage which attests it in the OT.

(b) In Dan. 12 (168 B.C.), which seems to be based on Is. 26.19,⁴ there is an extension of the statement. The resurrection here is not only of the righteous but also of the wicked,⁵ who are to rise in order to receive their due reward—shame and everlasting contempt.⁶ The resurrection moreover ushers in the Messianic kingdom (12 c.). This spiritual form of the resurrection doctrine is the genuine product of Jewish inspiration; for all its factors are indigenous to Jewish thought.

Between the rise of the doctrine enunciated in Is. 26 and Dan. 12 a considerable period must have elapsed, sufficiently long to account for the loss of the original significance of the resurrection as a restoration, in the next world, of the life of communion with God which had been broken off by death. During this interval the spiritual doctrine passed into a lifeless dogma. In Is. 26 it was the sole prerogative of the righteous Israelite, now, it is extended to the pre-eminently good and the pre-eminently bad in Israel. Without any consciousness of impropriety the writer of Daniel can speak of the resurrection of the wicked. Thus severed from the spiritual root from which it grew the resurrection is transformed into a sort of eschatological property, a device by means of which the members of the nation are presented before God to receive their final award. The doctrine must therefore have been familiar to the Jews for several generations before Daniel.

B. APOCRYPHAL AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (200 B.C.—100 A.D.)

Before entering on the further development of Jewish eschatology, it will be helpful to sum up shortly the results arrived at by the writers whom we have already considered. We find in them an eschatology that to a large extent takes its character from the conception of Yahweh. As long as his jurisdiction was conceived as limited to this life, there could be no such eschatology with reference to the individual. When at last, however, Israel reached real monotheism, the way was prepared for the moralisation of the future no less than of the present. The exile contributed to this development by making possible a truer conception of the individual. The individual, not the nation, became the religious unit. Step by step through the slow processes of the religious life, the

51. Review. The designation of death as a 'sleep' did not arise from the resurrection hope. It is found in books that are unacquainted with that hope. Death is described as 'sleep' in Gen. 47.30 Dt. 31.15 Job 7.21 14.12, as 'the eternal sleep' in Jer. 51.39 57. In the later period, therefore, in which the belief in the resurrection was finally established, when the state of the departed is described as a 'sleep,' the word must in no case be taken in its literal meaning.

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² וְיִתְעַצְּבוּ and וְיִתְעַצְּבוּ are omitted by these scholars as interpolations, and instead of וְיִתְעַצְּבוּ they read וְיִתְעַצְּבוּ.

³ See Che, *Intr.* Is. 158, and cp *OPs.* 403f.

⁴ Cp 'the inhabitants of the dust shall awake' and 'many that sleep in the land of dust shall awake.'

⁵ This resurrection to punishment, or a belief perfectly akin, is found in contemporary work; 24.25 6-8 26.20 f. 27.1 12 f., a fragmentary apocalypse of 334 B.C. (Che.). Thus in 24.21 f., the 'host of heaven'—i.e., angelic rulers of the nation and the kings of the earth—are to be imprisoned in the 'pit' and, 'after many days,' to be visited with punishment. Cp Eth. En. 54.9025. According to later views God does not punish a nation until he has first humiliated its angelic patron (*Shir-rabbā* 27b). Moreover the future judgment of the Gentile nations will be preceded by the judgment of their angelic chiefs (Beshallah 13 [see Weber, *L. d. Talmud*, 165]).

⁶ The 'many' who are condemned here are Jewish apostates. The place into which they are cast is evidently Gehenna, though the term does not appear in OT with this special penal sense. The place is referred to also in Is. 66.24 and probably in 50.11.

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religious thinkers of Israel were led to a moral conception of the future life and to the certainty of their share therein. These beliefs were reached, not through deductions of reason, as in Greece, but through spiritual crises deep as the human personality and wide as human life.

[At this point a caution must be offered to the student. The study of the religious content of eschatological ideas is to some extent distinct from that of its form, nor can either religious or literary criticism (to the latter of which special attention is given here)

52. Comparative Eschatology. enable us to dispense with the help of the comparative historical study of the religious ideas of those peoples which came most into contact with the Jewish. Some excellent introductions to 'Biblical Theology' are based, consciously or unconsciously, on the principle that the movement of religious thought in Israel was completely independent of external stimulus. There can be no greater mistake. Students of Jewish religion can no longer avoid acquainting themselves with Babylonian-Assyrian, Egyptian, Zoroastrian, and Greek religion, and using any further collateral information that they can get. The abundance of fresh literary material for the study of eschatology as it took form in Jewish minds is our excuse for not, in this article, bringing Jewish eschatology into relation to other eschatologies more especially Babylonian and Persian. The article would have become disproportionately long if we had adopted the course which is theoretically the only right one. It must also be remembered that the 'spiritual crises' referred to above were conditioned by crises in the history of the nation. We are far from denying that 'the spirit' as well as the wind, 'breatheth where it listeth.' Even the spirit of revelation, however, cannot work on unprepared minds. Jewish eschatology therefore can be fully sketched only on a canvas larger than is here at our disposal, and this article must be supplemented by reference to a group of other articles, including especially *ANTICURIST* and *PERSIA* (the part dealing with religion). On the narrative in Gen. 24.6-3 which influenced directly or indirectly so many later writers, reference should be made, for the mythic form of the ideas, to *CREATION*, § 20 (c).—ED.]

In the writings (Apocryphal, Apocalyptic, etc.) that we are now to consider, the eschatological ideas of the

53. Outline of Method. later prophets are reproduced and further developed. We shall find it convenient to deal with this literature in three chronological periods: I. 200-100 (§§ 51-63), II. 100-1 B.C. (§§ 64-70), III. 1-100 A.D. (§§ 71-81). In treating each of these periods, after (a) a general account of its thought and (b) an account of the various works it produced, we shall show in detail (c) the development of certain special conceptions—viz. (1) Soul and spirit, (2) judgment, (3) Places of abode for the departed, (4) Resurrection, (5) Messianic kingdom, Messiah, Gentiles.

Unlike the rest of the apocalyptic and apocryphal books, *Ecclesi.* and *Tobit*, instead of reproducing and

54. Ecclesi. and Tobit. developing the ideas we have just summarised, represent the older and more conservative views. As lying off the main path of religious development and witnessing to still surviving primitive elements in Judaism, we shall consider them together at the outset.

In *Ecclesi.* the problem of retribution takes a peculiar form. On the one hand it is purely conservative. All retribution without exception is confined

55. Ecclesi. to this life: there is 'no inquisition of life'

¹ See Charles, *Doctrine of a Future Life*, pp. 24-25 n., 33 n., 34 n., 57 n., on the relation of the religion of Babylonia to that of ancient Israel; pp. 116 n., 134-136, on the relation of Zoroastrianism to Judaism; pp. 24 n., 26-27 n., 34 n., 40 n., 57 n., on the analogies between the primitive religion of Israel and that of Greece; and pp. 70 n., 137-151, on the development of the doctrine of immortality in Greece as contrasted with that in Palestine.

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in Shēōl (414). On the other hand it supplements Ezekiel's theory of exact individual retribution with the older view which he attacked, and seeks to cover its obvious defects with the doctrine of the solidarity of the family.

A man's conduct must receive its recompense in this life (see especially 210 f. and cp 23-9 912 122 f. also 1126). Obviously, however, all men do not meet with their deserts. Hence a man's sins are visited through the evil remembrance of his name and in the misfortunes of his children after him (1128 23 24 25 40 13 45-8). Similarly the posterity of the righteous is blessed (447-15). Shēōl is the abode of the shades and the region of death (912 112 15 44 485), where is no delight (4416), no praise of God (117-28); man is plunged in an eternal sleep (1019 22 11 40 17 38 21).² As regards the future of the nation, the writer looks forward to the Messianic kingdom of which Elijah is to be the forerunner (4810), when Israel shall be delivered from evil (5023 f.), the scattered tribes restored (3311-2 AV 3011), the heathen nations duly punished (3222-24=AV 3518 f.). This kingdom of Israel will last for ever (3725 [so Gk. and Eth. but wanting in Syr.] 4413 [so Gk. and Eth.; Heb. and Syr. read 'memorial' instead of 'seed'] D).

The eschatology of Tobit is very slight. Like the earlier books, it entertains high hopes for the Jewish people. Jerusalem and the temple shall be

54. Tobit. rebuilt with gold and precious stones, the scattered tribes shall be restored, and the heathen, forsaking their idols, shall worship the God of Israel (1310-18 114-6). Shēōl is taken in the traditional sense 'eternal place', *ὁ αἰώνιος τόπος*, 36. As in Job and in Ecclesiastes, Hades (cp 310 132) is a place where existence is practically at an end.

Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, prays: 'Command my spirit to be taken from me, that I may . . . become earth . . . and go to the everlasting place' (36). This description is accounted for by the writer's acceptance of the later doctrine of the spirit (§ 17).

We now pass to the writings of the Hāsids or Assideans, a small but important body of zealous Jews, first

57. Assideans. referred to as a religious organisation in Eth. En. 996 (see note in Charles's ed.). Its rise may be placed at about 200 B.C.³ The Hāsids first appear as the champions of the law against the Hellenizing Sadducees; but they were still more the representatives of advanced forms of doctrine about the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection. The arrangement we shall adopt has been explained already (§ 53).

56. Second I. SECOND CENTURY B.C. Cent. B.C.

Authorities.
Ethiopic Enoch 1-36 (APOC. LXXIIC, § 27). Sibylline Oracles—Proemium and 3 97-813.⁴
Daniel (§ 50). Test. xii. Patriarches—Some of its apocalyptic sections (§ 61).
Ethiopic Enoch 83-90 (§ 60). Judith (?) (§ 62).

(a) *General eschatological development.*—It was under the pressure of one of the most merciless persecutions re-

¹ In 21 to thoughts of the penal character of Shēōl do not seem to be quite absent.

² The reference to Gehenna in 717 (ἐκδικησῶς ἀρεθούς πῦρ καὶ σκώληξ) is probably corrupt (om. Syr. Eth. [best MSS]). The Hebrew has רַבֵּי חַיִּים וְרַבֵּי חַיִּים.

³ On the earlier association of pious Jews called קְנִיִּים (the humbled or humiliated), קְנִיִּים (the humble), קְנִיִּים (the pious, covenant-keepers) cp PALMS; and on the 'Assideans' of Macc. cp ASSIDEANS; ISRAEL, § 73.

⁴ This, the oldest, portion of the Sibylline oracles dates from the latter half of the second century B.C. Since, however, it belongs to Hellenistic Judaism, its evidence is not of primary interest in the story of Palestinian eschatology, and may advantageously be relegated to a note. Broadly speaking, we may say that it combines, though not always consistently, various earlier descriptions of the future. It shows no trace of original thought. Its eschatological forecasts are confined to this world. Though so limited, it gives a vivid account of the Messianic kingdom. Very soon the people of the Mighty God will grow strong (3124-106), and God will send from the east the Messiah, who will put an end to evil war, slaying some and fulfilling the promises in behalf of others, and he will be guided in all things by God. The temple shall be resplendent with glory, and the earth teem with fruitfulness (3652-660) [cp Che. *OPs*, 23]. Then the nations shall muster their forces and attack Palestine (3660-668); but God will destroy them, and their judgment shall be accompanied by fearful portents (3669-697). Israel, however, shall dwell safely under the divine protection (3702-709); and the rest of the world and the islands shall be converted, and unite with Israel in praising God (3710-731). The blessings of the Messianic age are recounted (3744-754; cp also 3397-380,

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corded in history that much of the eschatological thought of this century was built up. In order to encourage the faithful, various religious thinkers consolidated and developed into more or less consistent theodicies the scattered statements and intimations of an eschatological nature in the O.T. In these theodicies there is no vagueness or doubt as to the ultimate destinies of the righteous and the wicked. Faith rests in the reasonable axiom that the essential distinctions between these classes must one day be realised outwardly. The certainty of judgment on the advent of the Messianic kingdom, accordingly, is preached in the most emphatic tones, and the doctrine is taught that at death men enter immediately in Shēōl on a state of bliss or woe which is but the prelude of their final destiny. The righteous, both living and dead, shall be recompensed to the full in the eternal Messianic kingdom established on earth with its centre at Jerusalem. Within the sphere of Judaism it is in this second century B.C. that the eschatologies of the individual and of the nation attain their most complete synthesis (cp below, § 82). The firm lines in which these eschatological hopes are delineated mark the great advance achieved in this period by religious thought.

(b) *The theodicies of the several writers.*—Eth. En. 1-36 has been described in detail elsewhere (see APOCALYPTIC, § 27). With regard to Daniel,

59. Eth. En. 1-36; Daniel. as the right point of view for studying it has been given elsewhere (DANIEL ii.),

and we have already noticed its main eschatological conceptions (above, § 47), we need only observe that in it, as in Eth. En. 1-36, the Messianic kingdom is eternal, its scene is the earth, and all the Gentiles are subject (714). There is no Messiah. Those Jews who are 'found written in the book' [of life] shall be 'delivered' during the period of the Messianic woes. At the resurrection only those Jews who are pre-eminently righteous and wicked shall rise from the 'land of dust' (12 i.e., Shēōl) to receive their deserts; the righteous to inherit 'aeonian life,' the wicked to be cast into Gehenna (122). For the pre-eminently righteous in Israel, therefore, Shēōl has become an intermediate abode, though for the Gentiles it continues to be final. The risen body seems to possess its natural appetites (as in Eth. En. 1-36). The Messianic kingdom of which the righteous are members is one that bears sway over peoples.

The writer of Daniel makes a very special use of the belief in angelic patrons of nations, of which another application will be found in the almost contemporaneous work to which we turn next—viz., Eth. En. 83-90.

The author of Ethiopic Enoch 83-90, which was written a few years later than Eth. En. 1-36 (on which see APOCALYPTIC, § 27), was a Hāsīd

60. Eth. En. 83-90. and a supporter of the Maccabean movement. His eschatology is developed at greater length than that of the Daniel apocalypse, to which in many respects it is so closely allied. The belief in angelic patrons of nations is common, as we have seen, to both writings; but our author applies it in a peculiar way.

691-723). The kings of the earth shall be at peace with one another (3755-759).

In the latter section of this book the forecast is somewhat different. Though in the earlier part, as we have seen above, it was the Messiah that conducted the war against the hostile nations, in this it is the prophets of God. Thus God will establish a universal kingdom over all mankind, with Jerusalem as centre (3772-771), and the prophets of God shall lay down the sword and become judges and kings of the earth (3781 f.), and men shall bring offerings to the temple from all parts of the earth (3772 f.).

¹ On this eschatological term see Charles, *Enoch* 131-133. In the earlier passages in which it occurs it stands in connection with temporal blessings only.

² We assume that the reading *שֶׁוֹל* is correct. For this description of Shēōl cp Job 17 16, Ps. 22 15, with Cheyne's note referring to a similar Assyrian phrase. If this interpretation is correct, Shēōl, though it has become a temporary abode for the righteous, still retains its transitional character.

³ Cp Che. *OPs*, 466.

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The undue severities that have befallen Israel are not from God's hand; they are the doing of the seventy shepherds (*i.e.*, angels) into whose care God had committed Israel (90.9) for the destruction of its faithless members. These angels have not wronged Israel with impunity, however; for judgment is at hand. When their oppression is at its worst there shall be formed a righteous league (*i.e.*, the Hasidim; 90.9), out of one of the families of which shall come forth Judas the Maccabee (90.7-10), who shall war victoriously against all the enemies of Israel.

While the struggle is still raging, God will intervene in person.

The earth shall swallow the adversaries of the righteous (90.10). The wicked shepherds and the fallen watchers shall then be cast into an abyss of fire (*i.e.*, Tartarus; 90.20-25), and the blinded sheep—*i.e.*, the apostate (Jews)—into Gehenna (90.22). Whether the apostate Jews already dead are to be transferred from Sheöl does not appear.

Then God himself will set up the new Jerusalem (90.28 f.). The surviving Gentiles shall be converted and serve Israel (90.30), the dispersion be brought back, and the righteous Israelites be raised to take part in the kingdom (90.31). When all is accomplished, the Messiah, whose rôle is a passive one, shall appear (90.37), and all shall be transformed into his likeness.

Until a critical edition of the XII. Patriarchs is published, that composite work cannot be quoted as an authority. It belongs to very different

61. Text. It belongs to very different
xii. Patr. periods. It contains apocalyptic sections that appear to belong to the second century B.C.; but the body of the work seems to have been written about the beginning of the Christian era. There are, moreover, numerous (Christian) interpolations. Many of the apocalyptic sections appear to have constituted originally a defence of the warlike Maccabean high priests of the latter half of the second century B.C., whilst others¹ seem to attack the later chiefs of that family, in the last century B.C.

It is hardly possible to interpret otherwise such a statement regarding Levi as that in Reub. 6 *ad fin.*: 'He shall die for us in wars visible and invisible'; cp. Simi. 5.

Whilst one or more of these sections may be of an earlier date, many of them may belong to the last century B.C. Since, however, their eschatological thought in some respects belongs to the second century B.C., we shall for the sake of convenience deal with it here, though in no case shall we build upon it as a foundation.²

Levi has been chosen by God to rule all the Gentiles with supreme sovereignty (Reub. 6). The Messiah of the tribe of Levi, who will appear at the close of the seventh jubilee, will possess an eternal priesthood³ (Levi 18; apoc. sections of Levi = 2.5-8.10-14-18). This will endure till God comes and restores Jerusalem and dwells in Israel (Levi 5). This Messiah will judge as a king; he will bind Beliar, open the gates of Paradise and give his saints to eat of the tree of life (Levi 18 cp. Eih. En. 25.4-6). To the Messianic kingdom on earth, all the righteous patriarchs shall rise (Simi. 6.4 Zeb. 10 Jud. 25). Then the spirits of deceit shall be trodden under foot (Simi. 6 Zeb. 9) and Beliar destroyed (Levi 18 Jud. 25). There shall be only one people and one tongue (Jud. 25). The surviving Gentiles are in all cases to be converted, save in Simi. 6 where they are doomed to annihilation. According to Benj. 10 there is to be a resurrection, first of the OT heroes and patriarchs, and next of the righteous and of the wicked. Thereupon is to follow judgment, first of Israel and then of the Gentiles. It is doubtful whether we are to regard this resurrection as embracing Israel only or all mankind.

The designation of Michael in Dan. 6 (cp. Lev. 5 Judith 25) as 'a mediator between God and man' is noteworthy.

It may be permitted in conclusion to refer to the book of Judith. The words in which the Gentile

62. Judith. enemies of Israel are threatened (16.17) obviously refer to Gehenna, and remind us of the very late appendix to Is 66 (7. 23 f.), which however refers to unfaithful Jews. The view of Gehenna as the final abode of the Gentiles is not again attested till the first century of the Christian era (in Ass.

¹ Cp. Levi 14.16 (beg.). These passages resemble the Psalms of Solomon that assail the Sadducean priesthood.

² In the references here made we shall use the better readings of the *Armenian Version*.

³ Sometimes a Messiah of the tribe of Judah is spoken of. There is nothing against the Jewish origin of such passages; but others which combine the two ideas are Christian.

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Mos. 10.10 4 Ezra 7.36). In so far, the date (*circa* 63 B.C.) given elsewhere for this book (see JUDITH, § 5) seems preferable to the earlier one advocated by Schürer.

(c) *Development of special conceptions in second century B.C.* 1. *Soul and Spirit*.—The later view of the 'spirit'

63. Special conceptions. (see § 20) as the divine breath of life probably underlies Ecclus. 38.23 Bar. 2.17 ('the dead also who are in Hades, whose spirit is taken from their bodies'), see also Tob. 36.1 Judith 10.11. Elsewhere in the second century we can trace only the older Semitic view (above, § 19), according to which 'soul' and 'spirit' are practically identical. The apocalyptic use, however, diverges from the more primitive; what is predicated of 'soul' can be predicated also of 'spirit.' In Daniel indeed we always find, not 'soul' but 'spirit,' even where 'soul' could have been used with perfect propriety.²

In Enoch 1-36 the inhabitants of Sheöl are spoken of as 'souls' in 22.1 (cp. 9.3), but generally as 'spirits' (22.5-7 9.11-13). We even find the strange expression 'spirits of the souls of the dead' (9.10). Here also, therefore, 'soul' and 'spirit' are practically identical. Fallen angels and demons are always spoken of as 'spirits' (the former in 136.15.4 6 f., the latter in 159.11 16.1). Indeed 'soul' is never in Jewish literature used of angels, fallen or otherwise (cp. above, § 20).

2. *Judgment*.—The judgment, which is preliminary and final, involves all men living and dead, the faithless angelic rulers, and the impure angels. It will be on the advent of the Messianic kingdom. These points mark the development of the second century B.C. upon the past. There is the further development that the judgment is sometimes (?) conceived as setting in, immediately after death, in an intermediate abode of the soul. In Eth. En. 1-36 there is a preliminary judgment on the angels who married the daughters of men, and likewise on all men who were alive at the deluge (10.1-12). The final judgment before the advent of the Messiah's kingdom will involve the impure angels (10.12 f.), the demons who have hitherto gone unpunished (16.1), and all Israel with the exception of a certain class of sinners. In Daniel there is a preliminary judgment of the sword executed by the saints (24.4 7.2), as well as the final world-judgment (7.9 11 f.), which will introduce the Messianic kingdom by God himself. There is no mention of judgment of angels; but judgment of the angelic patrons of Persia and Greece may be assumed. In Eth. En. 83-90 there is the first world-judgment of the deluge (89), the judgment of the sword executed under Judas the Maccabee (90.19 16), and the final judgment on the impure angels and on the faithless angelic patrons (90.20-25). The last serves to introduce the Messianic kingdom on the present earth.

3. *Places of abode for the departed*.—i. Sheöl. Sheöl undergoes complete transformation in the second century B.C. and becomes an intermediate place of moral retribution for the righteous and the wicked. (The traditional sense probably survives in Dan. 12.2, but not in Eth. En. 22.) All the dead who die before the final judgment have to go to Sheöl. It has four divisions; two for the righteous and two for the wicked. From three of them there is a resurrection to final judgment; but from the fourth, where are the wicked who met with violent death, there is no rising. Sheöl has in this last case become hell.

ii. Paradise. In the second century only two men, Enoch and Elijah, were conceived as having been

¹ How thoroughly life was identified with the presence of the spirit appears from this verse: 'Command my spirit to be taken from me, that I may be released, and become earth.'

² In Dan. 7.15 it has generally been thought that the spirit is spoken of as enclosed in the 'sheath' (שָׁמַיִם) of the body; but we should no doubt, with Buhl and Marti, read שָׁמַיִם 'because of this.' שָׁמַיִם which gives ἐν τοῦτοῖς, and Vg., imply שָׁמַיִם.

³ In these references the Cizich Greek text has been followed. In the Ethiopic text the term 'soul' is used instead of 'spirit' in 22.3 9.11 f., but corruptly.

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admitted to Paradise on leaving this world (Eth. En. 87.1 f. 89.52).¹ The cause is manifest. See ENOCH. I. in Gehenna. Gehenna is definitely conceived in Dan. 12.2 Eth. En. 27.1 f. and 90.26 f. (?) as the final, not the immediate, abode of apostates in the next world.

iv. The abyss of fire.² This is the final place of punishment for the faithless angelic rulers and for the impure angels (Eth. En. 18.11-19.21 90.21-25). In Eth. En. 18.11-19.21-6 the fiery abyss for the impure angels is distinguished from another fiery abyss mentioned in 21.7-10. This latter may be for the faithless angelic rulers.

4. *Resurrection*.—In Eth. En. 83-90 (see 90.11) there is a resurrection only of the righteous; in Dan. 12.2 f. of those who are righteous and wicked in a pre-eminent degree; and in Eth. En. 22 of the righteous and of such of the wicked as had not met with retribution in life. Thus in Eth. En. 83-90 the older and spiritual form of the doctrine is preserved. In all cases the righteous rise to participate in the Messianic kingdom.

5. *Messianic kingdom*.—In Dan. and Eth. En. 1-36 the scene of the Messianic kingdom is the earth. In Eth. En. 83-90 its centre is to be, not the earthly Jerusalem, but the new Jerusalem brought down from heaven. This is the first trace in the second century B.C. of a sense of the unfitness of the present world for Messianic glory. The kingdom is to be eternal. Its members are to enjoy a life of patriarchal length (Eth. En. 5.9 25.6), or to live for ever (90.33). In Dan. 12.2 f. the point is left doubtful. Besides the Messiah in S. byll. Or. 3652-634 there is no mention of the Messiah in the second century B.C., except in Eth. En. 83-90 (see 90.37) where, however, his introduction seems due merely to literary reminiscence.

6. *Gentiles*.—According to Eth. En. 10.21, all the Gentiles are to become righteous and worship God. Only the hostile Gentiles are to be destroyed (Dan. 2.44 7.11 f. Eth. En. 90.4-6 18). The rest will be converted (?) and serve Israel (Dan. 7.1 Eth. En. 90.30).

64. Last Cent. B.C. II. LAST CENTURY B.C. Authoritative or 104-1 B.C.

Ethiopic Enoch 51-104 (§ 65). Psalms of Solomon (§ 67).
Ethiopic Enoch 37-70 (§ 66). Sibylline Oracles 8.1-62 (§ 68).
1 Maccabees (§ 66, end). 2 Maccabees (§ 69).

(a) *General eschatological development*.—A great gulf divides the eschatology of the last century B.C. as a whole from that of its predecessor. The hope of an eternal Messianic kingdom on the present earth is all but universally abandoned.³ The earth as it is, is manifestly regarded as wholly unfit for the manifestation of the kingdom. The dualism which had begun to assert itself in the preceding century is therefore now the preponderating dogma. This new attitude compels writers to advance to new conceptions concerning the kingdom.

(i.) Some boldly declare (Eth. En. 91-104).—else imply (Pss. Sol. 1-16 2 Macc. [?]), that the Messianic kingdom is only temporary, and that the goal of the risen righteous is not this transitory kingdom but heaven itself. In the thoughts of these writers the belief in a personal immortality has dissociated itself from the doctrine of the Messianic kingdom, and the synthesis of the two eschatologies achieved in the preceding century (see § 53) is *unresolved into its elements*.⁴ This is a natural consequence, as we have said, of the growing dualism of the times.

¹ Cp Che. *OPs*. 414.

² Cp PERSTA (the part dealing with religion).

³ Only in Pss. Sol. 17 f. of this century does the Messianic kingdom seem to be of eternal duration on the present earth (cp 17.4). Since the Messiah himself, however, is only man, his kingdom is probably of only temporary duration (see below, § 67 B. I. and APOCALYPTIC, § 85).

⁴ On the synthesis effected in the NT, see § 82; on the exceptional anticipation of this in Eth. En. 27-70, see § 66.

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(ii.) Quite another line of thought, however, was possible. The present earth could not, it is true, be regarded as the scene of an eternal Messianic kingdom, but a renewed and transformed earth could. The scene of the eternal Messianic kingdom would be such a new earth, and a new heaven, and to share in this eternal kingdom the righteous should rise (Eth. En. 37-70). Here the idea of a new heaven and a new earth, which appeared illogically in Is. 65 f. (§ 48), is applied with reasonable consistency.

It is further to be observed that writers of the former class (i.) anticipated a resurrection only of the righteous, a resurrection of the spirit not of the body (Eth. En. 91-101 Pss. Sol. 1), but writers of the latter class (ii.) looked forward to a resurrection of all Israel (Eth. En. 37-70) at the close of the temporary, and the beginning of the eternal, Messianic kingdom. In 2 Macc., which diverges in some respects from both classes, a bodily resurrection of the righteous, and possibly of all Israel, is expected.

Again, in contradistinction to the preceding century there is now developed a vigorous, indeed a unique, doctrine of the Messiah, the doctrine of the supernatural Son of Man (Eth. En. 37-70).

Finally, the present sufferings of Israel at the hands of the Gentiles are explained as disciplinary (2 Macc. 6.12-17 cp Jud. 8.27 Wisd. 12.22).

Israel is chastened for its sins lest they should come to a head; but the Gentiles are allowed to fill up the cup of their iniquity (cp Gen. 15.16 Dan. 8.23 9.26).

(b) *Eschatologies of the several writers*.—We have said that the eschatology of the last century B.C. introduces us into a world of new conceptions (§ 70).

65. *Eth. En. 91-104*. Whilst in the writings of the preceding century the resurrection and the final judgment were the prelude to an everlasting Messianic kingdom, in Ethiopic Enoch 91-101 they are adjoined to the close. The Messianic kingdom is thus, for the first time, conceived as temporary. It is therefore no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Their soul finds its satisfaction only in a blessed immortality in heaven. The author acknowledges that the wicked seem to sin with impunity; but he believes that this is not so in truth; their evil deeds are recorded every day (101.7), and they will suffer endless retribution in Shēōl (99.11), a place of darkness and flame (for Shēōl is here conceived as hell), from which there is no escape (98.31 103.7 f.).

In the eighth week, the Messianic kingdom (but without a Messiah) shall be established, and the righteous shall slay the wicked with the sword (91.12 95.7 96.1 98.12 99.45). To this kingdom the righteous who have departed this life shall not rise. At its close, in the tenth week, shall be held the final judgment; the former heaven and earth shall be destroyed, and a new heaven created (91.14-16). The righteous dead, who have hitherto been guarded by angels (100.5), in a department of Shēōl (cp 4 Ezra 4.41), shall be raised, 91.10 92.3 (not, however, in the body, but as spirits: 103.3 f.), and the portals of heaven shall be opened to them (104.2); they shall joy as the angels (104.4), becoming companions of the heavenly host (104.6), and shining as the stars for ever (104.2).

The interest of the author of Eth. En. 37-70 is in the sphere of the moral and spiritual. This is manifest even in his usual name for God, 'the Lord of Spirits,' and in the peculiar turn that he gives to the trisagion in 39.12

66. *Eth. En. 37-70 and 1 Macc.* 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of spirits: he filleth the earth with spirits.' His views are strongly apocalyptic and follow closely in the wake of Daniel.

Unlike the writer of chaps. 91-104 (§ 65), however, he clings fast to a future kingdom of (righteous) Israel, destined to endure for ever, to which the righteous shall rise. The righteous individual will thus find his consummation in the righteous community.

In addition to the eschatological details given elsewhere (APOCALYPTIC, § 30) we should observe the following points:—The Son of Man is to judge all angels, unfallen and fallen (61.8 55.4), and men—righteous and sinners (62.2 f.), kings and mighty (62.3-11 63.1-4.11). The Messiah is for the first time represented as a supernatural being, Judge of men and angels. The fallen

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angels are to be cast into a fiery furnace (144), the kings and the mighty to be captured in Gehenna by the angel of punishment (143-144), and the remaining sinners and godless to be driven from the face of the earth (138; 41; 45); the Son of Man shall slay them by the word of his mouth (102); Heaven and earth shall be transformed (143-144); the righteous shall have their mansions (100; 208; 41; 42), and live in the light of eternal life (138). The elect one shall dwell amongst them (144), and they shall eat and be down and rise up with him for ever (102; 144). They shall be clad in garments of life (102; 144), and become angels in heaven (144); and they shall seek after light and find righteousness (138; 144), and grow in knowledge and righteousness (138; 144).

1. Macc. is quite without eschatological teaching, if we except the writer's expectation of a prophet in 4:46-11:41.

In considering the Psalms of Solomon the eschatological system of the last two psalms (17-18), which differs in many important respects from that of Ps. 110, may be taken first.

2. The eschatology of Ps. Sol. 17-18 is marked by a singular want of originality.

There is hardly a statement relative to the hopes of Israel that could not be explained as a literary reminiscence. Where these psalms are at all original their influence is distinctly harmful; the proof that the popular aspirations with which they connect the Messiah were injurious to the best interests of the nation was 'written in fire and blood' (see MESSIAH).

The following is the account of the Messiah (who is specifically so called in 17:16-18:8).

He is to be descended from David (17:23), a righteous king (17:10), pure from sin (17:40). He will gather the dispersed tribes together and make Jerusalem holy as in the days of old. No Gentile shall be suffered to journey there, nor any one that knows wickedness. The ungodly nations he shall destroy with the word of his mouth (17:27; cp. 17:39-41). The remaining Gentiles shall become subject to him (17:37-38). He will have mercy on all the nations that come before him in fear (17:38). They shall come from the ends of the world to see his glory, and bring their sons as gifts to Zion (17:44).

The Messianic kingdom is apparently of temporary duration. There is no hint of the rising of the righteous who have died; only the surviving righteous are to share in it (cp. 17:50). We might infer the transitory nature of the Messianic kingdom from the fact that the Messiah is a single person, not a series of kings. The duration of his kingdom is to be regarded as contemporaneous with that of its ruler.

ii. In Ps. Sol. 1-16 there is hardly a single reference to the future kingdom and none to the Messiah. Since, however, they paint in glowing colours the restoration of the tribes (8:14-11:3-8), they look for a Messianic kingdom—at all events a period of prosperity, when God's help should be enjoyed (7:6). Beyond prophesying vengeance on the hostile nations and on sinners, however, the psalmists do not dwell on this coming time. For them the real recompense of the righteous is not bound up with an earthly kingdom. The righteous rise, not to any kingdom of temporal prosperity, but to eternal life (3:16-13:9); they inherit life in gladness (14:6), and live in the righteousness of their God (15:15). There seems to be no resurrection of the body. As for the wicked, 'their inheritance is Hades' (cp. 15:11), and darkness and destruction' (14:6; cp. 15:11), whither they go immediately on dying (16:2). The eschatology of Ps. Sol. 1-16 thus agrees in nearly every point with that of Eth. En. 91-104 (§ 65).²

In Sibylline Oracles 3:1-62, written before 31 B.C. (see APOCALYPTIC, § 85), God's kingdom is expected and the advent of a holy king who shall sway the sceptre of every land³

68. Sibylline Oracles.

3:1-62.

(3:49). This Messianic king is to reign 'for all the ages' (3:50). These words must not be pressed, however; for, a few lines later, a universal judgment on all men is foretold (3:53-56; 60; 61). For a similar limitation cp. Apoc. Bar. 40:3-73:7.

¹ Cp. Chet. O'p. 40 n.

² Cp. APOCALYPTIC, § 85. The sketch there given is merely to justify dividing Ps. Sol. 1-16 from 17-18.

³ ἡγεῖ δ' ἄνθρωπος ἀνά πάντας γῆς σκεπτρα κρατήσων.

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There is in 2 Macc. only one direct reference to a Messianic kingdom: the youngest of the seven brethren

69. 2 Macc. prays that 'God may speedily be gracious to the nation' (7:37). The hope of it is implied, however, in the expectation of the restoration of the tribes (2:18). The righteous rise *in the body* to share in the kingdom where they will renew the common life with their brethren (7:29). The kingdom is to be eternal; for God has established his people for ever (14:15). There is certainly no hint of a Messiah. Thus the eschatology is really that of the second century B.C. (§ 58 ff.).

Since the Messianic kingdom here implied is to be of a material character and therefore presumably on earth—for the righteous rise to an eternal life (7:29) in a body constituted as the present earthly body (7:22; 14:15)—we may reasonably infer that the eternal kingdom thus expected was to be upon the present earth, as in Eth. En. 83-100 (§ 60). Thus the eschatology of this book belongs really to the second century B.C., as the epitomizer claims.

On the other hand the doctrine of retribution, present and future, plays a significant rôle. Present retribution follows sin, for Israel and for the Gentiles. In the case of Israel its purpose is corrective; but in that of the Gentiles it is vindictive (6:1 ff.). To enforce his doctrine the writer reconstructs history, and corrects the imperfect assignment of destiny to the heathen oppressors, Pippathes (7:17-19; 22) and Nicanor (15:32-35), and to the Hellenising Jews, Jason (5:7-10) and Menelaus (13:8).

Even the martyrs confess their sufferings to be due to sin (7:18; 13:17), and pray that their sufferings may 'stay the wrath of the Almighty' (7:38). Immediate retribution is a token of God's goodness (6:11). Our present concern, however, is mainly with retribution beyond the grave. The righteous and the wicked in Israel enter after death the intermediate state (Hades) (6:23), where they have a foretaste of their final doom (6:23), which takes effect after the resurrection. There is to be a resurrection of the righteous (7:14; 14:17-19), perhaps even of all Jews (12:41; 13:1), but not of the Gentiles. These remain in Sheol. Possibly its torments are referred to in 7:17. When the heathen die they enter at once on their eternal doom (7:14).

(c) *Development of special conceptions in the last century B.C.* 1. *Soul and Spirit*.—As in the preceding century,

so also in this, the doctrine of soul and spirit follows, almost without exception, the older Semitic view (above,

§ 19). The exceptions are in 2 Macc. 7:22 ff.

In 2:22 the mother of the seven martyred brethren declares: 'I did not give you spirit and life' (ἡ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ τῇ ζωῇ). Here, as in Gen. 2:7-8 (above, § 20), the *πνεῦμα* is the life-giving principle of which the *σῶμα* is the product. The same phrase recurs in 7:23 and in 14:45. The withdrawal of this spirit, however, does not lead to unconsciousness in Sheol; the departed are still conscious (6:26). The writer is, thus, inconsistent; for the ordinary dichotomy of soul and body is found in 6:30-7:37 14:34-15:30.

In all the remaining literature of this century there is only a dichotomy—either spirit¹ and body, or soul and body. Some writers use one of these pairs, some use both; in none is the spirit conceived as in Gen. 2:7-8.

In the oldest writing of the century the departed in Sheol are spoken of as 'spirits' (Eth. En. 98:10-103:42) or as 'souls' (102:5-11-108:7). On the other hand, in the Similitudes and the Ps. Sol. (nearly contemporaneous works), the term 'spirit' is not used of man at all, only 'soul'; see Eth. En. 45:3-68:20, Ps. Sol. *passim*, but particularly 9:7 and 9:9 where the highest spiritual functions are ascribed to the 'soul'. Finally in the Noachic interpolations (see APOCALYPTIC, § 24) only the term 'spirit' is used of man (cp. 41:8-60:4 67:8-71:1), and likewise in the Essenic appendix to this book, where we read of 'the spirits of the wicked' (108:36) and 'of the righteous' (117:7-9:11).

2. *Judgment*.—The judgment is final and involves all rational beings, human and angelic. It will be either at the advent of the Messianic kingdom, or (and this is the common view) at its close.

It is only in Eth. En. 37:70 that it is regarded as introducing the Messianic kingdom, and here it differs from the conception which prevailed in the second century, in that it ushers in the Messianic kingdom, not on the present earth, but in a new heaven and a new earth.

The main difference, however, between the judgment in the eschatologies of the last century and in those of the second is that all (2) other writers of the last century, except Eth. En.

¹ In Eth. En. 15:4 the antithesis between the spiritual and the fleshly is strongly emphasized; but the contrast is not between two parts of man but between the nature of angels and of men.

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37-70, conceived it as forming the close of the temporary Messianic Kingdom (so clearly in Eth. En. 91-101 and Pss. Sol. 1-10, probably also in Ps. Sol. 17¹ and 2 Macc.; see above, § 67). There is, however, in Eth. En. 91-101, 70-101, etc., a preliminary judgment of the sword which (as in Dan 2:44) is executed by the saints. In Ps. Sol. 17¹ this Messianic judgment is executed forensically by the Messiah.

3. *Place of abode of the departed* — Paradise. Paradise, which in the preceding century had been regarded as the abode of only two men (§ 63 [3] n.), has come to be regarded as the intermediate abode of all the righteous and elect. Eth. En. 61:12-70:2 ff. (Noachic Fragment 60c). In the Similitudes the righteous pass from Paradise to the Messianic kingdom.

n. Heaven. For the first time in apocalyptic literature heaven becomes, after the final judgment, the abode of the righteous as spirits (Eth. En. 101:1-101:7).

m. Shēol. There is a considerable variety in the views entertained about Shēol, but most of them have been met with earlier.

(a) It is the intermediate abode of the departed whence all Israel (?) rises to judgment (Eth. En. 51:1¹).

In 2 Macc. this is the only sense (§ 21). It is noteworthy that the writer regards a moral change as possible in Shēol (see § 22:45). According to Eth. En. 100:8 the souls of the righteous are preserved in a special part of Shēol (cp 4 Ezra 4:41).

(b) Shēol is Hell.

Eth. En. 63:1-65:9-10:17 and always in Pss. Sol. 114:1-114:10:12. Note how in Pss. Sol. Shēol is associated with fire and darkness; it has drawn to itself attributes of Gehenna. In the Similitudes Shēol is an intermediate abode for all that die before the advent of the Messianic kingdom (51:1). The wicked that are living on its advent shall be cast into Shēol; but Shēol then becomes a final abode of fire (§ 22:10).

(c) Shēol is Gehenna in the interpolated passage, Eth. En. 50:8.

iv. Gehenna. Two new developments of this idea appear in the last century n.c.

(a) The first is referred to in Eth. En. 48:9-51:1 f. 62:12 f. According to the prevailing view of the second century n.c., Gehenna was to be the final abode of Jewish apostates whose sufferings were to form an ever-present spectacle to the righteous; but in the Similitudes (37-70) Gehenna is specially designed for kings and the mighty, and it is forthwith to vanish for ever with its victims from the sight of the righteous. This latter idea is due to the fact that in the Similitudes there were to be, after the judgment, new heavens and a new earth.

(b) The second development is attested in Eth. En. 91-101, where Gehenna is a place only of spiritual punishment, whereas hitherto it had been a place of spiritual and also of corporal punishment; in 183 we read of 'spirits' being 'cast into the furnace of fire' (cp also 101:1). In this writer Shēol and Gehenna have become equivalent terms (see 91:1-101:7, also 100:9). The same conception is found in the Essene writing Eth. En. 108:6.

v. Burning furnace. In Eth. En. 54:6 (cp 18:11-16 21:1-6) the final abode of the fallen angels is a burning furnace.

4. *Resurrection*. The views of the last century n.c. on the resurrection show a great development on those of the preceding century. In Eth. En. 91-101 (§ 65) and the Pss. Sol. (§ 67) the resurrection is still only spiritual; but 2 Macc. puts forward a very definite resurrection of the body (7:11-16), as does also Eth. En. 37-70. Only, the body is a garment of light (62:15 f.), and those who possess it are angelic (51:4). Similarly Eth. En. 91-101 and Pss. Sol. agree in representing the resurrection as involving only the righteous, and Eth. En. 37-70 and 2 Macc. (2) in extending it to all Israel.

5. (a) *Messianic Kingdom*. See § 64.

(b) *Messiah*. — In the preceding century the Messianic hope was practically non-existent. Under Judas and Simon the need of a Messiah was hardly felt. In the

¹ Eth. En. 51:1 is difficult. Both Shēol and hell (i.e., *haquel* = destruction) are said to give up their inhabitants for judgment. Are we therefore to regard Shēol and hell as mere parallels here, or is Shēol the temporary abode of the righteous and hell that of the wicked? The fact that Paradise is the intermediate abode of the righteous in the Similitudes (see above, i.) would favour the former alternative. Shēol would then in all cases be a place of punishment intermediate or final in the Similitudes. The connotation of Shēol, however, in this section may not be fixed. The second alternative, therefore, seems the true one; for Shēol and hell appear to hold both good and evil souls.

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first half of the last century n.c. it was very different. Subject to ruthless oppressions, the righteous were in sore need of help. As their princes were the leaders in this oppression, the pious were forced to look for aid to God. The bold and original thinker to whom we owe the Similitudes conceived the Messiah as the super-natural Son of Man, who should enjoy universal dominion and execute judgment on men and angels (cp MESSIAH, 2:8 n. MAN). Other religious thinkers, returning afresh to the study of the earlier literature, revived (as in Pss. Sol.) the expectation of the prophetic Messiah, sprung from the house and lineage of David (117:20). See above (§ 67); also APOCALYPHE, § 32. These very divergent conceptions took such a firm hold of the national consciousness that henceforth the Messiah becomes generally, but not universally, the chief figure in the Messianic kingdom.

6. *Gentiles*. The favourable view of the second century n.c. as to the future of the Gentiles, has all but disappeared. In Eth. En. 37-70 annihilation appears to await them. In Ps. Sol. 17:2 they are to be spared to serve Israel in the temporary Messianic kingdom. This may have been the view of the other writers of this century who looked forward to a merely temporary Messianic kingdom.

71. First Cent. A.D. III. THE FIRST CENTURY A.D. Authority

Book of Jubilees (§ 72)	Apocalypse of Baruch (§ 73).
Assumption of Moses (§ 73).	Book of Baruch (see APOC. Philo (§ 74).
Philo (§ 74).	EVANG., § 6.
Slavonic Enoch (§ 75).	4 Esdras (§ 77).
Book of Wisdom (§ 77).	Josephus (§ 80).
4 Maccabees (§ 77).	

(a) *General eschatological development*. The growth of dualism which was so vigorous in the last century n.c. now attains its final development. The Messianic kingdom is not to be everlasting; in one work it is to last 1000 years (see below, § 75); in some writings it is even wholly despaired of (Apoc. Bar. 13:4. Salathiel Apoc. [§ 79. c]. 4 Macc.). According to another work some of the saints will rise to share in it ('the first resurrection'). The breach between the eschatologies of the individual and of the nation which had begun to appear in the last century n.c. (§ 64) has been widened, and the differences of the two eschatologies have been developed to their utmost limits. The nation has no blessed future at all, or, at best, one of only temporary duration. This, however, is a matter with which the individual has no essential concern. His interest centres round his own soul and his own lot in the after-life. The great thought of the divine kingdom has been surrendered in despair.

The transcendent view of the risen righteous which was sometimes entertained in the preceding century (§ 65) becomes more generally prevalent. The resurrection involves the 'spirit' alone (Jubilees, Ass. Mos., Philo, Wisd., 4 Macc.); or, the righteous are to rise vested with the glory of God (Slav. En.), or with their former body, which is forthwith to be transformed and made like that of the angels (Apoc. Bar., 4 Esdras; see also the Pharisaic doctrine in Jos. BJ 8:4).

Several writers reveal a new development in regard to the resurrection of the 'spirit.' Instead of being preceded by a stay in Shēol till after the final judgment, the entrance of the righteous spirit on a blessed immortality is to follow on death immediately. This view, however, is held only by Alexandrian writers (Philo, Wisdom 3:1-4, 42:7-10, etc., 4 Macc.) or by the Essenes (see Jos. BJ 23:1, cp ESSENE, § 7). The only exception is Jubilees (see chap. 23). The older view survives in the first century A.D. in Ass. Moses 109, in Slav. En. and (partly) in Eth. En. 108.

Finally, the scope of the resurrection, which in the past

¹ The earlier part of this work may be as old as the second century n.c.

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was limited to Israel, is extended in some books to all mankind (Apoc. Bar. 31.2-4 Ezra 7.2-37). For the Gentiles, however, this is but a sorry boon. They are raised only to be condemned for ever with a condemnation severer than that which they had endured before.¹

(b) *Eschatologies of the several writers.*—In the Book of Jubilees there is not much eschatological thought. Levi is given a special blessing; from him are to proceed 'princes and judges and chiefs' (31.15). From Judah there seems to be expected a Messiah.

Isaac blesses Judah thus: 'Be thou a prince—thou and *one of thy sons* over the sons of Jacob . . . in thee shall there be the help of Jacob,' etc. (31.18 f.). There is a detailed description of the Messianic woes (23.11-12). These will be followed by an invasion of Palestine by the Gentiles (23.17). Then Israel will 'begin to study the laws,' and repent (23.26). As the nation becomes faithful, human life will gradually be lengthened till it approaches one thousand years (23.27; cp. 23.28). This period is the 'great day of peace' (25.9). Whether the blessings granted to the Gentiles through Israel (18.10-20.10-27.23), however, are to be referred to the Messianic age, is doubtful. Finally, when the righteous die, their spirits will enter into a blessed immortality (23.31). 'And their bones shall rest in the earth, and their spirits shall have much joy, and they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgment,' etc.

The 'day of the great judgment' (23.11) seems to follow on the close of the Messianic kingdom.

Mastema and the demons subject to him shall be judged (10.8). On the restriction of the resurrection to the spirit (23.31), see above (§ 71. a). The question arises, Where do the spirits of the righteous who die before the final judgment go? It cannot be to Sheol, for Sheol is ordinarily conceived in this book as 'the place of condemnation' into which are cast eaters of blood and idolaters (7.29-22.22). It must be either, as in the Similitudes, to an intermediate abode of the righteous, such as Paradise, or else to heaven. All Palestinian Jewish tradition favours an intermediate abode.

The Assumption of Moses (7-29 A.D.) is closely allied to Jubilees in many respects. Whereas Jubilees, however, is a manifesto in favour of the priesthood, the Assumption, proceeding from a Pharisaic quietist, contains a bitter attack on them (7).

The preparation for the advent of the theocratic or Messianic kingdom will be a period of repentance (1.13). 1750 years after the death of Moses (10.12) God will intervene in behalf of Israel (10.7) and the ten tribes shall return. 'There is no Messiah; the eternal God alone . . . will punish the Gentiles' (10.7). In this respect the Assumption differs from Jubilees. The idealisation of Moses leaves no room for a Messiah. During the temporary Messianic kingdom Israel shall destroy its national enemies (10.8), and finally be exalted to heaven (10.9), whence it shall see its enemies in Gehenna (10.10).

It is noteworthy that the conception of Gehenna, which was originally the specific place of punishment for apostate Jews, is here extended, so that it becomes the final abode of the wicked generally. Finally, there seems to be no resurrection of the body, only of the spirit.

Philo.—We shall only touch on the main points of the eschatology of Philo. He looked forward to the return of the tribes from captivity, to the establishment of a Messianic kingdom of temporal prosperity, and even to a Messiah.

The *loci classici* on this subject are *De Excerptis*, 8 f. (ed. Mang. 2435 f.) and *De Proem et Poen.* 15-20 (ed. Mang. 2421-428). The former passage foretells the restoration of a converted Israel to the Holy Land. The latter describes the Messianic kingdom. The Messiah is a man of war: ἐξελύσεται γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, φησὶν ὁ χρησμός (Nu. 24.17), καταστραταρχῶν καὶ πολεμῶν ἔθνη.

The inclusion of the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom, though really foreign to his system, in Philo's eschatology, is strong evidence as to the prevalence of these expectations even in Hellenistic Judaism. Apparently Philo did not look forward to a general and final judgment. All enter after death into their final abode. The punishment of the wicked is everlasting (*De Cherub.* 1); even the wicked Jews are committed to Tartarus (*De Excerptis*, 6). As matter is incurably evil, there can be no resurrection of the body. Our present

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life in the body is death, for the body is the sepulchre of the soul (*Quod Deus immut.* 32); our σῶμα is our σῆμα (*Leg. Alleg.* 133).

According to the Slavonic Enoch¹ (1-50 A.D.), as the earth was created in six days, its history will be accomplished in 6000 years; and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6000 years of the world's history will be followed by a rest of 1000 years—the Millennium or Messianic kingdom. Here for the first time the Messianic kingdom is limited to 1000 years (whence the later Christian view of the Millennium), at the expiration of which time will pass into eternity (32.2-33.2), and then will be the final judgment.

That event is variously called 'the day of judgment' (39.1-51.3), 'the great day of the Lord' (18.6), 'the great judgment' (52.15-58.5-66.7), 'the day of the great judgment' (50.4), 'the eternal judgment' (7.1), 'the great judgment for ever' (60.4), 'the terrible judgment' (48.2), 'the immeasurable judgment' (40.12).

Before the final judgment the souls of the departed are in intermediate places.

The rebellious angels awaiting judgment in torment are confined to the second heaven (7.1-3). The fallen lustful angels are kept in durance under the earth (18.7). Satan, hurled down from heaven, has as his habitation the air (24.7). For the souls of men, which were created before the creation of the world (23.5), future places of abode have been separately prepared (49.2-58.5). The context of 58.5 appears to imply that they are the intermediate place for human souls. In 82.1 Adam is sent to this receptacle of souls on his death, and is transferred from it to paradise in the third heaven after the great judgment (42.5). Even the souls of beasts are preserved till the final judgment in order to testify against the ill-usage of men (58.5).

The righteous shall escape the final judgment and enter paradise as their eternal inheritance (8.9-42.3-5-61.3-65.10). The wicked are cast into hell in the third heaven where their torment will be for everlasting (10.40-12.41-42.1 f. 61.3). There is apparently no resurrection of the body—the righteous are clothed with the garments of God's glory (22.8; cp. Eth. En. 62.16-108.12). The seventh heaven is the final abode of Enoch (55.2-67.2); but this is an exception.

In the Alexandrian 'Wisdom of Solomon' there is no Messiah; but there is to be a theocratic kingdom, in which the surviving righteous shall judge

76. Wisdom. the nations (37.8), forensically (cp. 1 Cor. 6.2), not by the sword. Here is a mark of progress. The body does not rise again; it is a mere burden taken up for a time by the pre-existent soul (cp. Slav. En.). It is the soul that is immortal (31-4 etc.). The wicked shall be 'destroyed' (4.19), though not annihilated (4.19-5.1). The true judgment of the individual sets in at death (4.10-14). For further details see WISDOM OF SOLOMON, § 17.

4 Maccabees is a philosophical treatise on the supremacy of reason.² The writer adopts, as far as possible, the tenets of stoicism. He teaches the

77. 4 Macc. eternal existence of all souls, good and bad, but no resurrection of the body. The good shall enjoy eternal blessedness in heaven³ (9.8-15.2-17.5); but the wicked shall be tormented in fire for ever (9.10-15.12-12.12).

On the composite Book of Baruch see BARUCH II., and cp. APOC. RYTHA, § 6, i. Here we only note that in 2.17 Hades still possesses its OT connotation. The *Apocalypse of Baruch* also

78. Baruch and Apoc. of Baruch. (50-80 A.D.) is a composite work (APOCALYPTIC, § 10 f.; for a summary of contents see *ib.* § 8).⁴ the six or more independent constituents of which may, when treated from the standpoint of their eschatology, be ranged in three classes.

i. The Messianic Apocalypses A₁, A₂, A₃ (27-30.1, 36-40, 53-74). This part differs from the rest of the book in being written before 70 A.D. and in teaching the

¹ For further details see Morh and Charles's *editio princeps* of this book; also APOCALYPTIC, §§ 33-4.

² See MACCABEES (FOURTH), §§ 2, 7, and cp. Che. *OPs.* 20.

³ Cp. Che. *OPs.* 414, 443.

⁴ For a fuller treatment see Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*

¹ So Eth. En. 22.19 Apoc. Bar. 30.4 f. 36.11 4 Esd. 7.87.

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doctrine of a personal Messiah. In A_1 , however, his rôle is a passive one, whereas in A_2 and A_3 he is a warrior who slays the enemies of Israel with his own hand. In all three apocalypses the Messianic kingdom is of temporary duration.

In A_2 the Messiah's 'princiate will stand "for ever" until the world of corruption is at an end' (40:3); in A_3 his reign is described as 'the consummation of that which is corruptible and the beginning of that which is incorruptible' (74:2). During it there will be no sorrow nor anguish nor untimely death (73:27). The animal world will change its nature and minister unto man (73:6). In A_2 and A_3 the kingdom is inaugurated with the judgment of the sword (39:7-9; 72:2-4). The Gentiles that have ruled or oppressed Israel shall be destroyed; but those that have not done so shall be spared in order to be subject to Israel (72:2-4).

The final judgment and the resurrection follow on the close of these kingdoms.

ii. In B_1 (1:9-11; 43:41-7; 45:16-6; 77:82; 86:7) the writer (who is optimistic) looks forward (6:6) to Jerusalem's being rebuilt (after it has been destroyed by angels) lest the enemy should boast (7:1), to the restoration of the exiles (7:6-7; 8:7), and to a Messianic kingdom (15:16-6; 77:12); but he does not expect a Messiah. Little consideration is shown for the Gentiles (82:2-7).

iii. In B_2 (13:25; 30:2-3; 41:7; 41:13-15; 47:52; 75:7; 83), written after 70 A.D., the writer has relinquished all expectation of national restoration and all hope for the present corruptible world. He is mainly concerned with theological problems and the question of the incorruptible world that is to be.

The world shall be renewed (32:6); from being transitory (48:50; 85:10) it shall become enduring (51:3) and everlasting (48:50); from being a world of corruption (21:19; 31:5; cp 40:1; 74:2) it shall become incorruptible and invisible (51:8; 44:12). Full of world-despair, the writer looks for no Messiah or Messianic kingdom, but only for the last day when he will testify against the Gentile oppressors of Israel (13:3).

In the meantime, as men die they enter in some degree on their reward in She'ol, the intermediate abode of the departed (23:5; 48:16; 52:2; cp 56:6), in which there are already certain degrees of happiness or torment.

For the wicked She'ol is an abode of pain (30:5; 36:1), still not to be compared with their torments after the final judgment. The righteous are preserved in certain 'chambers' or 'treasuries' in She'ol (4 Ezra 4:1), where they enjoy rest and peace, guarded by angels (Eth. En. 100:5; 4 Ezra 7:15).

At the final judgment the righteous issue forth to receive their everlasting reward (30:2).

As regards the resurrection B_2 teaches as follows:—

In answer to the question, 'With thou perchance change these things [i.e. man's material body] which have been in the world, as also the world? [49:3], he shows in chap. 50 that the dead shall be raised with bodies absolutely unchanged, with a view to their recognition by those who knew them. This completed, the bodies of the righteous shall be transformed, with a view to an unending spiritual existence (51:1; 37:6). They shall be made like the angels and equal to the stars, and changed from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory (51:10); they shall even surpass the angels (51:12).

The Pauline teaching in 1 Cor. 15:35-50 is thus in some respects a developed and more spiritual expression of ideas already current in Judaism.

In B_3 (chap. 85) there is the same despair of a national restoration as in B_2 , and only spiritual blessedness is looked for in the world of incorruption (85:4f.).

In dealing with 4 Esd we shall adopt provisionally some of the critical results attained by Kabisch (cp 79. 4 Esdras. [FOURTH]). Of the five independent writings which he discovers in it, two were written before 70 A.D. and three after.

i. The two former he designates respectively an Ezra Apocalypse and a Son of Man Vision.

a. The *Ezra Apocalypse* consists of 4:52-51:32; 61:3-25; 72:6-44; 86:1-9:12 and is largely eschatological.

The signs of the last times are recounted at great length (5:1-12; 6:21-7; 9:1-16), the destruction of Rome (5:3), and the advent of the Messiah the Son of God (5:6; 7:26). Certain saints shall accompany the Messiah (7:28)¹ here we seem to have the idea of a first resurrection of the saints to the temporary Messianic kingdom, the general resurrection taking place at its close (7:31-7)—and all the faithful who have survived the troubles that preceded the kingdom shall rejoice together with the

¹ The same idea is probably to be found in 13:52.

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Messiah 400 years.¹ Then the Messiah and all men shall die (7:20), and in the course of seven days the world shall return to its primal silence, even as in the course of seven days it was created (7:20). Then the next world shall awake, the corruptible perish (7:21), all mankind be raised from the dead (7:22) and appear at the last judgment (7:23), and Paradise (the final abode of the righteous) and Gehenna be revealed (7:24). The judgment shall last seven years (7:43).

b. The *Son of Man Vision* (chap. 13) was composed probably before 70 A.D.

Many signs are to precede the advent of the Messiah (13:12), who will appear in the cloud of heaven (13:3; 12). The nations, 'multitude without number,' shall assemble from the four corners of heaven to do him wrong (13:3, 34); but the Messiah will destroy them not with sword or weapon of war (13:9, 24), but with a flood of fire from his mouth and a flaming breath out of his nostrils (13:10, 27), and 'by a law which is like fire' (13:24, 29). A firmament shall be set up (13:3). The Messiah shall destroy the temple (13:40, 47) and preserve the residue of Gentile people who are in Palestine (13:40).

ii. The other three constitutions of 4 Esd. were composed between 70 and 100 A.D.

c. The *Ezra Fragment* (10:6-12:35). Here is predicted (12:33) the destruction of Rome through the agency of the Davidic Messiah (12:32; so Vv. except 12:1), who will save the remnant of God's people in Palestine, and fill them with joy to the end, the day of judgment (12:34).

d. An *Ezra Fragment* (14:1-17:4; 27:30-47). Ezra is to be translated and to live with the Messiah till the twelve times are ended (14:1). Ten and a half have elapsed already (14:11). Great woes have befallen; but the worst are yet to come (14:16, 17). Does 14:9 imply that when 'the times are ended' there will be a Messianic kingdom like that in the *Ezra Apocalypse* discussed above (6)? This is not improbable if we compare 14:9 with 7:28. The parts of chap. 14 under consideration, therefore, may belong to that apocalypse.

e. The *Apocalypse of Salathiel* (31:31; 41:51; 51:36-61; 63:20-7; 74:5-8; 82:13; 10:57; 12:40-48; 14:28-35). The world is nearly at an end (44:50). As it was created, so it is to be judged, by God alone (5:6; 6:6). Very few shall be saved (7:47-6; 8:2, 7). Judgment and all things relating to it were prepared before the creation (7:20). It will come when the number of the righteous is completed (4:30); the sins of earth will not retard it (4:39-42). In the meantime, retribution sets in immediately after death (7:69; 75:80-85; 14:35). The souls of the righteous, who are allowed seven days to see what will befall them (7:100), are guarded by angels in 'chambers' (7:75; 85:95; 12:1) till the final judgment, when glory and transfiguration await them (7:95; 97). The souls of the wicked in torment roam to and fro in seven 'ways' (6:42) which answer to the seven 'ways' of joy for the righteous (7:80-87; 93). After the judgment their torments become still more grievous (7:84), and intercession, permissible now (7:100-111), can no longer be allowed (7:102-105), all things being then finally determined (7:113-115). This world now ends, and the next (7:113), which will be a new creation (7:75), begins. It is the time of the great reward of the righteous, who shall be bright as stars (7:97); yea, even brighter (7:125), for they shall shine as the sun, and be immortal (7:97). Paradise shall be their final abode (7:123).

The teaching of this book is closely allied to that of Apoc. Bar. B_2 .

Josephus, a Pharisee, gives a fairly trustworthy Pharisaic eschatology in *Ant.* xviii. 1, 3 (cp SCRIBES).²

80. Josephus, The account in *Ant.* iii. 8, 5 is in a high degree misleading. In reality, Josephus believed in an intermediate state for the righteous, and (see *Ant.* iv. 65) in a future Messianic age.³

(c) *Development of special conceptions in first century A.D.* i. *Soul and Spirit*.—There is hardly a trace of what we have called 'conceptions' (§ 20) the later doctrine of the soul and the spirit in the Jewish literature of the first century A.D.⁴

¹ This number has originated as follows:—According to Gen. 15:13 Israel was to be oppressed 400 years in Egypt. Ps. 90:15 contains the prayer, 'Give us joy . . . for as many years of misfortune as we have lived through' (We. *SBOT*). From a combination of these passages it was inferred that the Messianic kingdom would last 400 years. Compare this view with that of the two years broached in Slav. En. i; see § 75.

² A treatment of this passage of Josephus, with regard to its eschatological contents will be found also in Cheyne's *OPs.* 416 ff. 415 ff.

³ It is Josephus the courtier who speaks in *Ant.* vi. 54.

⁴ In *Baruch* 1:38, which belongs in eschatological character to the OT, this teaching appears, and the term 'spirit' is used in its later sense in 2:7, 'The dead that are in Hades whose spirit is taken from their bodies.' Still in 3:1 'spirit' and 'soul' are treated as synonymous according to the popular and older view. This part of *Baruch* may belong to the second or the last century B.C.

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In Jubilees 23:31 the departed are spoken of as 'spirits.' So likewise in Ass. Mos. (see Origen, *In Jos. homil.* 21). On the other hand Slav. En. speaks only of 'souls'; see 23:58-5. Again, whereas Apoc. Bar. uses in reference to the departed only the term 'soul'—cp 30:34 (31:15)—the sister work 4 Esd. uses both 'soul' (7:75, 93, 99, f.) and 'spirit' (7:78, 80).

The author of Wisdom was clearly influenced by Gen. 24:3-8; but his psychology is independent, and more nearly agrees with the popular dichotomy (14:819, f. 915). In the next life the soul constitutes the entire personality (31); 'spirit' is clearly a synonym (cp 15:8 and 15:16; also 16:14). There is, therefore, no trichotomy in 15:11. The difference between 'an active soul' (*ψυχὴν ἐνεργουσαν*) and 'a vital spirit' (*πνεῦμα ζωτικόν*) lies not in the substantives but in the epithets.¹ The soul here is not the result of the inbreathing of the divine breath into the body but an independent entity, synonymous with the spirit derived directly from God.

2. *Judgment.*—This century witnesses but little change in the current beliefs on this head. There is to be a preliminary judgment in all cases where a Messianic kingdom is expected (in Jub., Ass. Mos., Wisdom, and all the different constitutions of Apoc. Bar. and 4 Esdras save B₂ and B₃ of the former and the Apoc. Salathiel of the latter). The final judgment is to be executed on men and angels (Jub., Slav. En. and Apoc. Bar.) at the close of the Messianic kingdom, or, where no such kingdom is expected, at the close of the age (Apoc. Bar., B₂, B₃), or when the number of the righteous is completed (4 Esdras, Apoc. Sal.). In 2 Macc. and Philo, however, no final judgment is spoken of. Each soul apparently enters at death on its final destiny. In this last respect alone is there a definite divergence from the beliefs of the last century B.C.

3. *Places of abode of the departed.*—There are many; but they have, for the most part, their roots in the past.

i. Heaven (or Paradise). The final abode of the righteous (Jub. 23:31; Ass. Mos. 10:9; Apoc. Bar. 51).

ii. Paradise. (a) The final abode of the righteous (Slav. En. 8:42, 5 etc.; 4 Ezra 7:36, 123). (b) The intermediate abode of the righteous (Jub. 7).

iii. Shēōl or Hades. (a) The abode of all departed souls till the final judgment (Apoc. Bar. 23:5, 48:16, 52:2; 4 Ezra 4:41; Josephus [see above]). Shēōl thus conceived, however, had two divisions—a place of pain for the wicked (Apoc. Bar. 30:5, 36:11), and a place of rest and blessedness for the righteous (cp 4 Ezra 4:41).² This was called the 'treasuries' (cp Apoc. Bar. 30:2; 4 Ezra 7:75, 85, 95). (b) Hell (Jub. 7:29, 22:22; 4 Ezra 8:53).

iv. Gehenna. This is now generally conceived as the final place of punishment for all the wicked, not for apostate Jews as heretofore (Ass. Mos. 10:10; 4 Ezra 7:36). It seems to be referred to in Wisdom (cp 4:19). In Slav. En. it is in the third heaven (cp 10:40, 12:41).³

4. *Resurrection.*—(a) Resurrection of the saints to the Messianic kingdom. This is apparently the teaching of 4 Esdras 7:28. (b) General resurrection. According to all the authorities of this century as enumerated above (except Apoc. Bar. and 4 Esdras), there is to be a resurrection of the righteous alone. In B₂ of Apoc. Bar. (30:2-5 50, f.) and in the Ezra Apoc. in 4 Esd. (7:32-37) the resurrection involves all men. A resurrection or an immortality only of the soul is found in Jubilees, Ass. Mos., Philo, Wisdom and 4 Macc.

5. (a) *Messianic kingdom.*—See above (§ 71).

(b) *Messiah.*—We remarked above (§ 70, 5) that from about 50 B.C. the Messianic hope rooted itself so firmly that henceforth the Messiah became, on the whole, the central figure in the theocratic kingdom. It may startle some to find that only five of the books we have dealt with express this hope (cp MESSIAH). The explanation, however, is not far to seek. Against the secularisation of the hope of the Messiah, favoured (see APOCALYPTIC, § 85) by the Psalms of Solomon, an

¹ Thus the resemblance to Gen. 27 is merely verbal.

² The statement that "the treasures" are a department of Shēōl is based on the Latin version of 4 Esdras 4:41. The present writer, however, is now inclined to regard this statement as false on various grounds, one reason being the fact that the Syr. and Eth. versions of the passage agree against the Latin.

³ In the fragmentary Christian apocalypse in the Ascension of Isaiah (13:4-22) Gehenna is regarded as the final abode of Beliar. See 4:14 and cp ANTICHRIST, § 13.

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emphatic protest was raised by a strong body of Pharisees, Quietists like the ancient Hāsids (above, § 57), who felt it to be their sole duty to observe the law, leaving it to God to intervene and defend them. This standpoint is represented by Ass. Mos., and later by the Salathiel Apoc. in 4 Esdras. Among the Jews of the dispersion, too, this view naturally gained large acceptance. Hence we find no hint of the ideas it protested against in the Slav. En., the Book of Wisdom, and 4 Macc. This opposition to the hope of the Messiah from the severely legal wing of Pharisaism at length gave way, however, and in Apoc. Bar. 53-74 (i.e., A₂) we have literary evidence of the fusion of early Rabbinism and the popular Messianic expectation. How widespread was the hope of the Messiah in the first century of the Christian era may be seen not only from Jubilees (?), Philo, Josephus and the various independent writings in the Apoc. Bar. and 4 Esdras, but also from the NT and the notice taken of this expectation in Tacitus (*Hist.* 5:13) and Suetonius (*Temp.* 4).

Since in all cases only a transitory Messianic kingdom is expected in this century, the Messiah's reign is naturally conceived as likewise transitory.

The Messiah is to be of the tribe of Judah (Jub. 31:18, f., 4 Esd. 12:32). According to Apoc. Bar. 27:30-1 and 4 Esd. 7:28 (i.e., Ezra Apoc., see above § 79, a) he is to play a passive part. In the former passage he is to appear at the close of the Messianic woes; in the latter, at the time of the first resurrection. He is not usually passive, however; in Apoc. I. 30:40-53-70 and 4 Esd. 10:10-12:35 he is a warrior who slays his enemies with the sword. Other writers, more loftily, substitute for a sword the invisible word of his mouth (4 Esd. 13:10; cp Ps. Sol. 17).

6. *Gentiles.*—In most works written before the fall of Jerusalem only the hostile nations are destroyed (see e.g., Apoc. Bar. 40:1, f. 72, 4-6); but in later works (see 4 Esd. 13) this fate is suffered by all Gentiles. In no case have they any hope of a future life. They descend for ever either into Shēōl or into Gehenna. If, anywhere, they are represented as having part in the resurrection, it is only that they may be committed to severer and never-ending torment (4 Esd. 7:36-38).

C. NEW TESTAMENT

In entering the field of the NT we find at once a distinguishing peculiarity. The ideas inherited from the 82. NT writers. past are not in a state of constant flux in which each idea in turn appeals for acceptance, and enjoys through the system which it generates a brief career. The ideas are subordinated to the central force of the Christian movement.

In the next place we have to note that the teaching of Christ and of Christianity at last furnished a synthesis of the eschatologies of the race and the individual.

The true Messianic kingdom begun on earth is to be consummated in heaven; it is not temporary but eternal; it is not limited to one people but embraces the righteous of all nations and of all times. It forms a divine society¹ in which the position and significance of each member is determined by his endowments and his blessedness conditioned by the blessedness of the whole. Religious individualism becomes an impossibility. The individual can have no part in the kingdom except through a living relation to its head; but this relation cannot be maintained and developed save through life in and for the brethren, and so closely is the individual life bound to that of the brethren that no soul can reach its consummation apart.

Of the large body of Jewish ideas retained in the system of Christian thought many undergo a partial or complete transformation, and it is important at the outset to place this relation in a clear light. We cannot expect Christianity to be free from inherited conceptions of a mechanical and highly unethical character,² when we remember that in the Hebrew religion there were for centuries large survivals of primitive Semitic religion.

¹ The joyous nature of the fellowship of this kingdom is set forth in the gospels in the figurative terms of a feast; but all idea of the satisfaction of sensuous needs in the consummated kingdom of God is excluded by the only account of the risen life of the righteous which comes from the triple tradition.

² Among those in Christianity which historical criticism compels us to assign to this class are the generally accepted doctrine of Hades, and the doctrine of eternal damnation.

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Nor can we be surprised to find ideas which belong to different stages of development, not only in the NT as a whole, but also in the mind of the same NT writer. The fundamental teaching of Jesus, assimilated (it must be) more by one writer than by another, could not all at once transform the body of inherited eschatological ideas. The development of Paul will, if our results are correct, supply an instructive commentary on this axiomatic truth.

In what follows we shall deal first (§§ 83-101) with the books and groups of books in the order that will best bring to light the eschatological development. We shall then (§ 102 f.), as before, deal with the development of special conceptions.

I. THE BOOKS AND GROUPS OF BOOKS.—1. The eschatology of the Synoptic Gospels deals with the consummation of the kingdom of God. This kingdom is represented under two aspects, now as present, now as future; now as inward and spiritual, now as external and manifest.

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Thus in Mt. 6:33 7:13 11:12 12:28 21:31 Lk. 17:21 it is already present, whereas in Mt. 6:10 8:11 26:29 Mk. 9:1 Lk. 9:27 13:28 f. 14:15 it is expressly conceived as still to be realised.

The two views are organically related, and are combined in a well-known saying of Jesus (Mk. 10:15), which declares that entrance into the kingdom as it shall be is dependent on a man's right attitude to the kingdom as it now is.

We shall deal next with the three great events which are to bring about the consummation of the kingdom: (a) the parusia (§ 84 f.), (b) the final judgment (§ 86), and (c) the resurrection (§ 87).

a. The parusia¹ or second advent introduces the consummation of the divine kingdom founded by the Messiah.

84. The parusia It is certainly to take place at the 'close of the age' (*συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος*), Mt. 13:39 f. 49:24 28:20. When we seek a more precise definition of time, however, we find in the Gospels two apparently conflicting accounts.

(i.) The parusia is within the current generation and preceded by certain signs. This was very natural, because in the OT the foundation and the consummation of the kingdom are closely connected. Hence Jesus declared that 'this generation' (*ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη*) should not 'pass away' till the prophetic description had been realised (Mt. 24:34). The description referred to (see Mt. 24 and Mk. 13; Lk. 21:35) is no doubt full; but these chapters appear to be derived in part from Jesus and in part from a Judaistic source. They identify two distinct occurrences, the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world.²

This is sometimes explained by the well-known theory of prophetic perspective (see PROPHETCY); but the explanation is unsatisfactory. Illusions of the bodily eye are gradually corrected by experience until at last they cease to mislead; but it is not so with prophecy as regards either the prophet or those who accept his prophecy; both are deceived. That Jesus did expect to return during the existing generation (Mt. 10:23 16:27 f. Mk. 9:1 Lk. 9:26 f.) is proved beyond question by the universal hopes of the apostolic age. To speak of error in this regard, however, is to misconceive the essence of prophecy. So

¹ The idea of the parusia could not but arise in the mind of Jesus when he saw clearly the approaching violent end of his ministry. As a fact, it is first expressed in connection with Christ's first prophecy of this great event (Mk. 8:38 Mt. 16:27 Lk. 9:26).

² Among attempts to analyse the chapters that of Wendt (*Die Lehre Jesu*, 1902) deserves attention. He traces Mt. 24:1-5 23:25-9 13:32 f. 39:42 (i.e., Mk. 13:1-2 21:23-9 13:28 f. 32-37) to Jesus, and the rest of this chapter to a Jewish Christian apocalypse written before 70 A.D. Cf. also ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION. The present writer is of opinion that the solution of the difficulty must be found in some such theory as that of Wendt, which is a modification of that of Colani (*Jésus Christ et les Croyanances Messianiques de son Temps*, p. 201 ff. 1904). According to the Jewish apocalypse just referred to, the parusia was to be heralded by unmistakable signs, but this view is irreconcilable with another which teaches that the parusia will take the world by surprise (Mk. 13:35-6 Mt. 24:42-44 Lk. 12:35-40). This latter doctrine goes back undoubtedly to Jesus; the former is derived from traditional Judaism.

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far as relates to fulfilment, it is always conditioned by the course of human development. OT prophecy and Jesus' own inner consciousness as God's Messiah pointed to the immediate consummation of the kingdom; but there was still possibility that it might be long delayed (Mt. 24:48 Lk. 12:45, also Mk. 13:35 Lk. 12:38 Mt. 25), and he expressly declared that the day and the hour of his return was known only to God (Mk. 13:32). This determination God had withheld from him because it was dependent not on the divine will alone but also on the course of human development. He could indicate, however, the 'signs of his coming,' such as the appearance of many false Messiahs (Mt. 24:5 Mk. 13:22), 'deceived' by whom the nation would finally arise in arms against Rome, complete the national guilt, and entail on themselves destruction (see also ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION) (Mt. 23:34). These things would be as certainly prophetic as the growing greenness of the fig-tree (Mt. 24:32). The return of the Son of Man to judgment would be imminent (24:29-31). It should be noted, however, that documents from two very different sources appear to be combined here. See note 2 below.

The same expectation is attested in Mt. 10:23, where Jesus declares to his disciples that they will not have gone through the cities of Israel before the coming of the Son of Man, and likewise in Mt. 16:27 f. Mk. 8:38 9:1 Lk. 9:26 f., where it is said that some shall not taste of death before that time. It must be abundantly clear from the evidence that the expectation of the nearness of the end formed a real factor in Jesus' views of the future. There are, on the other hand, many passages which just as clearly present us with a different forecast of the future, and this view demands a careful attention.

(ii.) The parusia will not take place till the process of human development has run its course, and the Gospel has been preached to Jew and Gentile.

The kingdom must spread extensively and intensively: extensively, till its final expansion is out of all proportion to its original smallness (cp the parable of the mustard seed); intensively, till it transforms and regenerates the life of the nation, or rather of the world (cp the parable of the leaven, Mt. 13:31-33).

85. At the end. This process has its parallel in the gradual growth of a grain of corn; the ripe fruit is the sign for harvest (Mk. 4:26 f.). The preaching of the Gospel too must extend to the non-Israelites (Mt. 22:9-10). To the Jews, who were on their last trial, it would appear in vain (Lk. 13:34 f.). In the coming days the kingdom of God should be taken from them and given to others who would bear appropriate fruits (Mk. 12:9 Mt. 21:41 43 Lk. 20:16); their city should be destroyed (Mt. 22:7), the 'times of the nations' should come in (Lk. 21:24 only), and the glad tidings of the kingdom should be carried to all nations before the end should come (Mk. 13:10 and Mt. 24:14 [cp 24:9] Mt. 28:19).

This representation of the future obviously presupposes a long period of development. No less than that of the near parusia, it goes back to Jesus. The contingency that the more sanguine view, which is derived from OT prophecy, might not be realised, is acknowledged in Mt. 24:48 Lk. 12:45, also in Mk. 13:35 where the possibility of an indefinitely long night of history preceding the final advent is clearly contemplated. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that discourses relating to different events and from absolutely different sources are confused together in Mk. 13=Mt. 24=Lk. 21 (see § 84, n.).

¹ It is possible, as Weiss (*Marcus-ev.*, 417) thinks, that the original form of this statement is to be found in Mt. 10:12 and that its present form is due to Mk.

² Beyschlag (*NT Theology*, ET 1 197 f.) points out that the words 'of that day or that hour knoweth no man, etc.' (Mk. 13:32 Mt. 24:36) cannot be reconciled with the words that precede them, 'This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be accomplished.' Accordingly he refers the latter to the destruction of Jerusalem (cp Mt. 23:36) and the former to the final judgment of the world. An interesting discussion of these chapters is given by Briggs (*Messiah of the Gospels*, 132-165). Weissenbach (*Ueberbegriffsgedanke Jesu*, 1873), like Colani, Pfeleiderer, and Keim, seeks to show that in Mk. 13 (= Mt. 24=Lk. 21) there is a Jewish-Christian apocalypse interwoven with the genuine words of Jesus. This apocalypse consisted of three parts:—(1) Mk. 13:7 f. giving the beginning of woes, (2) Mk. 13:14-20 giving the tribulation, (3) Mk. 13:24-27 giving the parusia. Wendt's modification of this theory has been referred to already. He and other scholars think that this is the oracle referred to by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 53). It is impossible to treat seriously the statement of Weiss (*NT Theology*, 1149) that there is no contradiction between Mk. 13:32 and 13:30 because 'the time of the current generation presented a very considerable margin for the determining of the day and hour.' This would be tantamount to saying, 'It will be within the next thirty or forty years; but I am not acquainted with the exact day or hour.'

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6. The parusia was to be likewise the 'day of judgment' (Mt. 10:15, 11:22-24, 12:36), also called 'that day' (Mt. 7:22, 24:36, Lk. 6:23, 10:12, 21:34).

Christ himself will be judge;¹ for all things have been delivered by the Father into his hand (Mt. 11:27). All nations shall be gathered before him (Mt. 25:32). He will reward every man according to his works (Mt. 13:41-43, 49; 16:27, 22:11-14).

Amongst the judged appear his own servants (Lk. 19:22; Mt. 25:14-30), the Israelites (Mt. 19:28), the 'nations' (Mt. 25:32), not only the contemporaries of Jesus, but also all the nations of the past, Nineveh, the Queen of Sheba (Mt. 12:41; Lk. 11:31), Sodom and Gomorrah (Mt. 11:20-24). The demons probably are judged at the same time (Mt. 8:29).

c. The kingdom is consummated, 'comes with power' (Mk. 9:1), on the advent of Christ. The elect are gathered in from the four winds (Mt. 24:31), and now, after being, we must as men, spiritually transformed, enter on their eternal inheritance (Mt. 25:34), equivalent to eternal life (Mk. 10:17). The kingdom, therefore, is of a heavenly, not of an earthly character: the present heaven and earth shall pass away on its coming (Mt. 5:13, 21:35). The righteous rise to share in it; but only the righteous: the resurrection is only to life. Those who share in it are 'as angels in heaven' (Mt. 22:30, Mk. 12:25), 'are equal to the angels and sons of God, being sons of the resurrection' (Lk. 20:36). Only those, therefore, attain to the resurrection who 'are accounted worthy to attain to that world, and the resurrection from the dead' (Lk. 20:35). Elsewhere the third evangelist speaks of 'the resurrection of the just' (14:14). The entire context of Mt. 22:23-33 (= Mk. 13:18-27, Lk. 20:27-40) points clearly to the conclusion that the resurrection is conceived as springing from life in God. In such communion man is brought to the perfection to which he was destined. The righteous thus in an especial sense become 'sons of God,' inasmuch as they are 'sons of the resurrection' (Lk. 20:36).

In the resurrection, therefore, the wicked have no part. It has been said by some scholars that there must be a resurrection of all men in the body because all must appear at the final judgment; but the final judgment and the resurrection have no necessary connection. In Jubilees there is a final judgment but no resurrection of the body, and in Eth. En. 91-104 there is a final judgment, but a resurrection only of the spirits of the righteous (91:10, 92:1, 103:3-4). The fact that demons and other disembodied spirits (Mt. 8:29) are conceived as falling under the last judgment is further evidence in the same direction.

As the righteous are raised to the perfected kingdom of God, the wicked, on the other hand, are cast down into Gehenna (Mt. 5:29; f. 10:28, Mk. 9:43, 45, 47; f.). The fire spoken of in this connection (Mt. 5:22) is not to be conceived sensuously; it is a vivid symbol of the terrible wrath of God. The place or state of punishment is also described as 'the outer darkness' (Mt. 8:12), the place of those who are excluded from the light of the kingdom. The torment appears to be a torment of the soul or disembodied spirit. See above, § 70 (3 iv.).

Though in conformity with Jewish tradition the punishment is generally conceived in the Gospels as everlasting, there are not wanting passages which appear to fix a finite and limited punishment for certain offenders, and hence recognise the possibility of moral change in the intermediate state.

Thus some are to be beaten with few, others with many stripes (Lk. 12:47-48). It is not possible to conceive eternal torment under the figure of a few stripes. Again, with regard only to one sin it is said that 'neither in this world (αἰών) nor in that which is to come' can it be forgiven (Mt. 12:32). Such a statement would be not only meaningless, but also in the highest degree misleading, if forgiveness in the next life were regarded as a thing impossible. It may not be amiss to find signs of a belief in the possibility of moral improvement after death in the rich man in Hades who appeals to Abraham on behalf of his five brethren still on earth (Lk. 16:27-31).

¹ In the parables sometimes God himself is judge (Mt. 18:32, 20:8, 22:11, Lk. 15:7), sometimes the Messiah (Mt. 13:30, 24:30, 25:12, 13).

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2. In considering the Apocalypse, the whole of which (see APOCALYPSE) is eschatological, our attention must be confined to a few of its characteristic doctrines, the obvious meaning of which is independent of the various conflicting methods of interpretation that have been applied to the book. The book is remarkable for the large survivals of traditional Judaism which it attests. Its main object appears to be to encourage the persecuted church to face martyrdom. With this purpose its editor draws freely on current Jewish eschatology, some elements of which we shall notice in the sequel. We shall deal with its teaching under four heads.

(a) *Parusia and Messianic judgment.*—Every visitation of the churches, every divine judgment in regard to them is regarded as a spiritual advent of the Messiah (2:5, 16, 3:20); but this invisible coming ends in a final advent, visible to all. Its date is not revealed; but it is close at hand (3:11, 22:12, 20).

At Messiah's coming all families of men shall wail (1:7). In chap. 14 his coming is in the clouds of heaven, and the judgment appears under various symbolical figures. Thus he reaps the great harvest with a sharp sickle (14:14-17); he treads the winepress of the wrath of God (14:17-20; cp 19:15). The judgment of the great day—the great day of God (16:14)—is presented under the image of limitless slaughter, before the beginning of which the birds of prey are summoned to feast on the bodies and blood of men (19:17, 19, 21, cp 14:20). At ARMAGEDDON (q.v.) ANTI-CHRIST¹ (q.v.) and his allies are annihilated (16:19), the beast and the false prophet are cast into the lake of fire (19:20), and all their followers slain with the sword (19:21).

(b) *First Resurrection, Millennium, uprising and destruction of Gog and Magog* (cp Gog). With the overthrow of the earthly power, Satan—the old dragon, the old serpent—is stripped of all his might, and cast in chains into the abyss where he is imprisoned for a thousand years (2:10-13). Thereupon ensues the Millennium,² when the martyrs³ (and the martyrs only) are raised in the first resurrection and become priests of God (cp 1s. 61:6) and Christ, and reign with Christ personally on earth for a thousand years (20:4-6) with Jerusalem as the centre of the kingdom. At the close of this period Satan is loosed, and the nations Gog and Magog—the idea is, with certain changes, derived from Ezek. 38, 39 (see Gog)—are set up to make a last assault on the kingdom of Christ. In this attack they are destroyed by God himself, who sends down fire from heaven (20:9). The devil is then (as in the fully developed Zoroastrian belief) finally cast into the lake of fire (20:10).

(c) *General resurrection and judgment.*—These follow the Millennium, the destruction of the heathen powers, and the final overthrow of Satan.

Contemporaneously the present heaven and earth pass away (20:11; cp 21:1). God is judge; but in some respects the Messiah also (22:12; cp also 6:16, 7). All are judged according to their works, which stand revealed in the heavenly books (20:12). The wicked are cast into the lake of fire (21:8; see also 19:20, 20:10). So likewise are Death and Hades⁴ (20:14). This is the second death⁵ (20:14, 21:8). (See also 2:11, 20:6.)

¹ Observe that, whereas in the Johannine epistles Antichrist denotes the false teachers and prophets, in the Apocalypse it designates Rome. In 2 Thess., on the other hand, Rome is a beneficent power which hinders the manifestation of Antichrist.

² On the origin of the conquest of 'the dragon' (ANTICHRIST, § 14, PERSIA (Religion)), and on the older Jewish view (of mythical origin) that this and other sea monsters were overcome in primeval times by God (cp Prayer of Manasse, 2-4), see DRAGON, SERPENT, BEHEMOTH, with references there given.

³ The idea of a temporary Messianic kingdom first emerged at the beginning of the last century B.C. (see above, § 64, f.). Its limitation to a thousand years is first found in Slav. En. 33 (see above, § 75).

⁴ This idea also is mainly Jewish. In 1s. 26:10 the reference may perhaps be to the bodies of Jews who had died for their religion in the troublous times of Artaxerxes (so Che. Intr. 1s. 158; Isaiah, SNOT, ad loc.). In 4 Ezra 7:28 the saints who accompany the Messiah on his advent probably include the martyrs. In Rev. 20:4 it is said with reference to these saints, '(I saw) the souls of them that had been beheaded.'

⁵ Hades seems to be the intermediate abode of the wicked only; for it is always combined with death (see 1:18, 6:8, 20:13, f.). The souls of the martyrs have as their intermediate abode the place beneath the altar (6:9-11). The rest of the righteous were probably conceived as in Paradise or in the Treasures of the righteous (see 4 Ezra).

⁶ The second death is the death of the soul, as the first is the death of the body. It is the endless torment, not the annihilation, of the wicked that is here meant. The expression is a familiar Rabbinic one, — Tg. Jer. on Dt. 28:4. The occupation of the martyred souls in the intermediate state reminds one

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(4) *Final consummation of the righteous.*—The scene of this consummation is the new world—the new heaven and the new earth (21:1, 5); the heavenly Jerusalem (21:10-21).¹

The ideal kingdom of God becomes actual. The city needs no temple; God and Christ (the Lamb) dwell in it (21:22). The citizens dwell in perfect fellowship with God (22:4), and are as kings unto God (22:6). The Messiah does not resign his mediatorial functions as in the Pauline eschatology. See 7:17 21:22 f.).

3. 2 Peter and Jude.—2 Peter is closely related to Jude—in fact presupposes it.

Like Jude, 2 Peter recounts various temporal judgments which the author treats as warnings to the godless of his own day. Thus he alludes to the condemnation of the fallen angels to TARTARUS [τάρταρος] (where they were to be reserved till the judgment) (2:4), the Deluge (2:5-6), the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (2:6). These, however, were but preliminary acts of judgment. The final 'day of judgment' (2:3, 7) is impending. Meantime the unrighteous are kept under punishment (καταδραμένους)—i.e., in Hades (2:9). The ultimate doom of the wicked false teachers and their followers will be destruction (ἀπώλεια, 3:7); it is coming speedily upon them (2:3); they have brought it on themselves (2:1); they shall assuredly be destroyed (2:12). At the final judgment the world as it is shall perish by fire (3:7-10), as formerly by water (2:5-6), and new heavens and a new earth shall arise (3:12-13). All this, however, shall not be till Christ's parousia (1:16, 3:4, 12). The last days are already come (3:4), and the parousia is postponed only through the long-suffering of God with a view to the repentance of the faithless (3:9), and their salvation (3:12). By holy living and godliness Christians could prevent any further postponement of the parousia (3:12). With the parousia the eternal kingdom of Christ (1:11) begins in the new heavens and the new earth, wherein the perfect life of righteousness shall be realised (3:13).

In Jude, the divine judgments in the history of the past are but types of the final judgment (e.g., Israelites in the desert, Sodom, Korah, and the angels who were guilty of unnatural crime).

90. **Jude.** 'Everlasting bonds under darkness' (τ. 6), 'punishment of eternal fire' (τ. 7), are the terms employed for the preliminary punishments of sinners. The 'judgment of the great day' (τ. 6) is described in the well-known quotation from the patriarch Ench. The extension of it to the angels is found also in 2 Pet. and in 1 Cor. 6:3; but for at least 300 years it had already been an accepted doctrine of Judaism. At this final judgment with which Jude menaces the godless libertines of his own day the faithful will obtain eternal life, through the mercy of Christ (τ. 21).

4. **James.**—James is a production of primitive Jewish Christianity in which Christ's religion is conceived as the fulfilment of the perfect law, promissiveness being given to the doctrine of recompense.

91. **James.** Hence, whilst the fulfilment of the law under testing afflictions (τεπρασμοί) led to a recompense of blessing (1:12 5:11), failure for those who are subject of 'the perfect law, the law of liberty,' entails an aggravated punishment (2:12; cp 2:25). None, however, can fulfil the law perfectly (2:10), and so claim 'the crown of life' as their reward. Men who need forgiveness now (5:13) must need a merciful judge hereafter. By the law of recompense only the merciful will find God to be such (2:13; cp Ps. 18:25).

Moreover the judgment is close at hand. It is a day of slaughter for the godless rich (5:5). The advent of the Messiah who will judge the world is close at hand (5:6 f.). He alone can save or destroy (4:12). As faithful endurance receives life (1:12), so the issue of sin is death (1:15). A fire will consume the wicked, 5:3 (does this mean Gehenna?). Nor is it only to a death of the body that they will be delivered; it is a death of the soul (5:20). The faithful will enter into the promised kingdom (2:5).

5. There is a large eschatological element in Hebrews. The final judgment ('the day') is nigh at hand (10:25).

92. **Hebrews.** It is introduced by the final shaking of heaven and earth (12:26 compared with 12:25 20) and by the parousia. God is judge (10:30 f.), the judge of all (12:23). The second coming of Christ is coincident with this judgment; but he does not judge (9:27 f., 10:17).

Retribution is reserved unto this judgment (10:30), which will be terrible (10:31) and inevitable (12:25). The righteous expect Christ to appear not for judgment but for salvation (1:22). Their recompense is to be in heaven (6:19 f.), where they have an

of the departed spirits in Eth. En. 91-104; their whole prayer is for the destruction of their persecutors.

¹ Quite inconsistently with the idea of a new heaven and a new earth the writer represents Gentile nations as dwelling outside the gates, cp 22:15.

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eternal inheritance (9:15), a better country (11:1), a city which is to come (13:14), whose builder and maker is God (11:1 f.). Then the present visible world (11:3), which is already growing old (1:10-12), will be removed, and the kingdom which cannot be shaken will remain (12:28-29). Into this new world the righteous will pass through the resurrection. There is apparently to be a resurrection of the righteous only.¹ This follows from 11:35: 'that they might obtain a better resurrection.' These words, which refer to the Maccabean martyrs (2 Macc. 7), set the resurrection in contrast with a merely temporary deliverance from death, and represent it as a prize to be striven for, not as the common lot of all. The blessedness of the righteous is described as a participation in the glory of God (2:10) and in the divine vision (12:14).

As regards the wicked, their doom is 'destruction' (10:39). This is something far worse than mere bodily death (9:27). It is represented as a consuming fire (10:27 12:29; cp 6:8). The destiny of the wicked seems to be annihilation.

6. The sources for the Johannine eschatology are the Fourth Gospel and the epistles. The Apocalypse (§§ 14-17) springs from a different author, and belongs to a different school of eschatological thought.

93. **The Johannine Eschatology.** Though these writings do not present us with any fresh teaching about Hades and hell, their author furnishes us with principles which in themselves necessitate a transformation of the inherited views regarding the immediate and the final abodes of the departed. Thus when he teaches that God so loved the world as to give his only son to redeem it (Jn. 3:16), that 'God is love' (1 Jn. 4:9), that he is light, and in him is no darkness at all, Hades, which is wholly under his sway, must surely be a place where moral growth is possible. The conception of a final eternal abode of the damned seems to find no place in a cosmos ruled by such a God as this writer conceives.

Whilst in a certain sense in the Johannine teaching the kingdom has already come, the Christ is already present, the faithful already risen, and the judgment already in fulfilment, we have to deal here not with these present aspects, but with their future consummation.

The salient points of the Johannine eschatology may be shortly put as follows. (a) The parousia is close at hand. (b) It ushers in the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment. (c) Thereupon believers enter into the perfect life of heavenly blessedness and through the vision of God are transformed into his likeness.

(d) The parousia is foretold in Jn. 14:3, where Jesus promises that he will return from heaven and take the disciples unto himself that they may be with him where he is—i.e., in heaven.²

That 14:2 f. cannot be interpreted of his coming to receive his disciples individually on death is shown by 21:22. According to the NT writers death translates believers to Christ (2 Cor. 5:9 Phil. 1:23 Acts 7:59); he is nowhere said to come and fetch them. This parousia is at hand; for some of his disciples are expected to survive till it appears (21:22), though Peter must first be martyred (21:18 f.). Even in extreme old age the apostle still hopes to witness it together with his disciples, whom he exhorts to abide in Christ that they may not be ashamed before him at his coming (1 Jn. 2:28). The close approach of the parousia is likewise shown by the appearance of false prophets and teachers who deny the fundamental truths of Christianity. In these the Antichrist manifests himself. Such a manifestation must precede the parousia (1 Jn. 2:18 22 4:13). Hence this is the 'last hour' (1 Jn. 2:18).

¹ In 6:2 we have set forth the alternatives awaiting all men: on the one hand resurrection for the righteous, on the other eternal judgment (ἐπίστα ἀποκρίσις) for the wicked.

² In the above the traditional views of scholars have in the main been followed; but this has not been done without some hesitation. The eschatology might be differently construed. Judgment sets in immediately after death in the case of each individual (9:27). In 6:2 11:35, as in Pss. Sol. and elsewhere, the resurrection may be not only confined to the righteous but also confined to the spirits of the righteous. Observe that God is spoken of as 'the Father of spirits' (12:9). An Alexandrian origin for the epistle would favour this view. The expression 'spirits of just men made perfect' (12:23) points in the same direction; for if the perfection meant is moral, these spirits must have already reached their consummation. If they have reached their consummation as spirits, however, the writer (as an Alexandrian) seems to teach only a spiritual resurrection. The chief obstacle in the way of this interpretation is the meaning of the words 'to perfect' and 'perfection.' See Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT* 123.

³ In a spiritual sense Christ has come already (1 Jn. 5:12): 'he that hath the Son hath the life.'

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(b) On the last day Jesus himself, as the resurrection and the life (Jn. 11:25), raises his own to the resurrection-life (6:39 f., 44:54, 11:25), a life that believers indeed already possess¹ (5:24 f., 8:51; cp 3:15 f.). Resurrection of all the dead is taught in 5:28 f.

It is clear, however, from the leading thoughts of the Fourth Gospel that a resurrection of the wicked—i.e., 'a resurrection of judgment'—can be nothing more than a deliverance of the wicked to eternal death at the last day. 5:28 f., which teach a general resurrection of the dead are most probably interpolated (see Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, 1249-251; Charles, *Doctrine of a Future Life*, 370-372). In the Fourth Gospel the resurrection is synonymous with life. Hence in some form the resurrection life follows immediately on death, though its perfect consummation cannot be attained till the final consummation of all things. It is Jesus also who executes the final judgment. This is the result of his unique mediatorial significance. The Father judgeth no man but has committed all judgment to the Son (5:22, 27).² In a certain sense believers do not incur judgment (3:18, 5:24); but this judgment is that which is present and subjective,³ and in this respect the world is judged already (3:18, 12:31). The final result of this daily secret judgment must however one day become manifest; believers must appear at the final judgment. They shall, however, have boldness there (1 Jn. 2:28, 4:17). A man's attitude to Christ determines now, and will determine finally, his relation to God and his destiny (Jn. 3:18 f., 9:30).

(c) The final consummation is one of heavenly blessedness.

After the resurrection and the final judgment the present world shall pass away (1 Jn. 2:17), and Christ will take his own to heaven (1 Jn. 14:2 f.); for they are to be with him where he is (12:26, 17:24). Eternal life is then truly consummated. Begun essentially on earth, it is now realised in its fullness and perfected. The faithful now obtain their 'full reward' (2 Jn. 8). As 'children of God' they shall, through enjoyment of the divine vision, be transformed into the divine likeness (1 Jn. 3:2 f.).

7. Acts 3:12-26 may be accepted provisionally as representing the teaching of Peter (cp, however, Acts, § 14); nor do we see any reason at all

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for hesitating to receive 1 Peter as fully Petrine (cp, however, PETER [EPISTLES], § 5). The passage in Acts is, at any rate, of great historical value as embodying a highly Judaistic view, and as showing how much in this view had eventually to yield in the Christian church to distinctively Christian principles. The speech ascribed to Peter anticipates that the kingdom of God will be realised in the forms of the Jewish theocracy (cp Acts 16), and that the non-Israelites will participate in its blessings only through conversion to Judaism (3:26). Hence also Jesus is conceived, not as the world-Messiah, but as the predestined Messiah of the Jews, 3:20 (τὸν προκεχειρισμένον υἱὸν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦν). We now see clearly what the much-tortured phrase 'the times of the restoration' (ἀποκατάστασις) of all things' in 3:21 cannot be. It has nothing to do with such a speculative question as the ultimate and universal destiny of man. Acts 10, if it proves anything, proves this—that Peter was unacquainted with the destination of the Gospel to the Gentiles. 'The restoration' must mean either the renewal of the world, or else, much more probably, the moral regeneration of Israel (see Mal. 4:6, and Jesus' application of the passage in Mt. 17:11).

Jewish hearers are urged to repent that they may be forgiven, and so hasten the parousia. The parousia and 'the seasons of refreshing' (3:19) are connected. Either the ἀποκατάστασις is preparatory to the parousia or else it is synonymous with 'the seasons of refreshing,' and if so it would appear to belong to an earthly Messianic kingdom.⁴

¹ Eternal life is at times described as a *present possession*: 'he that believeth hath eternal life,' Jn. 6:47, cp 5:24 f. This divine life cannot be affected by death. He that possesses it can never truly die, 8:51, 11:25 f. This phrase is used of the future heavenly life in 4:14, 6:22, 12:25. Cp ETERNAL, § 4.

² In 5:22 there is a reference to God as executing judgment; but in 5:22 it is said that the Father judgeth no man. Wendt (*Teaching of Jesus*, 2305 f.) rejects as interpolations in an original Johannine source 5:28 f. as well as portions of 6:39 f., 44:54, and 12:48 relating to the Messianic judgment.

³ The judgment besides being future and objective is also present and subjective. It is no arbitrary process, but the working out of an absolute law, whereby the unbelieving world is self-condemned. Cp 3:17, 19, 5:24, 12:47 f.

⁴ The phrase καὶ οἱ ἀγαθῶν is hardly intelligible on any other theory; but the word ἀγαθῶν should probably here be

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In 1 Peter, as in Acts 3, believing Israelites still form the real substance of the Christian church; but—here note the step in advance—this church

embraces all who come to believe in Christ, non-Israelites equally with Israelites, in this world or the next (3:19, 40). Further, it is not an earthly consummation of the theocracy, but one reserved in heaven, that is looked for (14). The goal, then, of the Christian hope is this 'salvation ready to be revealed at the last time' (15), which salvation or consummation is initiated by the revelation of Jesus Christ and the judgment of the world. Though God is declared in general terms to be the judge (1:17, 2:23), this final judgment is expressly assigned to Christ (4:5). Still the 'end of all things' is near (4:7), for judgment has already begun with the 'house of God'—i.e., the church of believing Israel (4:17).

Persecution is sifting the true from the false members of the Church. Such afflictions, however, will last but 'a little while' (1:6, 5:10). Then Christ will be revealed (1:7, 5:4), to judge both the living and the dead (4:5), both the righteous and the wicked (4:17, 5:9). The approved disciples will share with their lord in 'eternal glory' (5:10), they will 'receive the crown of glory' (5:4), and live such a life as that of God (5:6).

The question of chief importance in the Petrine eschatology has still to be discussed. It centres in

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the two difficult passages which describe the preaching to the spirits in prison (3:19-21), and the preaching of the gospel to the dead (4:5 f.).¹ The interpretations are multitudinous. The majority attribute a false sense to the phrase 'the spirits in prison.' This phrase can be interpreted only in two ways. The spirits in question are either those of men in Sheol, or the fallen angels mentioned in 2 Pet. 2:4 Jude 6. In the next place the words 'in prison' denote the local condition of the spirits at the time of preaching. Hence, according to the text, Christ 'in the spirit' (i.e., between his death and his resurrection) preached the gospel of redemption (for so only can we render ἐκήρυξεν) to human or angelic spirits in the underworld.

With the more exact determination of the objects of this mission we are not here concerned; for, however it be decided, we have here a clear statement that, in the case of certain individual human or angelic, the scope of redemption is not limited to this life.

We have now to deal with 4:5 f. . . . who will have to give account to him that is ready to judge the living and the dead. For with this purpose was the gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh (body), but live according to God in the spirit. The doctrine we found stated above in 3:19-21 is here substantiated, as being part of the larger truth now enunciated. Christ is ready to judge the living and the dead—the latter no less than the former: for even to the dead was the gospel preached² in order that though they were judged in the body they might live the life of God in the spirit. Thus it is taught that when the last judgment takes place the *evangelium* will already have been preached to all. As to how far this preaching of redemption succeeds, there is no hint in the Petrine teaching.

rendered 'rest' or 'relief'; for it is B's rendering of רִחַץ in Ex. 8:15. If it is taken so, it finds a perfect parallel in 2 Thess. 1:7 where Paul uses ἀνάσις in the same connection. This 'rest' is promised also in Asc. 18, 4:15.

¹ For the various conflicting interpretations that have been assigned to these passages from the earliest times, see Dietelmaier, *Historia Dogmatis de Descensu Christi ad Inferos* (1741 and 1765); Güder, *Die Lehre von d. Erscheinung Christi unter den Toten* (53); Zeysschütz, *De Christi ad Inferos Descensu* (57); Usteri, *Hinab- und Hinfahrt zur Hölle*; Schweitzer, *Hinab- und Hinfahrt zur Hölle*; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, 2:335-341; Salmond, *Christian Doctr. of Immort.* 450-456 (56); Spitta, *Christi Predigt an die Geister*; Brinston, *La Descende du Christ aux Enfers* (59), as well as the Commentaries in loc.

² The tense of ἐκήρυξεν creates no difficulty here. This preaching is regarded as a completed act in the past, because, as 4:7 declares, 'the end of all things is at hand.' Even if this were not so, the aorist can be used of a continuous practice (cp 1 Cor. 9:20 Jas. 2:2).

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These passages in 1 Peter are of extreme value. They attest the achievement of the final stage in the moralisation of Shēol. The first step in this moralisation was taken early in the second century B.C., when it was transformed into a place of moral distinctions (§ 3[3]) having been originally one of merely social or national distinctions (§§ 10-18). This moralisation, however, was very inadequately carried out. According to the Judaistic conception souls in Shēol were conceived as insusceptible of ethical progress. What they were on entering Shēol, that they continued to be till the final judgment. From the standpoint of a true theism can we avoid pronouncing this conception mechanical and unethical? It precludes moral change in moral beings who are under the rule of a perfectly moral being.

8. In the writings of Paul we find no single eschatological system. His ideas in this respect were in a state of development. He began with an expectation of the future inherited largely from traditional Judaism; but under the influence of great fundamental Christian conceptions he parted gradually from this and entered on a process of development in the course of which the heterogeneous elements were silently dropped.

Four stages are marked out. Even in the last Paul does not seem to have attained finality, though he was still working towards it. It is permissible, therefore, for his readers to develop his thoughts in symmetrical completeness and carry to its conclusion his chain of reasoning.

The various stages are attested by (i.) 1 and 2 Thess. (§ 98); (ii.) 1 Cor. (§ 99); (iii.) 2 Cor. and Rom. (§ 100); (iv.) Phil., Col., Eph. (§ 101).

(i.) The Epistles to the Thessalonians (on the criticism and contents of which cp *THESSALONIANS*) present us with the earliest form of the Pauline teaching and eschatology. They constitute, in fact, the Pauline apocalypse. In this apocalypse

the salient points are (a) the great apostasy and the antichrist; (b) the parusia and final judgment; (c) the resurrection and blessed consummation of the faithful. In his teaching on these questions Paul appeals to the authority of Christ. What he puts before his readers in 1 Thess. 4:15-17 is derived from the Lord (see v. 15). There is, however, a fixity and rigidity in the teaching of the apostle which is not to be found in that of Jesus.

(a) *The apostasy and the antichrist.*—Paul starts from the fundamental thought of Jewish apocalyptic. When the forces of good and evil in the world have reached their limit of development, God will intervene. There will therefore be nothing sudden, nothing unethical in this. The conditions of the crisis are moral, and those who, morally speaking, can, and those who cannot be saved, will be distinguished gradually and surely. The day of the Lord cannot come till the antichrist (a figure found only in the early Paulinism) and the ἀποστασία have become facts.

The antichrist is described as 'the man of sin, the son of perdition, whose coming is according to the working of Satan'—or, as is also said, 'with all unrighteous (untruthful) deceit for those who are perishing' (2 Thess. 2:3 f.). The ἀνομία which 'already works' (2 Thess. 2:7) must reach its climax in a person—in the antichrist whose manifestation or parusia (2 Thess. 2:9) is the Satanic counterfeit of the true Messiah's. This person is also described as the antithesis of every known divine form, because he places his throne in the temple in Jerusalem, 'setting himself forth as God' (2 Thess. 2:4). Now, the time of the end is come; the Lord will at once 'ascend and slay him with the breath of his mouth, and consume him with the manifestation of his parusia' (2 Thess. 2:8).

Whence antichrist was to proceed—whether from Judaism or heathenism—it is difficult to determine.

¹ See *ANTICHRIST*. Weiss (*Theol. of NT*, ET 1305-311) maintains the Jewish origin of antichrist. He argues that an apostasy, in strictness, was impossible in heathenism. The real obstacle to the spread of the teaching of Christ lay in fanatical Jews, the 'unreasonable and evil men' of 2 Thess. 3:2 (cp also 1 Thess. 2:18), who have mostly remained 'unbelieving' (Acts 18:6 2 Thess. 1:8), had always pursued Paul with persecution

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That the apostle did not conceive him as proceeding from Rome is clear; for ὁ κἀρχὸν is none other than Rome¹ (see *ANTICHRIST*, § 7).

(b) *Parusia and final judgment.*—We have seen when Christ's parusia (1 Thess. 3:13 2 Thess. 2:1) is to come. The precise day is uncertain: it 'comes as a thief in the night' (1 Thess. 5:2; cp Mt. 24:43); but the apostle expects it in his own time (1 Thess. 4:15 17).

With what vividness and emphasis he must have preached the impending advent of Christ is clear from 1 Thess. 5:1-3, as well as from 2 Thess., where he has to quiet an excitement almost bordering on fanaticism. When Christ descends from heaven (1 Thess. 1:10 1 Thess. 1:7), angels will accompany him as his ministers (2 Thess. 1:7), and his glory will then first be fully revealed.

The parusia is likewise the day of judgment, as the designations applied to it show. It is beyond doubt meant by the phrases the 'day of the Lord,' 'the day,' 'that day' (1 Thess. 5:2 2 Thess. 1:10). This judgment deals with antichrist and all the wicked, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether simply careless or actively hostile. The doom of the wicked is 'eternal destruction' (ἀθρόος αἰώνιος, 2 Thess. 1:9, cp 1 Thess. 5:3; cp ἀπώλεια, 2 Thess. 2:10).

We see here the intolerance of the inherited eschatology. Later it is not the consummation of human evil but the triumph of Christianity that ushers in the fulness of the times and the advent of Christ. To the apostle's mature mind God so shapes the varying destinies of Jew and Gentile 'that he may extend his mercy unto all' (Rom. 11:32).

(c) *The resurrection and the blessed consummation of the faithful.*—There was an apprehension among Paul's young converts that those who died before the parusia would fail to share in its blessedness. Hence the apostle refers them to a special statement of Christ on this subject (1 Thess. 4:15). The dead in Christ are to rise first (1 Thess. 4:16; but the teaching on this point is not quite clear),² by which is meant a contrast, not between a first and a second resurrection, but rather between two classes of the righteous who share in the resurrection. The first are those who have died before the parusia; the second, those who survive to meet it. Both are 'enough up to meet the Lord in the air.' Thus the elect are gathered together to Christ (2 Thess. 2:1; cp Mt. 24:31). There is no reference to a resurrection of the wicked in these two epistles.³ It is

and calumny (Acts 9:23 f. 29 138 45) and stirred up the heathen against him (13:50 14:2 5:10 17:5 13). These men, who had slain Christ and the prophets, were now the relentless persecutors of his Church. When we further observe how the false Messiah or antichrist regards the temple at Jerusalem as the dwelling-place of God (2 Thess. 2:4), the Jewish origin of the antichristian principle seems in a very high degree probable. Sahatier, *The Apostle Paul* (ET 119-121), however, is now less confident than formerly of the correctness of this view. His present opinion reminds us somewhat of Beyschlag's (*NT Theology*, ET 2257 f.).

¹ The power of Rome had repeatedly protected the apostle against the attacks of the Jews (Acts 17:5-9 18:12-16; cp Acts, § 5). In Rom. 13:4 the Roman magistracy is 'God's minister.' Later, this distinction between the power of Rome and antichrist disappeared. Thus the emperor is the Beast, and Rome the 'mystery of ἀνομία' in Rev. 13:17.

² According to 1 Thess. 3:13 the dead are to accompany Christ at his parusia—that is if we take ἀνιόν here as 'the faithful' (usage suggests this) and not as 'the angels.' 2 Thess. 1:7 speaks of angels, but purely as agents of the divine judgment. That we are to understand 1 Thess. 3:13 of men, not of angels, is clear from 1 Thess. 4:14. According to 3:13 4:14, therefore, the resurrection of the faithful dead is coincident with the advent; but according to 4:16 it is subsequent to the advent.

³ Indeed there could not be a resurrection of the wicked according to Paul's views (see § 99 [d]). The statement attributed to Paul in Acts 24:15 that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and of the unjust cannot therefore be regarded as an accurate report. To share in the resurrection according to the NT but universal teaching of the NT writers is the privilege only of those who are spiritually one with Christ and draw their life from the Holy Spirit. There are two passages—Jn. 5:28 f. and Rev. 20:12—that attest the opposite view; but the latter is hardly here admissible as evidence of distinctively Christian doctrine, and the former contradicts the entire drift of the Fourth Gospel in this respect. In all Jewish books that teach a resurrection of the wicked, the resurrection is conceived not as a result of spiritual oneness with God but merely as an eschatological arrangement for the furtherance of divine justice or some other divine end.

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to be inferred that after the resurrection the world, from which the righteous have been removed, is given over to destruction, whilst, for the righteous, there is now the final boon of 'being for ever with the Lord' (1 Thess. 4:17). Christ's people, who are organically connected with him, will be raised even as he (1 Thess. 4:14), and therefore not to an earthly life, but to 'the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ' (2 Thess. 2:14) in the completed kingdom of God (1 Thess. 2:12; 2 Thess. 1:5).

(ii.) The second stage in the development of the Pauline eschatology is to be found in 1 Corinthians.

99. 1 Cor. In many respects the teaching of this epistle is in harmony with that of the epistles to the Thessalonians; but it is without antichrist. Other divergencies will appear in the sequel. Three subjects are prominent: (a) the *parusia* and the final judgment; (b) the resurrection; and (c) the consummation of the blessed.

(a) *The parusia and final judgment.*—Paul looks forward to the *parusia* of Christ¹ (1 Cor. 15:11, 26; 15:51; 16:22), which will be preceded by severe trials (7:26, 28).² The interval preceding the *parusia* will be shortened in order that the faithful may keep themselves free from the entanglements of this life (7:29, cp Mt. 21:22). This second coming will immediately manifest Christ's glory and bring the world to a close (17:1, cp 2 Cor. 1:13 f.). With it is connected the final judgment, in which the judge will be Christ (4:4 f.).³

That the second coming is conceived as one of judgment is seen also in the designations elsewhere applied to it ('the day of our Lord Jesus Christ', 1:8; 'the day', 3:13; 'the day of the Lord', 5:5). From the above facts it follows that Paul did not expect the intervention of a millennial period between the *parusia* and the final judgment, as some have inferred from 1 Cor. 15:22-24. According to this passage every power hostile to God in the world is stripped of its influence by the time of the *parusia*. With the resurrection which ensues thereupon is involved the destruction of the last enemy, death (15:26). Thus the *parusia*, accompanied by the final judgment and the resurrection, marks the end of the present age and the beginning of the new. 'The angels are to be judged; but their judges are the righteous' (1 Cor. 6:3; see, on 1k. of Wisd., above, § 77).

(b) *The resurrection.*—The resurrection of man is connected organically with that of Christ. As God has raised up Christ, so also he will raise us (1 Cor. 6:14, cp 2 Cor. 4:14).

The doctrine of man's resurrection had been denied by certain members of the church of Corinth, who did not question the resurrection of Jesus. To these the apostle rejoined that both were indissolubly united and stood or fell together. The ground of man's resurrection-hope was his living fellowship with Christ (15:22). The relation manifestly in each case is the same. As it cannot be natural and genealogical it must of necessity be ethical and spiritual. Furthermore, from the position of the words (*ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν*) the 'in Adam' must be connected with 'all.' Hence it is equivalent to 'all who are in Adam.' Similarly 'all in Christ' = all who are in Christ.⁴ Thus the verse means: 'as all who are ethically in fellowship with Adam die, so all who are spiritually in fellowship with Christ shall be made alive.' This being made spiritually alive⁵ (*ζωοποιεῖσθαι*) involves the 'being raised' (cp Rom. 8:11). There can be no resurrection but in Christ.

That the righteous alone are raised we shall be forced to conclude also from Paul's teaching on the origin of the resurrection body in 15:35-49.

In answer to the question how the dead are raised, Paul rejoins: 'thou witless one, that which thou sowest is not brought to life, except it die' (15:36). That is, a man's own experience should overturn the objection that is raised. The death of the seed consists in the decomposition of its material wrappings. By this process the living principle within it is set

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free and seizes hold of the matter around it wherewith it forms for itself a new body.⁶ In like manner the resurrection is effected through death itself. What appears as the obstacle is actually the means. The spirit of man must free itself from the body which contains it before it fashions for itself a body that is incorruptible.

We are next instructed as to the glorious nature of the resurrection body (15:42-44). The sowing here cannot mean the burying of the body in the grave: such a meaning of 'sow' (*σπείρειν*) is wholly unattested; it is rather the placing the vital principle or spirit in its material environment here on earth, where the spirit of man, like a seed, gathers and fashions its body from the materials around it. The life of man in this world from its first appearance to the obsequies that attest its departing is analogous to the sowing of the seed in the earth.

That this is Paul's meaning will become clearer if we consider the opposing members in the various contrasts drawn in 15:42-44. Thus, it is sown in corruption (15:42). This description is no doubt applicable to the internment of the body; but the first members of the following antithesis are quite inapplicable. The phrase 'in corruption' is especially Pauline in reference to the present life of man. 'This life is in the bondage of corruption' (Rom. 8:21), and the living body is undergoing corruption (2 Cor. 4:10).

Furthermore 'flesh and blood,' the constituents of the present living body, are declared in 1 Cor. 15:50 to be 'corruption.' In dishonour denotes the miseries of this earthly life, which we experience in this 'body of our humiliation' (Phil. 3:21). 'Weakness' is another fitting description of the body as an agent of the spirit—the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.⁷ See also 1 Cor. 2:3 f., 2 Cor. 12:9 f. for the contrast 'weakness' and 'power' as here. To apply such a term as weakness to the dead body would be absurd. Finally, this present body is psychical as an organ of the *psychē* or 'soul,' just as the risen or spiritual body is an organ of the 'spirit.' Thus as the psychical body is corruptible, and clothed with humiliation and weakness, the spiritual body will enjoy incorruptibility, honour, and power. Hence between the bodies there is no exact continuity. The existence of the one depends on the death of the other. Nevertheless there is some essential likeness between them. The essential likeness proceeds from the fact that they are successive expressions of the same personality, though in different spheres. It is the same individual vital principle that organises both.

From this description of the resurrection body, it is obvious that only the righteous can share in the resurrection.

We have dealt with the characteristics of the risen body and its relation to the present body. The question now arises, When does this resurrection of the body occur? In conformity with the universal Jewish tradition Paul makes it to follow on the *parusia*. Such a time-determination, however, fails to establish an organic connection with the doctrine of the risen body stated above.

Unless our interpretation of that doctrine is wholly wrong, its entire trend points not to a period externally determined and at some possibly remote age, but to the hour of departure of the individual believer. The analogy of the seed points in this direction. Seeing that with the corruption of the material husk the vital principle is set free to form a new body or expression of itself, the analogy urged by Paul ought to lead to the inference that with the death of the present body the energies of the human spirit are set free to organise from its new environment a spiritual body—a body adapted to that environment. Thus in a certain sense the resurrection of the faithful would follow immediately on death, and not be adjourned to the *parusia*. Of this variance between his living and growing thought and his inherited view, Paul does not seem conscious in 1 Cor.

In 2 Cor. we shall find that he has become conscious of the inherent inconsistencies in his former view, which he is deserting in favour of the doctrine of a resurrection of the righteous following immediately on death.

(c) *The final consummation.*—With the resurrection of the righteous dead and the transfiguration of the righteous living, death is finally overcome (1 Cor. 15:26-54). The end has come (15:24-18), when the Son 'will surrender to God, to the Father, the kingdom' which he has ruled since his exaltation. The resurrec-

¹ So also in Phil. 3:20 f., yet he had always before him the possibility of meeting death. This is perhaps the case in 1 Cor. 15:31 f.

² This is the nearest approach to the terrible picture of the future troubles in Thess.

³ As in Thessalonians (see above, § 62). This doctrine appears also in 2 Cor. 5:10 'the judgment-seat of Christ.' The judgment is also spoken of as the judgment of God (Rom. 14:10). Cp also Rom. 2:5 f., 14:12. In Rom. 2:16 the two views are reconciled; God will judge the world through Jesus Christ.

⁴ For similar constructions see 15:14; 1 Thess. 4:16.

⁵ That this is the meaning of *ζωοποιεῖσθαι* appears to follow from its use in 15:45, where, as in 15:22, the reference is to the fresh inward development of life, not to its outer manifestation.

⁶ The Pauline way of stating this formation of the new body is noteworthy, 'God gives it a body.' We moderns say, the new body is the result of the vital principle in the grain acting on its environment in conformity with God's law in the natural world. Paul says in such a case, 'God gives it a body' (15:36). This is important to remember in connection with 2 Cor. 5 (§ 100, c).

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tion¹ of the righteous dead will take place in a moment, at the last trumpet (15:52).

Then will follow the transfiguration of the righteous living, when the corruptible shall put on incorruption and the mortal immortality (15:53), and the institution of the perfected kingdom of God² in a new and glorious world that has taken the place of the present, which is already passing away (1 Cor. 7:31). That which is perfect has then come (13:10), and the blessed, in immediate communion, see 'God face to face' (13:12).

In this perfected kingdom God has become 'all in all' (15:28). This statement is limited to the blessed. It does not apply to the powers in 15:25-26. These have been reduced to unwilling obedience.

(iii.) In 2 Corinthians and Romans we arrive at the third stage in the development of the Pauline eschatology. The development is apparent mainly in a change of view as to the time of the resurrection and in enlarged conceptions as to the universal spread and comprehensiveness of Christ's kingdom on earth. We shall range our evidence under four heads.

100. 2 Cor. and Rom.—The development is apparent mainly in a change of view as to the time of the resurrection and in enlarged conceptions as to the universal spread and comprehensiveness of Christ's kingdom on earth. We shall range our evidence under four heads.

(a) *Parusia and judgment.*—The parusia is 'the day of our Lord Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. 1:14; cp Phil. 16 to 2:16). The judge will be Christ (2 Cor. 5:10)—likewise God (Rom. 14:10; see col. 1:383, n. 3). All men must appear before the judgment seat (Rom. 14:10, cp 12). The judgment will proceed according to works (Rom. 2:6); for if faith is operative it can be only in the sphere of works.

The purpose of the mission of Christ is 'that the righteous demands of the law might be fulfilled in us who live according to the spirit, not the flesh' (Rom. 8:4). We are what we make ourselves. Destiny is related to character as harvest to seed-time (Gal. 6:7f.). Every man bears in his character his own reward and his own punishment (2 Cor. 5:10). Hence, since character is the creation of will, arises the all-importance of the principle that rules the will. Retribution, present and future, follows in the line of a man's works (2 Cor. 11:15).³

(b) *Universal spread of Christ's kingdom on earth.*—Between the writing of 1 and 2 Thessalonians and that of Romans we have to place a great crisis of thought. In the earlier epistles, as we have seen, Paul looks forward to a great apostasy and the revelation of the 'man of sin' as the immediate precursor of the parusia. In Rom. 11, on the other hand, he proclaims the inner and progressive transformation of mankind through the Gospel; the conversion of the entire Jewish and non-Jewish worlds is the immediate prelude of the advent of Christ.

The 'unbelieving' Jews of to-day are indeed as 'vessels of wrath' (9:22), hastening to destruction. This temporary destruction of the race, however, has brought about the 'completion' (ἀπαρτία) of the nations, and when the 'nations' have entered Christ's kingdom, then 'all Israel shall be saved' (11:25f.). God has thus shaped the history of both Jew and Gentile 'in order that he might have mercy upon all' (Rom. 11:32).

(c) *The resurrection—the immediate sequel of departure from this life.*—We have discovered in the earlier epistles certain inconsistencies in regard to the time of the resurrection. Although Paul formally adjourns this event to the parusia, his teaching with regard to the resurrection body is implicitly at variance with such a belief (§ 99, b). By the time when he wrote the second of the epistles to Corinth he had come to a conscious breach with the older view. The main evidence for this is found in 2 Cor. 5:1-8 (where a specially careful translation is required; see e.g., Weizsäcker's). In v. 4 Paul declares his wish to live till the parusia in order that he may escape the dissolution of the earthly body and be transformed alive. In other verses he faces the possibility of death, and comforts himself and his readers with the prospect before them. *When* we die we have (ἐξουίαν)—we come into possession of—an immortal body in heaven.

¹ Since the resurrection is possible only through living fellowship with Christ, there can be no resurrection of the wicked.

² The phrase 'kingdom of God' is used by Paul to denote the kingdom of the consummation. In a few cases, however, he applies it to the kingdom as it is at present being realised on earth (1 Cor. 4:20 Rom. 14:17). Even here Weiss argues that the passages refer to the kingdom not in its realisation but in its essence. In Col. 1:13 the present kingdom is called 'the kingdom of his dear son'.

³ The retributive character of the judgment is expressed in still sharper terms in the later epistles (see Col. 3:25 Eph. 6:8).

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That this is a real, not an ideal possession to be realised at the parusia, follows from the date assigned for our becoming possessed of it. Ideally, the faithful receive their immortal bodies at the time of their election (Rom. 8:29); actually, Paul now declares, at death. This idea of the future body being a divine gift in no way contradicts the teaching in 1 Cor. 15:35-47; it forms its complement and completion. We have already seen (§ 99, col. 1:384, n.) that whereas, regarded from our usual standpoint, the new body is the result of a secret vital process, regarded from Paul's standpoint it may be called a divine gift. Similarly the glorified body is, in one aspect, the result of the action of the human spirit itself divinely quickened, in another an independent gift of God.

In 1 Cor. 15:35-49 the view that the resurrection follows immediately on the death of the faithful is implied; in 2 Cor. 5:1-8 it is categorically stated.

Of Paul's change of view we naturally expect to find further evidence in his references to the experiences of the faithful at the parusia, and such surely we find in Rom. 8:19: 'the earnest longing of the created world waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God.' At the second coming, just as there will be a revelation of Christ (1 Cor. 17:2 1 Thess. 1:7)—that is, a manifestation of the glory he already possesses—so there will be a manifestation of the glory already possessed by the faithful.

Thus Paul speaks no longer of a resurrection of the faithful to glory at the parusia, but of a manifestation of the glory they already possess. Glory (δοξα) is to be their clothing. In Col. 3:4 the manifestation of Christ and that of his people at his parusia are expressly connected.

(iv.) In Philippians, Colossians, and Ephesians¹ we have the final stage in the development of the Pauline eschatology, that which deals with the cosmic significance of Christ. In the earlier epistles, whilst the creation of the world was effected through the Son (1 Cor. 8:6), its consummation was to be realised in the Father, when the Son had resigned to him his mediatorial kingdom (1 Cor. 15:24-28). In these epistles not only is the Son the creative agent and the principle of cohesion (συνεσθηναι, Col. 1:17) and unity in the cosmos; he is also the end to which it moves (εἰς αὐτόν, Col. 1:19), the head in which it is to be summed up (Eph. 1:10).

101. Phil., Col., and Eph.—The cosmic significance of Christ. In the earlier epistles, whilst the creation of the world was effected through the Son (1 Cor. 8:6), its consummation was to be realised in the Father, when the Son had resigned to him his mediatorial kingdom (1 Cor. 15:24-28). In these epistles not only is the Son the creative agent and the principle of cohesion (συνεσθηναι, Col. 1:17) and unity in the cosmos; he is also the end to which it moves (εἰς αὐτόν, Col. 1:19), the head in which it is to be summed up (Eph. 1:10).

From the above Christology follow two conclusions. (a) *The everlasting duration of the kingdom of Christ.* Whereas, according to 1 Cor. 15:28, God alone is 'all in all' in the final consummation, in the epistles we are now dealing with Christ also is conceived as 'all in all' (Eph. 1:23 Col. 3:11). Thus the goal of the universe is no longer, as in 1 Cor. 15:24-28, the completed kingdom of God in which God is 'all in all', in contrast to the mediatorial kingdom of Christ; it is the 'kingdom of Christ and God' (Eph. 5:5).

(b) *The extension of Christ's redemption to the world of spiritual beings.* Since all things, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible (whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers), were created by Christ (Col. 1:16), and were (according to the same passage) to find their consummation in him (εἰς αὐτόν ἔλθονται), they must come within the sphere of his mediatorial activity; they must ultimately be summed up in him as their head (ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, Eph. 1:10). Hence, in the world of spiritual beings, since some have sinned or apostatised, they too must share in the atonement of the cross of Christ, and so obtain reconciliation² (Col. 1:20), and join in the universal worship of the Son (Phil. 2:10).

How successful this ministry of reconciliation in the spiritual world is, Paul does not inform us, nor yet whether it will embrace the entire world, and therefore the angels of Satan. Since, however, all things must be reconciled and summed up in Christ, there can be no room finally in the universe for a wicked being whether human or angelic. Thus the Pauline eschatology points³ obviously in its ultimate issues either to the

¹ To justify the inclusion of both Colossians and Ephesians see COLLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS.

² 'Reconciliation' necessarily presupposes previous enmity; cp Eph. 2:16 and Sanday on Rom. 5:9.

³ In these later epistles, no less than in the earlier, Paul appears not to have arrived at final and consistent views on these questions. Though he speaks of the reconciliation of hostile spirits, he does not seem to have included Satan's angels amongst them. His leading principles, however, involve this.

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final redemption of all created personal beings or to the destruction of the finally impenitent.

11. DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL CONCEPTIONS.—It is the conceptions 'soul' and 'spirit' that chiefly need consideration here.

102. Special conceptions: Soul and Spirit.

1. *Outside the Pauline Epistles.*—The meaning attached to the conceptions 'soul' and 'spirit' throughout the NT, except in the Pauline epistles, is in the main that which prevailed among the people.

(a) *The Soul.*—The 'soul' is conceived as the bearer both of the bodily-sensuous life and of the higher spiritual life.

(i.) In the former capacity the 'soul' is sustained by food (Mt. 6.25), is capable of sensuous impressions (Mk. 14.34), of suffering (1 Pet. 4.1), of sensuality (1 Pet. 2.11, 2 Pet. 2.14). It is from this conception of the soul that the adjective (*ψυχικός*, EV 'sensuous') derives its bad signification in James 3.15 Jude 19. If the blood is shed the soul departs (Mt. 23.35 Mk. 14.24 Acts 22.20); *ἐκψύχεται* 'to die' (Acts 5.5 10.12 21). Further, as in the OT, the 'soul' is identified with the personality; so many souls = so many persons (Acts 2.41 7.14 27.37 1 Pet. 3.20).

(ii.) As in the Judaism of this time, the 'soul' is the seat also of the higher spiritual life: it is the subject of anxiety (Jn. 10.24), of grief (Mt. 20.35 Mk. 14.34 Lk. 2.35), of trouble (Jn. 12.27), of pleasure (Lk. 12.19 Heb. 10.38), of love (Mt. 22.37), of hate (Acts 14.2), or suffer exhaustion (Heb. 12.3), can be subverted by heresy (Acts 15.24), protected (1 Pet. 4.19 Heb. 13.17), cleansed (1 Pet. 1.22). As the bearer of the personality, it survives death (Mt. 10.28), and passes first to an intermediate abode of the departed, to Hades (Acts 2.27 Lk. 16.23), or to Abraham's bosom (Lk. 16.23), or Paradise (Lk. 23.43). The departed are called 'souls' in Rev. 6.9 20.4.

(b) *The Spirit.*—In the case of the 'spirit,' as in that of the 'soul,' we find—with possibly two or three exceptions—no fresh developments; only the acknowledged and popular conceptions of Judaism. The 'spirit' is the higher side of the soul.

Like the soul the 'spirit' is the subject of grief (Mk. 8.12), of trouble (Jn. 13.21), of joy (Lk. 1.45 10.21), of indignation (Jn. 11.33 Acts 7.16), of zeal (Acts 18.25), of meekness (1 Pet. 3.4). It is the seat of purpose and volition (Acts 19.21 20.22). Again, as with the soul, if the spirit departs, death ensues (Mt. 27.50 Lk. 23.46 Acts 7.59); the body apart from it is dead (James 2.26); but if it returns, so does life (Lk. 8.55). Thus *ἐκψύχεται* in Mk. 15.37 39 Lk. 23.46 is synonymous with *ἐκψύχεται*.

The 'spirit' which so departs exists independently as the bearer of the personality. Hence, though the same or similar diction is found in the OT and in a few of the later books, the idea conveyed in either case is absolutely different. The NT usage is that of the current Judaism.¹ In the next life the departed are called 'spirits' (1 Pet. 3.19 46 Heb. 12.23) as elsewhere they are called 'souls.'

The 'spirit' is the seat also of the higher spiritual life, and forms the antithesis of the flesh (*σάρξ*) Mk. 14.38.² Thus growth in the 'spirit' is set over against growth in the body (Lk. 18.24). The 'spirit' which God has placed in man 'longs' for man's salvation (Jas. 4.5). It discerns that which is not manifest to the senses (Mk. 28). In these cases we have approached to the Pauline use. Thus in the NT there is no trichotomy except in the Pauline epistles—if such a term as trichotomy can be rightly used at all of the Pauline psychology. The only doubtful passage is Heb. 4.12.

2. *In the Pauline Epistles.*—Paul breaks with the entire traditional use of the terms 'soul' and 'body' and gives them a connotation in keeping with his theological system. He appears to teach a trichotomy in 1 Thess. 5.23; but the enumeration 'spirit, soul, and body' is no real expression of Pauline anthropology. At times indeed he describes man popularly as a synthesis of 'spirit and flesh' (Col. 2.5), 'spirit and body' (1 Cor. 5.3). It is to be observed, however, that he never uses the quite as popular expression 'soul and body'; his view of the 'soul' precluded its employment.

¹ According to Gen. 2.7 the spirit is a breath of life from God, which on death returns to God the fount of life (Eccles. 12.7). As such it has no individual or personal existence.

² In Mt. 10.28 man is described as a synthesis of body and soul.

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With him the 'soul' is the vital principle of the flesh (*σάρξ*), and is never conceived, as it is in all the other NT writers, as the bearer of the higher spiritual life. It has thus a very low connotation. The 'soulish' man (*ψυχικός ἀνθρώπος*, 1 Cor. 2.14) is incapable of receiving the things of the 'spirit.'

The Pauline doctrine of the 'spirit' is difficult. Only a brief treatment of the subject can be given here. The term 'spirit' has, in the Pauline epistles, three distinct applications. The spiritual side of man may be regarded as (a) the intellectual and moral part of man; (b) the immaterial personality which survives death; (c) the immaterial part of man's nature which is capable of direct communion with the 'Spirit' of God—not, however, this faculty as it exists in itself, but as it is recreated by God.

In order to express (a) Paul has recourse both to Hellenistic and to Palestinian Judaism. From the former he borrows the phrase 'the inner man' (*ὁ ἐσω ἀνθρώπος*, Rom. 7.22). From the same source he adopts the term 'mind' (*νοῦς*, Rom. 7.23), which belongs to 'the inner man' and signifies the higher nature of man as man. In the same sense he borrows from Palestinian Judaism the term 'spirit.' Thus we have the ordinary synthesis 'spirit and body' (1 Cor. 5.3), 'spirit and flesh' (Col. 2.5).² Compare also 1 Cor. 2.11, 2 Cor. 7.13. Now this higher side of man's nature may fall under the power of the flesh. Hence 'the mind' may become 'corrupt' (Rom. 1.28), 'the spirit' may be 'defiled' (2 Cor. 7.1).

To express (b) the immaterial personality which survives death Paul uses the term 'spirit' in 1 Cor. 5.5.

In the third sense (c) the term 'spirit' has a distinctively Pauline use. In this sense the 'spirit' is no longer synonymous with the 'mind' as in (a), but is its suzerain. They are clearly distinguished in 1 Cor. 14.14 f. The renewed spirit is 'our *σύν*', and lives in communion with the Spirit of God (1 Cor. 6.16). By virtue of it man becomes spiritual (1 Cor. 2.15, 3.1), and 'a new creation' (Gal. 3.15), as opposed to the psychical creation in Gen. 2.7.³ 'The mind' or 'the inner man' remains in the Christian as the sphere of human judgment (Rom. 14.5).⁴

Thus the Pauline psychology stands apart from that of the OT and the rest of the NT.

Judgment.—This has been dealt with separately under the different books.

Places of abode of the departed.—1. Paradise is (a) the abode of the blessed in Sheol (Lk. 23.43 Acts 2.31).

103. *Places of abode.* (b) A division of the third heaven—being likewise an intermediate abode of the righteous (2 Cor. 12.4). (c) Apparently a final abode of the righteous (Rev. 27).

2. Hades is (a) an intermediate abode of the departed containing two divisions, for the righteous (= 'Abraham's bosom') and for the wicked respectively (Lk. 16.23); (b) an intermediate abode of the wicked only (?) (Rev. 1.18 6.8 20.13 f.); and (c) an intermediate abode of further moral probation (1 Pet. 3.19 46; see § 96).

3. Tartarus is the intermediate place of punishment for the fallen angels (2 Pet. 2.4).

¹ The 'soul' is the bearer of the bodily life in the Pauline epistles as in the rest of the NT. Cp. Rom. 16.4 2 Cor. 12.15 Phil. 2.30. It is menaced when a man's life is sought (Rom. 11.3). It is the bearer of the personality in a general sense (Rom. 13.1 29). Since the 'soul' is the vital principle of the 'flesh,' and the latter has no part in the next life, there does not seem to be any place in the next life for the soul, as that life is to be essentially spiritual. Here man has a 'soulish' body, but there he is to have a 'spiritual.' According to the Pauline teaching the 'soul' seems to have its existence limited to this world.

² Peculiar instances of the Pauline use of the 'spirit' are to be found in 2 Cor. 2.13, where we find the same feeling ascribed to it as to the 'flesh' in 7.5. In Phil. 1.27 there seems to be little difference between the 'spirit' and the 'soul.'

³ Cp. 1 Cor. 15.46.

⁴ Observe that the 'spirit' of the Christian is expressly contrasted with the 'mind' (*νοῦς*) in 1 Cor. 14.14 f.

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4. Gehenna is the final place of punishment for the wicked.

In Lk. 12:5 the punishment is clearly a punishment of the soul; the body is first destroyed on earth: 'Fear him who after he has killed has power to cast into Gehenna.' The passage has in Mt. 10:28 a different form: 'Fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna'; but Lk. 12:5 seems to be more original. Mt. 10:28 does not necessarily imply a punishment of the body; since 'eye' and 'hand' mean certain desires, the phrase 'the whole body' also must be symbolic.

From the above considerations Gehenna appears to be a place not of corporal but of spiritual punishment.

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ii. The literature of Jewish eschatology during the period extending from 200 B.C. to 100 A.D. has been grievously neglected. The study of it has been advanced chiefly by Lücke (*Lehrb. in die Offenb. des Johannes*, vol. 1 [52]), Hilgenfeld (*Die jud. Apokalyptik*, 57), Langen (*Das Judentum in Palästina*, 461-50) (60); Drummond (*The Jewish Messiah*, 77), and Schürer (*Hist. of the Jews*, 2:126-137). For further aids to study see *Apocalyptic Literature*, 88-7, 23, 34, 47, 58, 67, etc. (on editions of the books); also Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, (92); Briggs, *Messiah of the Temple*, 1-40 (94); *Messiah of the Apostles*, 1-20 (95); Marti, *Lehrb. der n. Rel.* 270-310 (97). Charles, *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (99), where the whole subject of this article is treated at some length.

iii. *The New Testament*.—In addition to the relative sections in works on NT Theology by Baur, Scander, Reuss, Schmid, Oosterzee, Immer, Weiss, Reyschlag, and Holtmann, the following books will be found helpful in various degrees:—White, *Life in Christ* (46); Güder, *Die Lehre von der Erscheinung Christi unter den Völkern in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der Lehre von den letzten Dingen* (53); Luthardt, *Die Lehre von den letzten Dingen* (61); Gerlach, *Die letzten Dingen* (66); Davidson, *Doctrine of last Things* (100); Biedermann, *Christliche Dogmatik*, 2:155-169 384-394 (84); Petavel, *Problem of Immortality* (92); Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 372-414 (92); Kabisch, *Eschatologie des Paulus* (93); Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus (E.T.)* 1:364-408 2:340-374 (93-96); Salmund, *Christian Doctr. of Immortality* (97); Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, 135-165 (94); *Messiah of the Apostles*, 58-66 85-96 341-367 554-562 (95); Beet, *Last Things* (97). R. H. C.

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 (a) implied, 99 (b)
 (b) directly taught, 100 (c)
 Retribution in Ezekiel, 24
 Revelation of the sons of God, 100 (c)
 Sheol: I. in earlier writings:—
 (1) original conception, 11
 psychical activity, 16
 later, destruction, 17
 (2) for righteous temporary, for others eternal, 28, 50
 (3) for very good and bad, temporary, 50
 (4) for wicked only, 31 f.
 II. in apocalyptic and apocryphal literature, 63 (3), 70 (3), 81 (3):—
 (1) eternal, for all, 55 f.
 (2) three modifications:—
 (a) 50 (see APOCALYPTIC, 27); (1), 62; (2), 70 (iii.) 81

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(1) final abasus of fire, 80 (1 m. 25)	(2) later; extinguished at death, 10 (7)
III. in N.T., 101	II. after rise of belief in immortality
(1) intermediate; moral change possible, 90	in Job, 28
(2) for wicked only; intermediate, 88 (n. 8)	individual immortality in Ps., 117
Sabbath Doctrines, 50 (n. 8)	in apocalyptic literature
Soul in O.T.	almost identical with spirit, 81, 91, 84
I. primitive Semitic conception	pre-existent, 73 ff
(1) identified with the blood, 12	Soul in N.T.
seat of personality, 13	identical with the spirit, 102
almost spirit 19	Pauline metaphors of body, 102
conscious after death, 10 (4), 15	

ESDRAELON, or, rather, as RV, **Esdraelon**, or **Eserlon**,¹ a place 'high unto Dothan' [Dothan], which is over against the great ridge² of Judaea³ (Judith 13), and 'over against' which was Cyamon⁴ (7 RV). Eserlon is the Græcised form of 'Jezreel', the name of the well-known city at the E. end of the great central plain of Palestine. In modern books 'Esdraelon' is sometimes used for the 'plain of Esdraelon', a phrase which is not exactly accurate (see JEZREEL I., § 2), but can hardly now be set aside.

The phrases 'the great plain' (το μέγα πεδινόν Ε., Judith 13; το μέγα πεδινόν, 1 Macc. 12.40) and 'the great plain of E.' occur in the Apocrypha for the region called elsewhere 'the high of Megiddo' (ὁ ὕψος μεγιδδὸ, 2 Ch. 35.22; ὁ ὕψος Μ., Zech. 12.11). A ὕψος δὲ δὲ (from ὕψος 'to cleave') is a level tract surrounded by hills (see V.A.F. 2); the term accurately describes this central plain, which is like a great gap 'cleft asunder' among the hills.

Esdraelon (now called *Merj ibn 'Amur*, or 'meadow of the son of 'Amur') is, in form, triangular; the base on the east extending fifteen miles, from Jenin to Tabor; one side, formed by the hills of Galilee, is 12 m. long, and the other, formed by the mountains of Samaria, 18 m. The apex is a narrow pass opening into the plain of Acre. (On the five gateways of Esdraelon, see GANNIM, II., 390 f.). This broad plain has for centuries attracted, as if by a spell, both nomad tribes and civilized hosts, who have coveted the rich lands of Palestine. See GALILEE (map of Galilee and Esdraelon).

Three eloquent places are devoted by G. A. Smith⁴ to the historic scenes of Esdraelon, with the object of conveying, not so much the dry historic facts, as the impression which this pageant of embattled hosts is fitted to produce. To the biblical student, however, two memories dwarf all the others.

It was in this plain that B. won his famous victory (Judg. 4 f.); here, it is said, Josiah received his mortal wound (2 K. 23.20). Whether the apocalyptic seer expected the kings of the east to assemble in the latter days on the mountains of Megiddo, is a difficult problem. See ARMAGEDDON. Let it be also noticed that one whose conquests were moral, not material, was no stranger to Esdraelon; the 'city called NAIN' (Lk. 7.11) was situated to the NE. of the great plain.

Esdraelon lies 250 feet below the sea-level, and is extremely fertile. The rich, coarse grass gives a pleasing aspect to the plain in spring time, and yet the land is for the most part untouched by husbandry. What it might yield under better agricultural conditions is shown by the tall stalks of grain which spring up wherever corn is cultivated (W. Ewing, in Hastings, *DB* 1757 b.).

The only important stream is the Kishon, the southern alluents of which come from near Jenin, whilst the northern branch rises near el-Mezra'a, SW. of Mt. Tabor (cp 'the torrent-course of Kishon,' Judg. 4.13). This drains the Great Plain, and falls into the sea at Haifa. There are numerous springs on the NE. and W. The most noteworthy is that of Jenin (see EN-GANNIM, 2).

¹ Ἐσδρηλῶν; but in Judith 13 ἐσδρηλῶν [B], ἐσδρηλῶν [A], in 34 ἐσδρηλῶν [B], ἐσδρηλῶν [A], in 4 ἐσδρηλῶν [B], ἐσδρηλῶν [A], in 7 ἐσδρηλῶν [A]; Vg. Esdraelon (Hesdrahelon, -ahelom, -aelon).
² τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου; πρῶν, a *sierra*, or serrated ridge? So at any rate Grotius.

³ The expression is accurate; see GALILEE (map of Galilee and Esdraelon).

⁴ *HG* 406-408.

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Spirit—	Testament vii. Patriarchs, 64
primitive conception	Tobit, Book of, 40
almost soul, 19	
later view, 20	
in apocalyptic literature—	Universalism in Jeremiah and later, 42-44
soul, drawn into shield, 63, 70, 84	
not—soul, 63	
in N.T.	Wisdom, Book of, 76
—soul, 102	
Pauline; immaterial personality, deserves death, 102	Aahwe: early religion, 21, 17 (n. 1)
	Zechariach, 45
	Zephaniah, 19
Tartarus, 83	
Teraphim, 4	

those at and near Jezreel (cp HAVAT, 2), and those of Esdraelon. Among the places on the borders of the plain were Jokneam (the CYAMON of Judith 7), Megiddo, En-gannim, Jezreel (the city of Ahab), Shanem, Nam, and Endor (the last three on the slopes of the Little Hermon). No important town was situated on the plain itself. (CP PALESTINE).

ESDRAS. FOURTH BOOK OF (or Second Book of).

This important apocalypse is included in the Apocrypha of the EV. For this reason it is better known, by name at least, to the English reading public than any similar book; although it is not now, and never has been, read in church. The Roman Church does not regard it as Scripture; but it is printed as an appendix to the authorised edition of the Vulgate, along with 1 Esdras (= 3 Esdras) and the Prayer of Manasses.

Probably the Greek text bore some such name as Ἀποκάλυψις Ἐσδρά (Westcott), Ἐσδράς ὁ προφήτης (Hilgenfeld) or Βιβλίον Ἐσδρά τοῦ προφήτου.

1. Name. In almost all the versions in which we have it a number forms part of the title, in order that it may be distinguished from the canonical Ezra or from the Greek form of that book known to us as 1 Esdras. These numbers range from 'First' to 'Fourth' Book. The title 'Second Book' is found only in some late Latin MSS, and in the Geneva Bible, whence the AV took it. It is now commonly referred to as 4 Esdras.

Language. All the versions of the book are derived from a Greek text which has been lost. Of late years the view has begun to find favour (e.g. with Wellhausen, Gunkel, and Charles) that the original text was in Hebrew. We have the following versions:—(1) Latin: from this the EV is made. (2) Syriac: extant only in the great Peshitta MS in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. (3) Arabic: two independent versions from the Greek (Ar.⁽¹⁾ Ar.⁽²⁾). (4) Ethiopic. (5) Armenian: perhaps made from the Syriac.

Latin translations of nos. 2-5 (except Ar.⁽²⁾) are given in Hilgenfeld's *Messianic Judaism*, Leipzig, 1890. Ar.⁽²⁾ was edited separately by Gildemeister in 1877. (See APOCRYPHA, § 22 (13).) Hilgenfeld has made a retranslation into Greek (in *Mess. Jud.*) which is of great value.

The fullest form of the book is given in the Latin version, which alone contains four additional chapters (1 f. 15 f.) which formed no part of the original work. They may be treated separately. The real apocalypse thus consists of chapters 3-14 of the book found in our Apocrypha. The general complexion and arrangement remind the reader of the apocalyptic portion of Daniel, to which indeed reference is made in 12.11. The apocalypse falls into seven sections containing separate revelations or visions.

First Vision: 3.1-5.13. In the thirtieth year of the spoiling of the city, Esdras, 'who is also Salathiel', is disturbed by the thought of the desolation of Zion and the prosperity of Babylon. In a long prayer he reminds God of his special choosing of Israel, and of their present misery, and asks where is the justice of this dealing? The angel Uriel is sent to him and sets forth the unsearchableness of God's ways and the inability of man to judge them. Esdras asks how much time remains before the filling up of the number of the righteous. A vision shows him that a very short time remains. He asks, and is told, what will be the signs of the end.

Second Vision: 5.14-6.34. In a kind of interlude (5.14-19), Esdras, 'who is also Salathiel', is disturbed by the thought of the desolation of Zion and the prosperity of Babylon. In a long prayer he reminds God of his special choosing of Israel, and of their present misery, and asks where is the justice of this dealing? The angel Uriel is sent to him and sets forth the unsearchableness of God's ways and the inability of man to judge them. Esdras asks how much time remains before the filling up of the number of the righteous. A vision shows him that a very short time remains. He asks, and is told, what will be the signs of the end.

Third Vision: 6.35-7.10. Esdras, 'who is also Salathiel', is disturbed by the thought of the desolation of Zion and the prosperity of Babylon. In a long prayer he reminds God of his special choosing of Israel, and of their present misery, and asks where is the justice of this dealing? The angel Uriel is sent to him and sets forth the unsearchableness of God's ways and the inability of man to judge them. Esdras asks how much time remains before the filling up of the number of the righteous. A vision shows him that a very short time remains. He asks, and is told, what will be the signs of the end.

Fourth Vision: 7.11-8.1. Esdras, 'who is also Salathiel', is disturbed by the thought of the desolation of Zion and the prosperity of Babylon. In a long prayer he reminds God of his special choosing of Israel, and of their present misery, and asks where is the justice of this dealing? The angel Uriel is sent to him and sets forth the unsearchableness of God's ways and the inability of man to judge them. Esdras asks how much time remains before the filling up of the number of the righteous. A vision shows him that a very short time remains. He asks, and is told, what will be the signs of the end.

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Phaniel the chief of the people comes to reproach Esdras for forsaking his flock. Esdras after fasting seven days (as Uriel had bidden him) addresses God again on his dealings with Israel. Uriel consoles him with thoughts which are very much like those of the First Vision: the weakness of man's judgment, the nearness of the end, and the signs of its approach.

Third Vision: 6:18-23. A first of seven days is followed by an address of the seer to God, and a return of Uriel. This time the main discussion is on the fewness of the saved, and the final revelation is a long description of the final judgment and the future state of the righteous and the wicked.¹ The intercession of Esdras for the human race is carried on at great length, and he is promised further visions after a period of seven days.

Fourth Vision: 9:26-10:59. The interval is spent in the 'plain of Ardai' (see ARDAI), and after it Esdras as usual pleads with God. He sees a mourning woman, who tells him how she has lost her only son. He tries to comfort her by reminding her of the greater desolation of Sion. When he has ended, she suddenly becomes transfigured and vanishes, and in the place where she was he beholds a city. Uriel now comes to him and explains that this woman represented Sion, and further visions are promised.

Fifth Vision: 11:1-12:10. Two nights afterwards, Esdras dreams of a monstrous eagle with three heads, twelve wings, and certain supplementary singlets. This creature is rebuked and destroyed by a lion. The eagle is explained to be the fourth kingdom seen by Daniel, and the lion is the Messiah. Esdras is bidden to wait seven days more.

Sixth Vision: 12:48-13:43. In a second interlude (12:40-43) the people come *en masse* and beg Esdras to return. He sends them away. He sees a vision of a wondrous man who first annihilates all his enemies and then welcomes to himself a peaceful multitude. The man is the Messiah. In the peaceful multitude whom he receives we recognise the 'Lost Ten Tribes,' whose history is shortly given. Esdras is commanded to wait three days more.

Seventh Vision: 14:1-45. After the three days Esdras, sitting under an oak (Abraham's oak is no doubt meant), is addressed out of a bush by the voice of God, which warns him that he is shortly to be translated from the earth, and that the end is near. He pleads for the people who are left without teacher or law. God bids him procure writing materials and five scribes (who are named), and bid the people not approach for forty days. Next day he receives a wonderful drink in a cup, and thereafter he dictates continuously for forty days. Thus are written ninety-four books, of which seventy are to be hidden and twenty-four (*i.e.*, the books of the Hebrew canon) published. According to the Oriental Versions Esdras is then 'taken up' or translated.

In the Latin Version the words describing the 'translation' of Esdras have been cut out because two other chapters (15 f.) have been added (see above).

In the episode just described Esdras appears as the second Moses: like the lawgiver he is addressed by God out of a bush, like him he writes the law, and like him he disappears in a mysterious manner from among men. On this famous legend of the restoration of the law by Esdras see, further, CANON, §§ 14, 17.

In considering the origin of Fourth Esdras the chief passage that comes into question is the Fifth or Eagle

3. Date, Place, History. Vision. That Rome is not doubtful; but what particular persons are signified by the

various heads, wings, and feathers it is much harder to say. The vision has been held by several critics either to be wholly an interpolation (an untenable view) or to have been altered in order to make it fit in with the events of later times. On the whole, the theory that the heads stand for Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian has been most widely accepted. It is also generally held that the destruction of Jerusalem, to which such constant reference is made, can be none other than that by Titus in 70 A.D., though Hilgenfeld pleads strongly for a date nearer 30 B.C. On the whole, a majority of critics are in favour of placing the book between 81 and 90 A.D.

The book is possibly quoted in the Epistle of Barnabas (end of 1st cent.), certainly by Clement of Alexandria and by Hippolytus (*περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς*). In Latin, perhaps by Cyprian, and very copiously by Ambrose.

A theory that Fourth Esdras is a composite work, made out of several earlier apocalypses, has been set

¹ Of this a great part—7:36-105—was missing in the Latin Version (and consequently in the AV) until Professor R. L. Bensly discovered at Aniëns a MS which contained the complete text.

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forth with great ingenuity by R. K. ¹ h (*Das 4te Buch Esra auf seine Echtheit*, Göttingen, '89). He postulates

4 Integrity of chaps. 3-14. five documents ranging in date from 20

B.C. to 100 A.D., and a redactor of 120 A.D. (see Charles *Apoc. of Baruch*, pp. xxix-xli, ESCRATOLOGY, § 79), who has carried the analysis still farther. Hilgenfeld has advanced the proposition that the Eagle Vision has been manipulated by a Christian editor. His hypothesis has found more support than Kabisch's, but neither can yet be regarded as proved.

The additions in the Latin versions (1 f. 15 f.) are translated from a Greek original; but they have no connection with the original book of Esdras.

(a) Chaps. 1 f. are Christian. Their principal topic is the rejection of the Jewish people in favour of Gentile

5. Additions in Latin Versions. Christians. They probably date from the second century, and seem to be connected with the apocalypse of Zephaniah (APOCRYPHA, § 21), of which we have fragments in Coptic.

The only Greek quotation from them as yet known is in the Acts of St. Silvester. It is from 2:34 f. that the name *Regnum* (*regnum aternitatis dabitur vobis* . . . *his perpetua lucem vobis*) as applied to the Office for the Dead is derived. The Latin text is preserved in two forms, of which the best is that contained in a group of Spanish MSS.

(b) Chaps. 15 f. are Jewish. They consist of a long monotonous invective against sinners, with predictions of wars and tribulations modelled principally on the prophecies of Jeremiah. They refer probably to the conquests of Sapor I., and the rebellion of Zenzibad and Odenathus (242-273 A.D.). See I ARMANIANS. The first certain quotation is in the works of Ambrose. Chilas, the first of British writers, quotes from them copiously.

The Fourth Book of Esdras (3-14) is one of the most interesting of all apocalypses. Unsuccessful as its attempted solutions of the problems of

6. Character of Book. life are, it is marked by a noble confidence in God's justice. The writer shows him-

self in his best light when he addresses God and dwells upon his power and mercy. The thought which is present to him throughout in this connection is well put in § 47. 'Thou lackest much before thou canst love my creature more than I.' On the other hand it is impossible to deny that the book is exceedingly prolix in form and exclusive in spirit, and that the apocalyptic portion, the Eagle Vision and the like, are tedious and obscure, not possessing in any way the imaginative power of the Johannine Apocalypse.

The general complexion of the book so nearly resembles the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, that an identity of authorship has been asserted; though it is allowed that as a whole *Baruch* is somewhat later than Esdras (see APOCALYPTIC, § 13 f.).

The relation of 4 Esdras to Christianity is a principal point of interest. Its Messianic ideas (see MESSIAH) are highly developed; and its eschatology has much in common with conceptions early current in the church (see ESCRATOLOGY, § 79). Hilgenfeld has collected a number of passages which, on his hypothesis of the date, are quotations of 4 Esdras by NT writers; but the greater part of them do not suffice to show anything like a literary connection. One passage, however (4:35 f.), so closely resembles Rev. 6:9 f. that we must suppose either a borrowing by Esdras from the Johannine Apocalypse or the use of a common source.

Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judeorum* (Versions and Greek translation); Bensly and James, *Fourth Book of Esdras in Texts and Studies*, 32 (Latin text); Lupton

7. Literature. in *Speaker's Comm.* (English text and commentary); Schürer, *GV* 101 3232 ff. (E1, 505 ff.) and literature there referred to. Also Rendel Harris, *Rest of the Words of Baruch*; Carl Clemen, *St. A. N.*, 198, ff. A critical and annotated German version by Gunkel in *Kautzsch's Apokal.* has recently (1899) been published. M. R. J.

ESDRIS (εὐδρίσι [AV], *esdrin* [Syr.], *εὐδρίσι* [Syr.], a corrupt name in the account of a fight

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between Judas the Macabee and GORGAS (2 Macc. 12:36 RV). It is natural to think that [oi] *περὶ τὸν εὐδριν* at the beginning of the long sentence corresponds to [oi] *περὶ τὸν γοργίαν* at the end, and to change *εὐδριν* into *γοργίαν*. This is in fact the reading of Ald. and of some MSS, followed by AV, and, even if only a copyist's conjecture, is possibly correct.

ESEBON (ΕΣΕΒΩΝ [NA]), Judith 5:15 AV, RV HESBON (q.v.).

ESEK (עֶסֶק; ע translates: ΔΔΙΚΙΑ [ADEL], CYKOPANTIA [Aq.]), the name of one of the contested wells in the story of ISAAC, q.v., § 5, and Abimelech, Gen. 26:20.

ESEREBIAS (ΕΣΕΡΕΒΙΑΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8:54 RV (AV *Eseebrias*) = Ezra 8:18 *SIEREHIAH*.

ESHAN (עֶשָׂן), Josh. 15:52 RV, AV *ESHEAN*.

ESHAN-BAAL (עֶשָׂן-בַּאֵל), 1 Ch. 8:33 9:39†. See *ISHAN-BAAL*.

ESHBAN (עֶשְׁבָּן, § 45, in formation analogous to *יִרְמְיָה*, a Jerahmeelite name), a Horite clan-name; Gen. 36:26 (ΔΕΒΑΝ [ADEL]); 1 Ch. 14:1 (ΔΕΒΩΝ [B]), ΕΣΕΒΑΝ [AL]). Cp *Diston*.

ESHCOL (עֶשְׁכּוֹל, 'cluster of grapes,' § 69, cp § 103; ΕΣΧΩΛ [ADL]).

1. A wady near Hebron, so called from the unrivalled fruit of its vineyards, Nu. 13:23-25 32:9; Dt. 1:24† (*φάρμαξ βότρυος* [BAFL]). NW. of HEBRON (q.v.) is a wady called *Bet Iskhil* (Iskied.) 137, if the name may be trusted. But we can hardly expect to find such a name preserved (Conder does not recognise it). The vine still flourishes there (see HEBRON i., § 3, and cp Thomson, *LB* [94], 596 f.). Cp, however, NEGB, § 7.

2. The brother of ANER (1) and MAMRE, Abimelech's Amorite allies (Gen. 14:13-24; in 24 ΕΣΧΩΛ [A]). Note that in v. 24 Eshcol is placed first by C (cp Jos. *Ant.* i. 10:2) but second in MT.

ESHEAN, RV better *ESHAN* (עֶשָׂן; ΕΣΑΝ [AL], COMA [B]), a site in the hill country of Judah, to the S. or SW. of Hebron (Josh. 15:52). Perhaps a corruption of *Beer-sheba* (cp C², and IR-NAHASH).

ESHEK (עֶשֶׂק), a name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 9, ii. β) (1 Ch. 8:39†; ΔΕΛΑ [B], ΕΣΕΛΕΚ [A], ΔΕΚ [L]). See *JQR* 11:110-112 f., §§ 9, 12.

ESHKALONITES (עֶשְׁכָּלִיתִים), Josh. 13:3 AV. See *ASHKELON*.

ESHTAOL (עֶשְׁתָּאֵל; for form cp *ESHTEMOA*, n.). In C *εσθαολ* [BA], *εσλ* or *εσλ* [L]; Josh. 19:41 *εσθα* [B], Judg. 13:25 *εσθαλ* [A], Judg. 16:31 18:2 *εσθαθα* [B]. The ethnic *Eshthaulites* (עֶשְׁתָּאֵלִיתִים, 1 Ch. 2:53, RV *Eshthaulites*; υἱοὶ *εσθαου* [B]; οἱ *εσθαουαῖοι* [A]; ε *εσθαου* [L]) presupposes a form *Eshthaul* (see *Kö. Z. v. 1876*, 2, § 131 f.).

A town in the lowland of Judah, Josh. 15:33 (ΔΕΤΑΩΛ [B]). . . ΘΑ. [L], ΕΣΘΑΟΛΙ [A]), or more strictly in the northern hill-country immediately under the Judean plateau (cp *GASm. HC*, 218 f.). It stands first in the first group of cities, and is followed by ZORAH (q.v.), with which indeed it is usually mentioned. In Josh. 19:41 it is Danite; cp Judg. 13:25 18:28 f., and see *SAMSON*, § 1.1. Eusebius and Jerome describe it as *εσθαολ* of the tribe of Dan, 10 R. m. N. of Eleutheropolis towards Nicopolis (*OS* 255 87 119:32), and distinguish from it an *εσθαωλ* of the tribe of Judah (*OS* 220:99 92:26), between Ashdod and Ascalon, which was called in their time *ασθα* (*asto*). The former description agrees accurately with the position of the small village of *Eshu*, which, Guérin says, was, according to tradition, originally called *Eshu'al* or *Eshthul* (*Judee*, 212-14). The latter statement needs confirmation.

1 Cp also *Bo. Ri. Sa.* 1:38 f.; *GASm. HC* 220, n. 4.

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Eshu' is 878 feet above sea-level, and 2½ m. N.E. from Zorah (*Sar.* 1) in the W. *Sar.* It has some Roman remains. *Eshu'al*, without the characteristic *t* of *Eshu'al*, would be like *es-Semū'* for *ESHTEMOA* (q.v.). T. K. C.

ESHTEMOA (עֶשְׁתְּמוֹא; ΕΣΘΕΜΩ [A]; Josh. 21:14 1 S. 30:28 1 Ch. 4:1719 6:42 [57]) or *Eshtemoh* (עֶשְׁתְּמוֹה, Josh. 15:50).

C's readings are: Josh. 15:50, *εσκαμαν* [B], *εσθεμα* [L]; Josh. 21:14, *εσκα* [B], *εσθεμα* [L]; 1 S. 30:28, *εσθεμα* [B], *εσθεμα* [A], *εσθεμα* [L]; 1 Ch. 4:17, *εσθαμιν* [B], *εσθεμα* [A], *εσθαμα* [L]; 1 Ch. 4:19, *εσθαμιν* [B], *εσθεμιν* [A], *εσθεμα* [L]; 1 Ch. 6:57 142, *εσθαμα* [BA], 7 om. L.

A city in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15:50), Levitical according to the priestly theory (Josh. 21:14 [1]), now *es-Semū'*, a large village W. of Ma'in, W. by S. of Yutta, and about 9 m. in a direct line W. by S. of Hebron. It is 'situated on a low hill with broad valleys round about, not susceptible of much tillage, but full of flocks and herds all in fine order' (Rob. *BR* 2626). In several places there are remains of walls built of very large bevelled stones, marking it as the site of an important and very ancient town (cp Guérin, *Judee*, 3173). The ruins of its castle are most likely of Saracenic or Turkish origin. The place is mentioned as a 'very large village' by Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 254:70 23:16).

ESHTON (עֶשְׁתֹּן, scarcely 'effeminate' [BDB doubtfully]; ΔΕΣΘΩΝ [BA, but om. B, v. 12], ECC. [L]), b. Mehir, a Calibbite (1 Ch. 4:11 f.).

Most probably a corruption of *עֶשְׁתְּמוֹה*, *Eshtemon*, another form of the name *עֶשְׁתְּמוֹה* (see above). Cp *IR-NAHASH*.

ESLI (עֶסְלִי [Ti. W11]), father of Naum, in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk. 3:25). See *GENEALOGIES* ii. § 3.

ESORA, RV *ESORA* (ΔΙΣΩΡΑ [BN^a2A], ΔΡΑΚΟΥΡΙΑ [N^a], ΔΙΣΩΡΑ, 'pad' [N^a2], *داسور* [Syr.]) is mentioned between CHORA and the Valley of SALEM in connection with the preparations of the Jews against Holofernes (Judith 4:4†). Tell 'Asūr, N.E. of Bethel (see HAZOR, 2) lies perhaps too much to the S.; a more probable identification would be 'Asireh, a little to the N. of Shechem (*PEF Map*). On the strength of the reading *ασσαρων*, found in some MSS, Zockler has suggested *עֶשְׁרֵן*, the plain of Sharon.

ESPOUSALS. 1. Used of the bridegroom, *הַיְחֻנָּה*, *hithunnah* (Cant. 3:11). See *MARRIAGE*, § 3, also *CROWN*, § 3.

2. Used of the bride, *קַלָּלוּת*, *qalluth*, Jer. 2:2. See as above. In 2 S. 3:14 and Mt. 1:18 Lk. 1:27 25, RV rightly has 'betroth'.

ESRIL (עֶזְרִיל [BA]), 1 Esdr. 9:34 = Ezra 10:41, AZAREEL, 5.

ESROM (ΕΣΡΩΜ [Ti. W11] Mt. 1:3; ΕΣΡΩΜ [Ti.] N [W11] Lk. 3:33), RV *HEZRON*, q.v. (ii., 1).

ESSENES. It has been customary to follow Josephus in regarding the Essenes as forming a third Jewish party, the Pharisees and the Sadducees being the other two; so far as we know, however, they were not a party in any sense, but a Jewish brotherhood, a kind of monastic order.³

Our only authorities who speak of them from personal knowledge are the Roman Pliny (*HN* 5:17), and (with greater detail) his Jewish contemporary Josephus (*J. J.* 2:13; *Ant.* xviii. 1:5), who, in the second passage cited, plainly depends on the most important witness of all, the Alexandrian Philo, who flourished

1 The name, with which compare *ESHTAOL*, is of importance. In form it resembles the inf. of the eighth conj. in Arabic; *istima'* would mean 'attention, obedience'. Is it a vestige of the influence of Arabic-speaking tribes in S. Judah? Cp Olshausen, *Lehrb.* 367; Kampffmeyer, *art.* in *Z. f. d. F.* 15:1.

2 For the form cp *ESHTEMOA*, *ESHTAOL* (so-called Hial forms), or *עֶשְׁתְּמוֹה*, *עֶשְׁתְּמוֹה*. See *NAMES*, § 107, end.

3 For a Jewish view of the Essenes, see § 2, n.

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some fifty years earlier. Philo discourses of the Essenes in two passages; in his *Quod omnia probus liber*, 12 f., and in a no longer extant *Apology* from which all that is important in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* viii. ii. is doubtless derived.

They are nowhere mentioned, either in the Bible or in Rabbinical literature. It may safely be taken for granted that their origin does not go further back than the second century B.C. Josephus first mentions them (*Ant.* xiii. 59) in Maccabean times; the earliest incident in connection with which an Essene is spoken of by name belongs to the year 105 B.C. In the second century A.D. they disappear from history, though J. B. Lightfoot's attractive conjecture makes it probable that certain later Christian sects in the East, such as the Sampsaeans, were somehow connected with Essenism.

The derivation of the name is obscure; most probably it means 'the pious.'¹ Philo estimates their number

at 4000. They are not met with outside Palestine; the Egyptian Therapeutae, described by Philo in his *De Vita Contemplativa*, are certainly not to be regarded as merely an Alexandrian variety of Essenes. The 'Essenes' who—so many interpreters infer from the Pauline epistles—were to be found in Colossæ and Rome, can be much more simply explained if it is remembered that certain tendencies and views, strongly represented in Essenism, were characteristic of the whole religion of that time and hence make their appearance in many directions in a great variety of shades and combinations.

What most struck the outside observer in the Essenes was the strictness of their organisation and their thoroughgoing asceticism. In villages and

3. Organisation. towns—as, for example, in Jerusalem—they settled around a central house of their order, in which they followed their religious observances together, of which one was the common meal. There was no such thing as private property; whatever any one earned by rigorously regulated labour in the field or at a handicraft came into the common purse, out of which the common expenses were defrayed and doles of charity—not confined to members of the order—could be dispensed. Elected 'stewards' managed the funds and took the general oversight of affairs; the proper preparation of foods had to be attended to by priests. A three years' novitiate was necessary before admission to the order; the entrant was pledged by oaths of the most solemn kind to obedience and reticence.

All that we have described, however, constituted a means to an end—the attainment of holiness. This

4. Tenets. was sought in the highest possible purity; abstinence from all sexual intercourse, exclusion of women, countless washings, avoidance even of that degree of impurity which resulted to members of the brotherhood from contact with a novice, and elaborate scrupulosity in reference to all bodily secretions and excretions were prescribed. Every object of sense (*das Sinnliche*) they held to be ungodly, and yet, on the other hand, every sin they regarded as a transgression of nature's law. In their view of nature the soul of man formed no part of the present world, in which falsehood, egoism, greed and lust bear sway. When a man has freed himself betimes from these evil inclinations, his soul will at death pass into a bright

¹ [From *ἁγίοις*, 'pious' (Ewald, Hitz., Schürer). Another plausible derivation is from *ἰατρῶν*, *ἰατρῶν*, 'physician' (*θεραπευτῶν*) a designation applied in the Talmud to certain men who have been supposed to be true Essenes. Lightfoot derives from *ἑσῆς*, 'silent ones', i.e., those who would not reveal their secrets. Both these names, according to P. Hamburger, belonged to classes of persons who formed part of the large brotherhood or order of Essenes. This scholar mentions ten other groups of probable Essenes, including the *Ἰσθμῖται*, the morally strong, who said the morning prayer at the first streak of dawn, the *Ἰσθμῖται*, or morning bathers, the *Ἰσθμῖται*, or builders, who dwelt much on the construction of the world and on the cleanness of their garments, and the *Ἰσθμῖται*, or secretly pious ones, who kept their books secret, and had other striking points of affinity to the Essenes. See 'Essener' in Hamburger, *KE*, Abtheil. 2 (56).]

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paradise in the farthest west; the souls of the wicked, on the other hand, fall into a dark and dreary abode of never-ending punishment. As the Essenes lived entirely for the life hereafter, their interest largely centred in the attempt to penetrate the secrets of the future in every detail; angelology and eschatology, doubtless, formed the main themes of their esoteric writings; as foretellers of the future they were held in high repute, and when Josephus tells to their credit that they had investigated to good purpose, in the interests of medicine, the healing virtues of roots and stones, we may be sure that this was done by them, not with a view to the good of the body, but as a special department of their apocalyptic gnosis.

The relation of Essenism to the religion of the OT seems difficult to determine. Hitherto scholars have

5. Relation to Judaism. reached no unanimity on the subject. On the one hand, some—notably Ritschl and Lucius—regard it as a purely internal development of Judaism, Lucius in particular calling attention to its close kinship with Pharisaism. Others, on the other hand, find it impossible to explain it except by assuming the introduction into Judaism of foreign elements from Parseeism, Buddhism, or Greek Philosophy—the Orphic-Pythagorean in particular. M. Friedländer, in fact, sees in Essenism the fruit of an anti-Pharisaic movement, a reaction against the post-Maccabean anti-Hellenic Judaism of Palestine. Exaggeration in either direction is to be guarded against.

Beyond question the Essenes represented a purely Jewish piety.

The members were recruited from Jews alone, nowhere were the law and the lawgiver held in higher reverence than with them; their Sabbath observance and their rites of purification had their origin in an ultra-Pharisaic legalism, and if they repudiated bloody sacrifice, they did not on that account sever their connection with the temple; probably their action was determined by an allegorising interpretation of the laws relating to animal sacrifice.² The foreign element in their system cannot have been conspicuous when they so powerfully impressed a Pharisaic contemporary like Josephus. In their ascetic practices and prescriptions, as well as in their sincerity and hospitality, it was possible for the best people in Israel to see simply a fulfilment of what the law indeed points to, but does not venture to impose on every one as obligatory. Details, such as their worship of the sun,³ are not handed down with sufficient clearness to warrant us in drawing deductions relating to the history of religion; their communistic ideal, carrying with it the prohibition of marriage and of slave-holding, could quite well have been set up by Jews without external suggestion.

The anthropology of the Essenes, their doctrine of the life beyond the grave, their effort after a life

6. Foreign influence. emancipated as far as possible from all needs, and lived in conformity to nature, have no analogies on Jewish soil, but are, on the other hand, conspicuous in the Pythagoreanising

¹ *Zur Entstehungsgesch. des Christenthums* (94), pp. 98-142.

² It is difficult to consider the non-sacrificial system of the Essenes apart from the non-sacrificial religion of certain psalmists of the school of Jeremiah (Jer. 7 22 f.; cp 58). 'The Essenes did not, it is true, reject the principle of a single national sanctuary, for they sent *ἀναθήματα* to the temple. But they do appear to have gone beyond those psalmists whose spirit (cp Ps. 15 with the oath of the Essenes, Jos. *BJ* ii. 87) they had so thoroughly imbibed, in giving practical expression to their dislike of animal sacrifices. No such were offered by them (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 15) "by reason of the superiority of their own "purifications" (*ἀγναι*). The "sacrifices" which they performed "by themselves" (*ἐφ' αὐτῶν*) were probably these purifications which were symbolic (cp Ps. 26 4-7) of the psalmists' favourite sacrifice of obedience and praise' (Che. *OPz.* 375).

³ *ὅτι γὰρ ἀνασχέιν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φησὶν οὐδὲν βέλῃων, παρὸν δὲ τινος εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχὰς ὡς περὶ κελεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι* (*BJ* ii. 85). [This passage Lightfoot compares with *BJ* ii. 80, where the Essenes are said to bury polluting substances, *ὡς μὴ τὰς αἰῶνας ὑβρίσεις τοῦ θεοῦ*. Cheyne, however (*OPz.* 447), criticises at some length Lightfoot's use of the passages. Josephus is not to be held responsible for every detail of Greek phraseology. No genuinely Jewish sect could have worshipped the sun; in any case, there would have been some indignant reference to this in the Gospels and the Talmud. Later heretical sects should not be adduced here (see E. Phippans). It is very possible, however, that the Essenes adopted the custom of saying the first prayer at daybreak with special zest, the dawn being to them symbolic of the expected appearance of the divine judge.]

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philosophy,¹ the form which the religion of the Greek world at that time was so ready to take; and if the kinship is admitted at one point it becomes natural and easy to regard a dualistic—and thus thoroughly anti-Jewish—view of the world as having powerfully influenced both their ethics and their religious principles. Essenism may have been a gradual development, much that was foreign may have come into it in course of time, and the Hellenistic colouring may here and there be due simply to our informants; Pliny may possibly not have been wrong when he represents 'dissatisfaction with life' (*vita paenitentia*) as having been the principle which had brought and kept them together; this dissatisfaction with life, or rather enmity to the world, is as un-Jewish as it is un-Christian. Essenism, then, may be described as having been a religious growth within the Judaism of the last century B.C. which arose under the influence of certain tendencies and ideas that lay outside of Judaism, or, perhaps rather, at an early date admitted such influences. This is why Essenism disappeared; of Judaism the only form capable of retaining life was Pharisaism; no mediating forms were able to survive the catastrophe which overthrew the popular religion.

[In spite of the favour with which the theory of Pythagorean influence has been received, some scholars doubt whether it is correct. The fact that Josephus compares the Essenian mode of life with the Pythagorean is, at any rate, not in its favour; Josephus had an object in throwing a Greek colouring over the views of Jewish 'sects.' Besides, neo-Pythagoreanism has itself too foreign an air to be fitly appealed to as the source of any Oriental system. There is much in Josephus's account of the Essenes which can be explained either from native Jewish or from Oriental (Zoroastrian) ideas. He says, for instance, that the Essenes, or rather some of them, neglect marriage (*B. J.* ii. 82; cp. 13). There is no occasion to ascribe this to Pythagorean influence; it is a part of the asceticism which naturally sprang from the belief in secret communications from the Deity (see Enoch 83.2, and cp. *1 Cor.* 7.5). Nor is it at all necessary to explain the Essenian doctrine of the soul from neo-Pythagoreanism. Lightfoot (*Colossians*) and Hilgenfeld (*Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums*) have done well to suggest the possibility of Zoroastrian influences. Lightfoot's remarks deserve special attention, even though he ascribes to Essenism some things (e.g., sun-worship) which can hardly have belonged to it.² The truth probably is that the Essenian doctrine of the soul (if Josephus may be trusted) combined two elements—a Babylonian and a Persian—both Hebraized.]

The happy island is a part of the tradition of the Assyrio-Babylonian poets. The description of Hades, on the other hand, is distinctly Zoroastrian, and so too is the second description in Josephus of the lot of good souls according to Essenism. 'We have, in fact, in the first sentence of *Jos. B. J.* ii. 8.11 a reflexion of the Zoroastrian view respecting the *fravashis*, those "guardian angels" which were so linked to men as to form virtually a part of human nature, and which were practically indistinguishable from souls' (Che. *OPs.* 420; see the whole passage for a full examination of the affinities between Essenism and Zoroastrianism).

Essenism, therefore, if at all correctly described by Josephus, is not a purely Jewish product, and yet need not be ascribed in any degree to neo-Pythagorean influence. Persian and Babylonian influence, on the other hand, may reasonably be admitted. Unless we go further in critical audacity than Lucius,³ and reject the accounts of Essenism in our text of Josephus as

¹ [The essentially neo-Pythagorean character of many parts of Essenism has been widely accepted on the authority of Zeller (see reference below).]

² See Che. *OPs.* 447 f. That the Essenes showed special zeal in saying the first prayer at dawn is probable. Cp. col. 1397 n. with reference to the *Vithikim*.

³ See especially his *Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältnis zum Judentum* (31).

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spurious, we can hardly venture to maintain that Essenism is of purely indigenous origin. From a conservative text-critical point of view, Lightfoot is right against Frankel. Ohle,¹ however, repairs the omission of Lucius; he leaves nothing to Josephus but a few scattered notices of a very simple Essenism, which may be sufficiently explained as an exaggeration of Pharisaism. It must be confessed that Ohle's result would be historically convenient. In particular, it would explain why there is no reference to such a remarkable organization as that of the Essenes of Josephus, either in the Gospels or in the Talmud. It is more probable, however, that the text of Josephus has not, so far as the beliefs of the Essenes are concerned, been interpolated; that, at any rate in the main, Josephus's account of the Essenes is based on facts. Oriental influences were, so to speak, in the air, and it is not probable that the belief in the resurrection was the only great debt which Jewish religionists owed to Zoroastrians.—T. K. C.]

We sometimes find John the Baptist, and even Jesus and his disciples, claimed for Essenism. Jesus, however, little concerned as he was about ceremonial observances, the Sabbath, and the like, who ate and drank with sinners, may have been quite as well a Pharisee as an Essene, and if Philo (*Quod omnis probus liber*, 13) is able to affirm so emphatically as he does that, in spite of the variety of rulers who governed Palestine, the Essenes never came into conflict with any of them, but, on the contrary, were held in high regard by all, the movement associated with the name of John, ending as it did so tragically, cannot be regarded as a chapter from the history of the order of the Essenes. It is only among the number of those who prepared the way for the new world-religion that we can reckon these Jewish monastic brotherhoods. They not only placed love to God, to goodness, and to man, as articles in their programme, but also sought with wonderful energy according to their lights to realise them in their life. This was the very reason of their disappearance—Christianity dissolved them, reconciling Judaism and Hellenism in a form of knowledge and ethics that was accessible to all, not to a few aristocrats merely.

The literature is immense. More immediately important are: J. B. Lightfoot, *Epistles to Colossians and to Philemon*², 82-98, 349-419 (76); Zeller, *Die Phil. der Griechen*, iii. 2277-338 (81); E. Schürer, *GVF*³, § 30; Wellhausen, *IJT*⁴ (97), ch.

19. See also PERSIA. A. J.

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Unhistorical (§ 1 f.).	Purim (§ 7).
Its proper names (§ 3).	Unity (§ 8).
Moral tone (§ 4).	Greek version (§ 9).
Date, etc. (§ 5).	Additions (§§ 10-12).
Purpose (§ 6).	Canonicity (§ 13).

The Book of Esther (אֶסְתֵּר, 'Īštār, see below, § 6; עֶסְתֵּר [BNAL], אִסְתֵּר [A in 21]) relates how, in the time of the Persian king Ahasuerus, the Jews were doomed to destruction in consequence of the intrigues of Haman, how they were delivered by the Jewish queen Esther and her uncle Mordecai, how they avenged themselves by a massacre of their enemies, and finally how the Feast of Purim was instituted among the Jews in order to perpetuate the memory of the aforesaid events.

The book opens with the phrase וַיְהִי, 'And it came to pass,' thereby claiming to be a continuation of the historical books of the OT. The precise dates and the numerous proper names give the narrative an air of historical accuracy, and at the close we actually

find a reference made to 'the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia.' Unfortunately all these pretensions to veracity are belied by the nature of the contents:

¹ See his 'Die Essener; eine kritische Untersuchung der Angaben des Josephus' in *IJT* 14 (88).

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ancient feud, the former being a member of the family of king Saul, the latter a descendant of Agag, king of Amalek (see AGAGITE). However, though some of the details are undoubtedly effective, the book, as a whole, cannot be pronounced a well-written romance. As a work of art it is inferior even to the Book of Judith, which, like Esther, contains a profusion of dates and names.

That the Book of Esther cannot be regarded as a genuine historical work is avowed even by many

2. No historical kernel. Since, however, the most essential

parts of the story, namely the deliverance of the Jews from complete extermination and their numerous reprisals by means of the Jewish queen and the Jewish minister, are altogether unhistorical, it is impossible to treat the book as an embellished version of some real event—a 'historical romance' like the Persian tale of Bahrām Chobin and the novels of Scott or Manzoni—and we are forced to the conclusion that the whole narrative is fictitious.

This would still be the case even if it were discovered (a thing scarcely probable) that a few historical facts are interwoven with the story. For it is obvious that the mere name of the king of the Persians and Medes, and similar details, must not be taken to prove a historical foundation, or we might pronounce many of the stories in the *Arabian Nights* to be founded on fact simply because the Caliph Hārūn and other historical persons are mentioned in them.

Nor would those who believe in the authenticity of the book greatly strengthen their cause if they could

3. Proper names. demonstrate that all the proper names which appear in the story were really

current among the Persians, since even in the Hellenistic period a native of Palestine or of any other country inhabited by Jews might without difficulty have collected a large number of Persian names. As a matter of fact, however, most of the names in Esther do not by any means present the appearance of genuine Persian formations.

This has been made only clearer by Oppert's recent attempt to explain many of them from Persian.¹ In spite of the great liberties with respect to the sounds, allowed himself by this ingenious decipherer, he finds in Persian scarcely one of the names known to us—which are by no means few—and from these the names which he professes to have discovered differ, for the most part, very essentially. Moreover, when to cite one example, he interprets מְרוֹן as equivalent to *Bahuman* (the modern Persian *Bahman*) he fails to consider that the practice of naming human beings after *teoths*—a class of heavenly spirits to which *Wahuman* belongs—did not arise till several centuries after the fall of the Achaemenian Empire.

Nor is it legitimate to suppose that the names in Esther have suffered to any great extent through errors of transcription, for the Hebrew (as contrasted with the Greek) text of this book is on the whole well preserved, and hence there is a reasonable presumption that the forms of the names have been accurately transmitted.

It may be added that several of the subordinate persons are mentioned more than once and that the spelling, in such cases, remains constant or undergoes merely some insignificant change — proof that there has been no artificial assemblage of the forms. Thus we find הרבנות 110 and הרבנות 79 (HARBONAH); סבוכים 114 and סוכים 110 Kt. (MUCUCA); בנות 221 and בנות 221 (BONAH, TERESH); חג 23 and חג 23 (HAG); חת 15 and חת 15 (HATHACH); זרע 613 and זרע 613 (ZERESH). In the lists of seven names (11-14) and in the list of ten (17-9) some of the forms are suspiciously like one another. This, however, is probably due not to the copyist but to the author, who exercised no great care in the invention of the names.²

4. **Moral tone.** Under no other circumstances could the moral tone of the work have escaped general

² [On these names see Marq. *Fund.* 63-73. After noticing the connection between Esther and Daniel he reduces the seven princes in Esther 1:14 to three (as in Dan. 6:3)—viz., (a) Carshena, (b) Sarshai, (c) Shethar, Tarshishi, and (c) Manisara (in Metes, Marsena).]

² [On these names see Marq. *Fond.* 68-73. After noticing the connection between Esther and Daniel he reduces the seven princes in Esther 1:14 to three (as in Dan. 6:3)—viz., (a) Carshena, (b) Sarsai, (c) in Shethar, Tarshishi, and (c) Manisara (in Neres, Marsena).]

condemnation. It has been well remarked by A. H. Niemeyer, a theologian of Halle, that the most respectable character in the book is Vashti, the queen, who declines to exhibit her charms before the crowd of revelers.¹ Esther, it is true, risks her life on behalf of her people; but the vindictive ferocity which both she and Mordecai display excites our aversion.

The craving for vengeance—natural enough in a people surrounded by enemies and exposed to cruel oppression—pervades the whole work, as it pervades the so-called Third Book of the Maccabees (cp. MACCABEES, THIRD, § 2), which appears to have been written in imitation of Esther. Whilst other books of the OT, including even Judith, ascribe the deliverance of Israel to God, everything in Esther is done by men.

It was long ago observed that this book, though canonical, contains no mention of God. The omission is certainly not intentional. It is due to the coarse and worldly spirit of the author. The only reference to religion is the mention of fasting (4:16, 9:31).

Moreover, it cannot be accidental that 'Israel', the ideal name of the nation, is never employed—we read only of the Jews.² The author dwells with peculiar pleasure on the worldly splendour of his heroes, and he seems quite unconscious of the miserable character of the king. It is a curious fact that in this book, afterwards so highly esteemed, the word *מִשְׁכָּח*, 'banquet', occurs no less than twenty times.³

Mordecai's refusal to prostrate himself before Haman may possibly appear to Europeans a proof of manly self-respect; but among the Hebrews prostration implied no degradation, and had long been customary not only in the presence of sovereigns, but also in the presence of ordinary men (see SALUTATIONS). The behaviour of Mordecai is therefore mere wanton insolence, and accordingly Jewish interpreters, as well as some early Christian authorities, have spent much labour in the attempt to devise a justification for it (cp. also § 10a).

In the Book of Esther the Persian empire is treated as a thing of the past, already invested with a halo of romance. The writer must therefore have lived some considerable time after

6. Date and authorship

Alexander the Great, not earlier than the third, probably in the second, century before Christ. The book presupposes moreover that the Jews had long been 'scattered abroad and dispersed' among the nations (3:8); this idea of a 'dispersion' (*διασπορά*) points to the time when large Jewish settlements were to be found within the domain of Greek civilisation (see DISPERSION, § 12f.). The same period is indicated by the passage about the conversion of vast multitudes to Judaism (9:27), for such a conception would have been impossible even in a romance, until Jewish proselytes had become numerous. The most important point, however, is that the Gentile hatred towards the Jews of the dispersion in consequence of their religious and social exclusiveness—a hatred which the Jews fully reciprocated—was especially a product of the Hellenistic period; this mutual enmity, which is not to be confounded with the older feud between the Palestinian Jews and the neighbouring peoples, forms in Esther the basis of the whole narrative. Whether it be necessary on this account to place the composition of the book later than the time of Antiochus Epiphanes is a question which we may leave open.

The language of the work also favours a late date. The fact that it contains many Aramaic words, several of which were borrowed by the Aramaeans from the Persians, might be compatible with a somewhat earlier origin; but the whole nature of the style, which is characterised by a certain lack of ease, seems to show that the author spoke and thought in Aramaic, and had learned Hebrew merely as a literary language.

If, for example, we compare his diction with the pure and simple Hebrew style of the Book of Ruth, the enormous difference cannot fail to strike us, and is such as to suggest that these writings must be separated by an interval of three centuries or more.

The author of Esther was, of course, acquainted with the older sacred literature. In particular, as has been shown by L. A. Rosenthal (ZATW 15 278 ff. 195),

¹ *Charakteristiken der Bibel* (Halle, 31) 5165.

² Exactly as often as it happens to occur in all the other books of the OT put together—if we exclude five passages where it signifies 'drunk'.

he made use of the story of Joseph who, like Haman, was chief minister of an ancient empire, and horrified from it not only many isolated expressions but sometimes even half a sentence.

From the fact that Mordecai and Esther are of the family of Saul, who was not a favourite with the later Jews, we may perhaps infer that the author belonged to the tribe of Benjamin; a member of the tribe of Judah would have been more inclined to represent his hero and heroine as descendants of David.

It has long ago been recognised that the purpose of the book is to encourage the observance of the feast of Purim among the Jews. The fabulous

6. Purpose. narrative is merely a means to this end; since the end was attained and the story was, at the same time, extremely flattering to the national vanity, the Book of Esther, in the capacity of a *ἱερὸς λόγος* authorising the feast in question, found a place in the Jewish canon.

In reality the origin of the feast is not explained by the book and remains altogether obscure. That it was primitively not a Jewish feast is shown by the name Purim (פּוּרִים), a word unknown in Hebrew. Unfortunately the meaning is a matter of conjecture.

According to Esther 3:7 *pur* signifies 'lot,' in favour of which interpretation it may be urged that, considered as an element in the story, it is of no importance whatever. No such word, however, with the meaning required, has yet been found in any of the languages from which the name is likely to have been borrowed; nor has any other explanation been offered that is at all satisfactory. With respect to this point even the investigations of Lagarde have led to no definite result (see PERIM).

On the other hand Prof. Jensen's essay 'Elamitische Eigennamen' seems to throw some light upon the

7. Purim. story of Esther. This ingenious scholar clearly proves that *Haman* (or *Humman*, not to mention other variations of spelling) was the principal deity of the Elamites, in whose capital (Susa) the scene of the Book of Esther is laid, and that *Marduk* occupied a similar position among the deities of Babylon. As the Elamite *Haman* is represented by Haman, the Babylonian *Marduk* is represented by Mordecai, a name unquestionably derived from *Marduk*. In Ezra 2:2 (= Neh. 7:7) we find the name actually borne by a Babylonian Jew.³ In close contrast with the god *Marduk* stood the great goddess *Istar*, who was worshipped by other Semitic peoples under the name of *Athtar*, *Altar* or *Atart*, and is often identified with Aphrodite. The later Babylonian form *Estāra*, (with the Aramaic termination) was used by the Syrians and Mandaites as a synonym of Aphrodite or of the planet Venus; here we have the exact counterpart of *Esther*.⁴ *HADASSAH*, the other name of Esther (2:7), which is mentioned quite incidentally and therefore seems to be no mere invention of the writer, corresponds to the older Babylonian form *Hadašatu*, signifying 'myrtle' and also 'bride', as Jensen has shown. Since another word for 'bride' is commonly used as the title of another Babylonian goddess, we may hazard the conjecture that *Istar* was also called *Hadašatu*. Furthermore *Vashti* is an Elamite deity, probably a goddess. Thus *Vashti* and *Haman* on the one side, *Mordecai* and *Esther-Hadassah* on the other, represent, it would seem,

¹ Art. 'Purim' in the *Abhandlungen d. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen* (87). Jensen in a letter suggests to the writer of this article that *pur* or *bir* seems to be an old Assyrian word for 'stone' and that therefore it is possible that the word was also used to signify 'lot' like the Hebrew *קָוָה*, 'lot', which originally, no doubt, meant 'little stone'.

² *HZA* 16 47 f., 209 f. The writer of the present article has moreover made use of some private information from Prof. Jensen, but wishes to state explicitly that he has himself no independent knowledge of the cuneiform inscriptions.

³ The Greek form, *Mandochus* (Μανδοχός), probably comes nearer to the original pronunciation than the Massoretic *מַדְכָּה* or *מַדְכָּי*. See MORDECAI.

⁴ In the Thousand and One Nights the famous Shahrāzād—a Jewess according to Mas'ûdî—is, according to De Goete (*EB* 23 316 f.), no other than Esther.

the antagonism between the gods of Elam and the gods of Babylon.

Whether Iensen be justified in identifying Haman's wife Zeresh (זרש) with Kirish, who appears in connection with Haman and is presumably his female partner, seems open to doubt; the difference of the initial consonants would not be easy to explain. It should be remembered, however, that Zeresh is, after all, only a subordinate figure. The other names mentioned above agree so closely that the resemblances can hardly be accidental.

It is therefore possible that we here have to do with a feast whereby the Babylonians commemorated a victory gained by their gods over the gods of their neighbours the Elamites, against whom they had so often waged war.¹ The Jewish feast of Purim is an annual merry-making of a wholly secular kind, and it is known that there were similar feasts among the Babylonians. That the Jews in Babylonia should have adopted a festival of this sort cannot be deemed improbable, since in modern Germany, to cite an analogous case, many Jews celebrate Christmas after the manner of their Christian fellow-countrymen, in so far at least as it is a secular institution. It is true that hitherto no Babylonian feast coinciding, like Purim, with the full moon of the twelfth month has been discovered; but our knowledge of the Babylonian feasts is derived from documents of an earlier period. Possibly the calendar may have undergone some change by the time when the Jewish feast of Purim was established. Or it may be that the Jews intentionally shifted the date of the festival which they had borrowed from the heathen (see PURIM). We may hope that future discoveries will throw further light upon this obscure subject.²

Hitherto we have treated the book as a literary unity. Certain scholars however—e.g., Bertheau and Ryssel—

8. Unity. hold that the two epistles in the last chapter but one, as well as the verses connected with them (that is to say, 9:20-28, 29-32) are additions by a later hand. This view the writer of the present article is unable to accept.

The former piece contains, it is true, a short recapitulation of the story; but this is sufficiently explained by the author's desire to inculcate the observance of Purim in the strongest terms possible; a later scribe would have had no object to serve by the repetition. Nor is it likely that an interpolator would have contented himself, in 9:26, with an implicit allusion to 3:7. Similarly in 9:25 the phrase *וְכֵן* 'when she came'—for no other interpretation is possible—seems natural enough, if the author of the book is referring to his heroine; but another writer would, surely, in this case, have written the name. Had these two pieces been originally independent of the book the name Purim would surely not have occurred in them (see 9:26, 31 f.); that it does occur must appear decisive. When isolated from the context, the pieces in question become meaningless, and to suppose that they are borrowed from another Book of Esther verges on the extravagant. In vocabulary and style they so closely resemble the rest of the book that the insignificant deviations which occur (e.g., in 9:28) must be ascribed to a difference in the subject matter. The mode of expression is doubtless somewhat awkward; but the same may be said of the strange verse 3:7, which is nevertheless indispensable and forms, so to speak, the nucleus of the whole work.

As early as the year 114 B.C. the Book of Esther reached Egypt in a Greek translation. This fact is attested by the concluding sentence in the best MSS of the Greek text; nor have we any reason to doubt the truth of the statement, as has been done for example by B. Jacob.³ It is impossible to see for what purpose such a story could have been invented.

The chief objection brought forward by Jacob, namely that the passage above mentioned represents the translation as having come from Jerusalem, has no real force; it is indeed said to have been made at Jerusalem; but the name of the translator (*Ανθίουχος Τραπεζουσιτης*) at once suggests an Egyptian Jew. That the translator was an Egyptian Jew has been elaborately proved by Jacob himself, though his arguments are not all equally conclusive.

¹ [Cp. Toy, 'Esther as a Babylonian goddess,' *New World*, 6:137-145.]

² Cp. Br. Meissner in *ZDMG* 50:205 ff. Haman the chief, the father of the gods worshipped by the heathen of Harran on the 27th of the month Tammuz (Ephraim, 323, 41) has hardly any connection with the Haman of Esther.

³ *Das Buch Esther bei den I. V.V.* (Giessen, '90), p. 43 ff. (= *ZA IV* 10:279 ff.).

The Greek text is found in two forms which we shall here call A and B (the β and α respectively of Lagarde); they diverge considerably from one another, but the text of B [α] is, as a rule, derived from that of A [β], the changes being due to careless and arbitrary copyists.

Only in a few cases does B [α] appear to have preserved older readings than the existing MSS of A [β]. Here, as in other books of Θ , we occasionally find corrections, in accordance with the Hebrew text, which were introduced by scribes at an early period, e.g., *Ασκληπιος* (B) from *ασκληπιος*, instead of the doubtless incorrect *Απράξιος* of the translator, and *Ούασις* (B) from *ουσις*, instead of *Ασις*.

The tendency, so common at the present day, to overestimate the importance of Θ for purposes of textual criticism is nowhere more to be deprecated than in the Book of Esther. It may be doubted whether even in a single passage of the book the Greek MSS enable us to emend the Hebrew text, which, as has been mentioned above, is singularly well preserved.

A very small number of such passages might perhaps be adduced, if the Greek translation had come down to us in its original form; but, as a matter of fact, the text underwent early and extensive corruption, so that now it is possibly worse than that of any other canonical book in the OT.

Of great importance are the additions. They fall into two classes—(a) Hebraistic pieces, intended to supply the lack of religious sentiment (a lack which must have been felt at an early period; cp. above, § 4) or to explain difficulties—e.g., Mordecai's refusal to prostrate himself before Haman.

Thus we read, in glaring contrast to the original sense of the book, that Esther consented with great reluctance to become the wife of the uncircumcised king. To this class belong the following pieces—the prayer of Mordecai (3:1), the prayer of Esther (4), the expansion of the first interview between Esther and the king (5), the dream of Mordecai (6) and its interpretation (7). All this may once have been in Hebrew; but the hypothesis is not probable.

(b) Pieces written in the Greek rhetorical style—viz., the two epistles of the king (2 and 6).

Here it is stated, among other things, that Haman was a Macedonian and desired to transfer the supremacy from the Persians to the Macedonians (6:13; cp. 6:9). From this passage the term 'Macedonians' has found its way into other parts of the book; the allusion doubtless is to the bitter enmity which there was between the Jews and their Graeco-Macedonian neighbours, especially at Alexandria.

In addition to these, we find a few shorter interpolations.

The form of the book which lay before Josephus (about 90 A.D.) was mainly identical with A [β]; but it contained a few older readings, some of which may be traced in B [α]. All the longer interpolations it two were known to Josephus.

Had he been acquainted with the two which refer to Mordecai's dream he would have had little difficulty in adapting them to the taste of his educated readers. However, it would not, of course, be legitimate to conclude from their absence from the text used by Josephus that the two pieces were necessarily lacking in all other MSS of the same period. Moreover there are in Josephus's account some small additional details. A few of these he may himself have invented, in order to point the moral of the story; but since there is at least one (relating to Esther 2:22; cp. *Ant.* vi. 64 [Niese, § 207]) which does not appear in our texts of the LXX, and yet can scarcely have originated with him, we may infer, with tolerable certainty, that the copy of Esther used by Josephus contained some passages which are found in no extant Greek MS.

All these materials Josephus treats with his usual freedom, softening down or omitting whatever was calculated to give offence to educated Greeks and Romans.

Such arbitrary transformations were quite in keeping with the unhistorical character of the book. Very similar tendencies showed themselves among those Jews who spoke Semitic dialects; but as the original text of Esther was here preserved from alteration by reason of the place which it occupied in the sacred canon, the additions and embellishments were confined to the Aramaic translation, or else formed matter for separate

12. Additions in Targums. among those Jews who spoke Semitic dialects; but as the original text of Esther was here preserved from alteration by reason of the place which it occupied in the sacred canon, the additions and embellishments were confined to the Aramaic translation, or else formed matter for separate

¹ Large Arabic numerals are here used to denote the chapters of the additional pieces, as distinguished from the original book.

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works. The additions to the original and literal Targum times refer to the same subjects that are treated in additions to the Greek text, though neither work has borrowed anything from the other. Some of these pieces are of considerable interest, and they are all very characteristic of Rabbinical Judaism.

Not infrequently the interpolations violate our notions of good taste and contain much that is at variance with the original book. There are moreover lengthy digressions which have no real connection with the subject.

In the so-called Second Targum such digressions are especially common, but they occur in the First also.

The two Targums sometimes differ substantially from one another in matters of detail (thus *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*, 1.10, is, according to the one, the wicked Haman, according to the other, the wise Daniel, which latter view appears also in the Talmud, *Meq.* 12b); but they have very much in common. The relation between them cannot be accurately determined until more is known of the MSS, which are said to offer great variations of text. Some interesting embellishments of the story of Esther, similar to those in the Targums and sometimes exactly agreeing with them, are to be found in Bab. Talm. *Meq.* 10ff.¹

The reception of the Book of Esther into the canon occasioned so much discussion that a few words may be allowed on the subject in addition to what has been said under CANON.

13. Canonicity.

So late as the second century after Christ a distinguished teacher, Rabbi Samuel, pronounced Esther apocryphal (*Meq.* 7a). These theoretical objections had no practical effect; indeed among the mass of the Jews the story of the Jewish queen and the Jewish prime minister has always enjoyed a special reputation for sanctity. With respect to Greek-speaking Christians it may be mentioned that Melito of Sardis, for example, does not reckon Esther among the canonical books (see *Eus. HE* 4.26). The Latin Church, since the time of Jerome, has rejected at least the later additions. The majority of the Syrian Christians went further still. Jacob of Edessa (about 700 A.D.) treats Esther as apocryphal (Wright, *Catalogue of Syr. MSS in the Brit. Mus.*, 598b). The lists drawn up by the Syrian Monophysites do not include it in the canon; but we have no right to infer that the book was never read or used by the Christians of Syria. Aphraates (about 350 A.D.) regards it as an authority, and it is also found in ancient MSS, such as the famous Codex Ambrosianus (edited by Ceriani), which, however, includes several other books universally reckoned uncanonical.

The Nestorians alone appear to have had down to modern times, no knowledge of the book whatsoever. Luther formed a very just opinion of the Book of Esther; but whilst freely expressing his disapproval of it he retained it in the canon. Since that time it has been regarded as canonical by Protestant as well as Roman Catholic nations. See Jaub. *op. cit.* 241 ff. (50); Kuenen, *Outl.* 2, 551 ff.; Zimmern, *ZATW*, 10.241 ff. (90); Wildeboer, *Esther*, in Nowack's *JK*; Toy, 'Esther as a Babyl. Goddess,' *New World*, 6.130-145. See also references above, and cp *PURIM*.

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ESYELUS (ΕΣΥΛΟΣ [B⁹A]; Η ΕΣΥΝΟΛΟΣ [B¹⁰]). (ΩΗΛ [L]), 1 Esd. 18 RV = 2 Ch. 35⁸ JERUEL, 7.

ETAM (עֲתָם אֵיתָן [B⁹A]; מ [L]).

1. A town of Judah, mentioned by the Chronicler (2 Ch. 116; אֵיתָן [A] אֲרָן [B⁹]) as one of the cities of defence built by Rehoboam. In the order of enumeration it is placed between Bethlehem and Tekoa. It also occurs in *G* of Josh. 15.59 (אֵיתָן [A]; cp *Dn. in loc.*) with Tekoa, Ephraim or Bethlehem, and Phagor (mod. *Figgar* between Bethlehem and Hebron). According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 73) it was at Etam (ἡθάμα), two schoeni from Jerusalem, that Solomon had his well-watered gardens (cp BATH RABIM). This points to the neighbourhood of the modern village of *Artis*, half-an-hour S. from Bethlehem, where on the south side of the Wady Artis there are some ruins. The lowest of the so-called Pools of Solomon, not far off, is fed from

¹ Sal. Posner, *Das Targum Kischon zu den biblischen Buch Esther* (1915) gives no great results but (p. 5) a useful review of the midrashic literature. Cp W. Bacher, 'Eine sudarabische Midrasch compilation zu Esth.' *MGH*, 41.450 ff.

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a source that is still known as 'Am 'Aḥan. See COV-DUTS, § 3; ETAM ū.

2. A Simeonite town, grouped with ATN (q.v., 1), Rimmon, Tochen, and Ashan (1 Ch. 4.2), which Conder would identify with Khutbet 'Atin, 8 or 9 m. S. of Bêt Jibrin. But is the name עֲתָם correct? It is not given in Josh. 19.7, and is probably a corruption of a partly effaced עֲתָם; if so, En Rimmon, which follows, is an unintentional dittogram, inserted by a corrector (Che.). (Pesh. in Ch. gives *עֲתָם עֲתָם*) Berthman takes a different view (see ETAM ū).

3. Etam is again mentioned in an obscure genealogy in 1 Ch. 4.3 (אֵיתָן [A], q.v. [L]); the name Jezreel alone is familiar) where post-exilic families living around the Judæan Etam (see above, 1) are apparently referred to.

For the MT עֲתָם אֵיתָן (οὗτοι πατέρες η̄ταν [L]) various emendations have been proposed: (a) to read עֲתָם instead of אֵיתָן (after *G*), (b) to read אֵיתָן (so RV), or (c) to restore אֵיתָן עֲתָם אֵיתָן (see *Kl. SBOT*). A simpler reading is אֵיתָן עֲתָם אֵיתָן; see SHELAM, 1.

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ETAM, ROCK OF (עֲתָם הַר הָאֵיתָן [B⁹A]; 1. [L]).

Αἶταν [Jos. *Ant.* v. 88]). It was 'in the fissure of the rock of Etam' that Samson is said to have dwelt after burning the fields of the Philistines (Judg. 15.8-11). 'The place was evident', in Judah, and was farther from the Philistine border than Lehi (7.9). Since there was a Judahite town of the same name (see ETAM, 1) it is reasonable to suppose (with Stanley, Guérin, Wilson, etc.) that the narrator located Samson's rock there. It does not follow that more precipitous cliffs may not be found elsewhere. We have no right to begin with selecting the most striking rock, and then to identify this rock with Etam.

It is not likely that there were two Judahite places called Etam. We therefore reject the claims of the great rock near 'Artif known as the 'Arik Isma'in (in a wady which is the upper continuation of the Wady es-Sarā), though the physical conditions perfectly fit the requirements of the story (*PEFQ*, April 1896, pp. 162-164; Schick, *ZDP*, 1887, pp. 131 ff.). 'The cave is approached by descending through a crack or fissure in the very edge of the cliffs overhanging the chasm of Wady Isma'in. The crack is scarcely wide enough to allow one person to squeeze through at a time. It leads down to the topmost of a long series of rudimentary steps, or small artificial foot-bridges, cut in the face of the cliff, and descending to a narrow rock terrace running along the front of the cave, and between it and the fragments of massive wall (belonging to an ancient Christian orobnum). So writes Hanauer (*PEFQ*, April 1896, p. 163), who in October 1885 guided Schick, the well-known architect, to the spot. Such descriptions help us to understand how legends like that before us grew up.

See also Hanauer (*PEFQ* Jan. 1886, p. 25), and especially Schick, *ZDP*, 1887, p. 131 ff. Against Conder's identification of Etam with Beit 'Aḥab (cp Baed. 2.161) see Wilson, Smith's *DB* 2.1004, and Schick, *op. cit.* Cp LEHI.

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For the abstract term 'eternity' there is no word either in OT Hebrew or in NT Greek.² Four times, however, the word occurs in AV; and thrice in RV.

(a) 1 S. 15.29, 'Also the eternity (עֲדָת) of Israel will not lie' (*Wmg*). The rendering of EV is 'strength'; on the renderings of the Vss. see Driver's note. EV suggests 'victory', to which RV adds 'glory'. The

1. OT

References. *Tg.* suggests that the text is corrupt (see Che. *JQR*, April 1899).

(b) Is. 57.15, 'the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity' (EV after *G* [ὁ κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα] *Vg.* 72 [22]). This vaguely grand idea lies outside the biblical conceptions. Most scholars (including Del. Di.) prefer 'than dwellth for ever'—i.e., who is not subject to change (cp Ps. 102.27).

(c) Jer. 10.10, 'he is the living God, king of eternity' (*Vmg*); עֲדָתָא (Theodot. βασιλεὺς αἰῶνος). Here the true sense is 'an everlasting king' (EV). Jer. 10.10 is a post-exilic insertion; the belief in the eternity of God's kingdom was the foundation of the belief in the eternity of the people of Israel.

¹ *BA* substitutes in 7.2 (for ἐν τρυμαλιῇ τῆς πετρας) παρά τῷ χειμαρρῷ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ; cp *Eus.* η̄ταν παρα τῷ χειμαρρῷ (15.259-3, cp 122.6).

² In MH there are two terms worthy of mention. עֲדָתָא and עֲדָתָא (e.g., עֲדָתָא עֲדָתָא, the eternity of the world, a philosophical tenet reflected by the Jewish teachers).

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(d) Mt. 52 [1], 'whose goings forth have been from of old, from the days of eternity' (RVing; cp. ἡ ἀρχὴ αἰώνος); RV substitutes in the mg., 'from ancient days'. Both AV and RV give 'from everlasting' in the text. The old interpreters connected this with the 'eternal generation of the Son'; Keil, while rejecting this view, still sought to maintain the essentials of orthodox tradition, and found a reference to the pre-existence of Christ and the revelations of Christ to primitive men. This rhetorical sense compels us to assent to RVing.

(e) Is. 9 [5] 'Father of Eternity' (RVing), אב עולם. In the text RV (like AV) has 'Everlasting Father,' (ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ αἰώνος αἰώνος, Sym. πατὴρ αἰώνος, Ἀβ. πατὴρ ἐτῶν). If this is correct, it must mean not 'possessor of the quality of everlastingness' (an un-Hebraic use of the term 'father'), but 'one who cares perpetually for his people, like a father' (cp. Is. 22:21). The reading may, however, be incorrect (cp. FATHN, and see SBLT Is. 21:7; Heb. text, notes, 89, 195).

(f) Eccles. 3:11, 'he hath set eternity in their heart' (RVing). On this rendering, which is hardly natural, see EARTH i. § 2 (4).

Though, however, there is no abstract word for eternity, the conception of the endlessness of God and of persons or objects protected by him is not wanting. Earlier generations did not dwell on the thought; the catastrophe of the exile forced men to ponder upon it; they found it not only a source of comfort but also the basis of an eschatology. From the far-off past to the far-off future (עולם לעולם Is. 90:2; cp. 41:13 [14]), Yahwé was their God. So Dt. 33:27 אלהינו אלהים 'the ancient God'; in the line, ויחיה עולם 'everlasting arms'; cp. Dr. in loc.). So too Is. 40:28 אלהינו אלהים 'an everlasting God'—an instructive passage, because it shows how concrete the Jewish conception of eternity was.—He faints not, neither is weary. Eternity meant the most intense life. Hence later, 'life' and 'eternal life' came, in the mouth of Jesus, to be synonymous (see e.g., Mt. 19:16 f.). Thus, having Yahwé as a shepherd, the faithful community could look forward to a perpetual duration for itself: 'this God is our God for ever and ever' (Ps. 48:14), to which, unfortunately enough, MT gives as a line, 'he will be our guide unto death' (על-ימים).² Or, to put it in another form, God's loving-kindness (the bond between him and his people) would never fail (Ps. 106:1 and often).

It is a poetical extravagance, however, when the mountains and hills are called 'everlasting' (Gen. 49:26 where עולם עולם should be עולם עולם [Di. etc.]) or to עולם עולם: so Dt. 33:15, Hab. 3:6. Is. 54:10 assures us that 'the mountains may depart, and the hills be removed' (cp. Ps. 46:13). So in Ps. 89:28 [29] f. Yahwé's covenant with David, and in Eccles. 45:15 his covenant with Aaron are said to be 'for ever, and also' (as lasting) as the days of heaven.³ It was no secret, however, that the heavens would pass away (Is. 34:4 f.), Ps. 102:26 [27]. It is only God whose years can absolutely 'have no end' (Ps. 102:27 [28]).

Thus we get two Heb. terms for endless duration: (a) עולם עולם and (b) עולם עולם. The two terms are combined in עולם עולם עולם (Is. 45:17), 'to ages of continuance' (= 'world without end' (RV)). To these we must add (c) עולם and (d) עולם. (a) עולם, 'age,' can be used in a limited sense, as when a slave who refuses to leave his master is said to become his servant 'for ever,' עולם, ἐς τὸν αἰῶνα or when a loyal subject says to the king, 'Let my lord live for ever.'⁴ So, in strongly emotional passages, עולם 'for ever.'

1 In Gen. 21:33 (29) we read that in Beersheba Abraham invoked Yahwé as עולם עולם (ἡ θεὸς αἰώνος, RV 'the Everlasting God'). If the text is right, this should mean 'the ancient God' (Bä., von Gall) and the writer will imply a reproach to some of his contemporaries (cp. Dt. 29:25 [23] 27). 'Everlasting God' is inappropriate here. Most probably, however, עולם עולם should be עולם, ἔλεος (Gen. 11:20-26) = i.e., 'Most High.' So Renan. 1A similar enunciation, עולם עולם 'gates of the Most High,' may be suggested for Ps. 247:9. The phrase 'everlasting (or, eternal) God,' however, is certainly right in Is. 40:28 (עולם עולם, ἡ θεὸς αἰώνος), and Rom. 16:26 (τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ, unique in NT).

2 See ALAMOTH.

3 E, however, has simply τὸν αἰῶνα. Perhaps we should read עולם עולם.

4 Probably, however, such a phrase includes a reference to the divinity of the king. Not improbably, too, it implies a popular belief that kings were privileged after death to join the company

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can be used of a state of things which may some day be altered (e.g., Is. 32:14 f.; cp. 42:14, where RV renders עולם 'long time').

(c) עולם or עולם, too, need not mean 'for ever.' We can sometimes render 'uninterruptedly,' as when the psalmist, expostulating with Yahwé, says, 'How long wilt thou forget me' (עולם) uninterruptedly? (Ps. 131 [2]).

(d) עולם, עולם 'length of days,' is of course ambiguous. In Ps. 214 [5] 91:16 the context shows that 'everlasting life' is really meant; whether for the pious community or for the pious individual, is a question for exegesis. So in Ps. 23:6 the dwelling in the house of Yahwé 'spoken of is an endless one; where would be the happiness if death or the 'foot of pride' (Ps. 36:11) could one day work a sad change?

(e) עולם עולם 'for successive generations or ages,' עולם עולם (Ps. 89:1 [2] 4 [5] 102:12 [13] 146:10 etc.).

In the NT we have αἰώνος (often), with which εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας are to be grouped,¹ and twice (Rom. 1:20 Jude 6) αἰῶνος RV

4. NT Terms and Ideas. prefers 'eternal' to 'everlasting' for αἰώνος; for αἰῶνος (AV 'eternal' in Rom., 'everlasting' in Jude) it gives 'everlasting.'

This arises from a sense that εἰς αἰῶνα in the NT is or may be more than 'endless life,' עולם עולם. EV 'everlasting life' (Dan. 12:2 εἰς αἰῶνα), comes to mean 'life of (the Messianic) age,' and includes all Messianic blessings (so e.g., Jn. 3:15; cp. 7:15). The later Jewish literature preferred the expression 'the life of the coming age' because of its clear-cut distinction between the עולם הנה—i.e., the present dispensation—and the עולם הבא—i.e., the Messianic 'age' (cp. Mk. 10:30 Lk. 18:30, Heb. 2:5 6:5). See ESCHATOLOGY, § 82 f., also EARTH i. § 3.

Among the notable phrases of NT are κόλασις αἰώνος Mt. 25:46, RV 'eternal punishment'; ὀλεθρος αἰώνος, 2 Thess. 1:9, RV 'eternal destruction'; and διὰ πνεύματος αἰώνιον, Heb. 9:14, RV 'through the eternal Spirit.' On the first two compare ESCHATOLOGY, § 98. The phrase πνεῦμα αἰώνιον has to be taken in connection with the preceding phrase (τ. 12) αἰωνία λειτουργία. 'The high priest could, according to the Law, obtain for the Jewish people only a temporary 'redemption,' for the bulls and goats whose blood he offered had but a temporary life; but Christ 'entered in once for all by means of his own blood,' and his life is not temporary, but eternal, or, which is the same thing, his 'spirit'—his עולם עולם—is unlimited by time, is eternal. For Christ 'has been made (high priest) according to the power of an indissoluble life,' κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου (Heb. 7:16).

Thus the word commonly used for 'eternal' in NT means (1) endless (2) Messianic. In the Fourth Gospel and in the First Epistle of John, however, we find a noteworthy development in the sense of αἰώνιος. The word seems there to refuse to be limited by time-conditions altogether. εἰς αἰῶνα is represented, sometimes indeed as future (Jn. 6:27 12:25 14:19), but more generally as already present (Jn. 17:3 and other passages; cp. 11:26 f. 8:51). This is akin to the view expressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, according to which the δυνάμεις μέλλουσας αἰῶνος may be 'tasted' even now (Heb. 6:5). 'Eternal life,' thus viewed, is indeed ἡ ὁρως ζωῆς 'the life which is [life] indeed' (1 Tim. 6:19 RV). It is one of the most noteworthy faults of TR that it substitutes for this fine rendering the ordinary term αἰώνιος, 'everlasting,' 'eternal.'

ETHAM (עֶתָם; Syr. Athām, Ar. Ithām, Copt. ὀθον and βοϋθαν [var. βοϋθα]; 1 ETHAM).

Readings are: in Ex. 13:20, ὀθον [BAF1], ἡθαρ [LXX], Ar. Syn. Theod., etc.; in Nu. 33:6 f. βοϋθαν [BAF1] for original

of the divine ones (עֲלֵינוּ 22, lit. 'sons of Elohim'). Our knowledge of the popular Israelish beliefs is too slight to permit us ever to dogmatize about them. The influence of the neighbouring nations must, however, have tended to the production of a belief in the quasi-divinity of kings.

1 Note also the deeply felt expression εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων (Eph. 3:21). See RVing.

ETHAN

Βουθαμ [cod. 58 in v. 6]; in Nu. 33 a BAL om., but BabAF read αἶθροι (see below).

The second station of the Israelites at the Exodus, situated at the 'end (ἄσπ) of the wilderness' (Ex. 13:20 Nu. 33:6). Thus it was the last city on properly Egyptian ground, and therefore (being also near the straight road to Philistia; Ex. 13:17) to be sought at the E. end of the Wady Tūmīlāt and near the (North-ern?) shore of the Crocodile (Timsāh) Lake. There is no proof whatever of the various identifications with Bir Abū-Rūk (Schleiden), Bir Maktal (Ebers; spelled Bir Mahdal, in Béd.), Bir Suēs (Hengstenberg), places which are, besides, all situated in the desert, partly E. of the Red Sea. Why Daphnē-Tahpanhes (Brugsch), cannot be Etham, is shown elsewhere (EXODUS i. § 13). The name ΕΘΑΝ reminds us strongly of ΕΘΑ (see PITHOM), and if we follow S's text in Num. [* = ΕΘΑ] the identity is very plausible (Sharpe, Wellh.). If Pithom is the same as modern Tell el-Mashūta, it was indeed the last city of Goshen, which has, at the E., room only for a few villages and fortifications (about 10 miles to Lake Timsāh).¹ This identification therefore is highly probable. Otherwise, we might suppose a neighbouring place called after the same local god, *Atum, Ethōm*.² The name of this place might also have been abridged. This, however, is less probable, and unnecessary. Other Egyptological explanations cannot be upheld.³ See EXODUS i. § 10 ff., GOSHEN i. § 2, SUCCOTH, PITHOM.

W. M. M.

ETHAN (עֲתָנָה: 'lasting, strong', ΑΙΘΑΝ [BL].

ΑΙΘΑΝ [A]).

1. An Ezrahite, whose wisdom was excelled by Solomon's, 1 K. 4:31 [511] (γαθὰν [BA], 4:27; so also in S of Jer. 50 (27) 44). The true reading of the passage, which of course determines the explanation, is considered elsewhere (see MAHOI, HEMAN). S, which calls Ethan ῥὸν ἑβραϊστῆν (S ἑβραϊστῆν, cp Pss. 88 f.), very possibly considered him to be an Edomite (cp Job 42:17, ΕΒΕ), Edom being renowned for its wise men (Jer. 49:7). To the Chronicler, however, this view was unacceptable. Ethan (and not only he, but also the wis. men who in 1 K. 4:31 [511] are mentioned with him) must be of an Israelitish stock. The question of his age, too, must be cleared up. Hence in 1 Ch. 26 not only Zimri (or Zabdi), but also Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara are sons of Zerah, the son of Judah. Thus 1 K. 4:31 [511] receives a thoroughly new interpretation. To this Judahite Ethan it is possible—possible but hardly probable—that the author of the heading of

¹ The prefixed *β* would not be the Egyptian article (Knobel-Dillmann) but *βεδ*, 'house, place' (cp PITHOM, PROSETH). S's transliteration *β* conforms to the rule that Egyptian *β + w* is rendered by Gk. *β*. This *β* ('house') is sometimes omitted, like the Hebrew equivalent *Beth*. [As another explanation of the *β* of Βουθαμ, H. A. Redpath suggests that perhaps it is a reproduction of the prep. *β* on the first occurrence of the name repeated in the second verse.]

² No argument can be drawn from the fact that the adjoining desert is called 'desert of Etham' in Nu. 33:8 (P), but 'desert of Shur' in Ex. 15:22 (E). The two frontier places are different. Note especially that the strange 'of Etham' is omitted by S (but BabAF read αἶθροι—i.e., ΕΘΑ).

³ Pap. Anast. vi. 415 speaks of the fort (*htnu*) of king *Mernep-tah* which is (at?) *T(u)-ku*, 'E. of Petom of Mernep-tah' which is (at?) *T(u)-ku*. It is not, however, clear whether this would be another Pithom, or, as is more natural, that built by Rameses II. (see WMM. *Is. n. Eur.* 135) which would, as a royal city, change its name. On the Thot(?) of the *Itin. Ant.*, see PITHOM.

⁴ The comparison with Egyptian *htnu* (closing) 'fortress, fort', from the root which in Coptic becomes *htem* 'to shut', is quite impossible. Anast. v. 201 mentions a 'fortress' (*htnu*) near *T(u)-ku* (cp preceding note); but no city with this name can be found. We are equally precluded from comparing the Coptic *htem* 'to close'; with the article this would be *β-htem*, 'the closing'. Naville (*Pithom*, 28 ff.) compares the name *Aduma* of the Bedawi-tribes mentioned in Anast. vi. 414, in which all recent writers have rightly seen the name Edom. The dental forbids the identification with Etham. (The alleged name *Aduma* reads *Adi-ma*; see KEDMAH.) Besides, Etham must be an Egyptian place, not several journeys E. in the wilderness.

ETHBAAL

Ps. 89 (αἶθαν [DN], αἶμαν [R], αἶθαι [T]), ascribed the composition of that psalm. It is much more natural to assume that he meant the eponym of the post-exilic Ethan-guild of temple-singers (see 2).

Jastrow (*Dict. of Ass.* 3, II 2; cp *Rel. Bab. and Ass.* 312) identifies the Ethan of 1 K. 4:31 [511] with the mythic Babylonian Etana (the hero with whom the mythic eagle allied itself, and who took flight for heaven clinging to the eagle's breast, but fell to earth with the eagle and died—unlike the Elijah of the noble Hebrew legend). He assumes this largely on the ground that the names of Ethan's companions in 1 K. 4:31 [511]—viz., Heman, Calcol, and Dara—appear to be non-Hebraic, and suspects that Babylonian references may also be found to these three names. It is a part of this theory that Etana, like Ethan, means 'strong'. Etana is not, however, renowned for his wisdom, and 'Ethan' in 1 K. 4:31 may be due to corruption (see MAHOI).

2. (αἶθαν [R in 1 Ch. 15:17], αἶθαν [Bin 1 Ch. 15:17, 19, and R in 1 Ch. 15:19]), son of Kishi or KUSTAIATU (q.v.), the head of one of the 'families' which had the hereditary office of temple musicians and singers (1 Ch. 6:44 [20] 15:17, 19) also called JEDUTHUN (q.v.). In appearance this is an altogether different Ethan from the preceding; but the appearance is illusory. From a critical inspection of the narratives the truth appears to be this. On a re-organisation of the guilds of singers in late post-exilic times the authorities of the temple looked out for nominal founders of those guilds belonging to Davidic and Solomonic times. One older name—that of ASAPH (q.v., 3)—was retained; to this two fresh ones—viz., Heman and Ethan (or Jeduthun)—were added. These names were derived from 1 K. 4:31 [511].

A threefold assumption was made: (1) that the persons so called were Israelites, (2) that they were singers, and (3) that they were contemporaries of David. As to (1), *ἱσραήλ* has no doubt the meaning of 'naive' (Lev. 10:29), and in the headings of Pss. 88 and 89 ECKHART renders 'Ezrahite' by *ἱσραήλ* (cp S of 1 K. 4:27). As to (2), if Solomon sang to perfection, Heman and Ethan who lived with him must, it seemed, have been eminent singers. As to (3), a possible interpretation of 1 K. 4:31, no doubt favours the view that all three were contemporaries. We have seen already that it was one great object of the circle to which the Chronicler belonged to make the past a reflection of the present.

A little earlier it would have sufficed to make Heman and Ethan Israelites. In post-Nehemiah times it was thought a matter of course that these two great singers should have been Levites. Hence Ethan is placed by the Chronicler among the Merarite Levites (1 Ch. 6:44). The one psalm,² however (89), which is ascribed to Ethan (or to the guild named after him) describes him simply as 'the Ezrahite'. Either this is a slip of the memory, or the old name was still regarded as the highest title (see 1). See GENEALOGIES i. § 7.

3. Son of ZIMMAM and father of Adiah in the second genealogy of ASAPH, 1 Ch. 6:42 [27] (αἶθαν [B], οὐρι [A], ἠθαμ [L]). In the first genealogy the name is JOAH (3). It is noticeable that in the second pedigree a certain ETHAN (q.v.) b. Zerah is mentioned. This gives a new view of the relation between Ethan and Asaph. As Wellhausen remarks, the same elements occur again and again in these chapters of Chronicles in different connections; consistency would have been too great a hindrance to the idealism of the writer (*Prolog.*, 220 f.).

4. See ECANUS.

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

ETHANIM (עֲתָנִים, i.e. '[month of] perennial streams'; cp אֲתָנִים in Ph. ΑΘΑΜΕΙΝ [B], ΝΕΙΜ [A], -N [L]), 1 K. 8:2. See MONTH, §§ 2, 5.

ETHANUS (ΕΘΑΝΟΣ), 4 Esd. 14:24 RV, AV ECANUS.

ETHBAAL (ΕΘΒΑΛ, 'with Baal', § 22; cp 1Iti-Bel, 'with Bel', the name of the father of the first Sargon, and ΕΙΘΩΒΑΛΟC, below, = עֲוֹבֵל, 'with him is Baal'; 1ΕΘΒΑΛΑ [B], 1ΔΒ [A], 1ΕΘΒ [L]), king of the Sidonians, and father of Jezebel the wife of Ahab (1 K. 16:31).

According to Josephus (*c. Ap.* 1:8; quoting Men-ander), Ethobal (Εἰθώβαλος), a priest of Astarte, placed himself on the throne of Tyre by murder, 50 or 60 years after the time of Εἰρώμος or HIRAM (q.v., 1).

¹ See Maspero, *Dawn of Chr.*, 693 ff.; Harper, *Beit. z. Ass.* 2301 ff.; *Acad.*, Jan. 17, March 21, 1891.

² S ascribes Ps. 88 [87] also to Ethan (αἶθαν).

ETHER

With the same writer (*Ant.* vii. 13a) we may safely identify this king with the Ethbaal of t K.

'Sidonians' is used in the wider sense for 'Phoenicians.' The name also occurs on the Taylor-cylinder as 'Iuba'lu (king of Sidon), *KB* 291; cp McCurdy, *Hist., Proph., Mon.* 276. See PHOENICIA.

T. K. C.

ETHER (אֶתֶר), a place in the Negeb of Judah, mentioned between Libnah and Ashan (Josh. 15.42, אֶתֶר [B, see below], אֶתֶר [A.], but also assigned to Simeon (197, אֶתֶר [B], אֶתֶר [A], אֶתֶר [L]). It is evidently the Athach to which, according to MT of t S. 30.10, David sent a part of the spoil of Ziklag, and אֶתֶר actually reads אֶתֶר = אֶתֶר in Josh. 15.42.

In Josh. 15.7, however, אֶתֶר, like MT, supports 'Ether.' In t list of Simeonite villages in t Ch. 4.2 Bertheau is of opinion that Ether (which he prefers to Athach) is represented by Etam. This, however, is probably a mistake (see *Exon* i. 2). Ether is a corruption of Athach, which is most certainly represented in t Ch. (l.c.) by Tochen, and Etam can be accounted for otherwise.

Possibly both Athach and Tochen are corruptions of a third word—Analoth. See ANAB, ATHACH.

T. K. C.

ETHIOPIA in EV is the equivalent of אֶתְיוֹפְיָה, representing the *Aithiopia* or *Aithiopes* (originally 'burnt,' i.e., 'dusky-faced ones') of אֶתְיוֹפְיָה, and the *Ethiopia* of

1. Form of name. Vg.; as rendering the name of the son of Ham (Gen. 10.6-8 t Ch. 18-10), אֶתְיוֹפְיָה is always transliterated (Cush; יוֹפְיָה [E. Gen. 10.7], *Cush*; אֶתְיוֹפְיָה, 'Ethiopian,' Jer. 13.23, etc., RV 'Cushite' in Nu. 12.1 (אֶתְיוֹפְיָה), etc.; see *Cush* i. 1, § 2, CUSH, 3. The Hebrew name is found also in Ass. *Kānu*; in Persian trilingual inscriptions, Bal. *Kānu* is rendered by Pers. *Kānu*, 'the Cushites.' The Semites, evidently, borrowed the name from Egypt. There the earliest form is in dyn. 12, *K'z* (like *ק'ז*); later the defective orthography *K'z*, *K'z* is common, but even the Coptic form *εθωπ*, *εθωπ* (Boh. *εθωπ*), written *At* in Demotic and later hieroglyphics (*nekusis* in Gk. transliteration as proper name). 'Ethiopian,' betrays the middle consonant by the euphonic Aleph protheticum, pointing to *εθωπ*. The Semitic form comes from a late vulgar pronunciation *K'z*, which omits the middle radical.¹

In the time of dynasty 12 the name Kush seems to have designated a tribe occupying southern Nubia.

2. Meaning of name in Egypt. As far as we can determine the territory of the tribe in question,² it began somewhat N. of the second cataract. About 1500, the annals of Thotmes III. still retain the traditional distinction of N. and S. Nubia as *H'areat* (a name not much known after 1000 B.C.) and *A'at*; but *A'at*, the larger part of the country, then commonly gives its name to Nubia in general.

Later, *Ek'at*, 'Kushite,' completely displaced the earlier term *nekusis* (i.e., Eastern-African, including Hamites as well as Negroes, although used by preference of the most characteristic African race, i.e., the Negro—exactly as the Gk. *Aithiops*).

The Hebrew writers too knew that Kush was the country S. of Egypt (Judith 1.10), beginning at SYENE

3. In Palestine. [q.v.], or, more exactly, above the island of Philae. How far S. it extended in the vast regions on the White and the Blue Nile, they knew of course as little as the Egyptians. Whilst the Greeks, however (e.g., Homer), had the most erroneous ideas on the position and extent of Ethiopia (sometimes they extended it as far as India!), the Palestinians, like the Egyptians, clearly distinguished Kush from the African coasts of the Red Sea (Punt or PUT, q.v.). The list of provinces of Darius I. even distinguished *K'z*, 'Kush,' and the *Mazai* tribes (Egyptian *Mazay*) named between these two. Kush, therefore, must be limited to the Nile valley and not be identified geographically with the vague Greek term *Aithiopia*.³

¹ Once *Kānu*, Knudtzon, *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, no. 68.

² *LD* 2.122, Petrie, *Setason*, 340—*K'z*, *A'at*, 3926, etc.

³ A hamlet, to adopt the terminology of Arabic grammar.
⁴ Cp Brunsch, *AZ* 82, p. 30.
⁵ To apply the term to Abyssinia is strikingly erroneous, for Abyssinia was never subject—and hardly even known—to the

ETHIOPIA

[The meaning of 'beyond the rivers of Cush' (Is. 18 t Zeph. 3.10) is not altogether clear. Both passages appear to be very late; they cannot be used as authorities for the geographical views of Isaiah and Zephaniah. In Zeph. l.c., we must render אֶתְיוֹפְיָה, 'from beyond,' implying that the region beyond the streams of Cush was one of the most distant points from which the dispersed Jews would be restored to Palestine. We cannot, however, say that Cush is always distinctly represented as one of the remotest countries. It is mentioned quite naturally in connection with Egypt in Ps. 68.31-32 Is. 20.15 Ezek. 30.4 Nah. 3.9. (Whether Ps. 68.31-32 Is. 20.15 may be added, is matter for inquiry.) Great caution is necessary in discussing the references to Cush (see CUSH i. 1, 2, CUSHAN, CUSH, 3). More than one ethnic name seems to have been written אֶתְיוֹפְיָה; hence the distressing confusions which have arisen. On the difficult prophecy in which the Ethiopian Cushites appear to be described (Is. 18) there is difference of opinion; cp Ch. *3.10* (*Isaiah*, Heb.), who recognises the corruptness of the text and seeks to correct it; see also CUSH i. 1, 2.]

The Egyptians knew the country in earliest times under the name *At*, 'the South' (also *Ant*), using

4. History. Without originally of a central district. It was not exactly tributary; but the pharaohs sent trading expeditions thither—e.g., one with 300 asses of burden to Amān, near, or S. of, Khartūm (EGYPT, § 47). They derived much of their timber for large ships from the forests of central or S. Nubia, or even had the ships built on the spot with the assistance



FIG. 1.—Head-dress of Ethiopian king. After Lepsius.

of the Nubian chiefs. In war-time these chiefs furnished thousands of archers to the pharaoh. This barbarous Negro country, therefore, seems to have been completely under Egyptian influence. Its conquest was undertaken by the kings of dyn. 12 (EGYPT, § 50). The *A'at* people, now first mentioned, seem to have been more warlike than the tribes of the N. (*H'areat*), so that Usertesen III. had to fix his strongly fortified frontier at Semneh (about 21° 32' N. lat.). Though apparently independent during the Hyksos period, Nubia was again made subject after 1600 B.C. by Ahmose (Ahmes) I. and his successors, and remained so down to about 1100 B.C. The southernmost traces of an Egyptian military post have been found at Ben Naga (Nakā), near the sixth cataract (see EGYPT, after col. 1208, map no. 1); and slave-hunting expeditions may have extended even more to the S. The Nile valley seems to have been content to remain tributary without giving Egypt trouble. The many wars in 'vile Nubia' (*A'at* *gast*) were probably merely slave-hunting expeditions in the S., or punitive raids upon the rapacious desert-tribes (the *Ant* or Trogodytes¹ in the N., the Mazoy (or Masoy) near Semār (see above)). The banks of the Nile, therefore, were covered not only with military forts but also with temples and Egyptian colonies. Although the Egyptian elements were absorbed without leaving many traces in the language or the racial type, the country became to a certain extent civilized. The government was in the hands of a viceroys (residing 'at the holy mountain' in

kings of Egypt or of Napata-Kōs. The general Greek expression (rendered *Itiopyia*) was limited to Abyssinia by the scholars of Aksum, a limitation that has caused very great confusion in modern literature.

¹ An official says, 'Never could any work be done (before me) in the region around Elephantine with only one war-vessel' (inscr. of 'Una,' *LD* 41). The earliest expedition recorded is that of King Snefru (of dyn. 4, who is said, on the stone of Palermo, to have brought 7000 men and 200,000 animals as booty from Ethiopia).

² Mariette's results, however, in his *Listes Géographiques*, rest on absurd identifications of the names recorded by Thutmōsis III.

³ 'Trogodytes' seems better attested than 'Troglodytes.'

ETHIOPIA

Napata)¹ who had the title 'royal son of Kōš.² The tribute and products of the country were chiefly gold (rarely, wrought gold), precious red stones, ostrich feathers, leopard skins, cat-le, live monkeys, ivory, ebony, some incense, etc. (cp Herod. 3.97.114).

We find Nubia an independent kingdom in dyn. 22. It seems that the high-priestly family at Thebes when yielding to the power of the Tanitic pharaohs (EGYPT, § 61f) had fled to the southern provinces and there founded an independent state. In few countries of antiquity was the theocratic ideal of the priesthood realised as completely as in this new ecclesiastical kingdom of

6a. The kingdom of Ethiopia.



FIG. 2.—Ethiopian queen, Roman period. After Lepsius.

Napata. Every affair of state was directed by oracles of Amun; even the king was elected from certain royal descendants in a way very similar to that described in 1 S. 10.19, and if the priests were dissatisfied with the king, they simply communicated to him an oracle that he should leave the throne (or even commit suicide).³ The priesthood seems to have enjoyed a wealth quite disproportionate to the resources of the country. No wonder that the discontented Egyptian priests of later times described pious Ethiopia to the Greeks (especially Herodotus) as the most ideal of lands, where people lived in unexcelled orthodoxy, and, consequently, in Utopian wealth and power. This new kingdom does not seem to have extended very far up the White Nile; its frontiers in N. Kordofan and Sennār are unknown; the nomadic desert-tribes between the Nile and the Red Sea could not be tractable subjects. Thus it does not seem to have included much outside of the narrow Nile valley from Philæ to Khartūm, which is a poor country, not admitting of much agriculture. With such meagre resources, Kush could never hold its own against united Egypt. The unfavourable political conditions of Egypt however, allowed the king of Kōš to occupy S. Egypt

¹ *Npt, Npy*, a name meaning in the language of the country something like 'bank of the river.' For the incorrect identification with *ra*, see MEMPHIS.

² Strangely, his province seems sometimes to have included the frontier districts of Egypt as far as Eileithyia (el-Kāb).

³ The best account, with a few exaggerations, of this strange state of things is found in Diodorus. A singular fact is that the king's mother was for the most part co-regent—a trace of the matriarchy so prevalent in E. Africa.

ETHIOPIA

with Thebes soon after 800 B.C., and king P'anhy could even attempt to subjugate the rest of the disunited country, about 750 (see EGYPT, § 65; on the more successful conquest by Sbakō, on Sabatako [or Sebelchos?] and T(a)harkō [see TIRITAKAH], *ib.*, § 66a). Nah. 39 refers to this period; Jer. 46.9 Ezek. 30.4 (38.4 very strange) refer to Ethiopian mercenaries in Egypt rather than to the past period of the 25th dynasty. ZER VII (5) and Sa (*qq.v.*) do not belong here. The strange anomaly of Nubia as a great empire, which even tried to stop the progress of Assyria in Asia, did not last very long. For the Ethiopians to hold even Egypt was too hard a task. The last attempt to regain it was made by Tantamen¹ in 667. He tells us in a long inscription how, encouraged by a dream, he easily conquered Egypt to Memphis; but he does not tell of his subsequent defeat. The ascendancy of dyn. 26 shut the Ethiopians out completely.

On several cases of unfriendly contact with the Ethiopians under Psametik (I. and II.) and Apries, see EGYPT, §§ 67-69. The kings Atumras, Asgarnia (*circa* 600 B.C.) and several named Panhy are mentioned. One surnamed Arura was deposed by Harsiotef; these two kings and their successor Nastasen, who records great victories over the southern peoples, reigned about 400. During the whole Persian period the kingdom of Kush was tributary to the Persian kings (cp Esth. 1.8f.), having been subjugated by Cambyses in 524. The Ptolemies also had at least a strong influence in Napata. Under Ptolemy IV. king Erkamen (Ἐρκαμένης) had the courage to refuse the abdication demanded of him by the priests, and broke the power of the clergy by a great slaughter in Napata.

The southern residence Meroë (Eth. originally *Berna*; cp mod. *Begeraue*?) came more into prominence from the time of Ergamenes **6b. Meroë as capital.** (who was not, however, the founder). On the loss of the Dodekaskornus district (ending at Philis or Hierasycaminus)⁴ to Ptolemy



FIG. 3.—One of the pyramids of Meroë. After Hoskins.

V. Epiphanes (fragmentary report of the war in Agatharchides), see Egypt, § 71. The kingdom now sank more and more in culture (art, architecture, hiero-

¹ Written Tanwati-Amen; in Assyrian pronunciation, Tandamani; in a Greek tradition disfigured to Tementes. Kipkip, where he fled according to Asur-hāni-pal, cannot be identified.

² The war of Ptol. I. Soter with the Blemmyans (Diod. iii. 52 is a strange confusion of the interior and the coast of Ethiopia), the Nubian tribute (?) at the coronation of Ptol. II., the imitation of Ptol. III.'s name by Erkamēn and his successor Azobranen prove this.

³ See Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptol.* 273, on the emendation of 'Ptolemy II.'

⁴ This district paid tithe to the Isis of Philis and seems to have formed, sometimes, a kind of neutral zone between Ethiopia and Egypt.

ETH-KAZIN

glyphic inscriptions, become indescribably barbarous) and in power. An attack on Egypt¹ by the one-eyed queen Kandake (see CANDAKE) caused her defeat by C. Petronius in 24 A.D., the Roman occupation of the Dodecaschrenus, and the destruction of Napata. Thus shattered the weak empire, and although Nero's spies exaggerated in reporting that Meroë was in ruins (some later buildings are found there), only a shadowy remnant of the old kingdom seems to have subsisted on the Blue Nile.

It may be mentioned that the Egyptians figured the inhabitants of Kush as negroes among them a minority of reddish-brown (i.e., Hamitic) tribes. The settled Cushites of the independent period seem to have been rather pure negroes² (contrast Gen. 10:6), most probably akin (but not all directly) to the modern Nubā (not to the Hamitic Bedja or Bedia), who speak a language of the Nilotic type. The population of the southern part may have been somewhat different. Certainty as to this depends on the decipherment of some inscriptions in as yet unknown characters,³ and representing evidently the vernacular language in opposition to the Egyptian writing of the priests. The Romans, after Augustus, speak only of the independent tribes of the Nubae or Nubades on the Nile, the rapacious Blemmyes and Megabari in the East. They gave much trouble to the Romans, who had to subsidise the Nubadians. Beginning with the latter, they were converted to Christianity only in the sixth century. In the district around the ruins of Meroë arose the Christian kingdom of Alod.⁴ This and the Nubadian kingdom held their own against the Mohammedans down to the Middle Ages.

6 Ethnology of Nubia. W. M. M.
ETH-KAZIN, AV' ITTAM-KAZIN (יִתְאִם קַזִּין; ΠΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΜΕΩ [B], Π. ΚΑΤΙΜ [A], ΚΑΙ ΚΙΝ [L]), a landmark of the frontier of Zebulun, mentioned after Gath-hephe, and before Rimmon-methoar (Josh. 18:13). If AV' is right in taking the final letter in קַזִּין as radical, we might with Halévy (J. H., 6th ser., 8:53) render 'Athé is lord' (cp the deity Athé in ΑΤΑΡΓΑΤΙΣ); but the form of the Hebrew name is open to suspicion (cp C). The קַזִּין in קַזִּין may be due to the neighbourhood of קַזִּין. Most probably we should read קַזִּין 'city (of)', following C¹; perhaps too קַזִּין, 'magistrate', should rather be קַזִּין, i.e., קַזִּין, an old divine name.⁵ The same name may be probably found in Ifrata-Kazin (or Kasin) mentioned by A'ur-him-pal in his celebrated campaign into Arabia; see Gauthier, *JBL*, 17:210 f. (1918). For traces of deities in place-names cp BIR-NUR-BAK, and see NAMES, § 9 ff.

ETHMA (ΘΟΥΜΑ [B]), 1 Esd. 9:35. AV = Ezra 10:43 NEB (4).
ETHNAN (עֲתָנָן, § 10; ΕΘΝΩΝ⁷ [B], ΕΘΝΑΔΙ [A], ΕΘΝΑΝ [L]), 'son' of Ashhur, a Judahite (1 Ch. 4:7), perhaps representing the Judean city ETHAN (Josh. 15:23).
ETHNARCH (ΕΘΝΑΡΧΗ), EV 'governor', lit. 'ruler of a nation,' a title applied to Simon the Maccabee (1 Mace. 11:47 15:1 f.; cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 66), also to ARCHITAUUS [q. v.], and in 2 Cor. 11:32 to the 'governor' of DAMASCUS [q. v., § 13] under AREFAS. In the last case the ΕΘΝΑΡΧΗΣ is really the head of the tribal territory bordering on Damascus,⁸ the political organisation of the

¹ Caused most probably by the interference of the Roman governor in Ethiopian affairs. The first governor of Egypt, C. Cornelius Gallus, in an inscription of 29 B.C. (*SB.H.*, 1896, p. 476) boasts 'recepisse in tutelam' (the Greek version only 'in alliance'), the king of Ethiopia, and to have established a ruler (the *tyrannus*) of the Triacanthachenus in Ethiopia—i.e., of the part reaching to about the second cataract.

² See W. M. Müller in *Oriental Studies of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia* (1904); Schaefer, *AZ* 33:114 (1905).

³ The nearest linguistic relatives of the Nubā are the mountain negroes in E. Kordofan; then come the Barea and Kinnāna on the Abyssinian frontier.

⁴ Some inscriptions in a simplified hieroglyphic system are so barbarous that it is still disputed whether they are to be considered as Meroitic in language or merely as bad Egyptian.

⁵ Formed by Bedja elements—to judge by some fragmentary inscriptions.

⁶ The Nab. קַזִּין is well known as a personal name; that it was also a divine name appears from the Ar. 'Abd-K'azai (cited by We. *GA.*, 99, p. 245).

⁷ Perhaps an instance of the pronunciation ḥ=σ; cp Del. *Aegypt. Gr.* 41 (KI *SHO* 7).

⁸ For actual examples of ΕΘΝΑΡΧΗΣ in this sense from Gk. inscriptions in the Haurān, etc., see Schür., *St. Ep.*, 2.

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Nabateans being primarily tribal (Schür., *St. Ep.* 99:1, cp DISTRICT, 1). The head of the Jewish community in Alexandria also had the title of Ethnarch (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7:2), and Origen (*Ep. ad. Afric.*, cap. Schür., *GF* 1:5:4 2:150) speaks of the Jewish Ethnarch in Palestine in his own day as 'differing in nothing from a king.' See ISRAEL, § 77; GOVERNMENT, § 29; DISPERSION, §§ 7-9.

ETHNI (ΕΘΝΙ), a Gerishomite Levite, 1 Ch. 6:41 (26) (ΑΘΑΝΕΙ [B], ΕΘΑΝΙΑ [L]) = JI-ATFERAI, RV Ji-ATHERAI, 1 Ch. 6:41 (6) (אֶתְנִי, יֵאֱתָרַי [B], יֵאֱתָרַי [B]). See ETHAN, 3.

EUBULUS (ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ [Ti. WH]) joins Paul in his greeting to Timothy (2 Tim. 4:21). The name is not met with again; it is somewhat unaccountably absent even from the lists of the 'seventy disciples' compiled by Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus.

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|---|---|
| I. Accounts of Institution
(§§ 1-3). | III. Early Christian usage
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| II. Significance in accounts
(§§ 4-6). | Greek parallels (§§ 15). |
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I. *Accounts of Institution.*—Two distinct narratives of the institution of the Lord's Supper or Holy Eucharist are found in the Synoptic Gospels.

1. *Institution:* We may take first the account given by Mk., setting beside it the modified reproduction of it in Mt.

Mk. 14:22.	Mt. 26:26.
And as they were eating	Now as they were eating,
He took bread, blessed	Jesus took bread and blessed
and brake and gave to	and brake and giving to
them and said:	the disciples said:
Take:	Take, eat:
this is my body,	this is my body,
And taking a cup he gave	And taking a cup he gave
thanks	thanks
and gave to them;	and gave to them,
and they all drank of it;	saying:
and he said to them:	Drink ye all of it:
This is my blood of the	for this is my blood of the
covenant, which is shed on	covenant which for many is
behalf of many.	shed for remission of sins.

The insertion of the command 'eat,' after 'take,' is probably due to a desire to lessen the abruptness. The change of the statement 'they all drank of it' into the command 'Drink ye all of it' is parallel with this. Both changes may be due to liturgical use, as also the addition of 'for remission of sins.'

2. *Lk. and Paul.* We may next compare the narrative of Lk., setting it side by side with that of Paul.

Lk. 22:17.	1 Cor. 11:23.
And he received a cup and	
gave thanks and said:	
Take this and divide it among	
yourselves; for I say unto	
you, I will not drink from	
now of the fruit of the vine,	
until the kingdom of God	
come.	
And he took bread and gave	He took bread and gave
thanks and brake and gave	thanks and brake and
to them saying:	said:
This is my body	This is my body
([which is given on your behalf;	which (is) on your behalf:
do this unto my remembrance,	do this unto my remembrance.
Also the cup likewise after	Likewise also the cup after
supper, saying:	supper, saying:
This cup (is) the new covenant	This cup (is) the new covenant
in my blood, (this) which on	in my blood;
your behalf is shed).	

do this, as oft as ye drink (it), unto my remembrance.

The words in double brackets are regarded by Westcott and Hort as no part of the original text of Lk. They are termed by them a 'western non-interpolation,' as having been interpolated into all texts except the western. They are absent from Codex Bezae and several old Latin MSS (a, b, c, d); others (h, e), as well as the old Syriac (*cu sin*), show

¹ Apparently a conflation of עֲתָנִי and יֵאֱתָרַי.

a dislocation of the passage which points to original omission. Internal evidence supports the omission. The words spoken over the second cup contain an awkward juxtaposition of words from 1 Cor. with words from Mk (ὁ ποτήριον . . . τοῦ αἵματος μου, τοῦ νέου διαθήκης): it is difficult to ascribe this to so careful a writer as Lk. The interpolation of these clauses into all Greek MSS (except 19) is doubtless due to harmonistic tendencies, and was perhaps facilitated by liturgical usage (cp the harmony in the English Prayer Book of words from the three Gospels and 1 Cor.).

A remarkable accession of evidence has come to us from the *Teaching of the Apostles*, for there the order is the same as in the shorter text of Lk. (first, concerning the cup; chap. 9). The cup is mentioned before the bread in 1 Cor. 10:16, but we cannot lay stress on this in face of Paul's formal statement in 11:25.

We must accordingly regard the accounts in Lk. and in 1 Cor. as wholly independent of each other. We have thus three lines of tradition: (1) that of Mk; (2) that of Paul, in which the words both for the bread and for the cup are somewhat varied, and the command is added: 'Do this in remembrance of me'; (3) that of Lk., in which the blessing of the cup comes first, with variations in the words spoken, whereas for the bread the words (apart from the omission of 'Take') are the same as in Mk.

The Fourth Gospel does not record the institution of the Eucharist; but its chronology of the Passion differs from that of the Synoptic Gospels in a point which has an important bearing upon the Last Supper. In this Gospel the

3. Fourth Gospel.

death of Jesus synchronises with the killing of the paschal lamb 'towards evening' on the fourteenth day of Nisan; so that the Last Supper falls on the day before the Passover. According to Mk. (= Mt. Lk.) it was 'on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover' (14:12) that Jesus sent two disciples to make preparation for the paschal meal; and, 'when evening was come,' he sat down with the twelve. With regard to this discrepancy we may perhaps be content, for the purpose of the present discussion, to accept the position defended by writers so divergent as Westcott (*Introd. to Gosp.*, 340 ff.) and Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Litt. des N. Test.*, 120 ff. [93]), and regard the Last Supper as taking place on the day before the Passover (cp *Criticon*, § 54 ff.). We have early evidence to show that the Eucharist was soon regarded as a commemoration of the redemption effected by the death of Christ (1 Cor. 11:26), and that Christ himself was spoken of as the Christian's paschal lamb (1 Cor. 5:7). Such interpretations may have led to the actual identification of the Last Supper with the paschal meal, and so have affected the chronological notices of the Passion. But it is hard to feel confidence in an explanation which sets aside the chronological statement of the Synoptic Gospels for that of the Fourth Gospel only.

H. *Significance*.—In view of this uncertainty, and for other reasons, our conception of the original institution must not be dominated by the consideration of the elaborate ceremonial of the Passover celebration.

4. Thanksgiving at a meal.

Such a consideration belongs rather to the subsequent development of the Eucharist as a Christian rite. Here we must confine ourselves to the simpler formulae which are known to have accompanied the ordinary Jewish meals. Thus at the present day (*Daily Prayer Book*, with transl. by C. Singer, 287 [91]) the following blessing is said over the bread: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth Bread from the earth,' and before drinking wine: 'Blessed art Thou, . . . who createst the fruit of the vine.' It is probable that such words as these are implied in the statements 'He took bread and blessed,' and 'He took the cup and gave thanks.'

This supposition is confirmed by the earliest extant formulae of the Christian Eucharist. In the *Teaching of the Apostles* (chap. 9 f.) we find certain thanksgivings, which are clearly of earlier date than the manual in which they are embodied. Two of these are respectively 'concerning the cup' and 'concerning

the L. ken bread'; the third is to be said at the conclusion of the meal. Their language suggests that they are Christian adaptations of Jewish graces; and it is worthy of note that they survived as Christian graces, after the Eucharist had ceased to be a meal, and had become a distinct act of worship with an elaborate liturgy in which these primitive formulae have left but scanty traces (Ps. Athan. *de Virg.*, 1:14).

We see then that the Eucharist had, in its earliest form, an element in common with the ordinary Jewish meal, which was sanctified by thanksgivings uttered over the bread and over the cup. This element is expressly recognised in all the narratives of the institution. The chief point of distinction is that here these acts of thanksgiving come, not at the beginning of the meal, but during its progress and at its close; and that they were accompanied by utterances prompted by the unique circumstances of the Last Supper.

If we take merely those portions of the words of institution which are certainly common to two or more of the three lines of tradition, we see that, whereas the bread is interpreted simply as the body of Christ with no further explanation, the cup is directly explained of the 'covenant' made by Christ's death. The words of institution, even apart from premonitory warnings, in themselves pointed to death—'my body . . . my blood'; and the more clearly, in that the blood of a covenant was not life-blood flowing in the veins of the living, but life-blood shed in sacrificial death. If the first utterance, then, signified: At this moment of parting I give you in the fullest sense myself; the second further signified: My blood is being shed to unite you in a covenant with God.

The second utterance as it stands in Mk. (τοῦτο ἔστιν 5. Idea of TO Αἶμα μου τῆς διαθήκης) clearly recalls the 'covenant' recorded in Ex. 24:8:

'Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said: Behold the blood of the covenant (ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης), which the Lord hath covenanted with you concerning all these words' (cp Heb. 9:20 10:29). Therefore, just as in Mt. 10:15 Jesus emphatically adapts to his own use a familiar term—'I will build my Ecclesia' (see *Criticon*, § 2)—so here, in reference to the Mosaic covenant on Mount Sinai, not in reference to the Passover in Egypt, he declares: 'This is my blood of the covenant.'

Accordingly we are justified in accepting the words in Mk. as more nearly original than those in 1 Cor. ('This is the new covenant in my blood'). The Pauline phrase introduces the word 'new' into the place already filled by the emphatic pronoun 'my,' the 'new covenant' being perhaps an interpretation necessary for Gentile Christians.

The symbolism of eating and drinking is accordingly combined with the symbolism of a covenant made by sacrificial blood-shedding. This are

6. Messianic reference.

brought into combination two characteristics of the Messianic idea: the feast of the Messianic kingdom, and the sacrificial death of the Messiah himself. The feast appears in many passages of OT prophecy; and there is reason to think that it had received a spiritual, not merely a literal, interpretation; even as the manna and the water in the wilderness were regarded as symbols of the Messiah. Moreover, the popular conception of the Messianic kingdom included a marvellously fruitful vine and an extraordinary abundance of corn (cp *Fragm. of Papias* in *Iren.* v. 313 which rests on earlier Jewish tradition; see *Apoc. of Baruch*, 29, ed. Charles, 54). If then, at the moment, the death of Jesus was beyond the comprehension of the disciples in spite of his frequent references to it, yet there may have been a side of his strange action and utterances which appealed to them then,—the conception, namely, of the Messianic feast, in which they should spiritually feed upon the Messiah himself, the spiritual corn and the spiritual vine. It is certain, at any rate, that Jesus added in reference to the cup an allusion to his drinking the new wine of the kingdom of God. The *Teaching of the Apostles* embodies a similar thought in the significant

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expression in which it gives thanks for 'the holy vine of David' (chap. 9).

Whatever conception these acts and words conveyed to the disciples at the time, the events of the following days may have helped them to see in them the gift of a personal union with

7. The words enigmatic. their Lord at the very moment of parting, and the gift of a union with his sacrifice of himself.

That the acts and words are capable of yet further interpretations must have been part of the intention with which they were spoken; for had their meaning ended here, they would have been spoken otherwise, so as to exclude the possibility of interminable disputations. As it is, the very diversity of their interpretation in the history of the Church seems to be a token that they were so framed as to wait for a fuller comprehension. Something of that comprehension is found in Paul; something too in John.

Paul, in this as in so many other instances, arrived at his interpretation through the exigencies of his special mission. His task of welding into one the Jewish and Gentile elements led him to develop the conception of the corporate unity of all Christians. Food has ever been the token of unity—the bond of equal intercourse. Refusal to take food together is the symbol of exclusiveness and caste distinction. The Jew could not, by the later Pharisaic ordinances, eat with the Gentile. If Christ were for Jew and Gentile alike, the Eucharist, the feast of the new and all-inclusive 'covenant,' must be the common meal of Jew and Gentile. This in itself must have given it to Paul a special significance.

Again, to Paul with his doctrine of the one man—the one body with many members—a new vista of thought lies open. The one body is the whole Christ; 'so also is the Christ' (1 Cor. 12:12): 'we are members of his body' (Eph. 5:30). Now the word of the Eucharist was: 'This is my body' (not 'This is my flesh'). Thus the Eucharist was the sacrament of corporate unity in Christ. The single loaf, broken into fragments and distributed among the faithful, was the pledge and the means of their intimate union. 'We are one body; for we all partake of the one loaf' (1 Cor. 10:17).

The sin of the Corinthian church lay specially in their scrambling over the Supper of the Lord, each making it 'his own' supper, and not waiting for others; note in 1 Cor. 11:20 *f.* the contrast between 'the Lord's' (κυριακόν) and 'his own' (ἰδίον). They wholly failed to grasp the truth of the one body; thus, in a real sense (even if this does not exhaust the meaning of the words), 'not discerning the body.'

That to Paul the body is at one moment the Church, and at the next the Christ, is no contradiction in his thought, but rather a kind of refusal to distinguish; the Church and Christ are to him 'not twain, but one' (cp. Eph. 5:31 *f.*). Augustine is truly Pauline when he says of the Eucharist, 'Be what you see, and receive what you are' (*Sermon ad Infantem*, 27).

Paul's conception comes out strikingly in the sequence of verses in 1 Cor. 10:16 *f.*: 'The loaf which we break, is it not the communion (or fellowship) of the body of Christ? For one loaf, one body, we the many are; for we all of us partake of the one loaf.' That is his practical comment on 'This is my body.'

When we turn to the Fourth Gospel, the much-debated question arises whether the sixth chapter has any direct reference to the Eucharist, either by way of anticipation on the part of Jesus himself, or in the reflective exhibition of his teaching by the writer.

9. Of the Fourth Gospel. The absence of all mention of the institution of Christian baptism or of the Eucharist stands side by side with the emphasis laid in the third chapter on the absolute necessity of a new birth by water and the Spirit, and in the sixth on the absolute necessity of feeding on the flesh and blood of Christ. In each case the answer to the enquiry, 'How can this be?' is a simple reassertion of the necessity without any explanation to guide the inquirer; and in each case words are spoken of the ascension of Christ into heaven, and of the need of faith if these things are to be grasped at all.

We may securely say that the two discourses dealt with the same spiritual things as underlie respectively baptism and the Eucharist: and we cannot doubt that the evangelist's own interpretation of the two sacraments must have followed the lines laid down in these dis-

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courses. This being so, the controversy above referred to sinks to a position of secondary importance.

We may take it, then, that to the evangelist special signification of the Eucharist lay in the intimate union with Christ himself, which we have already seen to be involved in the words, and particularly in the first word—of the institution. The saying 'I am the bread of life' is the converse of the saying 'This (i.e., this bread) is my body'. In each case the meaning is: 'You shall feed upon myself: you shall enter into a union, which is nothing less than identification, with me.'

If Paul is, as always, impressed with the corporate aspect of truth, the Fourth Gospel is concerned with the mystical union of the individual with his Lord: 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him' (Jn. 6:56).

To Paul 'This is my body' is almost inseparable from the thought 'His body are we'. In Paul's narrative 'This is my blood of the covenant' appears as 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood.' The thought of the new people of God is each time uppermost in his mind. He finds his unity in the body; he finds it again in the new and universal 'covenant.'

In the Fourth Gospel the interpretation of the Eucharist is the same as if its words had actually run: 'This is my flesh,' 'This is my blood.' The flesh and blood are the full life; their communication is the communication of eternal life (Jn. 6:54 *f.*).

Paul is practical and sees truth in his effort after corporate unity. The Fourth Gospel is contemplative; the writer is interpreting a past of half a century ago, which yet to him is an eternal present, but he is thereby in a sense isolated.

The two sides of truth are not opposed but complementary—the mysticism of the individual and the mysticism of the corporate life. They both alike find their full expression and realisation in the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

The Church of the post-apostolic age shows strangely little indication in its dogmatic teachings of the influence

11. Other early writers: Clement. of the peculiar conceptions of Pauline or of Johannine teaching. This is true generally, and the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist presents no exception. The words of the institution, constantly repeated as they probably were, formed the only comment on the significance of the sacrament. There was no attempt to explain them; they were as simple as words could be—'This is my body,' 'This is my blood.' They were the formula which expressed the fact; no metaphysical questioning arose; no need was felt of a philosophy of explanation.

Paul's special position as the uniter of Jew and Gentile had ceased to need justification or even assertion. The Church—so far as its literature has survived to us—was a Church of Gentile Christians. Jews indeed formed a part of it, but an insignificant part, not destined to influence directly its future development. John's special position was necessarily peculiar to himself; there could be none after him who had 'seen and handled' as he had. A new age had begun, with its own situations and exigencies; and it was not an age which called forth developments of Christian philosophy.

The *Epistle of Clement* does not employ the Eucharist, as Paul had employed it, as the starting-point of an argument for unity. The spiritual significance of the Eucharist is not emphasised; but the way is being prepared for its becoming the central act of Christian worship, and so comparable with the sacrifices of Judaism. It is regarded as 'the offering of the gifts' of the Church (chap. 41), and it is surrounded already, it would seem, with liturgical accompaniments of prayer and praise (chap. 59 *f.*).

In the *Didachè* the Eucharistic formulae (chap. 9 *f.*) differ in thought and phraseology from anything else in the book; their colour is probably

12. Didachè. derived mainly from Jewish ritual, though their language is in several points Johannine. The three thanksgivings are addressed to the Father—the only reference to Christ is in the phrases 'through Jesus thy servant' (thrice), 'through thy servant,' and

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'through Jesus Christ.' It is noteworthy that none of these names occur in the rest of the book, where Christ is always (except in the baptismal formula) spoken of as 'the Lord,'—a title reserved in the thanksgivings for the Father.

Thus, negatively, there is no expression of any feeding on Christ: there is not even a mention of 'body,' or 'flesh,' or 'blood.' There is no sense of the Eucharist as a means of corporate unity. The future union of the now scattered ecclesia is prayed for with an allusion to the gathering together of the scattered particles of wheat into one loaf. This is a conception radically different from Paul's teaching of the unity of believers as partakers of the one loaf.

Positively, we note the prominence of the idea of thanksgiving: its subject-matter being 'that which has been made known through Jesus Christ'—viz., the vine of David, life, knowledge, faith, immortality. The nearest thing to any positive blessing in the Eucharist itself is in the clause: 'Food and drink thou hast given to men . . . and to us thou hast granted spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy servant.' From this we may perhaps conclude that the Eucharistic elements were already regarded as spiritually nourishing and so producing immortality.

It is convenient to notice at this point the view of the Eucharist which belongs to the later period of the composition of the *Didache* itself. The Eucharist is that 'holy thing' which may not be given to 'the dogs'—i.e., the unbaptized (chap. 9).

Confession of sins and a forgiving spirit are essential preliminaries, 'that your sacrifice may be pure,' 'that your sacrifice be not defiled'; 'for it is that which was spoken of by the Lord, "In every place and time to offer to me a pure sacrifice"' (chap. 4). Though the word 'sacrifice' is thus used, however, there is no exposition of a sacrificial view of the Eucharist—no indication that the 'elements' were regarded as forming a sacrificial offering, or that the Eucharist was in any way connected with the sacrifice of Christ. Indeed this last conception would be wholly foreign to the atmosphere of the *Didache*. Yet the language both of this book and of Clement's epistle was preparing the way for an interpretation of the Eucharist in the light of the sacrificial worship of the Old Testament.

The *Epistles of Ignatius* emphasise the Godhead and the manhood of Christ in face of a docetism which practically denied the latter. Thus

13. Ignatius. Ignatius' whole view of life is sacramental: everywhere he finds the spiritual in closest conjunction with the material. We are accordingly prepared to find in him a mystical exposition of the Eucharist.

The second main stress of his teaching is laid on the threefold order of the ministry. As the Eucharist is the central function of the bishop's ministry, it stands out as the symbol and means of the Church's unity.

Thus we find in Ignatius something of the Johannine and something of the Pauline conception of the meaning of the Eucharist. In each case, however, there are serious limitations: Ignatius grasps only so much as the needs of his time make him feel the want of.

Taking first the thought of the Church's unity, we have in *Philad.* 4 'Be ye careful therefore to observe one Eucharist: for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for the unity of his blood; one altar precinct, as there is one bishop together with the presbytery and the deacons.' We miss here the Pauline conception of union through partaking of the broken pieces of a single loaf. The centre of unity is the one Eucharistic service of the one bishop with his presbyters and deacons, making the one altar precinct. The connection of the bishop with the Eucharist is elsewhere strongly emphasised; e.g., *Smyrna* 8: 'Let that be accounted a valid (δεδεικται) Eucharist, which takes place under the bishop, or him to whom he may give commission, etc.'

The mystical meaning of the Eucharist comes out in such a passage as *Smyrna* 7: 'They abstain from Eucharist (or thanksgiving) and prayer, because they allow not that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, (that flesh) which suffered for our sins, which the Father raised up. They therefore that gain say the gift of God die in their disputings.' The thought of the Eucharist as counteracting death comes out still more plainly in *Ephesa* 20: 'Breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, a preventive remedy that we should not die, but live in Jesus Christ for ever.' In *Rome* 7 we read: 'I desire the bread of God (πρὸς Θεῷ), which is the flesh of Jesus Christ . . . and as drink I desire his blood, which is love immor-

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ruptible. In *Trall.* 8: 'In faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ.' These last two passages are characteristic of the manner in which Ignatius keeps intermingling abstract and concrete ideas. The parallel with Jn. comes out especially in the terms 'the bread of God' and 'the flesh (not the body) and blood'; but the 'life eternal' of Jn. is here limited to immortality.

III. Early usage.—In the first description of the believers after Pentecost we are told that 'they stedfastly continued in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, the breaking of bread, and the prayers' (Acts 2:42).

Here 'the breaking of bread' is a part of the expression of 'the fellowship' which characterised the new society. Immediately afterwards (iv. 46) we read: 'day by day, continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread house by house (or 'at home,' *κατ' οἶκον*). The numbers were already so large as to make a single united Eucharistic supper out of the question. It is probable that in these earliest days every meal at which Christians met would be hallowed by Eucharistic acts; and we can scarcely doubt that such would be the case with the daily common meal by which the Church supplied the needs of her poorer members (Acts 6:1); on this subject see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5. It may be right to distinguish, however, between the Eucharistic acts which lent a sacredness to such common meals, and the formal Eucharists for which the Church assembled at stated times.

Of the more formal Eucharists we have an example in Acts 20:7 at 'Troas, where the Christians "came together on the first day of the week to break bread." Their Eucharist was preceded by a long discourse from Paul and followed by yet more speaking "until the dawn" (iv. 14), as the apostle was bidding farewell to the church. In 1 Cor. 11:17 ff. we have again the Eucharist proper—"when ye come together ἐκ καθάρως," i.e., solemnly assembled as the Church. The fault of the Corinthian Eucharist was, as we have seen (§ 8), that each made it 'his own supper' (τὸ ἴδιον δείπνον) rather than 'the Lord's Supper' (κυριακὸν δείπνον), by greedily scrambling for more than his share. Paul does not suggest any change in the method by which the Eucharist is attached to a public meal; he only calls for orderliness. Yet the possibility of such abuses must have led the way to change, even if other elements had not soon begun to work in this direction (see below, § 17).

The Corinthian Eucharist had parallels on its social side in the Greek world. Guilds and burial clubs had their stated suppers; and the wealthier townsmen found many occasions of inviting their poorer neighbours to a feast, as, for example, at the time of a funeral and on fixed days after the death. From such public entertainments Christians were debarred by reason of their connection with idolatrous worship; but it is likely that the Christians themselves in a Greek city would have similar suppers on somewhat similar occasions, and the wealthier members of the Church would thus entertain the poorer from time to time. Such suppers, though not Eucharists in the strict sense, would be accompanied by eucharistic acts.

Hence would appear to have originated the *Agape*, or charity suppers, which are not always distinguishable from Eucharists. They are referred to in

16. Agape. Jude 12 (cp. 2 Pet. 2:14); and some light is thrown upon the reference by the custom, mentioned in the *Didache* (chap. 11), of allowing the prophets 'to order a table' ἵστῆσαν τράπεζαν—a custom sometimes misused for selfish ends.

In Ignatius, *Smyrna* 2, it is forbidden 'to baptize or to hold an agape (ἀγάπη ποτεῖν) apart from the bishop.' It does not follow from this passage that agape and Eucharist were with Ignatius convertible terms; if the agape required the presence or sanction of the bishop, a fortiori this was true of the Eucharist.

It is commonly said that the separation of the

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Eucharist from the agapé, or (if they were already separated) the discontinuance of the latter, was made, in Bithynia at any rate, in consequence of an edict of Trajan forbidding ebriety; but Pliny's letter to Trajan (*E.p.* 96) does not bear this out.

The renegades who desisted to him what their practice as Christians had been, had not merely desisted from attendance at the Christian common meal; they had abandoned the faith altogether. The faithful, on the other hand, had desisted from nothing, as far as we know; there is no proof that they had abandoned the later meeting and retained the earlier. Accordingly this correspondence throws no light on the relation between the Eucharist and the agapé.

The causes which tended to separate the Eucharist from a common meal were mainly four.

(1) The increase of numbers made the common supper more and more difficult in itself, and less and less suitable for the solemn celebration of the united Eucharist.

(2) Disorders, such as those at Corinth, were always liable to recur where a large number of persons partook freely of food and drink. The ordinances made at a later time (see the *Canons of Hippolytus*; ed. Adelin, pp. 105-111) for the quiet conduct of the agapé show that there were dangers of this sort to be guarded against.

(3) The liturgical accompaniments of the Eucharist underwent a great expansion. Even in the time of Clement of Rome (*108 A.D.*) we find an elaborated intercession and a long form of thanksgiving in use.

(4) As the symbol of the Church's unity the Eucharist became restricted to occasions when the bishop or his deputy was present to celebrate it. In this, and in every way, it increased in formal solemnity, and became less compatible with a common meal.

These causes were doubtless at work to varying extents in different localities; in one place the issue would be reached more quickly than in another.

It is noteworthy that Clement's epistle makes no mention of the supper; and the next notice that we have of a Roman Eucharist clearly leaves no place for it. This is Justin Martyr's full description (*Apol.* 65-67), which shows a ritual already developed and containing all the main elements of the later use.

If we seek the grounds of the liturgical development of the Eucharist, we must begin from the mention of 'the covenant,' which, as we have

18. Liturgical development. seen, is found in both the Synoptic and the Pauline narratives of the institution. Here we have at once a link with the sacrificial ideas of Judaism. Although it is to the 'covenant' of Ex. 24, not to the Passover, that reference in the first instance is made, the Passover associations also probably attached themselves to the Eucharist at a very early date. Moreover, before the first century had closed, a Roman writer could speak of the Christian ministers as 'offering the gifts' (*Chen. Ep.* 44), and the passage of Malachi about the 'pure sacrifice' was soon interpreted of the Eucharist (*Dial.* 14; *Just. Dial.* 28, 41; *Iren.*, *Tert.*, *Clem. Alex.*). Paul had received as a tradition coming ultimately from Christ himself the command, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' and had declared that in the Eucharist Christians 'showed forth the death of the Lord.'

Thus the conception of a solemn remembrance of Christ's death held a foremost place in the earliest times, and the interpretation of that death as sacrificial gave a second sacrificial aspect to the Eucharist. The word 'remembrance' (*ἀνάμνησις*) was afterwards interpreted in a ritual sense of 'memorial' in view of certain passages in which it was so used in the LXX.

It was a natural consequence that, when the Jewish ritual system was annulled at the destruction of the temple, a Christian ritual was developed with the Eucharist as its centre.

The agapé, on the other hand, lost more and more their semi-eucharistic character. They became in some places occasions of unseemly riot or mere excuses for wealthy banqueting; and

19. Fate of agapé. Clement of Alexandria, at the close of the second century, is already indignant that so lofty a name should be given to them, and complains that 'charity has fallen from heaven into the soup' (*Paed.* i. 13).

EUNATAN

Thus the original institution underwent a twofold development, according as the liturgical or the social character of it came to predominate. In the one case, the supper itself disappeared, or was but symbolically represented by the consumption of small portions of bread and wine; the spiritual significance was emphasised, and the Eucharist became the centre of the Church's worship. In the other case, the supper was everything, and the eucharistic acts which accompanied it were little more than graces before and after meat; the spiritual significance had passed elsewhere, and, though under favourable conditions the agapé still had its value and lingered long, it had no principle of vitality left, and its place was filled in time by more appropriate methods of charitable assistance.

Among recent critical monographs may be mentioned: Harnack's *Brot und Wasser* (*Leite u. Unters.* vii. 1921); Jülicher's 'Zur Gesch. d. Abendm.' (*in Theol. Abhandl.* dedicated to C. A. Weissacker, 92); Spitta's *Zur Gesch. u. Litt. d. Eucharist.* 1898 ff. 1931; Percy Gardner's *Origin of the Lord's Supper* (93); J. H. Thayer's 'Recent Discussions respecting the Lord's Supper' in *JBL* 18:110-131 (99) (with further references). J. A. R.

EUERGETES (ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ, 'benefactor'; cp Lk. 22:25). In the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus reference is made by this title (originally conferred by states on special benefactors) to one of the Egyptian Ptolemies (see EGYPT, § 73). Of the two Ptolemies who bore it—viz., Ptolemy III. (247-222 B.C.), more commonly known as Euergetes, and Ptolemy VII.—it is the latter who is meant (ECCLESIASTICUS, § 8). Ptolemy VII., Energetes II., more commonly called Physcon (φύσκων), began to reign jointly with his elder brother (Ptolemy VI., Philometor) in 170 B.C., became sole king in 146 B.C., and died in 117 B.C. In spite of the attempt of Willrich (*Juden u. Griechen*) to prove that Physcon was a friend of the Jews, it appears that this king's attitude towards them was consistently inimical, not on any religious grounds, but from political motives, because of the support they had given to Cleopatra. To his reign belongs probably the main part of the Sibylline Oracles; see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 94. For the well-known story of the elephants (*Jos. c. Ap.* 25), which the author of 3 Macc. places in the reign of Ptolemy IV., Philopator, see MACTABES, THIRD, § 5.

EUMENES (ΕΥΜΕΝΗΣ [ANV] 'well-disposed'). Eumenes II., son of Attalus I., and king of Pergamos (197-158 B.C.), allied with the Romans during their war with Antiochus (q.v. 1), in recognition of which they added to his territory all that was taken from the Syrians. The statement in 1 Macc. 8:8 that Eumenes received 'India, Media, Lydia, and the goodliest of their (the Seleucidian) countries' is clearly inaccurate: 1. Apart from the improbability of the mention of Lydia by the side of India and Media, neither India nor Media ever belonged to the Seleucids or to the Romans. Both Livy (37:55) and Strabo (xiii. 42, 624) agree that the territory added to Eumenes extended only to the Taurus, and the latter especially notes that previous to this accession there had not been under the power of Pergamos 'many places which reached to the sea at the Helles and the Adriatic Gulf' (πολλὰ χωρία μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλαινον κόλπον καὶ τὸν Ἀδριατικὸν κόλπον). Hence it is probable that 'Media' is an error for 'Mysia' (Michaelis), and 'India' for 'Ionia' (Grotius²). For the life of Eumenes see Smith's *Diet. Class. Biog.*

EUNATAN, a misprint in W for ENNATAN of 'IV (ENNATAN [BA]) 1 Esd. 8:44—Ezra 8:16, EUNATHAN, 2.

¹ In his account of the power and policy of the Seleucians, the writer of 1 Macc. 8 does not appear to have had any very trustworthy sources; cp 17: 479:15, and see *C. Mon. Bib. et Hist.*, also ANTIOCHUS, 1.

² This is more probable than the suggestion of identification with the Paphlagonian *Eueret* (cp also *Hom. II. 2:852*). By the writer of 1 Macc. 8:8 'India' may have been possibly conceived in a limited sense as 'Asia' in v. 6.

EUPHRATES

EVIL-MERODACH

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days of his life' (2 K. 25:26b, Jer. 52:33b) would certainly apply better to a king who reigned four years than to one who reigned scarcely two.

EXACT, EXACTOR, EXACTION.

(1) 'Exactor' is the usual Vg. rendering of the Heb. part. מִשְׁכֵּל (v. 23), cp Ass. *misgulu*, 'to overpower'. It is found also in Is. 60:17 EV (RVmg. 'taskmaster', מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל), Job 38: AVmg. (EV 'driver'; מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל), Dan. 11:20 RV (AV 'raiser of taxes'; מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל), Zech. 9:8 10:4 RVmg. and RV (AV 'oppressor', מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל). In Ex. 37, etc., מִשְׁכֵּל is rendered 'taskmaster' (מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל), in Is. 3:12 4:13 14:24 (RVmg. 'oppressor', מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל) EV has 'oppressor', in Job 3:18 AV 'oppressor', RV 'taskmaster' (מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל), as in 39:7. See TASKWORK, TAXATION.

(2) For מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל , Ezek. 45:9, EV 'exaction', EVmg. has, better, 'Heb. expulsions', i.e., evictions. מִשְׁכֵּל has *expulsion*.

(3) On מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל , and מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל (Dt. 31:1, Neh. 5:7 10:31 13:2), cp USURY and LAW AND JUSTICE.

(4) On מִשְׁכֵּל (in Is. 3:12; EV 'oppressor'), Lk. 12:58 (RVmg. 'exactor', EV 'officer'; cp Lk. 3:13, מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל), AV 'exact', RV 'extort'; see TAXATION.

EXCOMMUNICATION. This Latin word of late origin (it is not found in the Vulgate) is conveniently used to denote (temporary or permanent) exclusion from the ecclesiastical community as distinguished from civil penalties of an analogous character. It need hardly be said that the later procedure of church excommunication developed out of NT germs, though Roman theologians give expositions of fundamental biblical passages which are not always critically sound. It is equally obvious that the NT germs of later usages stand in close relation to the practice of excommunication among the Jews in the time of Christ. It is to this Jewish practice that reference is made in Lk. 6:22, where from the use of three distinct terms (מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל) some have found a reference to as many different grades of excommunication,¹ but where really (see Weiss) only one is intended, viz., exclusion from religious and social intercourse; see Jn. 9:22 12:42 16:2 (מִשְׁכֵּל מִשְׁכֵּל) and cp SYNAGOGUE. In Mt. 18:15-17, too, only one kind of ban is presupposed; its application, however, is to be preceded first by a gentler, then by a graver admonition, which reminds us forcibly of the similar procedure customary among the later Jews (see *Ariekhin*, 16b; Mishna, *Masoth*, 11).

It is noteworthy that this passage stands just before the much-discussed passage on BINDING AND LOOSING (v. 18). We can, however, more easily imagine Jesus actually uttering v. 18 than v. 15-17, which seem plainly to represent the later practice of Jewish Christians. Let him be to thee as the מִשְׁכֵּל (RV the Gentile) and the publican are the words which describe the punishment of the convicted sinner. Here there is a possibility that the sense of the original saying has been missed. In the Palestinian Aramaic the term used would be מִשְׁכֵּל , which may no doubt be rendered 'Gentiles', but only because Gentiles were misbelievers; the word really means 'heretics' or 'infidels' (cp Levy's and Jastrow's *Lex.*; Schürer, *FLZ* '99, col. 168 ff.).

Passing to the undoubtedly Pauline epistles we find most probably two recorded instances of church discipline. In 1 Cor. 5:3-5 we read that Paul had resolved, as representing Christ's spirit, to give over a certain offender against morality 'to Satan' (alluding apparently to Job 26)² in the presence of the assembled church, he himself being spiritually present among them. Physical death he expects to be the consequence of this act (cp 1 Cor. 11:30); but the object is the good of the offender, 'that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord'. In 2 Cor. 2:6-11, it has been customary to suppose that exclusion from church privileges was all that the offender

¹ On the three Jewish grades of excommunication see Hamburger, *RF des Juenthums*, xiv, 'Bann'; and cp Weber, *Jahrb.* 1907.

² See Roddpath, *Expos.* 1363 b, pp. 287-290. — Ramsay's illustration of 1 Cor. 5:5 by the language of curses by which pagan Corinthians consigned their enemies 'to destruction by the powers of the world of death' (*Expos.* 1363 b, 1059) is hardly to the point, for Satan was not an independent supernatural being.

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actually suffered, and that this was not permanent. Weizsäcker's exposition of the circumstances,¹ however, makes it extremely probable that an entirely different case is referred to, and that the offence was of a totally different order. The Church had at first sympathised with the offender, who had in some way injured the apostle; but in consequence of a letter from Paul the majority resolved to rebuke the offender. It was no doubt some question of party intrigues against the apostle. There is no reason to think that the expression $\text{ἀνὰ θεοῦ μαρτυρεῖται}$ (1 Cor. 16:22) is a formula of excommunication as was supposed by Calvin and other reformers (the words were held to be synonymous, like ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς).

The view need not be discussed. It is contradicted by the prayer at the end of chap. 10 of the Didache:—

*Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρακλησις ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.
Ὅσων τῶ νυν ἁβδ.
Εἰ τις ἄγιος, ἐρχέσθω· εἰ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοεῖτω.
Μακάριος ὁ μνην.*

Still no doubt the prayer for the Lord's parousia did suggest to the apostle a thought of vengeance. To refuse to love the Lord Jesus made a man 'anathema'; when the Lord came, this sentence would be executed.

The Gk. ἀνάθεμα (anathema) is not to be taken as suggesting excommunication (this would be importing later ideas [see Suicer, *Thes.*, s.v.]); observe that in Gal. 1:8 it is an angel that is spoken of. The same remark applies to Rom. 9:3 1 Cor. 12:3. ἀνάθεμα is synonymous with κατάρα and ἐπικατάρατος .

In the Pastoral Epistles the rules of exclusion from fellowship have become more precise, and the offences

3. In Pastoral Epp. punished by it are no longer merely moral. Again we hear of offenders 'delivered to Satan' (1 Tim. 1:20);

but it is that they may be taught not to blaspheme (cp 2 Tim. 3:2 2 Pet. 2:10-13). The rights of a presbyter are defined; an accusation against him is not to be received, unless there be two or three witnesses; but there is to be public reproof of all who sin (1 Tim. 5:19 f.). In Tit. 3:10 a man that is 'heretical' (see HERESY, § 2) is to be avoided (ἵνα μὴ ὀνειδισθῇ); so render in 2 Tim. 2:23; cp RV 2 Macc. 2:31, but only after 'a first and second admonition.' That the ἀλφειοὶ or factions referred to had a theological colouring, is clear from 2 Jn. 10, and that they might even be dangerous appears from 3 Jn. 9 f., where Diotrephes 'who affects pre-eminence' (ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων) is said not to admit the writer to fellowship; fit punishment is threatened for him. T. K. C.

EXECUTIONER. The OT has no special word to denote the person who executes the sentence of capital punishment. The words rendered 'executioner' in EV refer more naturally to (royal) bodyguards.

1. חַיָּטָן (*tabbāṭā*) (from חָטַן , Ass. *tabbānu*, 'to slaughter'), is in 1 S. 9:23 f. rendered 'cook'; cp COOKING, § 1). In Gen. 37:36 40:3 f. 41:10 12, the חַיָּטָן of the Pharaoh, and in 2 K. 25:26 f. Jer. 39:9 f., the חַיָּטָן of Nebuchadnezzar is in EV 'captain of the guard.' So also חַיָּטָן (Arioch) in Dan. 2:14 (EVmg. 'chief of the executioners, except in Jer. 'chief marshal'); cp WRS, *OT/CD*, 262, n. 1. חַיָּטָן in these passages has ἀρχιμαγιστρος , ἀρχιδιομοφλαξ , ἀρχιδιομωτης .

2. חַיָּטָן , *Chitān*, 2 K. 11:4 191, RVmg. See CAPTIVES.

3. σπεκουλάτωρ (Lat. *speculator* or *spiculator*, a pikeman, halberdier), Mk. 6:27 RV 'soldier of the guard.' The word is found also in late Hebrew.

EXILE (Is. 20:4 RV, Ezek. 12:11 RV, Ezra 8:35 RV). See CAPTIVITY.

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I. *Historical* (§§ 1-8). II. *Geographical* (§§ 10-13).
Two hypotheses (§§ 1-4). Starting-point (§ 1-4).
J.E.s account (§ 5 f.). Sea-passages (§§ 11-14, 16).
Manetho (§ 7). Early physical geography (§ 15).
Naville (§ 8).
Bibliography (§ 10).

The interest of a legend which has long been mistaken for history and which has coloured the life and thoughts of a great people is hardly less than that of the facts themselves. Even if it were certain (as it

1. *J.A. Lxv*, 2:240-253.

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only a section of the Israelites (the Rachel-tribes) sojourned in the land of Egypt, and made its Exodus from it, or (b) that the true land of מצרים from which the Israelish Exodus occurred, was not Egypt (*Misraim*) at all, but a N. Arabian land called *Musir* or *Musri* (so W¹; see *MIZRAIM*, § 2 b); it would still, on account of the generations that have fed their inner life upon it, be a thrilling tale which tells of the hardened heart of the Pharaoh, of the escape of the Hebrew bondmen, of the passage of the Red Sea, of the purifying trials in the wilderness. In this article we shall call the former (a) the conservative, the latter (b) the advanced hypothesis. Cp *ISRAEL*, § 2 f. The conservative hypothesis is at present that most favoured by biblical critics. There is thought to be an antecedent probability that the Israelites, as well as other Hebrews, found temporary admission into the NE. of the Egyptian territory. They would, of course, come from Canaan. That there were Israelites in that country at an early date we now know from the 'Israel-stele' discovered in 1896 by Flinders Petrie. It may have been in Merneptah's time, or it may have been even earlier, that the catastrophe poetically described by the Egyptian king occurred, when 'the people of Israel' was laid waste, 'so that their crops were not', and so that, various cities of Canaan also having been punished, *Harn* (Palestine) became 'a widow'—i.e., helpless—for Egypt.¹ The names 'Ishpal' and 'Yakkal' (יִשְׁפָּאֵל and יַכְכָּל) in the name-list of Thotmes III. (nos. 78, 102) also appear to some critics to show that before that king's reign tribes having these names (which certainly look like Joseph-el and Jacob-el) had lived in Palestine, and given their own names to localities. It is conceivable that these Israelites, Josephites, or Jacobites, or some portion of them, being nomads, had sought admission into Egypt under pressure of famine, and had sojourned there, and had been treated at length with severity by the Pharaoh, though the statement respecting Pithom and Rameses (*Ex. 11b*) is not without difficulty. It must be admitted, however, that references to Merneptah's stele and to the names 'Ishpal' and 'Yakkal' can be made only with much reserve. The phrase 'the people of Israel' is very difficult (one would like to be able to read 'Joseph-el' or 'Jezreel'), and the meaning of 'Ishpal' and 'Yakkal' is by no means free from doubt (see *JOSEPH*, i. and ii., § 1; and *JACOB*, § 1).

According to Stade ('Die Entsteh. des Volkes Israel,' *Abad. Reden und Abhandlungen*, [99, 97-122]) it is likely that the Hebrew tribes had sought pasture for their flocks to the S. of the Wady Tinnit, and that so a part of them had come under the power of the Egyptian authorities; likely too that the Israelites had cause to complain of a misuse of this power. The Egyptian authorities may, of course, have imposed a *corvée* upon them. The part of the Hebrew tribes which remained free from Egyptian oppression probably wandered as far as the true Sinai (E. of the Elanite Gulf), and these Sinaitic nomads formed a confederacy under the protection of the god of Sinai; the liberated Israelites joined them at Kadesh. To the Kadesh tradition (see *KADESH* i. § 3) Stade attaches great importance.

In the *OLZ* (May, June, July, '93), Winckler criticises this view as mere theological rationalism. The charge might equally well be brought against C. Niebuhr, who is no theologian. Experience, however, has again and again proved that popular traditions are sometimes more truthful than critics had supposed. 'Rationalistic' conjecture is not out of place in the progeny of history, and here it has the advantage of keeping the student

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in some degree of sympathy with the Israelitish writers and the Jewish readers of the narrative of the Exodus.

Winckler's theory mentioned above in § 1 has an additional claim to consideration from the fact that the Englishman Dr. C. T. Beke, in his *Origines*

4. Winckler and Beke. *Biblicæ*, vol. i., maintained as long ago as 1834 that the Misraim of the Hebrew tradition of the Exodus was not Egypt, but some district lying to the N. of the Sinaitic peninsula. He also held that the Red Sea crossed by the Israelites was the Gulf of Akaba, and that Horeb or Sinai lay to the NE. of the head of that Gulf. His work did not escape the notice of Ewald, but failed to exert any deep influence. Winckler's kindred theory, proposed in 1893, was formed in complete independence of Dr. Beke. To accept it, as it stands, is hardly possible; but a modification of it, which will suit the requirements of biblical criticism, lies close at hand.¹ The existing evidence (which cannot here be discussed) leads to the conclusion that the N. Arabian *Musir* coincided with or included the district of Kadesh, and this is just the district which forms the scene of some of the most important patriarchal legends, though later scribes disguised Misrim (Misur) as Misraim (Egypt), or even fell into deeper error still (see *KADESH* i. § 1; *MIZRAIM*, § 2 (b); cp *MORIAH*). We cannot avoid the impression that there were Israelitish tribes in the N. Arabian Musir who were never in the Musir of Egypt. What were the relations between the Rachel-tribes in Egypt and the Israelites in Musir, and any other kindred associations that there may have been elsewhere, we are at present unable to say definitely. We do, however, seem to see that an Egypt-tradition and a Musri-tradition have been fused together.

T. K. C.

We now turn to consider certain suggestive points in JE's account of the Exodus. There is a remarkable

5. JE's account. parallelism between JE's narrative of the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai (*Ex. 15-22-18-27*), and the continuation of the march from Sinai to Kadesh (*Nu. 10-20-20*). The visit of JETHRO (*q.v.*) and the appointment of the judges to lighten the labours of Moses were probably once placed later (by E) in connection with the legislation at Horeb. The defeat of Amalek in *Ex. 17* has geographical difficulties, and the account seems to be based upon *Nu. 14-40 ff.*, where it is obviously more original (see Bacon, *Trip. Trad.* 93). Similarly the gift of Manna (*Ex. 16*) and the striking of the rock at the waters of Meribah (*ib. 17*) are probably connected, in the one case, with Massah (between Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah), and, in the other, with Kadesh (see *MANNA*, § 3; *MASSAH AND MERIBAH*). In every instance the episodes bear the appearance of having been inserted from later stages of the journey where they more naturally belong. *Ex. 15-22-27* is the only old fragment remaining, and here the covenant, after a journey of three days, reminds us of the 'three days' journey' in the request to Pharaoh (*Ex. 3:18-5:3*), and finds a parallel in the three days' journey in *Nu. 10-13*.² The oldest account of the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai is thus reduced to a minimum.

Passing over the Decalogue and Covenant at Sinai we resume JE at chaps. 24, 32-34. Now the episode of the golden calf 'cannot well be older than the reign of Hezekiah, and points indeed to a date later than 722' (*Adels*); it may with considerable probability be ascribed to E₂ (cp *EXODUS* ii. § 3 [iii.]). There was therefore no

¹ Not, however, such a modification as Jensen's (*TLZ*, 4th Feb. 1890). The region S. of Palestine may have been called מצרים , thinks this scholar, because it was often under Egyptian rule. This fails to do justice alike to the biblical and to the Assyriological data.

² After leaving the *lamm-naph* (RED SEA) Israel journeyed at once to the wilderness of SINAI (*q.v.*). Note that in *Ex. 25:1-7* and *Ex. 26:1-7* remind us of Massah and Kadesh (*lamm-naph*); see *MASSAH*.

¹ See *Six Temples at Thebes* (Flinders Petrie), i. 97, which contains a chapter with a translation of the Merneptah inscription by Spiegelberg. See also W. M. M. J. 'Amernungen', and Naville, 'Les dernières lignes de la stèle mentionnant les Israélites' (an attempt to reconcile the stele with *Ex. 1:1-5*, *Re. de l'art*, xx. '95).

² WMM *ib. n. Ex. 15:27*

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need in the old narrative for any renewal of the covenant, or for the intercession of Moses in 33 f.

That chap. 33 f. is composite is generally admitted, and it remains to consider the fragments that are left after the omission of those passages which are necessarily of an editorial nature. It is highly probable that we have here the traces of an old theophany and law-giving of greater antiquity than the theophany and law-giving at Sinai-Horeb (3 ff 20 ff), the scene of which was not Sinai, but Kadesh (see KADESH i § 2). Fortunately this old tradition is not quite a torso. Although we can find no narrative of which it may be the continuation (see above, § 5 end), it seems possible to trace it further step by step to Hormah and Beer (i.e., Beer-sheba, or Beer-Lahai-roi?), and finally (in Judg. 1.16) to the 'city of palm-trees' (cp the S. Judæan name Tamar); see KADESH i § 3. Details of this journey are missing,¹ with the exception, perhaps, of the oldest features in Nu. 16, where the revolt against the authority of Moses (v. 13) presupposes a very early stage in the journey of the Israelites. It at once suggests itself that this tradition is of Calebite origin (cp EXODUS [Book], § 3 (v. 1), and this is borne out by (a) the prominence ascribed to Caleb in the oldest passages of Nu. 13 f., and (b) the close relationship which, as the genealogies reveal, subsisted between Judah, Caleb, the Kenites, etc.—one tradition (a late one, it is true) actually connects Moses' family with Caleb (see MIRIAM, 2). We seem to have, therefore, distinct traces of a Calebite wandering from Kadesh northwards into Judah, the commencement, perhaps, of that northerly migration which took place in the time of David, and was continued, still later, in exile times (see CALER, § 3 f.).² The evidence, however (see KADESH i § 1), leads to the conclusion that the limits of Musri and the district of Kadesh coincided.³ The Calebite tradition, therefore, knew of an 'Exodus' from the land of Musri. S. A. C.

Reference has often been made by writers to Mantho's narrative of the expulsion of the lepers under a priest of Heliopolis called Osarsiph (cp. Jos. c. 7. **Manetho**, 1p. 126 f.). The critical value of this narrative, however, is very slight. The reserve expressed by Kittel (*Hist.* 126 f.) is judicious; the present writer prefers to leave Mantho's story entirely on one side. Not only is it manifestly influenced by the Jewish narrative, but it seems to imply an absurd confusion between Moses and the reforming Egyptian king commonly known as Khuen-aten⁴ (Amenhotep IV.). As Meyer has pointed out, the name Me(r)neptah can never have become *Auerophis* (the name mentioned in Josephus), and since the king called Amenophis by Manetho (Jos.) does really correspond superficially, in a religious respect, to Amenhotep IV., it seems arbitrary to prefer the [*Auerophis*] of Julius Africanus and Syncellus.⁵

It was not unnatural for Naville⁶ to hope that the view which places the Exodus under Me(r)neptah had been made approximately certain by his excavations. He has in fact shown that Ramesses II., Setonk I., and Osorkon II. have all left their names at Tell el-Mashûta, the true site of Pit. m. The language of Me(r)neptah's inscription referred to above cannot, however, without a rather violent hypothesis, be reconciled with Naville's view. Lieblein is of opinion⁷ that the biblical narrative of the Exodus and the events connected with it was redacted in

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the time of Ramesses II. when Egyptian influences predominated in Syria, and that the Exodus really took place under Amenhotep III. This indeed cannot be granted; but it is at any rate possible that the Hebrew tradition of the Exodus underwent a profound modification at that period, and even that in its original form the *Misrim* referred to meant, not Egypt (עִצְרַם), but the N. Arabian land of Musri or Musri. All that the Egyptian monuments discovered and studied by Naville prove is that the biblical narrative in its present form comes from a writer who had good archaeological information. In the second part of this article an independent attempt will be made to trace the route assigned to the B'nê Israel on their departure from Egypt to keep a festival to Yahweh in the wilderness (Ex. 7.16-8.1 [7.26] 109; cp 12.35).

The literature is immense. Besides the Histories of Israel by Stade, Klostermann, Kittel, G. Niebuhr, and Wellhausen, see especially E. Ebers, *Die Ägypten des Sinait* ('Der 9. Historische Aufbruch' and 'Der Auszug der Hebräer'); Literature. Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 444 (he retains his opinion that the years following the reign of Seti I. offered favourable conditions for the Israelites to break away from their servitude, if the 'Israel' of Me(r)neptah's description represents a tribe left behind in Canaan, after the majority of the Israelites had emigrated to Egypt; otherwise the Israel of Me(r)neptah will be the 'bondmen' who had escaped from Egypt in Me(r)neptah's reign); Petrie, 'Egypt and Israel,' *Contemp. Rev.*, May 1896, and *Six Temples of Thebes* (97); M'Curdy, *Hist., Proph. and Mon.*, 1204 (the Exodus cannot have been till the time of the feeble successors of Ramesses III., similarly Sir H. Howarth); Wiedemann, *Le Muséon*, 17 (98), on the Israel-stele (the stele only proves that at some time or other there existed a people of Israel which was in distress and had no corn); Orr, 'Israel in Egypt and the Exodus,' *Expositor*, 1897, pp. 161-177 (Amenhotep II., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, Hatshepsut, daughter of Thutmose I., the protector of the child Moses); cp C. Niebuhr's view that the accession of Thutmose I. is the latest *terminus a quo* for the oppression of the Hebrews (*Gesch.* 1202). T. K. C.

Thanks to the progress of Egyptology, we now know something of the topography of GOSHEN (p. 2.), although it is not yet easy to harmonise our knowledge with the biblical data. The route, however, to the S., near the sea, remains hopelessly obscure. The OT narratives, unfortunately, presuppose that all geographical names are familiar to the reader. True, the eastern regions of N. Egypt must always have been well known to natives of Palestine; the geographical statements of the narratives must therefore be expected to be trustworthy. However, as the narratives now stand—a mosaic of passages from various sources—they give evidence of the confusion which inevitably arose in the process of weaving the passages together.

The Israelites began their march at (the city of) Ram[esses] (Ex 12.37), which seems to mean the capital of Goshen where there was then a royal residence. Of the site of this RAMESES (p. 2.) we know nothing. The ruins of the modern Tell Abû Islâmân at the western entrance to the valley of Tûmilât would be the most suitable starting-point, since this has to be sought in the W. of Goshen. Succoth is mentioned as the first halting place (Ex 12.37 13.20 Nu 33.5 f.); it seems to be the Egyptian *Tuku*. Whether *Tuku* signifies a city near P-tum, or a region near it, or the city P-tum itself, is a difficult question. If we could take Succoth as the name of the tract of land round Pithom which the Israelites would enter on the second day, or as that of a place in the neighbourhood of that Egyptian colony, the reference to it would cause no difficulty; but the inscriptions on the sacred geography of Egypt dating from Ptolemaic times seem to identify *Tuku* and P-tum altogether. Now, *Tuku* certainly was situated where Naville excavated at Tell el-Mashûta. If this be so, we must suspect a misunderstanding of the original source or sources, which would seem to have given Succoth and Pithom-Etham as names of the same place—we say Pithom-Etham because Pithom (p. 2.) is probably identical with the station called Pithom (p. 2.) which was at the edge of

¹ It is improbable that Nu. 11 can in any way belong to it.

² Was David himself a Musrite? He was, at any rate, hardly a Bethlehémite, as the later tradition supposed (see DAVID, § 1, col. 22, n. 2; cp also JUDAH).

³ If Musri indeed lay upon Edom, so did the district of Kadesh. Cp Nu. 22.16 Kadesh . . . in the uttermost of thy [Edom's] border.

⁴ Meyer, *C. I.* 1255 (4.226, end).

⁵ Cp, however, Kt. *H. G.* 1.261.

⁶ In *The Stone City of Pithom* (2); *The Route of the Exodus* (Victoria Institute, 1901).

⁷ *Die Exil- und Hebräerzeit*, p. 120-127 = 157.

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the wilderness' (Ex. 13:20)—i.e., at the E. end of Goshen. The distance from the entrance of Goshen to Tuka or Patum would be 26 m. (following the present line of railway). An average march of 13 m. a day would be all that could be assumed of a host hampered with much cattle. All highways run directly E. along the canal of Goshen.

Afterwards, God 'led the people about' (13:12) and 'they turned (back)' to encamp 'before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before

11. Pihahiroth.

Between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-Zephon' (11:12). Here the difficulties increase. The sites of Migdol (certainly not the large fortress so called in the NE. of the Delta) and BAAL-ZEPHON (17:1, 2) are quite unknown. As to Pihahiroth, we may venture to guess that, being near the 'Sea,' it may correspond to the Serapium of the *Literarium Antonini*, apparently the only city in that region (apart from the later Arsinoe and Clysna). All identifications, however, depend upon the locality of the passage through the 'sea.' A southerly direction is implied by the 'turning'; but how far S. the locality is to be sought we have no means of determining, since it is not stated that the encampment 'by the sea' marked a day's journey.

1. Shall we, with most commentators, place the

12. Sea-passage at Suez?

[*es-Suezis*], where the gulf is only two-thirds of a mile wide.¹ Those who do so usually lay great stress on the fact that the straits are shallow, and are passable (it is said) at a very low tide, especially when there is also a N. wind. Certainly this would permit a 'rational' explanation of the passage. It is doubtful, however, whether such arguments can be used.² Josephus gives us no help. In his time all conception of the situation of Goshen had been lost.

Hence to explain how the Israelites could 'reach the Red Sea in three days,' he made them march through Letopolis Bahy, km (197, ii, 151)—i.e., round the S. side of the Jebel Mokattam, the mountain on which the citadel of Cairo is built, on the most direct road to Suez through the Wadi et-Tih and through the Muntala pass. Nothing could be more at variance with the biblical data, especially as the 'turning back' to the 'edge of the wilderness,' and other details, are overlooked. Yet several scholars (Leugker, Kutschera, von Raumer, Shaw) have followed Josephus.

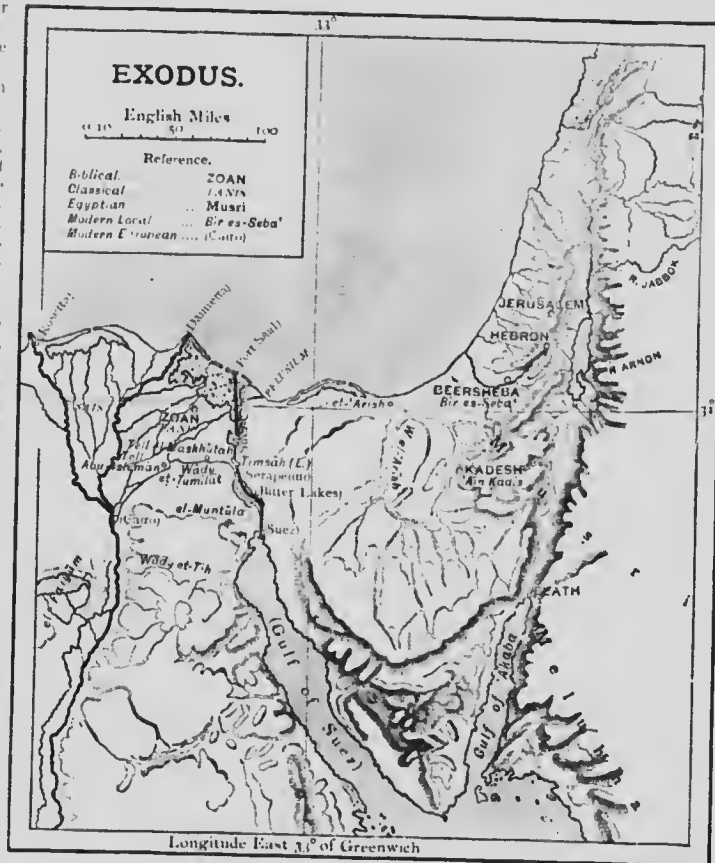
2. Another view has been strongly urged by Schleiden (*Die Landenge von Suez*, '58) and Brugsch (*L'Exode et les monum. Egypt.*, '75). Both make the Israelites march along the shore of the Mediterranean. Brugsch places Goshen too

1 Of course the recent traditions about the well of Moses (see MARAI) do not come into consideration.

2 So to 55 m. from the supposed site of Itham would be at least three days' journey.

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far N. and leads the Israelites from Tami-Zoan (i.e., Rameses, he believes, for which equation he appeals to Ps. 78:12-13) to Daphne (= Itham—Hetam, according to him). Pihahiroth he explains (translating as the Peshitta¹ and perhaps also the Targum did) as the 'mouth of the depths' (*ḥap̄aḥpaḥ*—i.e., of the Sirbonian bog. Migdol he identifies with the Migdol mentioned in Jer. and Ezek., which was 12 R. m. S. from Pelusium according to the itineraries, and Baal-zephon with the temple of Zeus Kasios on the Casius promontory, so that the Israelites would have passed through the bog to the dunes N. of the Sirbonis. (So, before Brugsch, Schleiden, who, however, placed Succoth and Itham correctly.) This theory is wholly destitute of any solid



Map to illustrate the article 'Exodus.'

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basis; the expression *Yam-Suphr*, 'Reedy Sea,' occurs too often for the RED SEA (*Yam-Suphr*) to admit a new application to the Sirbonis.² The modern discoveries which have determined the position of Goshen, decide against it.

3. Recently, another view has begun to make way—the view, namely, that the passage through the sea is to be sought for nearer to the eastern end of Goshen. Du Bois Aymé, Steckel, and Knobel, in a rationalising interest, thought

1 Later he tried to find in the name an Egyptian word *ḥaut*, 'depths'; but there is no such word.

2 The expression 'desert of Shur,' Ex. 15:22 (E), is very vague and cannot be used as an argument either for the N. direction of the march or for the identification of ITHAM with the frontier fortress Shur in the extreme NE.

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of a point between the Bitter Lakes and the Gulf of Suez. They assumed that this sandy tract dried up quite recently, and that, in the time of Moses, it must have been very shallow, in parts even marshy. Dillmann and others admit a similar shallow connection between the Crocodile (Timsāh) Lake and the Bitter Lakes. Naville (followed by Strack) assumed the Timsāh lake itself.

All these modifications of the same theory are built upon the view that the ancient condition of the isthmus of Suez was very different from the present.

16. Early physical geography. There is no doubt among geologists that the Red Sea once extended not only to the Crocodile Lake but even to the Balāh Lake, so that the Red Sea and the Mediterranean were completely connected (see map, cols. 1437 f.). There is no evidence, however, that this state of matters continued down to historic times. The Egyptian inscriptions dating from the time of the Pyramids speak of the 'Great Black Water' (kem-uēr) in connection with the fortifications at the E. end of Goshen.¹—i.e., it seems to have reached as far as the present Crocodile Lake. In dyn. XII, this 'Great Black Water' is spoken of as an undrinkable (i.e., salt) 'lake' (*let*), so that there cannot have been a connected gulf. Under Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, the inscription of Pithom (ed. Naville) speaks of the 'Great Black Lake' and the 'Scorpion Lake' near Pithom as navigable and as connected with the Red Sea by the canal of Ptolemy II., which, evidently, was a mere restoration of the canal of Necho (EGYPT, § 68) and Darius. The extant traces of this latter canal and the monuments of Darius along it (see GOSHEN, map) seem to show that about 500 B.C. the extent of the various lakes was not very different from what it is now (so Lepsius), and that the Timsāh Lake was separated (under the name 'Scorpion Lake' according to the Pithom stele, etc.) from the larger salt lake in the S. The passage of Strabo (804) proves the existence of several 'bitter lakes,'—i.e., confirms the view that there was no connection with the Red Sea.² Consequently, other passages stating that it was at Heroöpolis that the Arabian Gulf began (Strabo, 836, *ἐν μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ κόλπου*) seem to be based upon the artificial connections through which this harbour became accessible (cp. Strabo, 769).³

The possibility, indeed, that at an earlier period, such as the time of Rameses II., the lakes covered a larger area, or that they were even all connected with one another, is not to be denied. As we have already seen, however, the one 'Great Black Water' mentioned *circa* 3000 B.C., had long ceased to be a part of the Arabian Gulf. Naville then supposes the camp of the Israelites to have been at Pe-kerhet (?),⁴ or the place called in the Itineraries Serapiu, which he seeks at the modern Gebel Maryam near the S. end of the Timsāh Lake opposite Seih-Hanā'idik (Naville's Baal-Zephon). He places Migdol at the ruins, W. of the railway station, mus-



² Full references in WMM *As. u. Eur.* 30. Cp. also Naville, *Pithom*², 26. See GOSHEN.

³ Lénant and Naville (26) claimed that these must have been mere ponds, different from the present lakes which were too large to be made 'sweet' by the canal. Strabo's vague statement, however, is not to be pressed too literally. He speaks of several 'lakes'; at present also there are two different basins. Fluvy (610) calls them *amaros fontēs* (but describes them as navigable).

⁴ Naville insists upon taking these expressions literally, without consideration of the canal. The vagueness, e.g., of Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 10 § 5 'the Red Sea extends to Koptos') has, however, to be remembered, and certainly we ought not to use the statement of Agathemerus (*Geogr. Gr. Min.*, ed. C. Müller, 2473), who merely copies from Eratosthenes (see Strabo, 768) but changes the words describing the city of Heroöpolis as the place where navigation begins, making it the beginning of the Arabian Gulf. This misunderstanding cannot count as an argument.

⁵ It is most probable that there was no such city. 'House' (*pe*) or 'seat' (*et*) of the (serpent) *Acheret* was the chief temple of *Tuku* at Tell el-Mashūja.

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called 'Serapenn' by French engineers. All this is problematical; but undoubtedly it would hardly be natural for the biblical narrative to pass over in complete silence the lake shutting off Goshen from the E. and interrupting the march of the Israelites. This theory of Naville would allow the 'turning aside' of the march, though on a very limited scale. It would be more rationalising than any other theory, inasmuch as the Crocodile Lake, which is 5 to 6 miles wide in the N. near the modern Bir Nefishe, is in the S., on the spot fixed upon by Naville, not more (in parts) than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile wide. It was only a marsh before the Suez Canal changed its character, and it must always have been marshy, because the Nile reached it only irregularly. Whilst the salt-water of the other lakes does not allow the growth of reeds, the brackish water of this is covered with them, so that the name 'sea of reeds' would be quite appropriate.¹

After all, the probabilities seem most in favour of the Lake Timsāh, although it would certainly rob the place of passage of all sea character. It is most

16. Lake Timsāh. reasonable to look for all the localities of the Exodus on or near Egyptian ground, and in the same narrow district in or near the valley of Tūmīlāt; but as long as the last three geographical names of the biblical narrative cannot be determined with certainty, this remains hypothetical.

T. K. C., §§ 1-4, 7-9; S. A. C., § 5 f.; W. M. M., §§ 10-16.

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|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Name (§ 1). | Primitive version (ix.). |
| 2. Narrative. | 3. Laws. |
| a. Of P (§ 2). | a. In JE (§ 4). |
| b. Of JE (§ 3). | b. In JE (§ 4). |
| In Egypt (§ 3 i-iii.). | Chaps. 21-23 (§ 4 iii-v.). |
| Journey (iv-vi.). | d. In P (§ 5). |
| Lawgiving (vii.). | e. The Ode, Lx. 15 i-13 (§ 6). |
| | f. Bibliography (§ 7). |

The second book of the Pentateuch, which narrates the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, appropriately bears in the Greek Bible the title *Exodos*

1. Name and Contents. (ἐξόδος)² or more fully 'Exodos from Egypt' (ἐξόδος αἰγυπτίου; see Ex. 19: 1 (BAPL)).³ This passed over into the old Latin, and through the Vulgate into our own version. In Hebrew the book is commonly designated by its opening words, *וַיִּצְא מִצְרָיִם*,⁴ or more briefly *מִצְרָיִם*; sometimes it is cited simply by number, *ספר שמות* (*Sifra*, 36 b.).

The Book of Genesis closes with the death of Joseph at an advanced age; Exodus continues the history from the same point (Ex. 1: 67 ff.). The grandsons of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 50: 23) are contemporaries of Moses, the great grandson (Ex. 6: 16 ff.), or grandson (Ex. 21: Nu. 26: 59), of Levi. But though no great interval of time is supposed to elapse between the death of Joseph and the beginning of the oppression,⁵ the character of the history undergoes a complete change. The twelve sons of Jacob with their children who went down into Egypt ('seventy souls') have so increased in numbers as to be a cause of alarm to the Egyptians; the narrative, which throughout Genesis preserves the form of a family chronicle,⁶ now at once becomes the history of a people.

The contents of Exodus may be briefly summarised as follows:—The oppression, the youth and call of Moses, 1-7; the

¹ From these lakes, the strange name might have been transferred to the sea. See RED SEA for the difficulty of explaining the name. However, it is otherwise used only of the sea, never of the lakes (although the expression 'sea' is known to be used of such small lakes as that of Giddale). See above.

² Philo, *Quis rer. div. heres*, § 4, and elsewhere; see Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. xvi.

³ Title of book in cod. V. The subscription in the same MS is: *ἐξόδος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου*.

⁴ Origen in Euseb. *HR* 6: 25.

⁵ On Ex. 12: 40 ff., see below, § 4, and in 3.

⁶ See GENESIS.

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Egyptian plagues, 7a-12; the escape of Israel from Egypt, 13-14:21; the way through the desert to Sinai, 15:22-18; the covenant, with its fundamental laws, 19:1-24; directions for the construction of the tabernacle and the consecration of the priests, 25:1-31; the sin of the golden calf, renewal of the broken tables of the Law, 32:1-34; the making of the tabernacle and its furniture, 35-40. The book ends with the entrance of the glory of Yahwe, the visible manifestation of his presence, into the dwelling place which had been prepared for him (40:34-38).

The sources and the method of combination remain

2. Sources: P, substantially the same as in Genesis (q.v., § 2 f.). Here also the Priestly stratum is easily recognised and separated.

To it belong: 1. Ex. 1:1-5:7; 13:14; 22:10-18; 24:12 (13-30) 7:1-13; 19:20-24; 21:1-22; 23:1-16; 24:1-18; 25:1-31; 26:1-12; 27:1-8; 28:1-35; 29:1-35; 30:1-10; 31:1-17; 32:1-35; 33:1-16; 34:1-26; 35:1-40; 36:1-38; 37:1-24; 38:1-26; 39:1-31; 40:1-38.

The characteristics of P appear throughout (see GENESIS, § 2 f.).

The narrative begins, by way of recapitulation,² with a list of the sons of Israel who went down into Egypt (1:1-5); in 6:14-25 a long genealogy is introduced to exhibit the lineage of Moses and Aaron (cp 26 f.).³ A very brief account of the oppression (17:13) 22:10-18 is followed by the call of Moses (in Ex 3:1), the revelation of the name Yahwe (6:2-12), and the appointment of Aaron to be Moses' prophet (7:1-7). The wonders wrought before Pharaoh by Aaron at Moses' command (P in 7-9) assume the form of a trial of skill with the native magicians, who at first are able to do the same things by their arts, but in the end are completely defeated. The announcement of the last stroke, the death of the first-born, gives occasion to introduce directions for the observance of the Passover (12:1-10), to which are attached the ritual for the annual celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (13:1-17), supplementary regulations for the annual Passover (19:1-13), and the law requiring the consecration of the first-born (13:1-17). This is a good example of the method of the author, who always endeavours to connect the legislation with some occasion or circumstance in the history;⁴ so that, in its primitive form and intention, P was not a 'Priests' Code,' but a history of the origin of the sacred institutions of Israel. The beginning of the migration (12:37) leads to a chronological digression on the length of the sojourn in Egypt (40:1-5).⁵ The march to the shores of the Red Sea is next narrated (13:20-14:1), and the miraculous deliverance there, the Israelites passing safely between walls of water on either hand, whilst the Egyptians pursuing them are overwhelmed (P in 14). Of the journey from the sea to Sinai we are told nothing except the names of the halting-places (16:1-17:19 f.).⁶

Arrived at Sinai, Moses ascends the mountain (24:15-18), where the plans for the tabernacle and its furnishings, and the ritual for the consecration of priests, are revealed to him (25:1-31:17). He returns to the people, collects the necessary materials, and constructs the tabernacle in exact accordance with the specifications given him (34:22-40:38).

In combining P with the other sources, R does not appear to have omitted anything of consequence from this narrative, though he was constrained to make some transpositions.⁷ We observe here, as in Genesis, the disposition to reduce to a skeleton the narrative of ordinary events (the migration, e.g., to a list of stations), and to enlarge upon everything connected with religion and the religious institutions (see 12 f. 25 ff. 35 ff.). Here also the existence of other and fuller historical

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narratives is to be inferred from the epitomes of P (see GENESIS, § 2 f.). The dependence of P upon these narratives is especially manifest in the account of the plagues, and of the crossing of the Red Sea.

The prophetic history which remains after the elimination of P is made up of the same two main

3. JE. strands, J and E, that criticism discovers in Genesis (see GENESIS, § 4 ff.). The analysis, however, is more difficult in Exodus than in the patriarchal stories.

The use of the divine names loses much of its value as a criterion, since after Ex. 3:15 the name Yahwe is employed—though not uniformly—in E, as well as in J; clues derived from the narrative deny us their guidance in the laws; whilst other evidences of origin are often lacking. It is clear also that the author who united J and E (R), not only fused his sources much more completely than the last redactor of the Hexateuch (R₂), but also otherwise treated his material with a freer hand; this is peculiarly evident in Ex. 4 ff. In Exodus, moreover, the work of later editors of the Deuteronomistic school is more frequently to be recognised or suspected.

An exhaustive analysis which would assign every clause or verse to its author, leaving no insoluble remainders, is impossible. The utmost that we can expect to accomplish is to distinguish the main features of the parallel narratives; and even in regard to these great uncertainty often remains.²

i. *Earlier Chapters.*—In 1-3, E is the chief source (J in 16:8-12 21:5-22 37 f. 16-18—the last two passages transposed and much amplified by R₂, who also added 319 f.).³ Ch. 4:1-16 is by most critics regarded as substantially from J (13:16-18 R₂). To J belong also 4:19-20:24-26, which probably followed 23:24 (E in 18 and perhaps other verses; R₂ in 27-31). Ch. 5-6:1 is in the main from J (manifest duplication in 5:1-3).

ii. *The 'Plagues.'*—a. (J). In the history of the plagues also J is the principal source; in the plagues of frogs (8:1-4 8:15a [7:26-29 8:4-11a]), of insects (8:20-32 [10-28]), and of murrain (9:1-7), there is no contamination; in the turning of the Nile to blood (7:14-24), the hail and tempest (9:13-35), and the plague of locusts (10:1-20), E's version of the story has been united with that of J; the plague of darkness alone (10:21-23) is entirely from E.

In J's representation, Yahwe bids Moses⁴ go to the Pharaoh, and demand in his name that Israel be allowed to go to worship him in the desert; if the king refuses, Moses is to announce that at a certain time (the next day, 9:5 18 10:13; cp 8:22) Yahwe will send a specified plague.⁵ When this comes to pass, the Pharaoh sends for Moses and begs him to intercede with his God, but as soon as the scourge is removed his faith returns—*וַיִּשָּׁבֹט יְהוָה אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל* is the standing phrase—and he refuses to let Israel go.⁶ The plagues fall upon the Egyptians only; Yahwe does not suffer any evil to come near the Israelites, who dwell apart in the land of Goshen (8:22 9:4 6:26).

β. (E). Compared with J, whose narrative is preserved in relative completeness,—doubtless because it was the fuller and more vivid,—the remains of E in these chapters are fragmentary. In E, the plagues are not merely announced by Moses and on the following day brought to pass by Yahwe, but are wrought on the spot, under the eyes of the Pharaoh and his court,

¹ We. CH 65 f. 63 72; Jül. JPT 894 100; Kue. Her. § 8, n. 11.

² For a survey of the analyses of the leading recent critics, see the tables appended to Holzinger, *Einl. i. d. Hexateuch*, 1893.

³ In J the call of Moses probably followed his return to Egypt.

⁴ Aaron, who accompanies Moses but neither says nor does anything, was introduced by R₂ from E.

⁵ The interj. takes place in the palace; the meeting on the banks of the Nile comes from E.

⁶ From J is probably derived the series of passages which represent the Pharaoh as trying to compromise with Moses, yielding one point after another, but always dropping short of the unconditional permission which Moses demands (8:25 ff. [21 ff.] 10:7-11 24-26). So Bacon, *JRL* 9 10 ff.; Jül. and Di. ascribe them to E.

¹ In this table, as in the corresponding one in Genesis, the additions of R₂ are not in general distinguished from P. An asterisk indicates contamination or redactional changes. Nöldeke's analysis, *Lehrb. z. Kritik des AT's* 35 ff. (69), has been modified by subsequent critics (esp. Di., Jül., and Kue.) only in minor particulars.

² Cp Gen. 5:1 f. 6:10 11:27 Nu. 3:2-4 etc.

³ The present position of this genealogy is highly unsuitable; see 16:25 probably stood in P at an earlier point, perhaps before 6:2; 27:14 f. seem to be taken from another catalogue, perhaps that in Gen. 46.

⁴ So in Genesis, the Sabbath, the Noachian injunctions, circumcision.

⁵ According to the Jewish Hebrew Text, 430 years; according to the Samaritan Hebrew and *Q*, 215 years. See CHRONOLOG., § 4.

⁶ P's account of the murmuring of the people and the giving of the manna, which now stand in chap. 16, must originally have had a later place in the narrative, since it supposes the existence of the tabernacle (10:14). See MANNA, § 3.

⁷ These chapters have been much expanded by later hands; see below, § 5.

⁸ The giving of the Decalogue, which is now related in 20:1-17 from another source, must in P have followed 24:1 (see 25:10 21). A fragment of this account seems to be preserved in 31:18, to which the sequel is 34:29 ff.

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by Moses with his wonderful rod (7:20-23; 10:12-13; 21:10).¹ This difference leads to striking confusion where the two sources are combined, as in 7:14 ff. 9:22 ff. (cp 12), and especially in 10:12-13 by the side of 13:1. E thinks of the Israelites, not of occupying a district apart, but of dwelling in the midst of Egyptian neighbours (31:10-11; 12:35 f.).

iii. *The Firstborn*.—The slaughter of the firstborn of the Egyptians is made the occasion, as in P, for the introduction of directions for the observance of the Passover (12:21-27), the Feast of Unleavened Bread (13:1-10), and the dedication of the firstborn (13:11-16). These laws, though strongly deuteronomistic in conception and expression, seem to be based upon J. It may be conjectured that the same hand which amplified the prescriptions transposed to this place laws which in J stood in a different connection (Burdle). If this hypothesis be correct, J will have had in his account of the last plague only the command to the Israelites to mark their houses with the blood of a sheep or goat, that they might be passed over by the destroyer (12:21-23).² The death of the Egyptian firstborn, and the vengeance with which king and people now urge the Israelites to hasten their departure, are described in the words of J (12:29-34; 37 f.); of E is preserved only 12:35 f., the last words of 37, then 13:17-19.

iv. *Crossing the Sea*.—In the account of the miraculous deliverance of Israel at the Red Sea, the beginning of the narrative is from J (11:5 f. 12-14; R₁₀ in 13:21 f.), who characteristically represents the passage as made possible by a strong east wind driving out the water (14:21 from 7:20). In the last watch of the night Yahweh looks down upon the Egyptians and makes their chariot wheels stuck; seeing that God is fighting against them, they turn to flee (24 f.), but perish in the midst of the sea (27:1-28:1). In E, on the contrary, whose version is followed by P, Moses with his rod divides the waters of the sea, which stand as a wall on either hand. The angel of God takes his station in the rear to protect the Israelites from their pursuers. When they have crossed in safety, Moses stretches out his rod and the waters close over the Egyptians (16: 19-21, perhaps part of 21). The song of Miriam (15:20) also is from E.³

v. *To the Mount*.—In JE as in P, Moses leads the people from the shores of the sea to the Mount of God (SINAI, 7:1), where Yahweh gives them laws and makes a covenant with them. In the composite narrative, however, there are traces of a different representation, according to which the Israelites went directly to Kadesh on the south of Palestine (15:22-25a).⁴

In 17:2-7 we find them already at Meribah, that is KADESH (7:1, 1, 2).⁵ Amalek also (17:8 ff.) is to be sought in the region of Kadesh rather than among the mountains of the Sinaitic peninsula (Nu. 14:43-45; 18, 15:30). Perhaps we may recognise in this a more primitive form of Judean (or Calebite) tradition; our oldest written sources, as is very clearly to be seen in Genesis, unite materials of diverse origin, whose discrepant or conflicting representations they harmonise only superficially, if at all.⁶ See EXODUS I, § 6.

It is not certain that J or E related anything which occurred between the crossing of the sea and the arrival at Sinai; a redactor has filled this gap with doublets from a later point in the history (see EXODUS I, § 5; cp the miracle at Meribah in 17:2 ff. with Nu. 20:1 ff.; the appointment of judges in 18 with Nu. 11:16 ff.).⁷ We may

¹ This rod is used also at the crossing of the Red Sea (14:10), the smiting of the rock at Meribah (17:5 ff.; Nu. 20:1), and the defeat of Amalek (17:8 ff.; cp 5)—all from E. In P the rod is in the hands of Aaron, who wields it at the bidding of Moses.

² Observe that no directions are given for the eating of a paschal meal; and contrast this with the very detailed directions for the use of the blood.

³ On the greater Ode of Victory, 15:1-18, see below, § 6.

⁴ See We. *Proz.* 348 f.—*Hist. of Israel*, 342 f. (185); and 'Israel', in *EB*, 399 f.; cp Holzinger, *Einl.* 74 f.

⁵ Horeb, 17:6, is a gloss; but see MASSAU AND MERIBAH.

⁶ Kuenen doubts whether any part of the narrative of events at Sinai is derived from J (*Ue.* 8, and n. 18).

⁷ On these chapters see NUMBERS, § 2. (cp also the transposition of P in 16 noted above, § 2, n. 6 (col. 144)).

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inscribe to J, 15:22-25a 17:1 (the last words), 24, 5 and 6 in part, 7, to E the rest of 17:2-7 8-13 18 (with editorial additions, but not contamination from the other source).

vi. *At Sinai*.—JE's account of the giving of the law at Sinai and the events connected with it fills Ex. 19:1-24 (except a few verses in 21), 31:18-34:28. In consequence of repeated and complicated redaction, these chapters present to criticism problems of extreme difficulty, for which we can hardly expect to find a complete solution.⁸ In 19 the impressive prelude to the legislation. 21, is from the hand of an editor;⁹ 21:9-19, though not free from editorial amplification and perhaps contamination, are in the main from E; while 22-25 belong to the parallel narrative of J (21 f. is a harmonistic addition by R₁₀).¹⁰

vii. *J's Legislation*.—The sequel of J's account is to be found, not in 21:24,¹¹ but, with most recent critics, in 31.¹² This chapter stands in a very unsuitable place; after 32:1-33:3 (the premissory command in both J and E, to leave the Mount of God) nothing is in place but the actual departure from Horeb which both sources narrate in Nu. 10. Least of all do we expect fresh legislation such as is found in 31. On other grounds also it is certain that the present position of the chapter is due to one of the later redactors of the Hexateuch (see below, § 4). In its original connection in J, the giving of the law was probably followed immediately by the command to take up the march to the promised land (32:34); Moses beseeches Yahweh to accompany his people in person (33:12-34:9) 33:15-16¹³ and his request is granted; thereupon Moses seeks a guide through the desert (Nu. 10:20 ff.), and they set out.¹⁴

viii. *E's Legislation*.—E's narrative in 19 (31:9-19 in the main) is also preliminary to the revelation of God's law; the solemn ratification of the Law is described in 24:3-8. As we have found the legislation of J elsewhere, it is natural to infer that 20:23 as a whole is the corresponding legislation of E;¹⁵ and this inference seems to be confirmed by the fact that various indications of affinity with E are discovered throughout these chapters (see below, § 4). Closer examination shows, however, that the problem is much more complicated than at first appears. Ex. 20:23 contains two distinct bodies of laws: the Decalogue (20:1-17), and the so-called Covenant Book (21:1-23). These are not incompatible. We can readily conceive that the revelation of the fundamental precepts of religion and morals in the Ten Commandments should be followed by a more minute regulation of the civil, social, and religious life of Israel such as we find in 21:23; in the history of the law-giving, however, no connection is established between them.¹⁶ Chap. 21:1 is without any antecedents in 20. Chap. 20:13-26 is composed of very disparate elements: 13-21 belong to the Decalogue narrative, but should probably stand before the Decalogue, immediately following 19:19;¹⁷ 24-26 is a fragment relating to the regulation of the cultus, and, from whatever source it may have come, has nothing to do either with the Decalogue which precedes or with the civil and penal code which follows; 22:23—superfluous after 4—seem to be from

¹ On the subject of paragraphs vi.-viii., cp also LAW LITERATURE.

² On the difficulties in these chapters see Kue. *Th.T.* 15:17 ff. (81); We. *CH* 84 f.; Bruston, *Quatre sources*, 1 ff.

³ Perhaps with a basis of E (We.).

⁴ The thread is broken off at the end of 25.

⁵ Stahelin, Schrader, Kayser, We. (formerly), Del., Westphal, Dr.

⁶ So Kue. (*Th.T.* 15:14 ff. (81)), We. (*CH*, *Nachträge*, 377 ff.), Dr., Bu., Co., etc.

⁷ Ch. 31:12-16 has been considerably enlarged by editorial hands; cp also 33:3-5 32:9-34:9.

⁸ The passages in which Moses begs to be shown the glory of Yahweh (33:18-23 34:5-8) are perhaps secondary in J, or redactional.

⁹ So, with earlier critics, Dr., Jüli, Ki.; see also Montefiore, *JQR* 3:281-283.

¹⁰ For a synopsis of the critical argument, see Kraetzschmar, *Rundschau*, 71 f.

¹¹ So Kue. *Th.T.* 15:19 (81); and independently Jüli, *JPT* 8:312 ff. (82); the conjecture has been generally accepted.

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the hand of an editor, in all these verses there is no reference to the 'Covenant Book, or to any further legislation. In 21 the continuation of the Decalogue narrative (12-14) and the ratification of the Covenant Book (1-8) stand side by side without any attempt to connect them.¹ In the subsequent narrative of JE (32-34) there is no mention of the laws of 21-23 or of the covenant of 21-8. Finally, Dt.—even in its later strata—knows no law given to Israel at Horeb except the Decalogue, which alone it recognises as the basis of the covenant (5 6-7; cp 41-4 97-103); while Josh. 24 (E) makes no reference to any earlier covenant or law. The inference that the Covenant Book did not originally form part of E's history of the transactions at Horeb seems inevitable.²

There remains, then, the Decalogue and that strand of the following narrative which depends upon it, viz. 20:1-21 (connecting with 19:17 21:1-14 31:18), the lapse into the idolatry of the golden calf, and its consequences, 32:1-35:26 (21:24-27 30:13 (perhaps partly secondary). Yahwe then in anger orders Israel to leave the holy mountain, and declares that he will not go with them (33:1-6 4:6-7). That this was the form in which E was current at the end of the seventh century, B.C., and in the first half of the sixth, is proved by Deuteronomy. As has been already observed, D knows no law given to Israel at Horeb but the Decalogue. The author of the comparatively late interpolation, Dt. 9:8-17 (3:20-21 10:1-5), the story of the golden calf and the broken tables of the law, read Ex. 24:12-14 31:18 32:7 (34:27)—that is, E with the additions of R₁—substantially as we do.

ix. *More Primitive Version*.—There are, however, in E fragmentary remains of another, it would seem more primitive, representation. The most remarkable of these is 31:1-11, which tells us how Moses took a tent, which he called the Meeting Tent (*i.e.*, the appointed place to meet God), and set it up outside the camp at some distance. To this tent Moses resorted from time to time, and God spoke to him there out of the column of cloud which descended at its door. Thither others also resorted to consult the oracle. Joshua, Moses' youthful assistant, remained constantly in the tent, as its keeper. In the narrative from which these verses are taken they must have been preceded by a description of the making of this simple tent, which was omitted by R₁ when he put in its place the great tabernacle of P; Dt. 10:35 still shows us where the passage stood. In the same connection, doubtless, stood an account of the making of the ark, to shelter which the tent was required (cp No. 10 31-36 14:44 [E], Dt. 10:15); this also R₁ was constrained to omit in favour of P's Ark of the Testimony (Ex. 25:1-10 27:1-8). The directions for the construction of the altar of rude stones or earth, 20:24-26, to which Dt. 27:6 f. perhaps belongs, seem to be derived from the same source. These fragments suffice to show that E once contained a fuller account of the origin of the Israelite *sanctuary*, and laws regulating religious worship; and it may safely be assumed that these things had in the narrative a place befitting their importance. That so little of this now remains is to be attributed in part, as we have seen, to its displacement by P in the final redaction of the Hexateuch; but it is a not improbable hypothesis that it had been in considerable part supplanted at an earlier date by the Decalogue and the cognate narrative (the golden calf, etc.), which in this case must be regarded as a secondary stratum in E (E₂). To this question we shall return below (§ 4).

i. *Ceremonial Decalogue*.—Ex. 34:10-28 contains, as

¹ Contamination of the text in both passages has resulted only in conflict.

² Kue. *Th. T.* 15:191 ff. (cp 18). *Hex.* § 13, n. 32; We. *Bib. Co.*, Haensch, etc.

³ Chapter 32:1-17 33:1-27 34:1-27 a later hand. Some scholars ascribe the story of the golden calf to J; so Dt., Kl., and others.

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we have seen, the legislation of J. Its injunctions are

4. *Laws in JE*.—exclusively religious: it forbids the worship of any other deity and the making of molten idols; commands the observance of the three annual feasts and of the Sabbath, the sacrifice of firstlings and the offering of first fruits, and prohibits certain rites which were probably associated with other cults. These laws are set forth as the terms of the covenant which Yahwe makes with Moses as the representative of Israel, and as such they are committed to writing by Moses (10:27 f.). Ch. 34:10-28 thus presents itself as a counterpart to the 'Book of the Covenant' (24:7) which is contained in 21-23. In 24:28, however, we read that Moses remained forty days with Yahwe on the mountain, and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten words.² From this it would seem that the commandments in 14-26 constituted J's decalogue, an older counterpart to the Ten Commandments in Ex. 20:1-17 Dt. 5:6-21 (see DECALOGUE). Upon this theory, 31:1-11 contains J's account of the origin of the two tables of the law; 18, and the words 'like the first' in 12 and 42, which represent these tables as designed to take the place of the tables which Moses had broken (32:17), are harmonistic additions by the redactor who introduced 31 in this place. Kuenen, on the other hand, contends that 14:28 had originally nothing to do with 10-27, they formed part of E's narrative, and the ten words are no other than E's decalogue (20:1-17).³ Whatever view be taken of the relation of 28 to 27, the phrase 'the ten words,' which collides with the preceding 'the words of the covenant,' seems to be a gloss, introduced under the influence of the deuteronomistic theory that the covenant was made upon the Decalogue alone (cp esp. Dt. 4:13).⁴ If this be the case, there is no direct evidence that the laws in 34:10-28 were originally just ten in number. It may be suspected that the words 'upon the tables' which connect 28 with 14 are also secondary, and that the original sequel of 27 was closely similar to 21:1-7 f., if, indeed, it be not contained in those verses (Valeton). On the other hand, 31:18, 'taking in his hand two tables of stone' (בְּיָדָיו שְׁנֵי לִפְתָּיִם), indefinite, seems to be original; and it is perhaps on the whole more probable that the commandments of J also were inscribed on stone. Whether this is the oldest representation, and whether in the oldest Judean tradition the commandments were given at Sinai or at some other place—perhaps at Kadesh—are questions to which no certain answer can be given.⁵

ii. *Character and origin*.—The laws in Ex. 34:10-28 are certainly older than the setting which represents them as the terms of a covenant made by Yahwe with Moses at Sinai; and are the earliest attempt with which we are acquainted to embody in a series of brief injunctions formulated as divine commands the essential observances of the religion of Yahwe. We may safely assume that this collection of sacred laws was made at a Judean sanctuary, and that it represents the ancient usage of the region. The age of the collection can only be inferred from its contents.

The three annual feasts which occupy the central place in the cultus are agricultural festivals,⁶ and presume a people which has passed over to a settled life, to whom tillage is a chief concern. On the other hand, the idea of religion to which such laws as those that forbid the suckling of a kid in its mother's milk, or the keeping of part of a sacrifice till the next morning, appear fundamental, is very primitive.⁷ A still stronger in-

¹ On the subject of § 4, cp also LAW LITERATURE.

² In the context, the subject must be Moses, not Yahwe.

³ This seems to have been first observed by Goethe, in 1773.

⁴ *Th. T.* 15:196 ff. [24], *Hex.* § 8, n. 13. See also DECALOGUE (literature).

⁵ Meissner, Kraetzschmar, and others. The name *decalogue* (ten words) is found only in this verse and in Dt. 4:13 10:4.

⁶ See KADESH, § 3.

⁷ The Sabbath also is an institution of a settled people.

⁸ It must be remembered, however, that such survivals of primitive religion, regarded as positive divine commands, are often carried along into much more advanced stages of development, as Judaism itself best illustrates.

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dication of the antiquity of this legislation is the fact that the demands of Yahweh all have reference to the way in which he is to be worshipped. Religion seems to be as yet untouched by the prophetic movement whose burden was that what God demands is not worship but righteousness.

In the strongest contrast to the fundamental revelation of Yahweh's will in J is the decalogue of Ex 20:1-17. On the Deuteronomistic elements in this document and on its relation to Ex 31:10 ff., see DECALOGUE, § 2. The narrative in Ex 32 (golden calf) is inseparable from it, and is aimed at the religion of the kingdom of Israel; the repudiation of its idolatrous cult which we find in Hosea is carried back to Horeb. This narrative, therefore, also belongs to the prophetic edition of E (E₂). The Decalogue seems to have supplanted the law given at Horeb in E₁. We may safely assume that this law was similar in character to that of J in 31:10 ff.; and it is not improbable that fragments of it are preserved in 23:14 ff. Whether it constituted a decalogue must remain uncertain.¹

iii. *Chapters 21-23*—A law-book of a different character is contained in 21-23.² By its superscription it is a collection of *mišpatim*, that is 'judgments, judicial decisions, or laws'; and accordingly we find in 21:22-27 various titles of civil and penal law; viz., slavery and manumission (21:2-11), homicide (12-21), torts (22:2-6, 22:5 ff.), theft, burglary, etc. (22:1-4), the liability of a borrower or bailee (7-15), seduction (16 ff.).³ In those titles which remain intact the laws are methodically arranged and formulated: first the general rule is given, then the particular cases which may arise under it, e.g. —

When (72) thou buyest a Hebrew slave, he shall serve six years, and in the seventh he shall go free, without ransom. If (222) he was single when he came into his master's possession he shall go free alone. If he was married, his wife shall go with him. If his master gives him a wife and she bear him children, the woman and the children belong to the master; the slave shall go free alone; etc. (21:2 ff.; cp also 23 ff.).

This book of *mišpatim* (עֲשֵׂה) has unfortunately not been completely preserved; some of the paragraphs are much mutilated, whilst other titles which we have every reason to believe were once contained in it are wanting altogether. Additions also have been made to it, which are recognised by their departure from the systematic form of the original work, in part also by the different nature of their contents. The character of this little code indicates considerable progress in civilization and in jurisprudence. It may be compared with the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and especially with the legislation of Solon (Plutarch, *Solon*), to which it is probably not much anterior in time.⁴

Chap. 24, which contains only moral precepts and religious ordinances, is not covered by the title *mišpatim* in 21:1. Most scholars are of the opinion that 23, together with the kindred verses in the latter part of 22, originally constituted a distinct part of the Covenant Book, which, like the laws in 31 and the decalogue in 20, was entitled simply The Words (*d'barim*);⁵ cp also 195. In 21:3-8, in the ratification of the law, we read that Moses recited to the people 'all the Words of Yahweh (*d'barim*) and all the judgments (*mišpatim*)'; the two together (*fas* and *ius*) cover the whole field of the divine law. It is not quite certain, however, that 21:3 is the conclusion of 21-23; if 20:18-21 originally preceded 20:1-17, as is now generally believed, 24:1 would naturally refer to the promulgation of the decalogue (the Words of Yahweh); 'and all the *mišpatim*' would then be a redactional addition.⁶ The

¹ See below. Attempts to restore the original decalogue of E have been made by Staerk, *Deut.* 40 ff., and Meissner, *Dealog.* 131; cp Co. *Einl.* 34, 40.

² For the literature on the Covenant Book, see § 7.

³ For a more detailed analysis, see Baerisch, *Bundestbuch*, 12 ff.

⁴ See also *Monachianum et Romanarum legum collatio* (early 15th century A.D.), ed. Th. Mommsen, in *Collectio librorum juris antequiniani*, 3 (1861).

⁵ No trace of this title remains in 21-23.

⁶ Bacon, *JBL* 12:34, Baerisch, 71 ff., Holzinger, *Kraetzschmar*, and others.

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question whether 21-23 was originally one collection of laws under the two heads, Civil and Penal (*mišpatim*), and Moral and Religious (*d'barim*), can therefore be decided only on internal grounds. In 21:14-19 we find a group of laws relating to worship and religious festivals which are in the main verbally identical with those of J in 34; cp especially 23:15-19 with 34:10-26. Closer examination shows that they are *in situ* in 34, and were brought over thence into 23 by a redactor.¹ This redactor, it must be supposed, having incorporated the substance of J's legislation in 23, omitted 34 from his compilation; its restoration is to be ascribed to a later editor.² In 23:20-33, which is as a whole the composition of a redactor, remains of an older text are preserved in 23:3 (cp Jos. 24:12 Dt. 7:20-22); and the same source perhaps underlies 23:22-25-26. In 22:18-23:13 we may recognise diverse elements: first, a few civil and penal laws, which differ from the *mišpatim* by their categorical form³—e.g., 22:18, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,' 19, 'Whosoever is guilty of bestiality shall be put to death,' etc. Second, a collection of moral injunctions, which from their nature cannot have the sanctions of human law (22:20-24, 23:1-4, 6 ff., 8-9). Some of these resemble in form and content the second table of the decalogue; others are manifestly akin to the deuteronomistic legislation. Finally, interspersed with these are religious ordinances (22:30 ff., 23:10-13). The different character of these laws, and still more the disorder in which they are, points to compilation; the prominence of precepts of charity, and the deuteronomistic motives and phraseology, indicate that the recension, if not the compilation itself, dates from the seventh century.

These facts make it very doubtful whether the author of the *mišpatim* in 21:2-22:17 is also the author of a corresponding collection of moral and religious precepts (*d'barim*) which form the basis of 22:17-23:13. A more probable hypothesis is that 21-23 is the result of a process of accretion: to what was originally a hand-book of civil and penal laws was added, first, perhaps from E's Horeb legislation, the main stock of 22:18-23:13; then (probably by the same editor who added the paranetic close) 23:14-19, from 34:14 ff. (J).

Many attempts have been made to reconstruct the Covenant Book, eliminating interpolations, restoring by more or less extensive transpositions the order of the *d'barim* and the *mišpatim*, and even supplying some of the gaps by comparison with Ex. 34 and Dt. 4. In this work of restoration several scholars have sought a formal regulative in the supposition that the laws were originally grouped in homological decads and pentads.⁴ This theory finds some support in certain paragraphs of the *mišpatim*; but the results hitherto attained by this method are not less widely divergent than those reached without such a criterion.

iv. *Ratification*.—Chap. 24:3-8 is the ratification by solemn covenant (see COVENANT, § 6 [ii.]) of the legislation in 21-23, which on this account is often called the Covenant Book. By most critics these verses, with the Covenant Book itself, are ascribed to E. They appear, however, to be composite;⁵ 3 may have belonged to the decalogue narrative in its original form (see above, iii.); in 4 the altar at the foot of the mountain and the twelve *matēbōth* seem to be doublets; the *mayebōth* and perhaps the young men of Israel who act as sacrificers may be derived from the oldest stratum of E (akin to 33:7-11), in which, it may be surmised, these stones rather than a book were the monument of the adoption of the religion of Yahweh at Horeb (cp Jos. 24:26 ff.); while 4:7-8 seems to be a later representation

¹ For a comparison of the two see JüL *JPT* 8:300 ff.; Briggs, *Higher Criticism* 3, 400 ff., 279 ff.

² Buddie, *JAT* 11:217 ff. [1911].

³ Regularly in a sing., others in a pl. may be interpolations.

⁴ See Stade, *GfH* 1:136 ff., n.; Rodheisen, *Bundestbuch* (1902); Staerk, *Deut.* (1904), 32 ff.

⁵ So Bertheau, Briggs, L. B. Paton, *JBL* 12:79 ff. [1911].

⁶ Ex. 1 f., from whatever source they may come, obviously intrude here.

⁷ Dill, Bruston, Baerisch, Valetton, *JAT* 11:2242 ff.; Staerk, *Deut.* 41 n.; Kraetzschmar, *Bundestvorstellung*, 79.

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more nearly parallel to 31:7 with its original sequel, and may be attributed to a later recension of E as the close of its Covenant Book, or to R₁. As a whole, 21:1-8 seems to be meant to follow 21:23, and to be the work of the editor who incorporated J's commandments from 31, and gave these chapters their present form. Ch. 21:1-9:11 are derived from a very ancient source; there seems to be no decisive reason why this may not be E.¹

v. *Origin of Covenant Book*—The language of the Covenant Book shows some affinity to E, and most recent critics think that it was incorporated in that work.² It cannot, however, have occupied in E its present position as a law given at Horeb (see above, § 3 viii). Kuenen conjectured that it was originally the law given by Moses just before the crossing of the Jordan; it filled in E the place which Dt. has in the present Pentateuch, and when supplanted by Dt. was removed by an editor (R₀) to this earlier point in the history of the legislation.³

If the view of the composition of these chapters taken above be correct, the problem assumes a somewhat different form: it would be the simplest hypothesis, that the redactor who inserted the Covenant Book here was also its compiler; and the question for the critic would be, what were the sources from which this redactor drew his materials. For 23:14 ff. this question is already answered; for the *mitpatim* we may hazard the surmise that in E they constituted a book of instructions for judges, which stood in immediate connection with 18:14 for other parts of 22:12 ff. 23 it is probable that the original Horeb legislation of E (E₁) which was supplanted by the Decalogue, has been laid under contribution; in particular, it may be inferred that the group of laws noticed above (which in substance and form resemble the second table of the decalogue) are of this origin. Traces of this parallel legislation may perhaps also be discovered in 23:14 ff., where the text of J sometimes shows signs of contamination (Hildt, *Z. f. d. W.* 11:215 f.).

In § 2 above, P was separated as a whole from JE. The more closely P is examined, however, the more plainly it appears that it is not the work of a single author.⁴ It is rather to be compared to a stratum, the deposit of a considerable period, in which distinct layers are to be seen. This is nowhere more evident than in chaps. 25-31 35-40. Ex. 25-31:7 contain the plans for the tabernacle and its furnishings, and directions for the consecration of priests; 31:8-40 Lev. 8 f. relate, in almost the same words, the carrying out of these instructions. Such repetition is not found elsewhere, even in P, and would of itself lead us to suspect that the mechanical conformation of the execution to the command was the work of an editor rather than of the author. Critical investigation not only fully confirms this surmise, but also proves that even 25-31 is not all from one hand, or of one age.

i. *Chaps. 25-31*—Chaps. 25-29:17 belong, with inconsiderable exceptions,⁵ to the main stem of P; 29:43-46 is a formal close. Chaps. 30 f. contain a series of paragraphs supplementary to 25-29 and demonstrably of later date.

The first of these paragraphs gives directions for making an altar of incense (30:1-10). If the author of 25-29 had provided for such

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an altar, it would have been introduced with the other furniture of the Holy Place in 25, and must have been mentioned in 29:1-17; furthermore, the altar described in 27:1 ff. must then have been in some way distinguished from the altar of incense, and could not be spoken of simply as *the* altar. This internal evidence is confirmed by the fact that in the ritual laws of P there is a stratum which ignores or excludes the altar of incense, this is the case even in the liturgy for the day of atonement (Lev. 16); cf. also Ex. 40:22-41:18, and in certain rituals for the sin offering (Ex. 29:1-40:38 f.; see also 10:15 ff. Nu. 16 f.).⁶ The incense altar thus becomes an important criterion in the further analysis of P.

In a similar way and with equal conclusiveness it is shown that the half-shekel poll-tax (30:11-12), the anointing oil and unction of all the priests (22:13), the *laver* (27:21) and the formula for compounding the incense (24:1-8), are secondary. Chap. 31:1-11 presupposes the plans of 25 (14-18), which are proved not to be original, and falls with them.

The injunction to observe the Sabbath (31:12-17) seems to be introduced here to teach that even the most arduous labours, such as the building of the tabernacle, do not supersede the Sabbath law—a kind of reflection which itself does not belong to P. The language is not altogether like that of P, and the suggestions of H; the editor who inserted the law may have had in mind one of the laws which he found in Dt.

ii. *Chaps. 35-40*—P. The tabernacle in 35-40 we have recognised as a later addition, and are inserted in

the altar of incense (27:1-8) and the Holy Place (37:1-17) the court (38:1-8) and the laver (38:9-12) and the table of showbread (38:13-16) and the golden lampstand (38:17-19) and the ark of the covenant (38:20-22) and the golden calf (38:23-24) and the golden cherubim (38:25-26) and the golden altar (38:27-28) and the golden table (38:29-30) and the golden lampstand (38:31-32) and the golden ark (38:33-34) and the golden cherubim (38:35-36) and the golden altar (38:37-38) and the golden table (38:39-40) and the golden lampstand (38:41-42) and the golden ark (38:43-44) and the golden cherubim (38:45-46) and the golden altar (38:47-48) and the golden table (38:49-50) and the golden lampstand (38:51-52) and the golden ark (38:53-54) and the golden cherubim (38:55-56) and the golden altar (38:57-58) and the golden table (38:59-60) and the golden lampstand (38:61-62) and the golden ark (38:63-64) and the golden cherubim (38:65-66) and the golden altar (38:67-68) and the golden table (38:69-70) and the golden lampstand (38:71-72) and the golden ark (38:73-74) and the golden cherubim (38:75-76) and the golden altar (38:77-78) and the golden table (38:79-80) and the golden lampstand (38:81-82) and the golden ark (38:83-84) and the golden cherubim (38:85-86) and the golden altar (38:87-88) and the golden table (38:89-90) and the golden lampstand (38:91-92) and the golden ark (38:93-94) and the golden cherubim (38:95-96) and the golden altar (38:97-98) and the golden table (38:99-100) and the golden lampstand (38:101-102) and the golden ark (38:103-104) and the golden cherubim (38:105-106) and the golden altar (38:107-108) and the golden table (38:109-110) and the golden lampstand (38:111-112) and the golden ark (38:113-114) and the golden cherubim (38:115-116) and the golden altar (38:117-118) and the golden table (38:119-120) and the golden lampstand (38:121-122) and the golden ark (38:123-124) and the golden cherubim (38:125-126) and the golden altar (38:127-128) and the golden table (38:129-130) and the golden lampstand (38:131-132) and the golden ark (38:133-134) and the golden cherubim (38:135-136) and the golden altar (38:137-138) and the golden table (38:139-140) and the golden lampstand (38:141-142) and the golden ark (38:143-144) and the golden cherubim (38:145-146) and the golden altar (38:147-148) and the golden table (38:149-150) and the golden lampstand (38:151-152) and the golden ark (38:153-154) and the golden cherubim (38:155-156) and the golden altar (38:157-158) and the golden table (38:159-160) and the golden lampstand (38:161-162) and the golden ark (38:163-164) and the golden cherubim (38:165-166) and the golden altar (38:167-168) and the golden table (38:169-170) and the golden lampstand (38:171-172) and the golden ark (38:173-174) and the golden cherubim (38:175-176) and the golden altar (38:177-178) and the golden table (38:179-180) and the golden lampstand (38:181-182) and the golden ark (38:183-184) and the golden cherubim (38:185-186) and the golden altar (38:187-188) and the golden table (38:189-190) and the golden lampstand (38:191-192) and the golden ark (38:193-194) and the golden cherubim (38:195-196) and the golden altar (38:197-198) and the golden table (38:199-200) and the golden lampstand (38:201-202) and the golden ark (38:203-204) and the golden cherubim (38:205-206) and the golden altar (38:207-208) and the golden table (38:209-210) and the golden lampstand (38:211-212) and the golden ark (38:213-214) and the golden cherubim (38:215-216) and the golden altar (38:217-218) and the golden table (38:219-220) and the golden lampstand (38:221-222) and the golden ark (38:223-224) and the golden cherubim (38:225-226) and the golden altar (38:227-228) and the golden table (38:229-230) and the golden lampstand (38:231-232) and the golden ark (38:233-234) and the golden cherubim (38:235-236) and the golden altar (38:237-238) and the golden table (38:239-240) and the golden lampstand (38:241-242) and the golden ark (38:243-244) and the golden cherubim (38:245-246) and the golden altar (38:247-248) and the golden table (38:249-250) and the golden lampstand (38:251-252) and the golden ark (38:253-254) and the golden cherubim (38:255-256) and the golden altar (38:257-258) and the golden table (38:259-260) and the golden lampstand (38:261-262) and the golden ark (38:263-264) and the golden cherubim (38:265-266) and the golden altar (38:267-268) and the golden table (38:269-270) and the golden lampstand (38:271-272) and the golden ark (38:273-274) and the golden cherubim (38:275-276) and the golden altar (38:277-278) and the golden table (38:279-280) and the golden lampstand (38:281-282) and the golden ark (38:283-284) and the golden cherubim (38:285-286) and the golden altar (38:287-288) and the golden table (38:289-290) and the golden lampstand (38:291-292) and the golden ark (38:293-294) and the golden cherubim (38:295-296) and the golden altar (38:297-298) and the golden table (38:299-300) and the golden lampstand (38:301-302) and the golden ark (38:303-304) and the golden cherubim (38:305-306) and the golden altar (38:307-308) and the golden table (38:309-310) and the golden lampstand (38:311-312) and the golden ark (38:313-314) and the golden cherubim (38:315-316) and the golden altar (38:317-318) and the golden table (38:319-320) and the golden lampstand (38:321-322) and the golden ark (38:323-324) and the golden cherubim (38:325-326) and the golden altar (38:327-328) and the golden table (38:329-330) and the golden lampstand (38:331-332) and the golden ark (38:333-334) and the golden cherubim (38:335-336) and the golden altar (38:337-338) and the golden table (38:339-340) and the golden lampstand (38:341-342) and the golden ark (38:343-344) and the golden cherubim (38:345-346) and the golden altar (38:347-348) and the golden table (38:349-350) and the golden lampstand (38:351-352) and the golden ark (38:353-354) and the golden cherubim 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the golden ark (38:413-414) and the golden cherubim (38:415-416) and the golden altar (38:417-418) and the golden table (38:419-420) and the golden lampstand (38:421-422) and the golden ark (38:423-424) and the golden cherubim (38:425-426) and the golden altar (38:427-428) and the golden table (38:429-430) and the golden lampstand (38:431-432) and the golden ark (38:433-434) and the golden cherubim (38:435-436) and the golden altar (38:437-438) and the golden table (38:439-440) and the golden lampstand (38:441-442) and the golden ark (38:443-444) and the golden cherubim (38:445-446) and the golden altar (38:447-448) and the golden table (38:449-450) and the golden lampstand (38:451-452) and the golden ark (38:453-454) and the golden cherubim (38:455-456) and the golden altar (38:457-458) and the golden table (38:459-460) and the golden lampstand (38:461-462) and the golden ark (38:463-464) and the golden cherubim (38:465-466) and the golden altar (38:467-468) and the golden table 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the golden altar (38:527-528) and the golden table (38:529-530) and the golden lampstand (38:531-532) and the golden ark (38:533-534) and the golden cherubim (38:535-536) and the golden altar (38:537-538) and the golden table (38:539-540) and the golden lampstand (38:541-542) and the golden ark (38:543-544) and the golden cherubim (38:545-546) and the golden altar (38:547-548) and the golden table (38:549-550) and the golden lampstand (38:551-552) and the golden ark (38:553-554) and the golden cherubim (38:555-556) and the golden altar (38:557-558) and the golden table (38:559-560) and the golden lampstand (38:561-562) and the golden ark (38:563-564) and the golden cherubim (38:565-566) and the golden altar (38:567-568) and the golden table (38:569-570) and the golden lampstand (38:571-572) and the golden ark (38:573-574) and the golden cherubim (38:575-576) and the golden altar (38:577-578) and the golden table (38:579-580) and the golden lampstand (38:581-582) and the golden ark 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golden lampstand (38:641-642) and the golden ark (38:643-644) and the golden cherubim (38:645-646) and the golden altar (38:647-648) and the golden table (38:649-650) and the golden lampstand (38:651-652) and the golden ark (38:653-654) and the golden cherubim (38:655-656) and the golden altar (38:657-658) and the golden table (38:659-660) and the golden lampstand (38:661-662) and the golden ark (38:663-664) and the golden cherubim (38:665-666) and the golden altar (38:667-668) and the golden table (38:669-670) and the golden lampstand (38:671-672) and the golden ark (38:673-674) and the golden cherubim (38:675-676) and the golden altar (38:677-678) and the golden table (38:679-680) and the golden lampstand (38:681-682) and the golden ark (38:683-684) and the golden cherubim (38:685-686) and the golden altar (38:687-688) and the golden table (38:689-690) and the golden lampstand (38:691-692) and the golden ark (38:693-694) and the golden cherubim (38:695-696) and the golden altar 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golden cherubim (38:755-756) and the golden altar (38:757-758) and the golden table (38:759-760) and the golden lampstand (38:761-762) and the golden ark (38:763-764) and the golden cherubim (38:765-766) and the golden altar (38:767-768) and the golden table (38:769-770) and the golden lampstand (38:771-772) and the golden ark (38:773-774) and the golden cherubim (38:775-776) and the golden altar (38:777-778) and the golden table (38:779-780) and the golden lampstand (38:781-782) and the golden ark (38:783-784) and the golden cherubim (38:785-786) and the golden altar (38:787-788) and the golden table (38:789-790) and the golden lampstand (38:791-792) and the golden ark (38:793-794) and the golden cherubim (38:795-796) and the golden altar (38:797-798) and the golden table (38:799-800) and the golden lampstand (38:801-802) and the golden ark (38:803-804) and the golden cherubim (38:805-806) and the golden altar (38:807-808) and the golden table (38:809-810) and the golden lampstand (38:811-812) and the golden ark (38:813-814) and the golden cherubim (38:815-816) and the golden altar (38:817-818) and the golden table (38:819-820) and the golden lampstand (38:821-822) and the golden ark (38:823-824) and the golden cherubim (38:825-826) and the golden altar (38:827-828) and the golden table (38:829-830) and the golden lampstand (38:831-832) and the golden ark (38:833-834) and the golden cherubim (38:835-836) and the golden altar (38:837-838) and the golden table (38:839-840) and the golden lampstand (38:841-842) and the golden ark (38:843-844) and the golden cherubim (38:845-846) and the golden altar (38:847-848) and the golden table (38:849-850) and the golden lampstand (38:851-852) and the golden ark (38:853-854) and the golden cherubim (38:855-856) and the golden altar (38:857-858) and the golden table (38:859-860) and the golden lampstand (38:861-862) and the golden ark (38:863-864) and the golden cherubim (38:865-866) and the golden altar (38:867-868) and the golden table (38:869-870) and the golden lampstand (38:871-872) and the golden ark (38:873-874) and the golden cherubim (38:875-876) and the golden altar (38:877-878) and the golden table (38:879-880) and the golden lampstand (38:881-882) and the golden ark (38:883-884) and the golden cherubim (38:885-886) and the golden altar (38:887-888) and the golden table (38:889-890) and the golden lampstand (38:891-892) and the golden ark (38:893-894) and the golden cherubim (38:895-896) and the golden altar (38:897-898) and the golden table (38:899-900) and the golden lampstand (38:901-902) and the golden ark (38:903-904) and the golden cherubim (38:905-906) and the golden altar (38:907-908) and the golden table (38:909-910) and the golden lampstand (38:911-912) and the golden ark (38:913-914) and the golden cherubim (38:915-916) and the golden altar (38:917-918) and the golden table (38:919-920) and the golden lampstand (38:921-922) and the golden ark (38:923-924) and the golden cherubim (38:925-926) and the golden altar (38:927-928) and the golden table (38:929-930) and the golden lampstand (38:931-932) and the golden ark (38:933-934) and the golden cherubim (38:935-936) and the golden altar (38:937-938) and the golden table (38:939-940) and the golden lampstand (38:941-942) and the golden ark (38:943-944) and the golden cherubim (38:945-946) and the golden altar (38:947-948) and the golden table (38:949-950) and the golden lampstand (38:951-952) and the golden ark (38:953-954) and the golden cherubim (38:955-956) and the golden altar (38:957-958) and the golden table (38:959-960) and the golden lampstand (38:961-962) and the golden ark (38:963-964) and the golden cherubim (38:965-966) and the golden altar (38:967-968) and the golden table (38:969-970) and the golden lampstand (38:971-972) and the golden ark (38:973-974) and the golden cherubim (38:975-976) and the golden altar (38:977-978) and the golden table (38:979-980) and the golden lampstand (38:981-982) and the golden ark (38:983-984) and the golden cherubim (38:985-986) and the golden altar (38:987-988) and the golden table (38:989-990) and the golden lampstand (38:991-992) and the golden ark (38:993-994) and the golden cherubim (38:995-996) and the golden altar (38:997-998) and the golden table (38:999-1000) and the golden lampstand (38:1001-1002) and the golden ark (38:1003-1004) and the golden cherubim (38:1005-1006) and the golden altar (38:1007-1008) and the golden table (38:1009-1010) and the golden lampstand (38:1011-1012) and the golden ark (38:1013-1014) and the golden cherubim (38:1015-1016) and the golden altar (38:1017-1018) and the golden table (38:1019-1020) and the golden lampstand (38:1021-1022) and the golden ark (38:1023-1024) and the golden cherubim (38:1025-1026) and the golden altar (38:1027-1028) and the golden table (38:1029-1030) and the golden lampstand (38:1031-1032) and the golden ark (38:1033-1034) and the golden cherubim (38:1035-1036) and the golden altar (38:1037-1038) and the golden table (38:1039-1040) and the golden lampstand (38:1041-1042) and the golden ark (38:1043-1044) and the golden cherubim (38:1045-1046) and the golden altar (38:1047-1048) and the golden table (38:1049-1050) and the golden lampstand (38:1051-1052) and the golden ark (38:1053-1054) and the golden cherubim (38:1055-1056) and the golden altar (38:1057-1058) and the golden table (38:1059-1060) and the golden lampstand (38:1061-1062) and the golden ark (38:1063-1064) and the golden cherubim (38:1065-1066) and the golden altar (38:1067-1068) and the golden table (38:1069-1070) and the golden lampstand (38:1071-1072) and the golden ark (38:1073-1074) and the golden cherubim (38:1075-1076) and the golden altar (38:1077-1078) and the golden table (38:1079-1080) and the golden lampstand (38:1081-1082) and the golden ark (38:1083-1084) and the golden cherubim (38:1085-1086) and the golden altar (38:1087-1088) and the golden table (38:1089-1090) and the golden lampstand (38:1091-1092) and the golden ark (38:1093-1094) and the golden cherubim (38:1095-1096) and the golden altar (38:1097-1098) and the golden table (38:1099-1100) and the golden lampstand (38:1101-1102) and the golden ark (38:1103-1104) and the golden cherubim (38:1105-1106) and the golden altar (38:1107-1108) and the golden table (38:1109-1110) and the golden lampstand (38:1111-1112) and the golden ark (38:1113-1114) and the golden cherubim (38:1115-1116) and the golden altar (38:1117-1118) and the golden table (38:1119-1120) and the golden lampstand (38:1121-1122) and the golden ark (38:1123-1124) and the golden cherubim (38:1125-1126) and the golden altar (38:1127-1128) and the golden table (38:1129-1130) and the golden lampstand (38:1131-1132) and the golden ark (38:1133-1134) and the golden cherubim (38:1135-1136) and the golden altar (38:1137-1138) and the golden table (38:1139-1140) and the golden lampstand (38:1141-1142) and the golden ark (38:1143-1144) and the golden cherubim (38:1145-1146) and the golden altar (38:1147-1148) and the golden table (38:1149-1150) and the golden lampstand (38:1151-1152) and the golden ark (38:1153-1154) and the golden cherubim (38:1155-1156) and the golden altar (38:1157-1158) and the golden table (38:1159-1160) and the golden lampstand (38:1161-1162) and the golden ark (38:1163-1164) and the golden cherubim (38:1165-1166) and the golden altar (38:1167-1168) and the golden table (38:1169-1170) and the golden lampstand (38:1171-1172) and the golden ark (38:1173-1174) and the golden cherubim (38:1175-1176) and the golden altar (38:1177-1178) and the golden table (38:1179-1180) and the golden lampstand (38:1181-1182) and the golden ark (38:1183-1184) and the golden cherubim (38:1185-1186) and the golden altar (38:1187-1188) and the golden table (38:1189-1190) and the golden lampstand (38:1191-1192) and the golden ark (38:1193-1194) and the golden cherubim (38:1195-1196) and the golden altar (38:1197-1198) and the golden table (38:1199-1200) and the golden lampstand (38:1201-1202) and the golden ark (38:1203-1204) and the golden cherubim (38:1205-1206) and the golden altar (38:1207-1208) and the golden table (38:1209-1210) and the golden lampstand (38:1211-1212) and the golden ark (38:1213-1214) and the golden cherubim (38:1215-1216) and the golden altar (38:1217-1218) and the golden table (38:1219-1220) and the golden lampstand (38:1221-1222) and the golden ark (38:1223-1224) and the golden cherubim (38:1225-1226) and the golden altar (38:1227-1228) and the golden table (38:1229-1230) and the golden lampstand (38:1231-1232) and the golden ark (38:1233-1234) and the golden cherubim (38:1235-1236) and the golden altar (38:1237-1238) and the golden table (38:1239-1240) and the golden lampstand (38:1241-1242) and the golden ark (38:1243-1244) and the golden cherubim (38:1245-1246) and the golden altar (38:1247-1248) and the golden table (38:1249-1250) and the golden lampstand (38:1251-1252) and the golden ark (38:1253-1254) and the golden cherubim (38:1255-1

EXORCISTS

there seems to be no reason for regarding it as older than these.¹ Some scholars think that the poem in its present form is the amplification of an older brief, and probably genuine, song of Moses, which may be preserved in 15b 1;² others, with greater probability, regard it as the development of the motive suggested in 7: 21.³

It has been thought by many that the song was found in an old collection of poetry, — perhaps the 'Book of the Wars of Yahweh' (7: 1), — and was incorporated by E in his history (Schr., Di., Ki., etc.). The latter hypothesis can hardly be accepted; E's song at the crossing of the sea is 7: 23 f.; 10: 13 is a rival composition. The references to Jerusalem and the temple are also against the supposition that the poem was included in E. More probably it was inserted by R₁ or a later editor. It is possible that it was taken from a poetical collection; but equally possible that it was written for its present position (Lichner).

(4) *Commentaries*. (See F. Brown, 'Commentaries on Exodus,' *Old Testament Studies*, Nov. 1886, pp. 84, 92; M. Kalisch (1893); A. Knobel (92); C. F. Keil (91, 90, 78, 1 f., 60); L. F. Lange (71, 1 f., 76). A. Dillmann (84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

7. *Literature*. Keil (91, 90, 78, 1 f., 60); L. F. Lange (71, 1 f., 76). A. Dillmann (84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

(5) *Criticism*. For the history of criticism see HERATZSCH, *General*, E. Bertheau, *Die sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze in den drei mittleren Büchern d. Pent.* (90); J. W. Coleson, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua*, Part VI. (72); Th. Noldeke, *Unters. z. Kr. d. A.T.* (66); A. Kayser, *Die vorchristliche Buch der Urschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen* (74); J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des A.T.* (89) (*AT*, 1, 76 f.); A. Kuenen, *Int. II* (89) 281-302 (Ex. 10); *ibid.* 15 (30) 4-22 (Israel at Sinai, Ex. 19-24 32-34); A. Jülicher, *Die Quellen von Exodus* 1-7 (89); 'Die Quellen von Exodus 7-24 (1), *AT* 8, 79-127, 272-115 (82); B. W. Bacon, 'The Middle Books of the Pentateuch,' *IBS*, 9 (90), 163-200 (Ex. 7-12); *ibid.* 10 (90), 107-130 (Ex. 13-17); *ibid.* 11 (92), 1-7, 200 (Ex. 12-17 10); *ibid.* 12 (93), 20-46 (Ex. 18-31); *The Triple Tradition of the Pentateuch* (94); K. Hilde, 'Die Gesetzgebung der mittleren Bücher des Pentateuchs, insbesondere der Quellen J und E,' *ZATW*, 11, 193-214 (90); Bruston, *Les quatre sources de la loi de l'Exode* (81); *Les deux témoins* (85); 'Les cinq documents de la Loi mosaïque,' *ZATW*, 12, 177-211 (93); Kittel, *Gesch. der Hebräer*, 1 (80), 1 f., *History of the Hebrews* (95).

1. On the Law. 1. Ex. 12 f.; I. F. L. George, *Die älteren jüdischen Texte* (85); W. H. Green, *The Hebrew Exegetes* (85), where references to the other literature will be found. — 2. On the Dialogue. E. Meyer, *Die ursprüngliche Form der Dekaloge* (90); Dalmann, *Der Dialog* (79); O. Mooser, *Der Dekalog* (Chiang, Diss.), (83); C. A. Briggs, *Higher Crit. of the Hexateuch*, 151 ff. (97); C. M. Mitchell, 'Recent Criticism upon Moses and the Pentateuchal Narratives of the Decalogue,' *IBS* 11, 251-267 (90). 3. On the Covenant Book. J. W. Robinson, *Das Bunde*, 1 (83); K. Hilde, 'Beiträge zum Bundebuch,' *ZATW* 11, 92-114 (90); B. Rensch, *Das Bundebuch* (92); W. Stark, *Das Bundebuch* 32-57 (94); C. A. Briggs, *Higher Criticism*, 211-232; L. B. Paton, 'The Original Form of the Book of the Covenant,' *IBS*, 12, 79-91 (90); R. Kautzsch, *Die Bundebuchstellung im A.T.* 79-91 (90); Steinmeyer, 'Der jehowistische Bericht über die Stiftungsfeier,' *St. Kr.* (89), 110 ff. 4. On Ex. 25-31 35-40. Popper, *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftungsfeier* (92); Wellhausen, *HEB*, 117 ff.; Kuenen, *Hex.* 6, 6, n. 12 f. 13; Dillmann, *Ex. u. Lev.* 351 ff., 39-102 ff.; *Num. Deut.* n. 10, 615; W. H. Green, 'Critical Views respecting the Moses Fabricate,' *Presb. and Ref. Rev.* (90) (94); A. Klostermann, *Neue krit. Al. Z.* 8, 40-77, 225-251, 294-328, 351-381 (97).

See also J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, Oxford, 1900 (Analysis, synoptical tables of laws, ch. 1, and works on Introduction to the Old Testament, especially those of Kuenen, Holzinger, Driver, Cornill, König; and on the History of Israel, especially Stade (1, 6, 14 ff.), and Kittel G. F. M.

EXORCISTS (ἐξορκιστὰι) were found by Paul at Ephesus (Acts 19: 11).

Exorcizo in **D** renders **עָרַב** twice (Gen. 21: 1, EV 'make to even'; Vg. *adjuvare*; **עָרַב** 22 v. EV 'adjuvare'; Vg. *adjuvare*) and **עָרַב** once (**AT**) (Judg. 17: 2, AV 'consecrated'; RV 'didst utter a curse'; RVmg 'didst utter an adjuration').

The practice of casting out demons by spells is of remote antiquity. It was common both in and after the time of Jesus Christ, who undoubtedly cast out demons himself. There was this strong distinction,

1. We 'cast out' (ἐκβάλλω); Chet. *OP* 1: 1; 10. *Int.* 3: 4 f.

2. We 'cast out' (ἐκβάλλω). Dr. thinks that the greater part of the song is Moses, the expression being limited to the closing verses.

3. Chet. *OP*, The Weir, C. J. Wilder, Chet. *OP*, Ki.

EXORCISTS

however, between the procedure of Jesus and that of his contemporaries that, whereas the latter were careful to use the names of supernatural beings to gain their end with the demons, Jesus 'cast out the spirits with a word,' 'by the spirit of God,' 'by the finger of God'; how he suffered in consequence, is told in the synoptic gospels. In Mt. 10: 8 Mk. 3: 15 6: 7 13 Lk. 9: 1 Mk. 16: 17 it is further said that both before and after his resurrection he gave authority to his disciples to cast out demons, and in Mk. 16: 17 (the address previous to his ascension) the great deeds which he prophesies are ascribed to the power of his name (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου). If Jesus Christ made it a condition of successful exorcism that it should be performed 'in his name,' he certainly did not mean the recitation of the name of Jesus as a spell. This however, was the procedure of the 'sons' or disciples of a certain Jew of high rank at Ephesus (see SCFVA) according to the narrative in Acts 19: 13, who tried the plan (πειράσασθαι) of using this potent name (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου). If Jesus Christ made it a condition of successful exorcism that it should be performed 'in his name,' he certainly did not mean the recitation of the name of Jesus as a spell. This however, was the procedure of the 'sons' or disciples of a certain Jew of high rank at Ephesus (see SCFVA) according to the narrative in Acts 19: 13, who tried the plan (πειράσασθαι) of using this potent name (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου). If Jesus Christ made it a condition of successful exorcism that it should be performed 'in his name,' he certainly did not mean the recitation of the name

EYE, DISEASES OF THE

he was asleep out of doors, is merely a picturesque explanation of the whiteness; ophthalmia is the common cause. The leucomata are dwelt upon pathetically as an affliction incurred in doing a pious deed; actual or total blindness may be implied in Tobit's stumbling (11.10), but is not expressly mentioned in all texts.

Opacities of the cornea interfere with vision in proportion to their central position opposite the pupil, their extent, density, kind of margins, presence in one or both eyes, etc. The whiteness is that of new scar-tissue, which is not homogeneous with the transparent tissue of the natural structure.

Saenisch ('Krankh. der Cornea,' *Handb.* 4.39) says that it is not rare to find a very slow spontaneous clearing of recent corneal opacities, especially in children, but that all applications to disperse the opacity of old scars are useless; Beer, of Vienna (1847), claimed many good results in treating white flecks as distinguished from true scars.

There is a treatment which might pass popularly as an actual cure, especially in the many cases where the vision is only impaired—viz., to darken the white spots by a pigment so that they are no longer seen (as a bluish) against the black of the pupil or the coloured iris. The modern method is to tattoo the spot or spots with Indian ink. Hirsch (*Gesch. der Augenheilk.* 276) has found in Galen a treatment having the same object, viz., producing by a heated probe an eschar of the surface, rubbing in powder of oak-galls, and applying a weak solution of copper salt; the copper ink so made on the spot would sink into the white tissue and render it permanently dark. Tobit's cure was probably of the nature of pigmentation. See TOBIT.

The text does not claim a miracle, Raphael's aid being given through ordinary means; a radical cure by the medicinal action of gall (or anything else) is out of the question (Saenisch); and the actual removal or exfoliation of the white tissue, which the text may seem to claim, would only have resulted in leaving other white scars behind.

From a fish of the Tigris, perhaps a sturgeon, the heart, the liver (not in all texts), and the gall are to be taken and preserved (83: *ὅτι ἀσφαλῶς*); it is probable, from the subsequent use of the two former to make a smoke with aromatics added, that they had been calcined to charcoal (816.82); the gall would keep only as evaporated and dried to a resinous mass, in which state it will keep for years.¹ The gall of a freshwater fish (sturgeon) differs from ox-gall in having its bile-acid nearly all turocholic and its alkaline base soda. Whilst Raphael is sent to cure both Tobit and his future daughter-in-law, and the materials for both cures are taken from the same fish, the gall alone is for the one, and the smoke of the heart and liver (probably calcined) for the other. The collocation of the text is so far suggestive, however, that one may read into it the omitted detail, viz., that the charcoal had been used with the gall to make a permanent pigment, as Indian ink may be made, and that the 'cure' had been of the same kind as that which is now effected by tattooing, the pigment having been applied either in that way or as in Galen's copper ink. (The *καὶ ὀρχέως διατρέχει*, 'being pricked therewith, he shall rub,' of 113 may imply either needle puncture or a preliminary eschar.) It is said that fish-gall has been used in Persia in modern times to 'cure' corneal opacities (Bissell in Lange, *at loc.*); but the folk lore is again fragmentary, and the scientific explanation wanting.

The other cases of blindness cured are miraculous (Jn. 9; Mk. 8.22; Mt. 9.27, and the case or cases at Jericho in the Synoptics). In the first two use is made of saliva, in the third there is only the touch of the hand, in the fourth only the word spoken (in two accounts). The use of fasting saliva (which is the more alkaline) for sore eyes occurs in all folk lore, ancient and modern.

¹ Ox-gall is prepared for the use of water-colour artists, its effect being to make an emulsion of the carbon particles of lead pencil and fix them in the tissue of the paper. The emulsifying effect of adding ox-gall to lamp black in water is easily shown in a watchglass, a serviceable semi being produced. There is also a physiological experiment which shows that ox-gall added to oil causes it to soak through moist animal membrane.

EZEKIEL

In the case at Alexandria given by Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.61), Vespasian took the precaution to learn from his physicians whether the man who solicited the exercise of imperial virtue were actually a curable subject.

In the circumstantially narrated case of Jn. 9.1, the man was born blind. Strictly, that should mean some congenital defect of structure in the eyes, of which the varieties are many; but one who had suffered from ophthalmia at birth, and had retained the more or less serious effects of it, would be classed also as born blind.

The bodily infirmity of Paul, referred to by himself in Gal. 4.13-15, is best explained as an acute attack of ophthalmia. We may safely follow Weiz-

säcker (*Ap. Zeit.* iii. 2, § 1) in assuming that he would not have written, 'ye would have dug out your own eyes to give to me,' had not his infirmity been of the eyes.¹ The compliment to the Galatians, that they 'neither set at naught nor abhorred my bodily trial' (*πειρασμὸν*, which is commonly used for a temptation or volitional trial, implies some malady at once externally shown, and repulsive in its nature. Ophthalmia might well be repulsive—the eyes red, swollen, and rendering a whitish filmy matter, the tears overflowing, the eyelids blinking from the intolerance of light, and the face contorted by spasms of pain in the eyeballs and in the forehead and temples. All the while it is unattended by general fever (Pruner, *loc.*). The medical diagnosis involves a point of grammar,—the use of *διδ* in *διδάσθηναι τῆς σαρκός*. In poetry (see the Lexicons) it is used for duration—e.g., *διὰ νύκτα*—and if it were allowable to give *διδ* this sense in NT the text of Gal. 4.13 would have the intelligible meaning 'right through bodily infirmity I preached etc.,' which would also be in keeping with the apostle's known zeal. The diagnosis of an acute attack of ophthalmia, throughout which he had preached (as it was not impossible to do), would enable us to assume some permanent after-effect (trachoma), such as would explain the references to his 'weak' or contemptible 'presence,' and perhaps his inability to recognise the high priest (Acts 23.5). It is singular also that the *σκόλοψ τῆς σαρκί* of 2 Cor. 12.7 is the same word that is used of eyes as tormented, in Nu. 33.55—*σκόλοπες ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς*.

For *Eyesalve*, Rev. 3.18 (*κολοῦριον*), see MEDICINE.

EZAR (עֶזְרָא). 1 Ch. 1.38 AV, RV EZER (q.v., i.).

EZBAI (עֶזְבַּי; אֶזְבַּאִי [B], עֶזְבַּי [N], אֶזְבַּי [A], אֶזְבַּאִי [L]). 1 Ch. 11.7. A faulty reading. See PARVAT.

EZBON (עֶזְבוֹן, Sam. עֶזְבוֹן).

¹ In genealogy of Gad, § 13; Gen. 46.16 (*אֶזְבַּאִי* [AD]; *אֶזְבַּי* [L]). In Nu. 26.15 the name has been corrupted to EZBI, and the family is known as the EZBITES (עֶזְבִּיטִי; v. 25, *אֶזְבִּיטִי* [B], *אֶזְבִּיטִי* [Bd], *אֶזְבִּיטִי* [N], *אֶזְבִּיטִי* [L]).

² Bela in genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 9, ii. a); 1 Ch. 7.1 (*אֶזְבַּאִי* [BA], *אֶזְבַּי* [L]). See BELA II., c.

EZECHIAS, RV *Ezekias* (ΕΖΕΚΙΑΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 9.14 = Ezra 10.15, JAHAZIAB.

EZECHIAS, RV *Ezekias* (ΕΖΕΚΙΑΣ [BA]) (1) 1 Esd. 9.14 = HUKIAB, 7 (2) Ezr. 10.17, RV BEZKIAH (1).

EZEKIEL (עֶזְקִיָּאל; *עֶזְקִיָּאל*, 'El makes strong,' ΕΖΕΚΙΑΛ [BA]), 1 Esd. 10.11, one of the four 'greater' prophets. The only trustworthy notice

1. **Training.** of Ezekiel from another writer is that in the editorial title to his prophecy (1), in which he is described (probably) as 'the priest, the son of Buzi.'

¹ [1] Lightfoot's final opinion is that the disease was epilepsy, a view held also by Krenkel and Schindeler (*Gal. in H.C.*). Ramsay (*Hist. t. viii. on Gal. 4.13*) up St Paul the traveller, q.v.) a somewhat Lightfootian fusion except this final result, in place of which he proposes the view that Paul was afflicted by seizures of malarial fever, which, as the inscriptions show, was regarded in Asia Minor as due to the immediate action of God (p. 2 Cor. 12.7), its recurrences would have enabled him to preach from time to time and from place to place. (p. GALATIA, § 27.)

Here Buzi possibly points for the origin of the prophet's family to some district near N. Arabia, or to the region of Gad (see BEZ).¹ His priestly character comes out clearly enough in his book; he was, in fact, a member of that Zadokite clan which toward the close of the seventh century was on the point of getting complete control of the worship of Yahwe in Palestine (see ZADOK, 1); his whole tone is that of a man who belonged to the governing sacerdotal body.

The prophet's youth was probably spent in the temple at Jerusalem, where his education would consist chiefly in training in the ritual and moral law and in the history of his people; whether the priestly youth then received specific literary training, we do not know. The two chief educational influences of his time were doubtless the cultus-centralisation of Josiah (see ISRAEL, §§ 37-7) and the teaching of Jeremiah; Josiah's reform must have heightened the *esprit de corps* of the Jerusalem priestly college, and have paved the way for the complete organisation of the temple-ministers, the new law-book (contained in Deuteronomy) furnishing the starting-point for detailed codification; Jeremiah's teaching suggested broad prophetic views of the ethical-religious condition and needs of the nation. Ezekiel's writings show how greatly he was influenced by his older contemporary.

His home career was cut short in the year 597 by the Chaldean capture of Jerusalem and deportation of a large number of the people to Babylonia. In the account in Kings (2 K. 24:13-16) it is said that with king Jehoiachin and his household all the princes, warriors, and craftsmen were carried to Babylonia. This statement cannot be taken literally, since it appears, from the book of Jeremiah, that a considerable number of princes and fighting men were in Jerusalem in Zedekiah's time; but no doubt the deportation included many of the best people (Jer. 52:28; cp ISRAEL, § 41). There is no mention, either in Kings or in the book of Ezekiel, of priests among the exiles. The omission may be accidental; Ezekiel at any rate was among those carried away. This appears from the fact that he dates his prophecies from the deportation of Jehoiachin (everywhere except in 1) and that he calls it 'our captivity' (51:10). Possibly he was singled out by Nebuchadrezzar as a chief man among the priests, or as the representative of a prominent priestly family, though he was certainly neither 'chief priest' nor 'second priest' (cp 2 K. 25:18).

Ezekiel's age when he left Judaea can only be guessed at. His call to the prophetic office came in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity (1:2), 592 B.C., when he was possibly about thirty years old.² In this case his birth-year would be approximately 622; he may, however, have been older.

The 'thirtieth year' of 1), given by him as the date of his prophetic call, cannot, as the text stands, refer to his age (Origen); that would be expressed in Hebrew differently (see Kings, *passim*). Nor was it the custom of the prophets of their elders to give the writer's age (see the prophetic books, *passim*); the epoch is always a political or national one: the accession of a king, or an earthquake (Am. 1:1), or there is simply mention of the kings under whom the prophet prophesied. In Ezek. 1:1, then, the epoch is in all probability political or in some way national. The only event in Israelish history of this date (622) is the introduction of the moral and ritual reform (Deuteronomy) by Josiah (2 K. 22). This is adopted by Lagarde and Jerôme. There is no reason, however, to suppose that it was a generally recognised epoch. Still less is there ground for taking the 1,000th year as the starting-point (see CHRONOLOGY, § 1, 3). It was, as far as we know, never so used except for transactions. For other explanations see Carpino, *Introd.* The suggestion of a Babylonian reckoning (see Lagarde) is in itself not untenable if we consider Ezekiel's business for Babylonian ideas and customs, and the fact that the Jews after a while adopted the Babylonian names of months (see MONTH, § 3, 5). Private family chronology, however, has yet been found.

¹ Whether the Ezekiel mentioned in 1 Ch. 24:18 has any connection with the prophet is uncertain (see JEREMIAH, 1).

² I. Septuagint *Int.* c. 7 says that he was a boy when he was carried away, but this is either a guess, or an unsupported tradition.

the era of Nabopolassar, if it be a real era, begins according to the Canon of Ptolemy in 625, not thirty but thirty-three years before 592. It is possible that the number thirty in Ezek. 1:1 is a very early corruption of 'five,' or, conceivably, the alteration of a scribe who wished to bring Ezekiel's *forty* (4:1) into accord with Jeremiah's *seventy* (Jer. 25:11), and therefore makes the prophet's writing begin in the thirtieth year of the captivity (see Duhm, Bertholet).¹ Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 1, 3, col. 774/7.

We must leave the question unsettled till the Babylonian history and the Hebrew text have been cleared up. However this point may be decided, we may regard it as reasonably certain that the prophet's active career extended from the fifth to the twenty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity (29:17), 592-570 B.C.

Ezekiel's life in Babylonia appears to have been outwardly quiet and comfortable. The captives were settled at Tel-abib on the river Kelar, not far from the city of Babylon (see CUEBAR, TEL-ABIB). They formed a separate community, had their elders (8:1), engaged in agriculture (Jer. 29:5-7), and were probably left undisturbed on condition of paying a tax to the Babylonian government (cp Wildenhöfer, *Letterkunde*, 206). Ezekiel was married, and had his own house (8:1); the death of his wife was made the occasion of a symbolical act of warning to the people (24:15-24); there seems no reason to doubt the reality of the procedure.

After his call as prophet his life was spent in the endeavour to open the eyes of the exiles to the significance of current events, to make them see what the captivity meant, and to what a future they were destined. He had to struggle against the moral and religious levity of the mass of the people (33:30-32), the torpor and idolatry even of the principal men (11:1-5), and the evil influence of the morally blind prophets and prophetesses (13:1). He was respected by the people as a predictor, and perhaps admired as an orator; but the moral side of his teaching was not generally comprehended (8:1, 14:1, 33:32). There was, however, a sympathetic kernel (20:13-28).

In his last years, when Jerusalem had been destroyed and the popular excitement of struggle and hope had given place to the quiet of acknowledged defeat, Ezekiel gave himself up to contemplation of the new organisation of the nation, to whose speedy return to its land he ardently looked forward (chaps. 40-48). This is the only indication of development of thought in his prophetic career; he began as denouncer, he ended as consolator and organiser of his people. The turning-point in his work was the destruction of Jerusalem; the worst accomplished, he set himself to build up. This general unity of thought may suggest that he was already a mature man when he began his prophetic work. When and how he died we do not know.³

Ezekiel is a particularly interesting and important figure in the history of the OT religion, for the reason that he represents the transition from the prophetic to the priestly period. Both a prophet and a priest, he sympathised with, and did justice to, both tendencies of thought.

In this respect he differs from Jeremiah, who, though a priest, felt little interest in the ritual. Ezekiel, as prophet, was alive to the dependence of the people on the immediate word of God, to the necessity, that is, of a constant living contact between the mind of God and the mind of man. But, as priest, he also saw that the people had reached a stage which demanded a more precise formulation of the law of worship. He lived on the verge of a great religious revolution—the abolition, namely, of idolatry, and the establishment of the sole

¹ It is clear that the editor who inserted 1:2, though right that the datum in 1:1 required explanation, cannot prefer to regard 7:1 as a scribe's addition, in the use of the 11 pers. in 7:14, and the obviously explanatory tone of 1:2, made the supposition improbable.

² For traditions of his genealogy, miracle, family, etc., see Pseudo-Philo, *De virt. proph.*; Benj. of Tudela, *It. sacra*, 157; cf. *Homilies*, 1, 117.

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(chaps. 1-24, which precedes the fall of the city) is coloured by the (later acquired) knowledge of the capture of Jerusalem, though the general announcements of impending destruction (chaps. 4-7, 12 etc.) may be simply proofs of the prophet's wise reading of the signs of the times. Specific predictions, as in 12:13-22, may be regarded as later insertions.

The unity of style may suggest a complete final revision.

The section above referred to, 20:1-20 (which recognises error in the preceding prediction, 20:12), shows, however, that the prophet was not greatly concerned to remove discrepancies from his text (Corroll), else he would have erased 20:12. How much of the earlier matter (chaps. 1-24) was spoken or written, it is difficult to say. The prophet declares that he was dumb from his call till the reception of the news of the capture of the city (3:26 f., 38:31), yet he is also said to speak to the captives (11:25, 21:5, 19:1, 32:1-3). The 'dumbness' may mean that he did not address the people in public, but confined himself to conversation about his own house.

Ezekiel may have written notes of his discourses and afterwards expanded them. It is not necessary to suppose that he was very highly esteemed before the fall of the city, with his greater fame and authority as his later years would come the occasion of careful literary revision. There seems no necessity to suppose that he really composed the book at the end of his life (Reuss, Kuenen). Whether the dates given to the various groups of prediction are trustworthy is disputed (Kuenen).

Some of the discrepancies in MT are clearly scribal errors. Kuenen observes that chap. 17 cannot belong to the sixth year of Zedekiah (such is the date given in 8:1) since Zedekiah had not then revolted, and that the reference to Egypt is not borne out by Jer. 27:3. This remark is pertinent if the date given in 8:1 is held to reach to the next mention of date (20:1), and if the date does not go on, then chap. 17 and other sections must be regarded as unlinked. Kuenen would take the insertions as merely a setting inserted long afterwards by the prophet.

It is perhaps better to say that they represent a real chronology, but have suffered from scribal and other errors.

Most of Ezekiel's visions seem to be without the definite psychological basis which may be recognised in such experiences as those of Amos 7:1-3.

3. The visions. The pictures given in chaps. 1-8, 10, 40-48 are too elaborate for a moment of ecstasy: they are, in their present form, the product of careful study and composition, based on Is. 6, on the prophet's knowledge of the Jerusalem temple, and on Babylonian monuments. Ezekiel in these cases used the vision as a more literary form. For this reason doubt must attach also to the psychological reality of the vision of dry bones (chap. 37), though this falls more nearly in the region of possibility. It seems impossible to decide whether all the symbolical actions described by him were really performed. Some (12:1-7, going into exile, and 21:18, behaviour on the death of his wife) are simple enough for performance; that of 4:1-8 (siege of Jerusalem) presents serious difficulties (see the commentaries).¹

The MT is in bad condition. It is full of scribal changes and additions, and is in some places unrecognisable.

4. Text. Examples are chap. 1 (which must be compared with and corrected by 10:4-5, 1:20 for 1:20) 7:4, doublet of 7:5-9, 12:1-10, 13:20, 19:21-24, 24:1-11, 26:17-27, 28:1-19, 32:17-22, 39:1-29, 40:1-48 and many other passages.

For the correction of the text the most important instrument is *Q*, which, though itself abounding in errors, often offers or suggests the true reading. The Pesh. and *Vg.* are of less use, and the *Largum* is almost worthless for textual criticism. The other versions (Copt., Ethiop., Arab.) have some value for the establishment of the Greek and Syriac texts. For an excellent account of the versions see Corroll, *Text and Style*.

One reason for the thoroughgoing revision which late Hebrew scribes made of the text of this book is probably to be found in the boldness of Ezekiel's expressions, which, it was felt, needed to be toned down or explained; and there is, in addition, the general tendency of scribes to modify a much-read book in accordance with the ideas of their own times. The

¹ On the confidence that Ezekiel was sincere to prophetic utterances see Kuenen, *op. cit.* 172-173, but cf. Valetan, *Textual Crit.*, and Kuenen, *op. cit.* 172.

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corruption of the text, however, while it obscures certain passages, does not affect the general thought of the book.

The book of Ezekiel was no doubt canonised along with the other prophetic books (see *Ezech.* 498 and *op. cit.* the prologue) when the second canon was made up (probably in the 3rd century B.C.; see *CANON*, §§ 30-31), and its canonical authority has since been generally recognised by Jews and Christians. It is not directly quoted in the N.T., but its imagery and its picture of the future are in part adopted in the Apocalypse (Rev. 12 f., 6 f., 20:21 f., 16:22 f.). It did not, however, in early times entirely escape suspicion.

5. Admission to Canon. When in the first century B.C. or even the necessity of using the canonised books of the canon, and of the traditionally sacred books, the attention of Jewish scholars was directed to the obscurity and apparent mysteriousness of Ezekiel's opening and closing sections (chap. 1, called *machaba* 'the chariot', and 4-48), and, as we learn from Jerome (Præf. letter to his Corin.), on Ezekiel, it was forbidden the Jewish youth to read and they reached the age of thirty years. More serious difficulty was occasioned by the discrepancy between Ezekiel's ritual scheme (chaps. 40-48) and that of the P. (Leviticus 17-26, 27-28); but these were satisfactorily explained, it is said (*Shab. 13 b. Hag. 1:10*), by a certain Hananiah, who appears to have lived in the first half of the first century of our era.

Doubtless it was felt that difficulties of the kind just mentioned must not be allowed to set aside the strong evidence for Ezekiel's prophetic authority.²

Ezekiel shows many points of contact with Jeremiah. This is probably in part the result of identity of surroundings and education, but there seems also to be direct dependence.

6. Dependence on Jeremiah. Ezekiel may well have been a hearer of Jeremiah in his youth, and have seen his writings or heard of his discourses after the deportation to Babylonia. He has in fact expanded certain of Jeremiah's texts, possibly, however, the two prophets borrowed from a common source.

(Cp. E. 3:1-11; Jer. 1:1-2, 1:7-9, 2:1-3, 1:13-14, 1:15-16, 1:17-18, 1:19-20, 1:21-22, 1:23-24, 1:25-26, 1:27-28, 1:29-30, 1:31-32, 1:33-34, 1:35-36, 1:37-38, 1:39-40, 1:41-42, 1:43-44, 1:45-46, 1:47-48, 1:49-50, 1:51-52, 1:53-54, 1:55-56, 1:57-58, 1:59-60, 1:61-62, 1:63-64, 1:65-66, 1:67-68, 1:69-70, 1:71-72, 1:73-74, 1:75-76, 1:77-78, 1:79-80, 1:81-82, 1:83-84, 1:85-86, 1:87-88, 1:89-90, 1:91-92, 1:93-94, 1:95-96, 1:97-98, 1:99-100, 1:101-102, 1:103-104, 1:105-106, 1:107-108, 1:109-110, 1:111-112, 1:113-114, 1:115-116, 1:117-118, 1:119-120, 1:121-122, 1:123-124, 1:125-126, 1:127-128, 1:129-130, 1:131-132, 1:133-134, 1:135-136, 1:137-138, 1:139-140, 1:141-142, 1:143-144, 1:145-146, 1:147-148, 1:149-150, 1:151-152, 1:153-154, 1:155-156, 1:157-158, 1:159-160, 1:161-162, 1:163-164, 1:165-166, 1:167-168, 1:169-170, 1:171-172, 1:173-174, 1:175-176, 1:177-178, 1:179-180, 1:181-182, 1:183-184, 1:185-186, 1:187-188, 1:189-190, 1:191-192, 1:193-194, 1:195-196, 1:197-198, 1:199-200, 1:201-202, 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ground for the dark picture of the city drawn by the prophets, though it is not to be inferred that Jerusalem was worse than other cities. From Amos downwards the prophets had held that the idolatry and the moral depravity of the people must call down punishment from the righteous God of Israel. In Ezekiel's time a catastrophe was plainly imminent—it was looked on as the retributive dispensation of Yahweh. In that case, the withdrawal of a part of the people, their safe establishment in the conqueror's land, was to be regarded as an act of mercy: from this saved remnant would come the renewed nation whose future was held to be guaranteed by the promise of Yahweh. Such is Ezekiel's position. Yet in the morally dull body of exiles around him he found much to condemn, and he therefore expected a sifting of this mass before the return to Canaan (20 17 f.). Apart from this particular view his aim is the establishment of moral and religious purity in the nation.

The book may be divided into two parts: the body of prophetic discourses (1-39), and the new constitution (40-48); or into the minatory (1-32) and the consolatory (33-48).

If we omit chaps. 40-48 the discourses fall into three divisions: (i.) those delivered up to the beginning of the siege (1-24); (ii.) those directed against foreign nations, apparently while the siege was going on (25-32); and (iii.) the consolatory pictures of the future (33-39).

1. The first of these groups is (a few sentences excepted) wholly minatory. We have first, as general introduction, the history of the prophet's call (1-3). There is a magnificent theophany.

9. Chaps. 1-24. Yahweh appears seated on a celestial chariot-throne, which is supported and moved by four creatures, each with four wings and four faces (man, lion, ox, eagle); the whole surrounded by a rainbow-like brightness; the composite creatures (called cherubs in chap. 10), probably partly of Babylonian origin or suggested by Babylonian forms (a survival of primitive beast-worship) here symbolise the completeness of the divine attributes; the whole appearance sets forth the majesty of Yahweh, and its presence in Babylonia is intended to indicate that the God of Israel had now taken up his abode in Babylonia with the exiles.

From the mouth of God the prophet receives his commission to act as moral and religious guide of the people. His message is symbolised by a book-roll which he is ordered to eat (2 1-3 11), and, in view of the moral dullness of the exiles (cp. 14 6-7 20), he is further commanded to be dumb, that is, not to address the people orally (3 22-27) till permission shall be given him to speak (see 24 27 33 22); his discourses were to be written, but not delivered.¹

His prophetic work begins with a series of symbolical actions (4 1-5 4), in which are dramatically represented the siege of the city, the famine, and the destruction or dispersion of its inhabitants. In the following discourse against Jerusalem (5 5-17) this threat is stated and explained in literal terms. Similar punishment is predicted (6) for the mountains of Israel, with special reference to the rural idolatry, and a passionate denunciation (7) closes with the declaration that Yahweh will abandon the land to its enemies.

At this point the discourses are interrupted by a theophanic vision the object of which is to set forth clearly the fact that Yahweh no longer dwelt in his temple at Jerusalem, but had withdrawn himself so that it might be given over to destruction.

First comes (8) a striking picture (in vision) of the idolatrous cults of Jerusalem, including the worship of the images of exiles (see from §§ 1-3), of the Assyrian (8 4-6) and of the Syrian (8 7-9), the last cult being possibly of Assyrian origin (cp. 1 1-2), instead of, as they put the branch to their nose, 'read they as a stretch of six months'; then follows the vision of the sifting of the city (9), the prophet, or perhaps a wife, here poses (10) in order to identify the creatures of the cherubs (the text of the chapter is corrupt and the object of the purpose being to point out that the divine presence in the city was identical with that of the inner shrine). The temple and the city are then (11) with a clear allusion to the worship of

¹ The section 3 22-27, which claims that the prophet is to be dumb, is not to be expected as a promise, but the suggestion given in the Assyrian.

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in the city (12 1-13) and a promise of restoration to the exiles (12 14-25).

With chap. 12 the minatory predictions are resumed.

The prophet represents in symbols the exile of the people and the king (12 1-16), and the famine of the siege (12 17-20), and adds the assurance that the fulfilment of the threat is near at hand (12 21-28). Next comes a denunciation (13) of the prophets and prophetesses who divined for pay without regard to moral-religious principle, speaking false words of comfort to the people. To certain elders of Israel the prophet declares that idolaters and deceived prophets (men deceived by Yahweh himself) shall be destroyed (cp. 14 13 1-5 12-13); and that good men in an evil land shall save only themselves by their righteousness (14)—that is, there is no hope for Jerusalem. After comparing Jerusalem to a worthless wild vine (15), the prophet in an elaborate and striking allegory (16), an historical review, describes the city as an unfaithful wife, worse than Samaria and Sodom, yet ultimately to be united with them in the fear of Yahweh; the crime of Sodom is said to be pride. This city, which he here in imagination exhumes, seems to represent for him the southern region, which had natural connections with Judah. He adds a denunciation of what he calls the treachery of king Zedekiah in turning from Babylon to Egypt, and appends a promise of national restoration (17). In connection with this promise, in order that the exiles may not be deceived by false expectations, he declares, against the popular notion of the moral solidarity of the family, that they shall be judged individually, each man standing or falling for himself (18; cp. Jer. 31 29 f.; Dt. 24 16). A couple of laments follow (19), one for kings Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin, the other for the nation, after which comes a remarkable review of the national history (Heb. 20, EV 20 1-44), the prophet making the charge that from the beginning Israel had been rebellious (a different view in Hos. 2 17 151 Jer. 2 23). As the end approaches, his words become fiercer: a prediction of the desolation of Judah and Jerusalem (Heb. 21 1-12, EV 20 45-21 7), a dirge (textually corrupt) ode of the avenging sword (Heb. 21 13-22, EV 21 8-17), a description of the march of the king of Babylon to Jerusalem, and the overthrow of Zedekiah (Heb. 21 23-27, EV 21 18-27), with an extended prediction of the destruction of the Ammonites who had gloried over Israel (Heb. 21 33-37, EV 21 28-32), and a detailed indictment of Jerusalem for her moral and religious crimes (22), the ethical and ritual being curiously mingled. A second elaborate allegory (23) describes the religious debauchery of Samaria and Jerusalem; the careers of the two cities are presented as parallel, only Jerusalem is said to have excelled her sister in evil (a proof that the prophet saw no great difference between the religious constitutions of the northern and southern kingdoms). Finally he announces (24) that the king of Babylon has begun the siege of Jerusalem, and sings a song of vengeance on the city; at this juncture his wife dies, and he is commanded, as a sign, to make no mourning for her, so shall the people's terrible punishment crush them into deadness of feeling.

Here comes a pause. The prophet is waiting for the news of the fall of the city, and

10. Chaps. 25-32: in this interval is placed the second group. Foreign nations.

n. The prophecies against foreign nations (25-32).

Whether these were all (except 29 17-20) uttered at this time (as the professed dates declare), or were merely here massed for convenience of arrangement, we have no means of determining (see Kuenen, *Studies* 2^d ed., § 62). We may compare the arrangements of similar prophecies in Isa. and Jer. (MF and S); it is perhaps intended to represent the humiliation of foreign nations as a natural antecedent to the exaltation of Israel (cp. 33).

First to be dealt with are the Palestinian peoples—Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Philistines (25, in 28 omit 'and Seir'). The charge against them is purely political hostility to Israel, and they are all threatened with destruction. The prophet speaks not from an ethical but from a simply national point of view, there being no reason to suppose that these peoples were morally inferior to the Babylonians or the Israelites.

11. Tyre. Next comes one of the most splendid passages of the Old Testament, the prophecy against Tyre (26 1-28 26), consisting of several discourses.

The ground of Ezekiel's hatred of the great city is not clear. In its commercial rivalry, as 26 2 has been understood to say for Jerusalem, had no great commercial ambition. Apart from this, perhaps given in Jer. 27 1-6, in which Tyre, along with other

12. If we will, however, follow a tradition (not in accordance with the present form of the narrative) which represents Tyre as a fortified city, we may see (cp. Golden Age 1, 17 (27)) that the city had begun with the entrance into it of any Phoenician (18 30) takes a military view of the history of Tyre, the explanation of the nation's present humiliation (18 31-32) is given in the history of the city's fall (18 33-34) and the prophecy of its future (18 35-36).

powers, appears as trying to enter Zedekiah into a revolt against Babylon—a heinous crime in the eyes of both Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

The point of view of these prophets was a twofold one; on the one hand, they thought submission to Babylon the condition of peace for Judah (Jer 27:1), but, on the other hand, they held the destruction of the existing Judæan régime to be necessary for the national future of prosperity—and revolt was the necessary antecedent to this destruction. Now they harmonised these two points of view does not appear.

A more general explanation of Ezekiel's position is that he regarded the rich and splendid Tyre as embodying an anti-Yahwistic cult and an anti-Israelitish civilisation, dangerously seductive for Judah; a central prophetic principle was the untainted development of the native civilisation. We should naturally suppose that Babylon would be thought equally dangerous. It was not so. Babylon is only honoured and defended and the reason of this is that every other consideration was swallowed up in the conviction that Nebuchadnezzar was the only hope of deliverance from the present evil. A few years later (Is. 47:1) the circumstances changed, and with them the tone of the prophets toward Babylon.

Ezekiel first describes the siege and capture of Tyre (26:1-29:25), introducing an exquisite little *kind of lament* (27:17-22). On this follows the historically valuable description of the Tyrian commerce (27), the text of which is unfortunately in very bad condition. Turning to the prince of Tyre (28), the prophet first taunts him for his inordinate pride, and predicts for him a shameful death (28:1-10), then represents him as having dwelt in the divine garden of Eden, under the protection of the cherub (so the Heb. text must be corrected), whence he was expelled for his pride. We apparently have here the Babylonian Eden-story, out of which that of Gen. 2:2-5 was shaped by monotheistic transformation (see Ch. 30:1-6). A prediction of destruction against Sidon is added, with a word of promise to Israel (28:20-22).

The next section (29:32) is devoted to Egypt, which, like Tyre, was an anti-Yahwistic power (opposed by the prophets from Hosea onwards) and an enemy of Babylon.

12. Egypt. The coming desolation of the land is described, with promise of partial restoration, yet so that it should never again be a powerful kingdom (29:1-6),—a prediction which was literally fulfilled; and it is added that Egypt should compensate Nebuchadnezzar for his ill-success with Tyre (29:17-20), which he may have captured (on this point we have not certain information), but certainly did not spoil (for early explanations see Jos. *Ant. x. 111, Cont. Ap. 1.21*, and Jerome on this passage of Ezekiel). Here again the prophet interjects a word of hope for his people (29:23).

The picture of desolation is repeated in the next discourse (30) with interesting geographical details. The king is then represented (31) as a noble tree destined to be felled (31:1-4, read 'Behold, there was a cedar in Lebanon, etc.), and as the Nile monster at whose death darkness shall cover the land (32:1-6; but see *Diction. Bib. 1.43*). Finally, in an eloquent discourse (32:17-32) the Pharaoh is brought down to Sheol, where he lies among the outcasts, those who had not received burial rites.

Turning now to Israel, after having announced the destruction of external enemies, the prophet proceeds to give a new picture.

13. Chaps. 33-39. The new subject is the future restoration; the occasion is the reception of the news of the fall of the city (33).

First comes a repetition of Ezekiel's commission as watchman (33:1-9, 33:22) and of the principle of individual retribution (33:10-20, 33:27); this latter is for the encouragement of the exiles who were oppressed by the fear that they were doomed to destruction on account of their sins (33:25), against which the prophet declares (looking to the return) that repentance will save them. When the news comes from the city, he points out the moral necessity of the desolation of the land, and deprecates the levy of the exiles.

The first consolatory discourse (34) denounces under the figure of a flock the negligence and rapacity of the Judæan leaders,

1 Chap. 27:20-22 is regarded by some critics as the insertion of an editor. Certainly, if this section be omitted, the remainder of the chapter will form a satisfactory unity (picture of Tyre as a lovely vessel, which suffers shipwreck); yet the geographical situation depicted is explicit, and the details are in Ezekiel's manner. The section was perhaps inserted by the prophet himself.

and promises the people safe abode in a fruitful land united under a king of the Davidic dynasty (this was the natural expectation of the time, though the circumstances of the return made it impossible). The national feeling of the time comes out curiously in the appended announcement of the desolation of Edom (35)—the destruction of Israel's hostile and hated neighbour was held to be an essential feature of the restoration.

Next is promised a blessing on the soil (36)—the land should suffer no more under the evil renown of famine: Yahweh for his own sake would restore them; for their unfaithfulness to him (worship of other gods) he had scattered them, and had thus lost honour among the nations, being seemingly unable to provide for his own people—now he would show his power, his name should be accordingly revered among the nations, and he would give his people a new spirit of obedience which should save them from idolatrous defection.

The prophet goes on (37) to depict the national restoration under the figure of revived dry bones (37:1-14), and the everlasting union of the two branches of the nation, Judah and Ephraim, by the uniting of two pieces of wood into one piece (37:15-28).

The concluding discourse (38-39) is a semi-apocalyptic picture of invasion and victory. At that time (38:2) the Scythians had overrun north-western Asia, and an invasion of the Mediterranean coast might seem certain—this the prophet regarded as the last trial of Israel, ushering in the era of unclouded prosperity. Ezekiel first describes (38) the mustering of the forces of Gog (by command of Yahweh, 38:1-6), according to the correct translation, their attack on Israel (38:7-17), and their overthrow (38:18-23), whereby Yahweh's power should be made known to many peoples. The defeat is then described in detail (39); the land should be filled with their weapons and corpses, their dead should all be burned in the valley of Abdon, in the mountains of Moab, E. of the Dead Sea (39:11, emended text), the event should be a lesson to the nations, and for Israel there should be no more captivity.

iv. The last series of discourses (40-48) belongs to the picture of restoration, but by its character it separates itself from the rest of the book. It is the constitution of the reconstructed state, the temple service being the central feature.

14. Chaps. 40-48. Temple service being the central feature, Ezekiel spends no time on the political and moral sides of the national life—these both were fixed by tradition; he is concerned with the ordering of the public rites of religion, in which he sees possibilities of reform, his special point being to destroy the old royal control of the cultus, and make temple and temple-ministers absolutely independent.

He gives first a plan of the new temple (40:42), apparently a reproduction of the temple of Solomon (1 K. 6:2, 7:1-13), with the details of which he, as priest, would be familiar; the text is, unfortunately, very corrupt. The vision of the Kedus here reappears (41:1-9), the glory of Yahweh fills the temple (42:1-5), returning after having abandoned the old temple (4:10); and the royal practice of building sepulchres by the temple (natural when this was a royal chapel) is forbidden (43:4-6). The divinely given form of the temple and its service is declared to be the essence of public religion (43:10-12), and the altar and its consecrated offerings are described (43:13-27). After mentioning the peculiar use of the eastern outer gate (44:1-3) the prophet announces that the idolatrous priests of the rural shrines are degraded to the rank of subordinate non-sacerdotal ministers (henceforth known distinctively as 'Levites'),² and gives the law of the priests proper (44:4-31). A sacred territory is then marked off (45:1-5) in the middle of the land, 25,000 by 20,000 cubits (about 7½ by 6 miles or 12 by 10 kilometres) for temple, priests, and Levites; south of this is the city (about 14 miles or 24 kilometres square, with territory on the E. and the W.), and on the E. and W. sides the domain of the prince. Various prescriptions follow: the oblations to be furnished by the people to the prince, and by him to the temple (45:9-17), the offering for cleansing the sanctuary (45:18-20), and for the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles (45:21-25), the function of the prince in the public service (46:1-11, in 46:12 read 'he' for 'thou'), the prince's control of his own property (reference to the *démur* or Judæan law) (46:16-18), places for cooking and baking the offerings (47:24). Further, the blight on the land, the sterility of the Dead Sea, is to be removed—the prophet (47:1-12) sees a stream issue from the eastern front of the temple; it runs into the sea, whose waters are then healed and abound in fish (only certain marshes remain for the production of salt), on the banks of the river grow fruitful fruit-trees. There is nothing in the text to indicate that this was not intended in the literal sense. The boundaries of the land are then given (47:13-20), agreeing in general with Numb. 34:2-12 (cp. Josh. 1:1-9), the Jordan forms part of the eastern boundary. It is added that resident Levites (*Lev. 19*), ministers of Yahweh, are to have a share in the land (47:21-23); this is an advance in liberality and in social organisation. The last chapter (48) gives the territories

1 This section is regarded by Winkler as a composition of the time of Alexander the Great (see above, vol. 1, p. 2). In that case, however, Alexander would be called 'King of Greece' and would be treated not as an enemy but as a friend.

2 See LEVITES.

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of the several tribes in parallel ships, seven on the N. and five on the S. of the central reserved territory (77, 1-2), and the measurements and gates of the city (70, 30-35), the sacred name of which is to be *Yahwé Iamnah*, 'Yahwé is there' (cp Jer. 23, 34-35).

Moral and religious position—Ezekiel's writings state the principal ethical and religious problems and ideas of his time. His own opinions we may suppose to have been those of the most advanced priestly circle, though it may not always be possible to distinguish his individual views from the current opinion.

18. Ethics. His own opinions we may suppose to have been those of the most advanced priestly circle, though it may not always be possible to distinguish his individual views from the current opinion.

Ezekiel's ethical code is that of the prophets—of high character as far as regards the relations between Israelites, or, we may probably say, between individuals (of whatever nationalities). All the main social duties are insisted on in 18 and 22. As to foreign nations, the prophetic code says nothing of duties toward them—the social relations of the time had not created an international code. Ezekiel regards all nations hostile to Israel as morally bad and to be hated and given over to destruction. That his standard of judgment is not ethical, but political, is shown by the fact that he denounces Egypt and favours Babylon, the only difference between the two kingdoms being in their different relations to Israel.

It seems remarkable that the prophet shows no recognition of the greatness of the Egyptian and Phœnician civilisations. Another defect of his ethical scheme is his mingling of the moral and the ritual, as in 18 11-13 (where read 'has eaten [flesh] with the blood'), 22 6-12, in which the 'contempt of sacred things' probably means a violation of the ritual law, and the 'humbling of an unclean woman' is purely a matter of ritual. In 22 6-7 reference is made to certain marriages—namely with the wife of one's father, and with one's half-sister—which, formerly legal (2 S. 16 22 Gen. 20 12), had been condemned by the advancing moral feeling in Ezekiel's time (cp Lev. 20 11-17). These things were wrong as violations of existing law; but we demand a clear distinction between them and purely moral offences.

On the other hand the prophet's sharp exposition of individual responsibility (18) is an advance on the older view which held men responsible for the sins of their fathers or their social chiefs. This principle did not originate with Ezekiel: it is found in Dt. 24 16 and Jer. 31 29 f., but he elaborates it distinctly, and no doubt did much to give it currency. It must be added that he seems to give it a special application to the exiles, on whom he wished (on the eve, he supposed, of departure from Babylon) to impress the necessity of individual preparedness; nevertheless his words contain the universal principle. See *ESOTATOGY*, § 21 f.

As regards purity of religious conceptions Ezekiel occupies a position midway between the old Israelitism and the later Judaism or the

16. Idea of God. New Testament. With his higher prophetic thought are mingled survivals of the old ideas, and this admixture gives a curiously varied and picturesque character to his writing. In this respect he appears to fall below Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah—a result for which his priestly training was doubtless in part responsible. His conception of God is in the main that of all the prophets. He is practically monotheistic; he recognises no deity but the God of Israel, though from the paucity of his statements on this point (see, e.g., chap. 3) it is impossible to say whether he regarded other deities as having a real existence; it is perhaps significant that in such passages as 34 25 34 15 21 39 21, in which demonstration of Yahwé's power to other peoples is spoken of, nothing is said of their gods. It seems probable that his opinion was that of Jer. 2 11, that these gods were 'not gods'.

Though Ezekiel has no definite formula of absolute divine omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence, Yahwé is for him practically unlimited in place, time, knowledge, and power, the universal lord and judge, fashioning the fortunes of all men and peoples, using, and putting up and down whom he will. This seemingly universal conception is held along with the old tribal idea that the deity is attached to a definite place. Yahwé, however, abandons for a time his doomed temple

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(1 28 10 19) and goes to Babylon to remain till the new untainted temple shall be built (43 7). Yahwé is specifically the God of Israel, and has no friendly relations with other nations (34 30): he dwells in the land of Israel (37 26 f.), and particularly in the temple (10), of his sole proprietorship of which he is jealous (43 7 f.).

The coexistence in Ezekiel's mind of these unharmonious ideas is explained by the historical development; it was only gradually that Israel purified its religious conceptions, and Ezekiel's theology contains the germ of the later more spiritual view. The prophet probably thought of Yahwé as having definite human form (1 26), this pure physical anthropomorphism was an advance on the earlier theriomorphism (as in Egypt and Babylon) and formed the transition to the higher conception.

The ethical character ascribed by Ezekiel to Yahwé also shows diverse elements. In his relations with

17. Yahwé's character. Israel Yahwé is represented as indelibly just, and as basing his judgments on moral grounds—he punishes his own

people for their sins. This is the prophetic view which, though not confined to Israel, was most clearly announced by the Israelitish thinkers (Am. 3 2), and by them made a part of the world's religious thought. On the other hand, the Yahwé of Ezekiel lays great stress on ritual. In his dealings with other nations he has not risen entirely above the level of the old national god who cares only for his own people; his treatment of Egypt, Tyre, and the other peoples is not morally discriminating. The curious statement of 20 25 f., that he gave Israel evil, deadly, and polluting laws, is apparently intended to account for the presence, in the earlier legislation, of prescriptions (as that of Ex. 13 12) to which objection was taken in the prophet's time; these, says Ezekiel (in accordance with his conception of the divine absoluteness), were given by Yahwé as punishment for the people's disobedience (cp Mt. 19 8). Ezekiel (differing in this respect from Hosea and Jeremiah) does not ascribe to Yahwé tenderness. He generally represents him as animated against Israel and Jerusalem by fierce anger (see especially chaps. 5 and 20). Still, he says of him (18 32) that he has no pleasure in inflicting death, but desires that sinners turn and live; that is, he desires his people's good (34), but is angry at and rigorously punishes defection. A primitive feature in Ezekiel's portraiture of Yahwé's character is the theme for renown which he ascribes to him (35 9 36 22 f. 38 21 etc.). Yahwé acts 'for his name's sake,' i.e., so, that his name (himself) may be revered by the nations.

In this representation there is a well-developed conception of divine absoluteness—it is not for man but for himself that God acts (cp. the similar, yet discrepant, statements in Dt. 9 4-6 7 7 f.); and there is also the germ of a great moral and religious idea—the conviction that the truth of the worship of Yahwé will be the salvation of the nations; but in the prophet's mind this idea is obscured by excessive nationalism, the desire to exalt the national deity above all other deities, and so the nation above all other nations; he expresses no hope for the moral-religious reform of foreign peoples. In short, his conception of God has noble features dimmed by narrow national and low anthropomorphic elements.

He makes no mention of angels (unless the persons

18. Other beings. who are introduced in 9 2 are so to be regarded, of seraphim, or of evil spirits, but the non-mention is probably accidental.

The spirit which enters into him (2 2) and lifts him up (3 12 14 8 11 24) is (as in Judg. 14 19 1 K. 22 19 2 K. 19 35) member of the heavenly court, sent by God to do certain things beyond ordinary human power; in 39 29 it, however, is to implant a new disposition in the mind (and here the expression 'point out' indicates the beginning of a transition to the sense of 'influence' for the term 'spirit'). The cherub, to which Ezekiel several times refers, is of course no angel, but a figure of mythic origin, derived directly or indirectly from Babylonia. On the different representations of the cherub see *CHERUB*.

Ezekiel has the old Israelitish view of the nature and

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destiny of man. He regards him as a free agent

19. Man.

capable of changing from bad to good, or from good to bad (18); of the conditions which may determine a man to be good or bad he says nothing, except that it is open to any one to consider the outcome of his ways (18:23). Sheol, the world of the dead (see 26:20 31:14-17 32:17-32), is still without any trace of local division between the good and the bad (cp *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 10 f.); nor can it be said that any reference is made to the resurrection of the body, the description in 37:1-14 being figurative of the restoration of the nation to national life (so, explicitly, v. 14). Man, according to the prophet, works out his destiny and finds his happiness or unhappiness in this world; here God distributes rewards and punishments, awarding to nations prosperity or adversity, and inflicting on the wicked man the greatest calamity, premature death (18). Righteousness and sin are obedience and disobedience to the divine law, moral and ritual. Of the inward life, struggle against sin, love to God, the prophet says nothing (on 36:26 see below); it is the outward side that is considered. The chief reason for this is that the nation, not individual man, was the religious unit of the prophets (as of antiquity in general), and for the nation there could be only the external test of goodness. Salvation was thus, both for the nation and for the individual, deliverance from the outward ills of life, and endowment with all things good. It includes forgiveness of sins, and its condition is obedience to the law. For obedience there is needed a disposition or determination of mind. Israel, having been rebellious, must have implanted in it a new purpose and will, a 'new heart,' a 'heart of flesh' (36:26), yielding, sensitive to the divine will. Yahwe himself will do this. The same thing the prophet expresses by saying (36:27) that Yahwe will put within the nation his spirit, a new spirit (v. 26), the reference being to the idea expressed in Gen. 2:7 that man's vital breath is breathed into him by God (cp § 18, above). 'Heart' and 'spirit' are in the OT sometimes practically identical; each expresses the whole inward being (cp *ESCHATOLOGY*, §§ 12-19 f.). The prophet thus declares that Israel's inward nature shall be transformed in the respect that it shall hereafter have the will to obey. Though he has in mind directly only the statement of the fact that Israel will cease to be disobedient and become obedient (of which statement a natural Heb. form is that of 36:26 f.), yet in his conception of transformation (as in Jer. 31:33) we must see the germ of the NT idea of regeneration.

Ezekiel's representation of the future of Israel does not differ substantially from that of his predecessors.

20. Future of Israel.

He expects the nation to be restored in peace to its own land, in which (after the struggle with Gog) it shall dwell for ever in prosperity under its kings. He says nothing of an individual human deliverer, there having been apparently at that time no prominent political figure either among the exiles or at home. He expects not an absolute theocracy but a royal government which shall respect and support the temple. A decided advance over earlier prophetic representations of the future is the more definite formulation of the idea of moral regeneration mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The hope for the union of Ephraim and Judah into one kingdom under a Davidic king (37:25-28) was a natural one at the time: the northern kingdom had long ceased to have a political existence, the fulfilment of this hope was made impossible by political conditions when the prophet could not foresee, since in his day Persia had not yet come to the front. The 'messianic' expectation proper did not arise till after his time. On his new constitution for the future kingdom see below, § 24.

Place in the history of the nation. The development of the sacrificial ritual which had been going on from the beginning of the second dynasty received a special impulse toward the end of the seventh century. This

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was, in the first place, the result of that general growth in culture which is, as a rule, attended by growth in organisation. Israel, with its high religious endowment,

21. Interest in ritual.

naturally advanced slowly and surely in the ordering of its outward religious life, as Rome did in the establishment of political principles. There were, besides, two facts, one internal, one external, that probably helped on the movement in the generation preceding Ezekiel's active life. The first of these was that the practical triumph of monotheism gave the leading men leisure to turn their attention more fully to the needs of the national worship; and some of these were accordingly not slow to take advantage of the favourable disposition of the young king Josiah, and to set on foot an attempt at centralisation. The other fact was the closer social contact with Assyria during the seventh century. Judah was an Assyrian vassal kingdom, the relation between the two powers was a peaceful one, and the less advanced in general culture would naturally borrow from the more advanced, especially as the Assyrians were Semites, and the Jews felt nearer to them than to such a country as Egypt. Manasseh and his party adopted astral worship from Assyria (2 K. 21:23), and the Yahwe party, while protesting against these innovations, might get from their Syrian kingdom valuable suggestions for the better regulation of worship. Ezekiel belonged to the circle most interested in this movement, and from his writings we may form an idea of the changes which were proposed in his time; these, we may assume, represent not only his individual opinions, but also the views of his circle.

The first efforts of the reform party were directed toward the suppression of the rural shrines; its programme is embodied in Dt. 12:26—a

22. Centralisation.

work which doubtless represents the ideas of the leading men of the year 621. The next step would naturally be the further organisation of the sacrificial cultus, a point on which D has very little to say (18:8). Its provisions were probably known to and accepted by Ezekiel, the book may have been regarded as an authoritative but not a final statement of sacred law, and it forms the starting-point for the work of the succeeding generation. Little seems to have been done in the interval between the year 621 and the destruction of the city in 586; the energies of Jerusalem were absorbed by the political situation, and the leading prophet, Jeremiah, was not interested in the ritual (Jer. 7:22). It was in the quiet of the exile that the development of the ritual was carried on; to this work Ezekiel seems to have devoted himself in the last years of his life. (Cp *LAW LITERATURE*.)

The book of Ezekiel stands between Deuteronomy (D) and the final priestly legislation (Lev. 1:1-27 Nu. Ex. 25:31-35:40 = P), and is in nearest relation with Lev. 17:26 (Law of Holiness = H).¹

With 18:26 of this last section (which is composite and of various dates) he agrees in the general conception of the position of the priest, the special sanctity of the sabbath (Ezek. 20:12 Lev. 19:30), and the marriage law (Ezek. 22:10 f. Lev. 18:15-19 20:11 f. 12 f. cp Th. 23:1 [21:10]). On the other hand the subsections Lev. 17:21-26 in their recognition of priests as Aaronides (21:1), in their greater elaboration of the ceremonies of the feasts (23), and in their development of the jubilee (25), appear to be later than Ezekiel; the earlier parts of H are probably contemporaneous with him, but they were added to in succeeding times.

The more particular relation between D, Ezek., and H is as follows—

i. *Priests.* In D (18:1-5) all Levites are priests, in Ezek. (44:15) only Zadokites are priests; in H (1:1) only Aaronides.
ii. *Prophets.* As to their general idea, all the provisions of Ezek. (44:15-26) are found in H (Lev. 21:22-24) except the prohibition of woollen clothes and wine, and the command to sit as judges, and H has many details not found in Ezek. D has nothing on this point except (47:10) the recognition of Levites as judges (an old institution). As to their support, Ezek. 44:12

¹ See *LAW LITERATURE*.

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is substantially reproduced in Ezek. (44:29f.), but the latter adds a large gift of land for priests and Levites (45:4); this land-provision is peculiar to Ezek., but in Nu. 35:1-8 forty-eight cities are assigned to the whole tribe of Levi, and of these thirteen (Josh. 21:4) were for the priests; Ezek.'s proposed arrangement, however, in fact, to be impracticable. It alone mentions the high priest (31:13).

iii. *Offerings*.—D has no details. The offerings are of the same kind as in Ezek. and II, except that the latter does not mention the *shew* ('gaith-offering', 2 K. 12:15 [17]); neither has the elaborate sin-offering of Lev. 16. It is more detailed than Ezek. in the description (23:17-25) of sacrificial animals.

iv. *Festivals*.—D (16) has the three great festivals—Passover, Weeks, Booths—without sacrificial details; Ezek. (45:21-25) mentions only the first and the third of these, but with details of the materials (the omission of the feast of weeks is no doubt due to an oversight), and adds a special ceremony of purification of the sanctuary on the first day of the first and the seventh months (45:18-20, according to the *1st* text). II (23) gives, besides the three, the ceremony of the sheaf of first-fruits, the feast of trumpets, and the day of atonement (the ritual details are given more fully in Nu. 28/1).

The impression made by comparison of Ezekiel and II is that the latter represents in general a more advanced ritualistic stage; but the differences between them are not so great as to require us to suppose that they are separated by a great interval of time. The main point is that Ezekiel expands the Deuteronomic scheme by a more precise formulation of the ritual.

The function assigned to the *prince* (peculiar to Ezekiel and never carried out; see Patek, 2) is to be noted. The omission of mention of furniture (ark and cherubs) in the most holy place is strange, especially as the cherub and the palm tree are introduced as ornaments; the omission is perhaps due to scribal error. Cp 1 K. 8:12-23, and the omission of the bronze altar in 1 K. 7:7.

Though the scheme given in 40-48 is put in the form of a vision, its minuteness of detail shows that the prophet

had in mind a plan of organisation to be actually carried out on the return of the people to their land. It is all to be taken literally, even 17:12 for there is no exegetical ground for making a distinction between this section and the rest. The plan is an admirable one. Without encroaching on the proper functions of the state, it secures the absolute independence of the temple. The ministers of the sanctuary are to have their own lands and houses and revenues assured them by organic law; the prince is a servant of the temple, subordinate in this sphere to the priests; it is a genuine separation of Church and State, a provision which for that time was a necessity, if public religion was to have free course. The temple, the dwelling-place of Yahweh, is the centre of the national life (cp Hag 2; Zech. 1; Mal 3:1); the people are to be morally and ritually righteous, but the full conception of ritual sanctity (as in Zech. 14:20f.) is not expressed. The other features of the scheme are less important.

The prophet reproduces the details of the temple of Solomon with a fidelity which shows not only that he attached great importance to the visible centre of worship, but also that he had closely studied its architecture and its service. It is hardly possible to restore the temple completely after his instructions; but there is enough to show that the whole structure, including the enclosure, was pleasing and possibly imposing (see Temple). The physical changes in the land expected by the prophet (17; cp Zech. 14:10-15, 65:17-25 11:6) are not essential to his religious plan.

It is sometimes said that the measurements of the temple (42:15-20) and of the sacred territory (45:1) are geographically impossible, and that the prophet thus means to indicate that his scheme is an ideal one. The difficulty disappears when (with *1*) we read 'cubit' instead of 'reed' in 42:15-20, and, in accordance with this, supply 'cubit' in 45:1. The temple-enclosure will then be about 250 yards (or 225 metres) square, and might easily stand on the top of the hill, and the whole central reserved district (including the land of the priests and of the Levites and the territory of the city) will be about 24 miles (or 12 kilometres) square. The physical changes described in 47 are not greater than those contemplated elsewhere in OT, and were not unnatural according to the ideas which prevailed in Ezekiel's time.

i. *Criticism of the text*—see *1*, *Ezekiel* (36) (note in material); bold, sometimes rash, in emendation; often happy in suggestion; see § 4 above. Siegfried in 23. *Literature*.—Kau, *HS* (critical notes to his translation); Gratz, *Emendationen*. II, (30); P. H. Müller, *Ezekiel-Studien* (65); Bertholet in Now; Toy in *SBOT* (60). [See also many articles on archaeological points in the present work.]

ii. *Commentaries*.—Among modern writers see Hävernick,

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1841; Hitzig, 1847; P. Fairbairn, 1852; Ewald, 1868; Reuss, 1876; Currie (in *Speaker's Commentary*), 1876; F. W. J. Schröder, 1874; Smend, 1880; Keil, and ed. 1882; A. B. Davidson, 1882; Dreli, 1888, and ed. 1896; Bertholet in *ATTA*, 1897; Toy, *SBOT*, Eng. ed., 1899; R. Kautzsch in *Nowack's HA* (1904).
iii. *Other critical notes*.—Gratz, *MT* (74); Dahm, *Theol. d. Propheten* (72); Kls. in *St. Ar.* (77); Gratz, *Die Bücher d. AT* (66); Kuenen, *Propheten und Prophetie* (77); and his art. in *Modern Review* (84); Valeton, Jr., *Verbalen over prophet. den* (11/18); Amst., *Die stelling van de AT Propheten* (86); L. Gautier, *La mission du prophète Ez.* (91); Montfaucon, *HA*, 1. c. (92); Skluner, *Ezek. (Apost. Bibel)* (95); Bertholet, *Die Verfassungsentwurf des Hies.* (96). To these should be added, on Ezekiel's elegies, Hu. in *ZATW*, '82 and '91-'93; and, on the prophet's plan of a temple, Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art*, etc., where, however, Chipiez's restoration is highly imaginative.

C. U. T.

EZEL (עֶזֶל [with art.]), a name which has intruded itself by a misunderstanding into the narrative of David's parting from Jonathan, 1 S. 20:19 (Vg., Luther, EV). *1* presents the unintelligible word *Ezēl* (עֶזֶל) *2* *3* *4* *5* *6* *7* *8* *9* *10* *11* *12* *13* *14* *15* *16* *17* *18* *19* *20* *21* *22* *23* *24* *25* *26* *27* *28* *29* *30* *31* *32* *33* *34* *35* *36* *37* *38* *39* *40* *41* *42* *43* *44* *45* *46* *47* *48* *49* *50* *51* *52* *53* *54* *55* *56* *57* *58* *59* *60* *61* *62* *63* *64* *65* *66* *67* *68* *69* *70* *71* *72* *73* *74* *75* *76* *77* *78* *79* *80* *81* *82* *83* *84* *85* *86* *87* *88* *89* *90* *91* *92* *93* *94* *95* *96* *97* *98* *99* *100* *101* *102* *103* *104* *105* *106* *107* *108* *109* *110* *111* *112* *113* *114* *115* *116* *117* *118* *119* *120* *121* *122* *123* *124* *125* *126* *127* *128* *129* *130* *131* *132* *133* *134* *135* *136* *137* *138* *139* *140* *141* *142* *143* *144* *145* *146* *147* *148* *149* 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EZNITE

γ. γαβελος [Jos. Ant. viii. 4]. It has been suggested, however, that the true name was Nēsih-Edom—i.e., 'Column of (the god) Edom'. See JEHOSHAPHAT, 11. One of the last stations where the Israelites encamped (Nu 33 15 f. γαβελος γ. [11²] -σσι γ. [11² A] [11²]). In 2^o (11): see WANDERINGS, § 12 f. It was here that Solomon made a ship (or a navy of ships) to fetch gold from Ophir (1 K 9 26, ἐναβελος γ. [11] γαβελος γ. [11], cp 2 Ch. 8 17 γαβελος γ. [11], and at a later time Jehoshaphat made Tarshish-ships (cp our 'Indiamen'), which were broken up by a storm (1 K 22 48, σάωον γ. [A] = 16 28 f. in B [γαβελος γ.] and L [γε γ.], 2 Ch. 20 36 ἐργασάωον [= σάω γ.] γ. [A], ἐργασάωον γ. [11], see JEHOSHAPHAT, 11). To judge by 1 K 9 26 Ezion-geber must have been situated near (or) to L. VII, its precise situation is unknown, but on the supposition that the mud-flats which now form the lower end of the Wādy el-'Arahah were once covered by the sea, it is identified by Robinson with 'Arah-ahadyah, a valley with brackish water some 15 m. N. of the present extremity of the gulf (see Dr. Deane 35 f.). Others would place it in the small bay N. of the mouth of the Wādy Marākh, opposite to which at a short distance from the land is the islet of el-Kurayā. The identification of Ezion-geber with the modern Dahab proposed by Wellsted (in ch. 19 v) rests on the old legends common among the Sinaitic monks. This place is situated too far N., and its name ('gold'), which may have given rise to the legends, arose probably from the shining appearance of the place, rather than from any legends of gold-laden transport ships from Ophir.

Ezion-geber soon seems to have lost its importance and to have given way to Elath. In 1 K 9 29 its position has to be defined by means of the latter place, whilst in 2 K 14 22 16 it is unmentioned.

According to Jer. and Eus. Ezion-geber (ἐζιον-geber, γαβελος) is said to have been called *Ezra*, αἰθρα (Ols. 97 21 1257 22² 24 241 53). At a much later time the Egyptian historian Makrizi (15th cent.) mentions as hearsay that in early times (and by Aila (Elath) was a great and important town called 'Assūn'; but whether his information was based on biblical sources or arose from an independent source, cannot be said. At the present day it has totally disappeared. (Cp Burckhardt, 631; Hübner, *Geogr. d. Palästina*, 39 f.) See ELATH.

EZNITE. THE (עֲזַרְיָה; אֶזְרָא), 2 S. 23². See ADINO.

EZORA (עֲזֹרָא [BV], ΝΑΔΑΒΟΥ? [L]), a post-exilic family in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA 1, § 5 nuth, 1 Esd. 9 14 RV, AV' OZORA. According to Be-Rys = family of Ater in Ezra 2 6; but see MACHSANEHAI).

EZRA (עֲזָרָא, perhaps abbreviated from AZARIAH, 'Yahweh helps', see NAMES, §§ 27, 84, ΕΞΡΑC [B], ΕΞΡ.

1. **His origin.** [A, but 1 Esd. 9 1. ΕΞΡ.] ΕΞΡΑ. [L; in title and subscription, ΕΞΔΡ. [BV]], of whose memoirs, written by himself, some portions untranslated and others very considerably modified have come down to us in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah² (Ezra

1 According to Jos. (l.c.), it was known by the name of *Bepovian*.
2 The author of this article stands between the extreme negative criticism of Torrey in his *Compos. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Neh.*, and the much more conservative criticism of F. Meyer in his *Entstehung des Judentums*. For a fuller statement of the author's criticism and its results see his *Hist. Herleitung von Israel* (which has been translated into German) and the articles referred to below (EZRA II, § 18). Meyer's work is a very thorough and instructive historical and archaeological study; but it is not as keen in its criticism as could be wished. Torrey, on the other hand, is sometimes almost hypercritical. He thinks that the older documents incorporated in the Chronicle are of much less extent than has generally been supposed, and denies the historical character of all the supposed official documents inserted in our Book of Ezra. He regards the story of Ezra as the best exemplification of the qualities of the Chronicle as a writer of fiction and of his mistaken idea of the history of Israel. Marquart's essay (*Ezra*, 28-68) on the organisation of the Jewish community after the so-called Exile is learned and acute; it should be read in combination with Meyer's work which it preceded. Chén., in *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* (62) adopts a view approaching that of Koster, but much affected by more recent critics, e.g., Marquart, Torrey, Wellhausen, and Meyer. Winckler's

EZRA

7-10 Neh 8-10), lived as a Jewish exile in Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and was a younger contemporary of Nehemiah. Of his antecedents otherwise nothing certain is known.

We are told indeed in Ezra 7 1-3 that Ezra belonged to the high-priestly order (but 1 Esd. 7 1-3 he is even called high priest), but no credit deserves to be given to the statement, which is taken from the fictitious genealogy (1 Ch. 9 1-13 [5 24-31] (see EZRA II, § 18), and makes Ezra a son of Seraiah, the priest who, according to 2 K 23 18, was put to death by Nehabhadrezzai in 586. If we accept the date given in Ezra 7 7 f. (see § 23), Seraiah died almost two years before Ezra arrived in Jerusalem, and therefore, of course, cannot have been his father. The statement, moreover, is plainly not derived from Ezra's own memoirs, which would hardly have passed over his immediate ancestors in silence. It comes from the hand of the redactor. There is even some reason for questioning whether Ezra was a priest at all. He is called 'priest' or 'the priest,' the writer only in those places which have been worked over by the redactor (Ezra 7 11 f., 21 f., 10 3-4; Neh. 8 2-9, and cp Neh. 12 24). Ezra himself sometimes refers to 'our priests' (Ezra 9 7; Neh. 9 34), in a way that implies he did not reckon himself as belonging to the number. Cp *Die Esdrasbücher* I, § 7 (v. 1).

After the thirty-third year of Artaxerxes I (Neh. 13 6; see EZRA-NEHEMIAH § 16) Ezra set out from Babel

for Jerusalem with a band of 1496 men (Ezra 8 1-14; 1 Esdras 8 2-14, where the number amounts to 1000), besides women and children. It was by the favour and liberality of Artaxerxes that he was able to undertake this expedition, for which it is not unlikely that Nehemiah during his stay at the court of the Persian king (to which reference is made in Neh. 13 6) had paved the way (see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 3).

According to Ezra 7 11-26, which purports to give the words of the firman, Artaxerxes not only permitted all the exiles without exception to return, if so minded, to the land of Judah, but also, along with his 'counsellors,' supplied them on a generous scale with the means of purchasing animals and otherwise providing for the temple sacrifices; it would also appear that Ezra was authorised to draw upon the royal exchequer to a considerable amount for further necessities of the temple worship. Moreover, the king fixed all those employed in the service of the temple from all taxes (see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 3, n), and gave Ezra full powers to order everything in Judea and Jerusalem in accordance with the law of God which he carried with him, even the Jews outside of Palestine were made subject to the jurisdiction of the authorities at Jerusalem, on whom an almost unlimited power of punishment was conferred. This representation, however, is obviously a highly exaggerated one, and the firman of Artaxerxes unquestionably spurious, for he speaks there as if he were a believing Jew, recognising Yahweh as the God of heaven,² holding himself bound to care for his service, and in case of remissness holding himself and his posterity liable to the consequences (see further EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 3).

It is only in passages which have been worked over by the redactor that we find any mention of the firman or of the copies made from it by the king's officials (cp Ezra 8 10); all that Ezra himself tells us is that the king and his nobles gave gold and vessels for the temple, and that God inclined the heart of the sovereign in his favour (Ezra 7 27 f.; 8 20); he also believes that had he chosen he could have obtained a safe-conduct for his

articles on the time of the restoration of Judah, and on the reform of Nehemiah (10 f. 2210-225, cp 2410-244), attach too much weight to disputable corrections of names of Persian kings. See also GOVERNMENT, § 28 f.; ISRAEL, §§ 50-64.

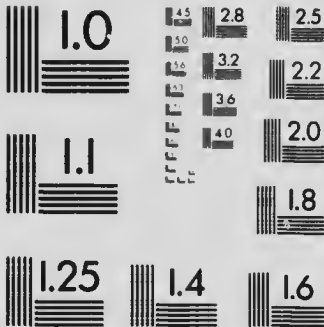
[This suggests an emendation of 'seventh' in Ezra 7 into 'thirty-seventh,' see Marq. (*Ezra*, 39). Chénay, who places Ezra's arrival between Nehemiah's two governorships, and shortens the time of Nehemiah's first period of office, would prefer to correct 'seventh' to 'twenty-seventh.' In fact, the date of Ezra and his chronological relation to Nehemiah are fully disputed. Meyer has shown strong reasons for adhering to the view that the Artaxerxes of Ezra is Artaxerxes I, but probably inverts the right order when he makes Ezra precede Nehemiah (*Die Esdr.*, 90). On these points cp NEHEMIAH.

2 [Meyer (*Die Esdr.*, 61) seems to misunderstand this objection. The use of the phrase 'the God of heaven' for Yahweh in a different context would have been less surprising. Did the Persian authorities really sanction v. 23?]



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EZRA

hand from Assyria. . . if this he had refrained from doing because he had expressed unreservedly his confidence in the help of his God.

Again, it seems doubtful whether, as the redactor presents (Ezra 7) the object of Ezra's expedition was to establish in Israel the law of Yahweh, and whether he thus arrived in Jerusalem with the law of his God already in his hand (Ezra 7:10). From his own words we gather rather that his aim was, by bringing back its exiles, to restore Israel and re-establish the twelve tribes once more in the land of their fathers; the company he brings with him consists, in addition to one Davidic and two priestly families, of twelve clans; the gifts received are entrusted to twelve priests and twelve Levites; the number of sacrificial victims offered by the exiles on their arrival in Jerusalem is twelve of each kind or a multiple of twelve (cf. at least, following 1 Esd. 8:6, we read 72 for 77 in Ezra 8:35). The aim he had in the whole expedition was to bring back the twelve tribes to their fatherland and to restore the temple to its pristine glory.

By the banks of the AHAVA [yarn] which flowed past a town of the same name, Ezra assembled his company.

4. Journey. After three days' stay, discovering that he had no Levites with him, he sent messengers to a certain HOBAB [i.e. at Casphat], apparently an influential compatriot, from whom some Levites and NEPHTHIM [yarn] were obtained. Prayer was then offered, with fasting, for a successful journey, the temple vessels which accompanied the expedition were handed over to the charge of certain priests and Levites, and on the 12th of the first month the company set out on its journey. If we are rightly informed by the redactor (Ezra 7:1) that Ezra left Babylon on the first of the same month, and if by the three days of 8:15 we are to understand the first three of the month, the enlistment of the Levites thus involved a delay of only nine days. The journey, probably at first in a NW. direction along the Euphrates towards Thapsacus or Carchemish, and then SW. down the valley of the Orontes, occupied more than 3½ months; on the first of the fifth month, we are told, Jerusalem was reached, and there, after an interval of three days, the silver, the gold, and the vessels were handed over to a commission of priests and Levites in the temple, and thank-offerings made.

Not long after his arrival Ezra heard of the serious 'defilement' which the Jewish population of Palestine, priests and Levites included, had contracted

5. Mixed marriages. by mixed marriages (a trouble to which most scholars have also found a reference in Mil. 2:11; see, however, MALACHI, § 26). What actually happened may, or may not, be correctly represented in the extracts from Ezra's memoirs (Ezra 9:1); this is a matter which calls for keen criticism. It is possible that some admirer of Ezra wrote in Ezra's name. Or, as Volz suggests, we may distinguish between an original Ezra-document and a drastic recension of the same by the Chronicler, especially in the 'F' section. He notices that 1 Esd. 8:1-7 betrays the work of two hands; also 9:10 ff.; even the original Ezra-document can have been of but slight historical value, since it was mainly an imitation of the memoirs of Nehemiah. Cf. also Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 58 f., who agrees with Torrey that the story in Ezra 9 f. is full of improbability, and that the ascription of Ezra 9 to Ezra does not make it more plausible. According to the story, for which we need not hold Ezra himself responsible, Ezra's distress on learning this was such that he rent his clothes, tore his hair and beard, and sat for hours as one astonished on the plateau in front of the temple, until the time of the evening sacrifice. He then rose up, and renewing the outward expressions of his grief poured out his heart in a passionate confession of guilt.

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Meanwhile a very great congregation of men, women, and children (104) had been gathering around Ezra. A certain SHECHANIAH (4), recognising the guilt that had been incurred, urged Ezra to take measures to extirpate the evil, assuring him of the support of all right-thinking persons. Ezra lay prostrate under an oath to stand by him, and then passes the night in fasting and humiliation in the chamber of Johanan, Eliashib's son or grandson (cf. Neh. 12:1 f., 23). Undoubtedly this branch of the high-priestly family was favourably disposed to Ezra's schemes, and Ezra was able by its help to get an assembly of the whole people of Judah and Benjamin summoned to Jerusalem.

Three days after, on the 30th of Kisleu, probably in the same year as Ezra's arrival, the assembly met. The outcome was, from Ezra's point of view, hardly satisfactory; the proposal that all mixed marriages should be dissolved and the alien wives sent away, though not unsupported, provoked strong opposition (see Ezra 10:1-4 RV.). This and the violent rain which prevented any prolonged meeting, they were assembled on the plateau eastward of the temple, in front of the Water-gate, caused the assembly to break up without determining on more than the appointment of an authoritative commission of inquiry. Their task, begun on the first of the tenth month, was completed on the first day of the following year; and the list of persons implicated, drawn up by them, still lies before us in Ezra 10:1-43. No further progress, however, was made.

We read indeed that in cases where the offenders belonged to the high-priestly family, promises to send their foreign wives away were made; but that these promises were fulfilled is nowhere said. As for the other offenders, it is not so much as alleged that either by word or deed any concession whatever was made to Ezra's demand. The narrative ends (Ezra 10:44) with the statement: 'These all had married foreign wives'; followed by some words now unintelligible. Ezra's own memoirs doubtless went on to tell the sequel, which the redactor—probably from a desire to conceal the failure of the measures taken by Ezra—afterwards struck out, and in place of which, for the same reason, the author of 1 Esd. 9:3 substituted the clause: 'and they sent them together with their children away.'²

The impossibility of censuring the people at large from their dilemma in this fashion once apparent, it

6. Formation of congregation. became necessary to try some other method. If the old Israel refused to be reformed, then the like-minded with Ezra must unite themselves in a new society and so restore the true Israel. This scheme offered some prospect of success, for it had the support of the powerful Nehemiah, and the high-priestly functions were, in consequence of Nehemiah's radical reforms (Neh. 13:28 f.), in friendly hands. In these circumstances it was that, at the call and under the leadership of Nehemiah, certain Israelites met in solemn assembly to separate themselves from the heathen and all their heathen connections, and so to form the true Israel, henceforth to be known as 'the congregation' (Neh. 9 f., 13:1-3). See ASSUMED.

They met in a spirit of the deepest contrition; fasting and with earth sprinkled on their heads, they stood and confessed their sins and the iniquity of their fathers and joined in the humble prayer made by Ezra (Ezra 9:6), in which Yahweh's favour shown to the fathers is celebrated, and Israel's guilt (by which that favour had been constantly forfeited) is acknowledged, and the downfall of the nation is recognised to be a righteous chastisement of Yahweh, but at the same time prayer is made that the chastisement may now come to an end.

Hercupon Nehemiah and the heads of clans drew up a sealed document containing a vow of fidelity to Yahweh, to which the rest of the people gave their adhesion by oath and imprecation.

7. Covenant. They gave their adhesion by oath and imprecation.

¹ [Or had Eliashib both a son and a grandson named Johanan? See J. HANAN (GL).]

² [See, however, GUTHRIE, *NTOT*, 2 Esd. 9:3 runs, *ἡγασεν αὐτὸν σκεπτικῶς γυναικας ἀλλογενεις, καὶ ἀπέλασαν αὐτάς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκεπτικῶς*.]

³ [In the list of names, Neh. 10:2-23, which though old in origin has been modified and expanded by the editor, we find names of families and of individuals side by side (see Smead, *Die Listen der BB. Lev. u. Neh.* 13; Koster, *Het Herstel*, 72, n. 3).]

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tion. The undertaking was to observe the law of Yahwé (as contained in the Book of the Covenant [Ex. 21-23; see EXODUS n., § 3] and Deuteronomy) along with the following special pledges: not to allow their children to intermarry with foreigners; not to trade with the peoples of the land on the sabbath day; to let the land be fallow every seventh year; not to exact payment of debts; and to contribute yearly a third of a shekel for the support of the temple worship. Regulations were fixed for the supply of wood for the altar; promise was made to bring the first fruits of field and orchard and the best of all that was produced from these as well as the firstlings, to the temple to be handed over to the priests; the tithes were to be paid to the Levites, who in turn had again to hand over a tenth to the priests. On such terms the 'congregation,' now freed from all foreign contamination and filled with zeal for the service of their God, could confidently rely on the divine help henceforward.¹

On yet one other occasion do we find Ezra coming forward publicly alongside of Nehemiah²—at the bringing in of a new law (Neh. 8). Already,

8. Priestly law. at the assembly in which Israel was rehabilitated, the people, besides engaging themselves to an observance of the law of Yahwé, had pledged themselves to a variety of matters on which the written law was silent or prescribed otherwise. There was a sense that in the new circumstances the needs of Israel were not sufficiently met by the old law, and that a new one was required. This law was given to the congregation by Ezra and Nehemiah.

It was on the first of Tishri (i. 2; cp. 7. 13 ff.)—the year is not known—that Ezra, in a great gathering held on the plateau before the Water Gate, first brought forward the Book of the Law. Standing on a wooden pulpit high above his hearers he unrolled the book, the whole congregation meanwhile reverently rising to their feet, and proceeded to read aloud from it from daylight till noon. The congregation, signifying with its loud amen its acceptance of what was being read as the word of Yahwé, was deeply moved. If this was the law of Yahwé which had been given to Moses, how great had been their shortcomings in fulfilling the divine will! However, Nehemiah and Ezra (so our Hebrew text states) comforted the people: this was in truth a joyous day, the people ought to hold festival and give presents one to another. Thus the day was turned to a feast. The new law, the so-called priestly law-book that constitutes an important part of our present Hexateuch, became henceforth, along with the older laws—sacred writing which regulated the life of every Israelite (see CANON, § 23 f.). [Torrey's criticism of the narrative, however, is very forcible. It looks very much like an imitation of the account of the introduction of the older law-book under Josiah. It also appears intrinsically improbable. A new scripture differing so vividly as this from the older law-book could not, it would seem, have been at once accepted. Only a small kernel of fact can safely be admitted. Cp. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 56-58.] The first feast celebrated in accordance with its enactments after its promulgation—and within the same month—was the feast of tabernacles (27. 13-18; see FEASTS, § 11); since the days of Joshua the son of Nun, never had the Israelites so observed it. Where and by whom this law was written we do not know.

[The firman of Ezra, indeed, i.e., virtually] the redactor informs us that Ezra came from Babylon with the law of his God in his hand (Ezra 7.14); but it is in the highest degree

¹ [Cp. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 62 f. The scene in the foreground of the picture may still be correct. The Babylonian Jews who came up with Ezra certainly regarded themselves as the true Israelites, and it was only natural that they should form themselves into what claimed to be a national ecclesia or assembly.]

² [This, however, is very doubtful. See 1 Esd. 9.2, and cp. TIRSHATHA. Koster's view that the lawbook was introduced during Nehemiah's second governorship is criticised by We. GGN, 95, 172, and by Meyer, *Die Schrift*, 203. In fact, Ezra's failure seems to have caused Nehemiah's second visit.]

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improbable that our present law was attributed to writing so early, for in the assembly of Neh. 9.2 the congregation is still bound only to the older law, and moreover our present law contains precepts respecting the worship and services of the temple, which certainly must have been written by some one acquainted with the temple service and with the actual circumstances in Judaea. That Ezra indeed had a large share in its compilation is very likely, and so it is not without reason that by the redactor of Ezra-Nehemiah, he is constantly called 'the scribe.' (Ezra 7.14; Neh. 8.1, 12.2.) But Jewish tradition—as we learn from 2 Esd. a writing belonging to the close of the first Christian century—goes much further than this, and tells us that, not merely the entire law, which had perished in the destruction of Jerusalem in 70, but the contents of all the twenty-four books of the OT, were anew or for the first time revealed to Ezra, and thus that the whole of the sacred Canon of the Jews is in the last instance due to him (see CANON, § 17).

2. One of the priests who came with Zerubbabel out of Babylon (Neh. 12.2; עֶזְרָא [Esd.] and after whom (7. 13) one of the priestly clans was named. In the list (10.2) AZARIAH (עֶזְרָא) takes the place of EZRA. See EZRA II, § 8 (6).

3. A priest, contemporary with Nehemiah (Neh. 12.33; עֶזְרָא [Esd.]).

4. 1 Ch. 4.17; RV EZRAII. See EZRA II, (1).

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Text (§ 1).	The list in Neh. 12.1-2 (§ 11).
Content and authorship (§§ 1-11).	The 'congregation' (§ 13).
Sources (§§ 5, 6).	Other adjustments (§ 13 f.).
The Return (§ 7).	Dislocations (§ 13).
The list in Ezra 2 (§ 7 f.).	Read order (§ 14).
The walls (§ 12).	Editor's motives (§ 17).
	Bibliography (§ 18).

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Jewish Canon were originally one (cp. CANON, §§ 10 [2], 13).

They still are one in *Q*, where they bear the name of 2 Esd. or *Esdras* [A], whilst what is called 1 Esd. contains, in addition

1. One Book; variations, especially in the arrangement of the latter portion, the last two chapters of Chronicles, Neh. 7.73-8.12, and a legend about Zerubbabel at the court of Darius. In the Latin, Ezra is called 1 Esdras; Nehemiah, 2 Esdras, and also Nehemiah. In the Christian Church, Ezra and Nehemiah gradually came to be treated as two books. The Jews followed the Christians in this, so that now they appear as separate books in the Hebrew printed text also.

In conformity with the old tradition they will here be treated as one book, as not only are they drawn from the same sources, but they have also been compiled by the same redactor (cp. HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 11 f.).

[On the text of 1 Esdras, which rests on a recension of the Hebrew superior in some points to MT, see also EZRA, GREEK, § 6.

There is an admirable conspectus and critical discussion of the textual phenomena of the Hebrew text and the versions by Klostermann, in *PAE* 5.501 ff.; but there is still scope for an analytic treatment of the same material. The present work, too, offers not a few contributions to the correction of the text, especially in proper names; 1 Esd. has been found helpful (see, e.g., RUSCHAS). Guthe's treatment of Ezra and Nehemiah, in *SBOT*, is perhaps too cautious; but so far as it goes it is excellent, and not least in its critical use of the versions and of 1 Esdras. A good specimen of the emendations due to these helps is to be found in Ezra 10.6, where עֶזְרָא ('and went') should be עֶזְרָא ('and lodged'); so Pesh., and 1 Esd. 9.2.]

Ezra, so named from the man who, from chap. 7 onwards, is its leading figure, naturally falls into two

2. Contents main divisions. The first, 1-6 (4.8-6.18) being in Aramaic, deals with the fortunes of the Jews in Palestine from the first year of Cyrus as king of Babylon down to the sixth year of Darius' Hystaspis (538-515).

The contents are: the return of the exiles in consequence of the edict of Cyrus (1); a list (apparently) of those who thus returned (2; but see § 7); the setting up of the altar of burnt offering and the restoration of the daily services (3.1-4); the preparation for and the beginning of the rebuilding of the temple (37.13); the opposition of the Samaritans in consequence of the refusal of the Jews to allow them a share in this work (4.1-5); repeated complaints raised against the Jews on account of the rebuilding of the walls (4.23); the stoppage of the building of the temple (4.24); the rebuilding, begun in the second year of Darius, and completed in his sixth (5.1-6.15); the celebration of the feast of the passover (6.19-22).

¹ [Cp. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 70-72.]

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The second division of the book, 7-10 (7:12-26 being in Aramaic), which transports us to the seventh year of Artaxerxes, describes the return of Ezra and his fellow-exiles to Jerusalem (7:1), and the measures taken by him with reference to mixed marriages (9:1).

The book called after Nehemiah relates the origin of that Jewish courtier's mission to Jerusalem as governor, with the object of restoring the walls, and describes the measures which he took, in spite of Sanballat, to accomplish this.

Chaps. 1-6 include an inserted list of the builders (3:1-12); also the episode of the governor's dealings with the hard-hearted usurers (5). Next are described the final efforts of Sanballat and his friends to ruin Nehemiah (chap. 6), also some special administrative measures of the latter; another copy is given of the important list in Ezra 2. This concludes Part I. (chap. 1-7). Next follows an account of the reading of the law and the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles (8), and of the great assembly for Israel's dedication of itself to Yahweh (9-10); a short account of the increase of the population of Jerusalem (11:1-2); a list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Judah, and Benjamin (11:3-19 21-24 25-31); lists of heads of priestly and Levitical families dating from various periods (12:1-2); an account of the dedication of the wall (12:27-44) and of the appointment of guardians of the temple chambers (12:44-47); and a brief statement about the expulsion of strangers from Israel (13:1-3). The book closes with an account of Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem and of his returns (13:4-31).

We see from the fact that the opening verses of Ezra (Ezra 1:1-32) are attached to Chronicles (2 Ch. 34:22-27) that our Ezra is the immediate sequel to Chronicles, and had already been written when the last-named book was composed.

4. Authorship. In fact, whenever the contents of our Ezra and Nehemiah are not taken from earlier sources, the style and habits of thought are those of the Chronicler, who must be regarded as the compiler of our Ezra and Nehemiah. That this writer used a variety of documents in producing his work is manifest. Here and there he reproduced his authorities verbatim; but he also often used great freedom of treatment, and did not scruple to expand or abridge, to alter or transpose.

The most important of the authorities used by the compiler are two works which, after their authors, we may call the Memoirs of Ezra and of

5. Memoirs. Nehemiah, respectively: (a) from the first is taken Ezra 7:27-8:34 9; from the second, Neh. 1:1-7:51 13:4-31; in which passages Ezra and Nehemiah are themselves the speakers, the compiler having only here and there made slight alterations. (b) There are other passages from the same memoirs; but in them the first person is almost wholly absent, and they have been considerably modified by the Chronicler.

To this class belong Ezra 7:1-26 8:35 f. 10 (between Ezra 10:2 and 10:3 we should perhaps insert Neh. 13:1 f.), founded on the Memoirs of Ezra; and Neh. 11:1 f. [20], also 3:19 21-24 25 [27-31] 11:25-36 12:27-43 44-47 13:1-3 [2], founded [unless 11:25-36 be an addition of the Chronicler] on those of Nehemiah.

(c) Neh. 7:6-10:39 also, in its original form, was part of the memoirs; but we cannot make out whether it is derived from those of Ezra or from those of Nehemiah.

[It is doubtful whether the passages assigned directly or indirectly to the memoirs of Ezra can really claim the authority of Ezra. That authentic utterances of Ezra are to be found in them may be allowed (see, e.g., Ezra 7:27 f.); but the passages in which Ezra appears to speak in the first person contain some statements too improbable for us to assign them without compunction to the great scribe himself. It is allowed that a redactor had to do with the passages in which 'the first person is almost wholly absent'; the same concession must almost certainly be made with regard to the passages

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in which Ezra himself appears to be the speaker. Even the royal firman in Ezra 7:11-26 cannot be authentic.

Meyer himself admits (p. 60) that the firman lacks the Persian coloring which appears to characterize the other supposed official documents; and proves that, if fictitious, they are not unsifted fabrications; a strict criticism of the contents shows that the Laman roots of Jewish origin. Meyer's answer (p. 64) is altogether inadequate. That the Persian court was favourable to the maintenance of the religions of subject races, at any rate of such religions as that of Yahweh, is recognised; the missions of Sheshbazzar and Nehemiah, in so far as they had religious objects, are perfectly in accordance with Persian policy. But for the violent interference with the religion of the people of Judah, and even as the supposed firman says, of the people of the province W. of the Euphrates in general, there is no parallel; certainly that adduced by Meyer² (p. 71) is no parallel at all. Meyer thinks that the Persian court simply adopted the terms of the petition laid before it by Ezra in the name of the Babylonian Jewry; but it could not have acceded to a petition for which there was no precedent, nor could the Babylonian Jewry have been so unwise as to ask leave for something that was unattainable. The firman declares that Ezra the priest and scribe is sent by the king and his counsellors to institute an inquiry into Judean religion on the basis of the law which is in his hand. It even empowers Ezra to appoint magistrates and judges to judge the people of the province W. of the Euphrates in accordance with this law, and should there be any who presume to disobey, or refuse to be taught, a strict sentence is to be passed upon them, ranging from simple imprisonment to confiscation of goods, banishment, and death.³ As a matter of fact, Ezra is not reported to have attempted to carry out this firman, which is evidently the work of a partisan of Ezra with but slight historical sense. The one thing which is credible in the firman is that the Persian court was willing to grant freedom from taxes to the Jewish priests, a parallel for which is supplied by the rescript of Darius I. to the Persian official Gadatas at Magnesia (on the river Meander).⁴ What the real object for which Ezra desired the royal permission was, has been pointed out elsewhere (see EZRA, § 3); it was by no means what the supposed firman represents. It is not permissible, therefore, to say that the pious exclamation of Ezra in Ezra 7:27 proves that the firman must have been inserted by Ezra in his memoirs; the point to which it refers is only incidentally mentioned in the firman, and is not that for which Ezra is specially sent by the king and his 'seven counsellors.' In fact, to carry silver and gold to Jerusalem to beautify the temple, required no firman at all (Zech. 6:10 f.).

Those who can bring themselves to hold that, in spite of the objections raised, the firman must be genuine, might do well to identify the Artaxerxes who was the patron of Nehemiah and Ezra with Artaxerxes II. Mnemon (404-359), simply because this king did not scruple to force the acceptance of religious innovations on his own people, so that he might conceivably have permitted Ezra to use force in introducing his law-book at Jerusalem. It would, however, be the resource of despair. The objections which, if space permitted, could be raised to this proposal of Marq. (Fund. 37), are weighty, and, it seems, insuperable. Kosters, Wellhausen, and Meyer are probably right in identifying the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah and Ezra with Artaxerxes I., and a political motive for that king's generosity to the Jews can be divined (see JEHO. REL. LIFE, 38 f.). The view assumed by most on the basis of Ezra 7:11-26 seems to the present writer historically inconceivable, and a warning to the student was necessary.]

The Memoirs of Ezra and of Nehemiah are not the only documents to which our author is indebted.

(a) For example, he has used an account of the building

¹ [Marq., it is true, would read לְעַמּוּלָם 'thy people' for לְעַמּוּלָם 'the people' in Ezra 7:12.]

² [The interesting story of Uza-hor (an Egyptian who became chief physician to the king of Persia; see Brugsch, *Gesch. Äg.* 724 f.) is considered in *JEHO. REL. LIFE*, 40-43.]

³ [*JEHO. REL. LIFE*, 55.]

⁴ [Marq. (Fund. 37), referring to *Bulletin de corresp. hellén.*, 1880, p. 380. This scholar (Fund. 37, 39) and Meyer (Entst. 19-21) have done good service in calling attention to this important piece of evidence for the attitude of the Persian court towards the religions of subject peoples. The fact that a copy of this rescript has been found near the very place to which Greeks belonged as an official, shows that Persian documents may well have been preserved in the archives at Jerusalem. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that some part of the supposed official document in Ezra is genuine. Indeed, the presence of fictitious documents in Ezra may perhaps be taken to imply the existence of genuine ones.]

¹ Robertson Smith, *O.T.C.* 427 n.

² On Neh. 11:3-14 21-24, cp Meyer, *Entst.* 100 f., 136 f.

³ [Neh. 11:25-36 should perhaps never be referred to without an expression of reserve. The tendency of the most thorough recent criticism is to regard this passage as an insertion of the Chronicler, and not as an authentic statement of the territory occupied after the so-called Return by the 'sons of Judah' and the 'sons of Benjamin'.]

of the temple in the reign of Darius (Ezra 5:1-6:15). This is made up out of two accounts (a and b) as is at once apparent (1) from its inconsistency: in (a) we find the close of a letter of Darius (the beginning is wanting), given as the sequel of a decree of Cyrus contained in 6:3-5 (b); (2) from its contradictions: according to 5:2 (a) it is Zerubbabel and Jeshua who begin to build the temple, whereas, according to 5:16 (b), the foundations had already been laid by Sheshbazzar in the time of Cyrus; according to 6:1, the decree of Cyrus which is sought for at Babylon is found at Achmetha (Ecbatana), without any notice of the search being abandoned at the one place and resumed at the other.

We are unable, however, to separate the two portions with certainty, chiefly because only parts of each of the two accounts have been taken. We may perhaps say that 5:1-5:6 (a) and 6:1-6:15 belong to the one (a), and 5:16-6:15 (in part), and 7:1 to the other (b). Probably the Chronicler had the story before him already in its composite form.

[Against Rosters' attempt to separate the report of the satrap Tattenai (1:1-2:1) into two parts derived from different sources, see Wellhausen, *GGV*, '95, p. 176; Meyer, *Ezra*, 42, n. 4. It is not probable, however, that the document has reached us in its original form.

The answer of the Jewish elders in Ezra 5:1-6:15 is plainly fictitious; so also the last clause of the implication which concludes the answer of Darius appears to be either a Jewish addition, or altered in a Jewish spirit from the original passage, which may have referred to Ahura Mazda. The statement, however, that Tattenai complained to the great king of the attempt to rebuild the temple, and at the same time referred to the mission of Sheshbazzar is probable enough, and the mention of the discovery at Ecbatana of the roll (*i.e.*, the cuneiform tablet) containing the decree of Cyrus, which, as Meyer plausibly supposes, entered into the answer of Darius, is self-evidently authentic.]

(b) Again, in Neh. 12:1-26 we have a list of heads of priestly and levitical families dating, it would appear, from the time of the high priest Jaddua, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, originally compiled as a supplement to the register which we find in Neh. 11:3-36.

[It might perhaps be better to modify this statement thus: 'Neh. 12:1-26 may have been intended as a supplement to the register in 11:3-36'. On the passage see Meyer, *Ezra*, 103. It is plain at a glance that 12:1-26 has come into 12:27 by error from 7:23 (it is a synonym of 7:22), and that 1 before 12:27 should be cancelled. Winckler's attempted explanation (*100* 2221) recognises this, but is too devoid of plausibility to be considered here.]

(c) The author may have made use of a written source also in Ezra 4:23. For Ezra 1:3-4:5-24 6:16-22, it does not appear that he consulted other writings.

[On Ezra 3:1-4:5 see Driver, *Intro.*, 547 f.]

Such portions of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as have been simply transferred from the memoirs, have great historical value; but the redactor's own contributions are largely inventions.³ Particularly is this true of what he tells about the return of the exiles, the foundation of the temple, and the suspension of the work in the reign of Cyrus (Ezra 1:31-4:524). At least, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, who lived when the temple was being built under Darius, know of no other founding of the temple than that which took place in their own time (Hag. 2:10 f.; Zech. 4:1), and presuppose no return from exile according to them the time of chastisement is still present, and that of redemption is

¹ S. Meissner; see TAUBNAU.

² (Meyer *Ezra*, 42) thus restores the opening of the royal rescript: 'King Darius to the satrap Sines (Tattenai), etc. The decree of Cyrus has been found in a roll in the treasury of Ecbatana, and therein is the following record:']

³ [Cp col. 147, note 2.]

⁴ [At any rate no considerable band of exiles can have returned—none that was able materially to influence the Jewish community; so much must be inferred from Hag. and Zech.; cp Chie, *Intro.*, p. xxx; *Jews. Rel.*, 1:26, 6 f. The mere circumstance that no allusion is made by Hag. and Zech. to the arrival of Sheshbazzar does not disprove the actuality of his return.]

all the future (see Zech. 1:2 f.; 2:20 ff.; 6:9-15 8:7 ff.). Above all, a prophecy of Zechariah (6:15) spoken to encourage the Jews to accept certain gifts from Babylon, to the effect that Jews from a distance would take part in the building of the temple, shows that up till then no band of exiles had returned or taken a part in the restoration of the sanctuary.

Our faith in the history of the return in the time of Cyrus is shaken by the testimony of 1 Esd. 1:1-2:1. In that book we have, in the remarkable pericope 2:1-5, an account of the return of the exiles and the rebuilding of the temple (4:2-5:2) which is in irreconcilable conflict with the representation of Ezra. At least we are told in 1 Esd. 1:1 that Cyrus had sent Zerubbabel with the returning exiles and restored the temple vessels which Cyrus had already set apart to be handed over, when he made the vow to destroy Babylon. Is it conceivable that this representation has grown out of that of Ezra? that the writer of 1 Esd. 1 transferred the original restoration of Israel by Cyrus, the deliverer mentioned in Yahweh's name by Darius-Isduth, to Darius who is nowhere mentioned in any place? that if the return and the restoration of the temple vessels had really taken place under Cyrus, a later writer should have transferred this into a mere promise and intention on the part of Cyrus, afterwards fulfilled by his successor Darius? This is inconceivable. Ezra 1:1 evidently contains a form of the tradition later than 1 Esd. 1:1-2:1, and its account is therefore not to be accepted. (Cp Ezra 1:1-2:1, 1 Esd. 1:1-2:1, 2 Esd. 1:1-2:1.)

Nor does either of the two narrative of which Ezra 5:1-6:15 is made up, presuppose a return of exiles in the time of Cyrus. Both representations of the temple rebuilding vary from that given by the redactor. According to the one (a), a beginning with this was made not in Cyrus's reign but in that of Darius (5:2); according to the other (b), Cyrus was well disposed to the undertaking, and, with a view to it, sent to Judaea, not indeed Jewish exiles, but an official of high rank, Sheshbazzar, of course to co-operate in the work with the Jews in Palestine—a work which was carried on without interruption until Darius's time, 5:14-16 (b); either account has a single word about returning exiles.

Nor does the list of those who returned, which we find in Ezra 2 (Neh. 7:73), prove anything for the credibility of the Chronicler's way

8. The great list: of representing matters. Originally Ezra 2 Neh. 7 = 1 Esd. 5. It had no reference to the time of Cyrus. In its present form it certainly has, as is evident (1) from the place which has been assigned to it, (2) from 7:2, where Zerubbabel and Jeshua are enumerated among the twelve leaders of the Jews, and (3) from 7:63 f., which carries us back to the period before the restoration of the temple.

To take the last-mentioned point first: (a) a comparison with Neh. 7:70-72 (1 Esd. 6:9-7:1) shows that the narrative here originally related, not to gifts for the building of the temple, but to gifts to the treasury out of which 'the work'—*i.e.*, the temple-service—was defrayed; whilst, that the representation in Ezra 2:68 f. according to which 'the work' is taken to mean the building of the temple is incorrect, is further evident from the fact that the gifts consisted in part of priests' garments, which could of course come into requisition for the establishment and maintenance of public worship, but not for a re-building of the temple.

Above all, (b) the number of those who, according to this list, returned to Judaea (7:64) presents great difficulty. It is much larger than the total number of Jews who, according to 2 K. 24:14 ff. Jer. 52:28 ff., were carried into captivity in 597, 586, and 581. If, in addition to this, we bear in mind that, according to Ezra 7:7, (cp the Book of

1 [That Sheshbazzar was a Persian official may be admitted. By nationality, however, he was a Jew; we may infer this from the phrase in Ezra 1:8 *שֶׁשְׁבַצְאָר* 'the (legitimate) Judean prince' (based perhaps on an earlier document), and from the statement in the genealogy of the Davidides that among the sons of Jeconiah was *שֶׁשְׁבַצְאָר* (1 Ch. 3:18 RV), whose name in MT seems to be a corruption of the Babylonian name of which another corrupt form is *שֶׁשְׁבַצְאָר* [2:7]. That the Jewish *mis* 'prince' (if the term may be accepted as genuine) went up to Jerusalem unattended, is not to be supposed. Cp *Jews. Rel.*, 1:26, 6; *Ezra*, 1:2, 3.]

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Is there, a large number of the Jewish exiles remained behind in Babylonia, the figures in the list in question cannot be accepted as representing returning families. Moreover (c) the list includes names not only of outstanding families (77: 1-19, 30 ff.) but also (17: 20-33 11 ff.) of common people (contrast 2 K 21:15, 25:12), and (d) these last consist, according to 7: 16, of returned exiles who have recently settled again in the homes of their ancestors; which cannot have been the case.

We can, indeed, need be, suppose that the exiles had preserved the memory of the places from which their ancestors had been taken and that, in the land of their exile, community of origin constituted a bond of union among those who had formerly belonged to the same town or village; but we can hardly suppose that they all were able to settle again in the places from which they had sprung. During their absence aliens had established themselves in Judea, and in the case of many towns the earlier population must have remained behind in Babylonia; one locality would therefore, if things were as the author supposes, have received too great a population, whilst another was insufficiently supplied. Circumstances must thus have compelled many to take up their abode elsewhere than in their ancient homes.

If then 7: 16 gives an inaccurate representation of the character of the citizens, the conjecture at once arises that the statement is to be ascribed to a redactor, and that the original list dealt with the population of the places mentioned as a whole, not exclusively with those who returned.

Lastly (e), let us take the second of the three points mentioned above (beginning of § 8). It would seem that the list of the twelve leaders (Neh. 7: 7; in Ezra 2:2 only eleven are named) is by no means free from suspicion,¹ partly on account of the names Nehemiah and Azariah (so Neh. 7: 7; Seraiah in Ezra 2:2) of which the second, especially in Hebrew, closely resembles that of Ezra, with which indeed it is confused (cp Neh. 12: 1—Seraiah, Jeremiah, Ezra—with Neh. 10: 2—Seraiah, Azariah, Jeremiah), and partly also because it names Zerubbabel and Jeshua as leaders of the return, which they are not [if MT may be trusted] in the writings of their contemporaries Haggai and Zechariah,² who nevertheless frequently refer to them; the writer of 1 Esd. 3: 56 knows them as leaders of the return in the time of Darius.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that this list at one time possessed a character quite different from that in which it here comes before us. Perhaps it was originally a complete register of the clans and citizens constituting the restored Israel—the 'congregation' the origin of which is related in Neh. 9: 9. The compiler of Ezra-Nehemiah subsequently, by placing it immediately after Ezra 1, by the interpolation of 7: 14, 2, and by 7: 68 ff., made it serve as a list of the exiles who returned in the reign of Cyrus. [On this list see also below, § 15 1 (a).]

The account, in Ezra 1 31-45 24, of the return from the captivity, of the laying of the foundation of the temple, and of the arrest laid on the work of rebuilding by the hostility of the Samaritans, is thus unhistorical. Equally unhistorical is the narrative according to which a beginning had already been made with the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem long before Nehemiah's time (Ezra 4: 21).

10. The city walls. This narrative includes letters from Persian officials to Xerxes (485-466) and Artaxerxes (465-424), reporting that the Jews were rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem; also a letter from Artaxerxes giving

¹ [Whether Prof. Koster would have adhered to this view, may be doubted. To Meyer (*Entst.* 193) the names have a credible appearance. In this we must agree with him, though he too hastily adds that Zerubbabel and Jeshua are the only leaders of whom we have any definite knowledge. It has been shown elsewhere (BILSHAN, REGENMELECH, TIRSHATHA) that of three of the 'heads' we possess definite information. On the 'heads' cp GOVERNMENT, § 25; *Jew. Rel. Life*, 6, 10, 16.]

² [Prof. Koster here shows himself a conservative textual critic. See REGENMELECH for the text of Zech. 7: 2, where it appears that two of the leaders are referred to; see also preceding note.]

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orders for the stoppage of the work. The unhistorical character of the passage appears from the following considerations.

(a) It comes in between the account of the hostility to the building of the temple shown by the Samaritans (4: 1-5) and the statement that the work was accordingly suspended until the second year (5: 16) of Darius (Ezra 4: 24); as if this suspension of the temple building had been the consequence of the letter of Artaxerxes about the building of the wall. The passage thus cannot, at all events, originally, have belonged to the place where we now find it; perhaps the redactor transferred it here in order to signify to the reader that the building of the temple had been interrupted by accusations similar to those which, under Xerxes and Artaxerxes, had interfered with the building of the wall.

(b) Quite apart from its connection, it is not in itself probable that the story is historical. Nehemiah's account of the restoration of the wall (Neh. 1: 1-6) does not leave the impression that any others before him had already addressed themselves to this work.

Is it likely that the enemies of the Jews, who were bold enough to set themselves against the royal governor Nehemiah, even when addressing himself to the work with the express permission of the king, would at an earlier period have hesitated, until they had received in writing the orders of the king, to interfere with the Jews when these were addressing themselves to the work of building without permission?

Further (c) [even after certain errors in the text have been removed] the letters themselves bear internal marks of non-originality. [The question is no doubt a complicated one. We may admit that the facts presupposed by the letters are not always incorrect; or again that in one case or another there may be a genuine *kernel*; or again that the letters are in some respects skilfully composed; but that they are genuine in their present form, and can be used without criticism for historical purposes, must unhesitatingly be denied. Notice that Rehum's letter of complaint (Ezra 4: 16) is addressed immediately to the king of Persia, passing over the satrap of the province through whom it ought to have been sent. This points to the period when Syria was under the rule of the Ptolemies or the Seleucids, and was divided into small administrative districts (Marq.), and it is difficult (see below) not to trace the later antagonism of Jews and Samaritans in the prominence given to the alien population of Samaria. Notice further that Artaxerxes states in his answer (77: 17-23) that an examination of royal records showed that there had been mighty kings of Jerusalem who had ruled over all the lands to the W. of the Euphrates and received toll, tribute, and custom. This is a manifest reference to David and Solomon [as Winckler (*JOF* 2231) has also, since Koster's death, pointed out], and betrays the hand of a Jewish writer. It cannot be shown that Assyria or Babylon ever had relations with these kings of Israel or with their dominions; a complete silence respecting them is preserved in the inscriptions. [In spite of the particularity of the statement, 'written in Assyrian (*i.e.*, in cuneiform) and interpreted in Aramaic' (Ezra 4: 7, emended text), the document is certainly fictitious. The motive of the fiction was probably to show that Nehemiah's rebuilding of the walls was no arbitrary innovation, the same work having been taken in hand before the reign of Darius, and only hindered by the malice of the Samaritans, whose opposition to the Jews the redactor antedates. That the writer confounds Cambyses with Artaxerxes² (cp Jos. *Ant.* xi. 2126) need not surprise us, he may have thought of Darius II. or Darius III, who did succeed an Artaxerxes.³]

¹ [Reading אֶשְׁרֵי for the first אֶשְׁרֵי (Klo. *PRE*³) 5514]. To read פִּיטִים (Meyer) cp Marq., 63 is more difficult.]

² [אֶשְׁרֵי, Ahasuerus, in Ezra 4: 6, is probably a scribe's error for אֶרְחַשְׁתָּר, Artaxerxes; 77: 6 and 7 should be fused. For Bishlam, Mithredath and Tabbai, we should, as Marq. (62) suggests, read Rehum and Samai (see SHALMAI).]

³ [So Marq., 61. Klo. *PRE*³ 5516, thinks that Ezra 4: 6-18

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The redactor's view of the fortunes of Israel in the time of Cyrus rendered it necessary that he should here and there introduce alterations even into the documents taken over by him. We

11. The list of Neh. 12:26 misplaced.

We have already seen how this has been done in Ezra 2. Something similar happened with Neh. 12:26, where priests of the time of Darius and the high priest Joiakim (7:7, 12:26), and Levites of the time of Nehemiah and Ezra (7:7, 20:26), are named as patriarchal heads of priestly and levitical houses; by prefixing 7:7, 11 he carried the list back to the time of Cyrus.

According to Neh. 9 f., after Ezra and his exiles had come to know that the people of Judah had intermarried

12. Formation of 'congregation' misrepresented.

with aliens, the true Israel separated itself from 'the peoples of the land' and so had constituted itself into 'the congregation.' According to the redactor, who had made a separation and formation of a congregation take place already soon after the return of the exiles in the time of Cyrus (Ezra 6:21), the alien marriages of which Ezra complained could only have reference to the congregation already thus separated. He therefore introduced into Ezra 9 f. certain corrections, with the effect of making it appear that the contaminating alliances which Ezra met with in Jewish territory had occurred in the case of certain exiles who had united themselves into a 'congregation' (9:4, 10:6, 8, 12, 14). The narrative itself (Neh. 9 f.) which described the formation of the congregation in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah he has thus failed to appreciate in its true significance, and he partly mutilates it by removing a portion (Neh. 13:1-3) partly makes it almost unintelligible by placing it in a connection to which it does not belong (after Neh. 8) and by making interpolations (e.g. 9:3 ff.) which obscure the scope of the narrative.

Other more or less considerable corrections, made by the compiler in the passages he took over, were due to his

13. Editorial adjustment to P.

conviction that, throughout the entire period with which he was dealing, not only the regulations affecting priests and Levites (which according to 1 Ch. 23:26 had been established by David), but also the prescriptions of the law, which according to Neh. 8 had been introduced by Ezra, were valid. The last-named law (what is now known as the Priestly law) he regarded as dating from the time of Moses, so that apparently he did not regard Neh. 8 as describing the introduction of a new law—which in fact it was.

Consequently in the portions composed by himself the redactor represents everything as happening in accordance with the law and the ordinances of David; (a) the feasts are observed (Ezra 3:4 f., 6:19 ff.) in accordance with Ex. 12:6 Lev. 23:5 ff., 33:43 Num. 29:12-35; (b) the priests have trumpets (Ezra 3:10) in accordance with Num. 10:1-10; the Levitical years of service (Ezra 3:8) are those which, according to 1 Ch. 23:24-27, had been fixed by David; (c) the Levites have the oversight of the building of the temple (Ezra 3:8 f.) in accordance with 1 Ch. 23:4; (d) the singers are Levites (Ezra 3:10 f.) as enjoined in 1 Ch. 23:5-25, though they are not so, as yet, in Ezra 2:40 ff.; (e) priests and Levites are divided into classes (Ezra 6:18) as laid down in 1 Ch. 24. For the same reason he introduced corrections into the narratives he took over. (f) In Neh. 8 f. he

is a great apology for the Judean community by a person officially competent for the task, whose name in Aramaic was Tabiel, and had the sanction (נְתַנְּךָ) of the Persian governor Mithredath. The cause of the apology was the accusation brought by Rehum which Tabiel prefixes to his work. This accounts, he thinks, not only for the singular נְתַנְּךָ and the sing. suffix in נְתַנְּךָ, but also for the 'suggestive' chronological statements 'until the reign of Darius' (4:5), 'at the beginning of his [Artaxerxes'] reign' (4:6), etc. Kautzsch too (Aberis, 109) takes a very favourable view of 4:5-6:18; the compiler has good information but inserts 4:5-23 out of chronological order. Evidently Kautzsch has been moved by Meyer's somewhat excessive expression of his confidence in his own historical results, and perceives that earlier critics laid too much stress on one class of evidence to the neglect of other important phenomena to which Meyer seems (unduly) to limit the term 'historical.'

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has inserted some verses which not a little confuse the course of the narrative (8:47 f., 11:3, 35) because he thought it impossible to dispense with the services of the Levites as interpreters of the law and leaders of the congregation in the ceremonies described. (g) In Neh. 12:27-41 the account of the dedication of the wall is exceedingly confused, because the redactor missed, in the description of the feast which lay before him, things which he thought he ought to have found, and thus regarded corrections and interpolations as necessary. He made the singers Levites, provided them with the musical instruments of David (7:40), supplied the priests with trumpets (7:7, 15, 41), and inserted lists of names, so that even Judah and Benjamin, in the original narrative designating the people, became priestly names (7:34). See R. S. J. 1, § 5.

14. Other adjustments.

Elsewhere he has made corrections in the accounts given in the older narratives for other reasons.

(a) Ezra's genealogy (Ezra 7:1-5) he has conformed to 1 Ch. 6:14-15:20:40 so as thereby to make his hero a member of the high-priestly family (cp. also Ezra 1, § 1); (b) the account of the measures taken by Ezra against the mixed marriages he has so modified and altered in Ezra 10 that we cannot make out what the result of the attempt was; probably he intended to disguise its failure as much as possible. Cp. I. Ch. 6, § 5.

Above all, the author has allowed himself great freedom in the arrangement of the materials at his disposal. At least, the events cannot

15. Dislocation of materials.

all have followed each other in the order in which he describes them.

1. During the interval between the completion (Neh. 6:15) and the dedication of the walls (12:27 ff.) it is impossible that all the things which stand in his account can have taken place.

(a) The list of those who returned occupies, neither in Ezra nor in Nehemiah (Neh. 7:7-73), the place to which it rightly belongs; after 7:68a what we should expect to find would be some particulars regarding the population of Jerusalem, but for this we look in vain in the list here introduced, though the case is different with the list in Neh. 11, which probably once occupied this place.

(b) Inasmuch as the law, the introduction of which is described in Neh. 8, was the so-called Priestly law of the Hexateuch, its introduction must have occurred after the assembly of Neh. 9 f., for here the people, besides pledging themselves to fidelity to the law (10:10-20), bound themselves to observe certain precepts (7:7, 36-40; 10:30) which are found for the most part in the Priestly law; had these been integral parts of the law which the people had just sworn to obey, there would have been no reason for special vows of observance in the case of these particular precepts.

Further, (c) all that is related in Neh. 8-10 must have taken place after what we read in Neh. 13:4-31. At all events, the enactment of the congregation in Neh. 10:33-40 (17:39), that the Levites shall themselves collect the tithes and then bring the tenth part of these to the temple treasury for the priests, transports us to a period when the method by which, according to Neh. 13:10-13, Nehemiah proposed to secure the Levites in their revenues was regarded as insufficient.

Finally, (d) the redactor has erroneously made the narrative regarding Ezra (Ezra 7-10) anterior to that regarding Nehemiah. Whilst Ezra and a considerable band of exiles have, according to the narrative in its present form, already returned to the land of their fathers, there is not in Neh. 1:7-5 13:4-31 a single hint of these or of any earlier return, and among the names of those who took part in the building of the wall (Neh. 3) we seek in vain for those of Ezra's companions (Ezra 8:2-14).

2. Another strange thing is that after Ezra had already demanded separation from, and dismissal of, the alien wives (Ezra 10:3, 11-19), Nehemiah should have rested content with a much smaller concession—with an undertaking, namely, that neither the men themselves nor their children should in future contract mixed marriages (Neh. 13:23-29).

3. Further, in the narrative of Ezra's arrival and first measures in Jerusalem we meet with at least one circumstance which transports us to Nehemiah's latest period; namely, that Ezra, shortly after his arrival at Jerusalem, takes up his quarters with a son of the high priest Eliashib (Ezra 7:6 cp. Neh. 12:10 f., 22); as Eliashib was still high priest in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes (Neh. 13:6), it is improbable that a son of his should already have been a prominent personage in the seventh year of that monarch, which according to Ezra 7:7 f. was the date of Ezra's coming. What is related must thus have occurred most probably after Eliashib's death, and certainly after the events of Neh. 13:4-31. When the redactor reversed the original order 'Nehemiah-Ezra,' which is still met with in Neh. 12:26, he also moved back the date of Ezra's coming and then further inserted the name of Ezra at least once, in a rather inappropriate place, in the account of the building of the wall (Neh. 12:36).

The order in which the events related in the books now before us actually occurred was probably the following.

1. After the temple had been rebuilt (519-515) by

1 See HENKATZSCH, § 20 f., HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 9.
2 [See further the pages devoted to this subject in KOSTER'S *Herbst*.]

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Jews who had been left behind in Judah and Jerusalem

16. Actual order of events.

1. On a second visit, in 433, on his return from a journey to court, he came forward as an ecclesiastical reformer (Neh. 13:4-11).

2. Not long afterwards, the date in Ezra 7 being incorrect, Ezra arrived in Jerusalem with his band of exiles and, perceiving that his compatriots had been intermarrying with their heathen neighbours, endeavoured, but in vain, to dissolve the mixed marriages (Ezra 7:10-13).

3. Upon this, under the joint leadership of Nehemiah and Ezra, was held the great assembly at which the Jews separated themselves from the people of the nations, and thus 'the congregation' was constituted (Neh. 9:1-13).

4. Into the congregation thus formed, the new law was shortly afterwards introduced (Neh. 8).

The reason that induced our author to invent a return of exiles in the time of Cyrus and to give to the events of Nehemiah's and Ezra's time a

17. Motives for alterations.

(1) According to his view (2 Ch. 36:20) all Israel had been carried into captivity, no Israelites at all having been left behind in Palestine. Israel's restoration, which began with the rebuilding of the temple, thus became possible only with the return of the exiles. This must accordingly have already occurred before the time of Darius. When, then, in one of his sources (Ezra 5:1-16) our author came across a tradition (apparently resting on Is. 44:28) which ascribed the founding of the temple to Cyrus, he supposed that the return of the exiles also had occurred under that king.

(2) Just as the temple had been rebuilt and a beginning made with the restoration of Israel by those who returned in the reign of Cyrus, so in like manner, according to our author, the honour of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, the second great step in the restoration of Israel, fell to the lot of the exiles who returned with Ezra. In this view he placed Ezra 7-10 before the account of the restoration of the wall by Nehemiah, and gave as the date of Ezra's arrival the seventh year of Artaxerxes; and more than this, in Ezra 16-23 he gives it to be clearly understood that already before Nehemiah's time a beginning had been made with the rebuilding of the walls by the people of Ezra's company. Thus the restoration of Israel had been begun by returned exiles, and by returned exiles also had it been brought to a successful issue.

(3) The author's reason for placing Neh. 9:1 after Neh. 8 is obvious. In the last-named chapter he saw no introduction of a new law-book—all laws were by his time laws of Moses,—but the reading of the old law which had for centuries possessed validity for Israel, though often transgressed; as, then, Neh. 9:1 spoke of an assembly at which those present came under obligation to observe the law, this must have been preceded by the public reading of the law. That this was the engagement he had in view appears not obscurely in the verses (Neh. 9:3 f.) interpolated by him, by which he makes the people's pledge of fidelity to the law to be preceded by a public reading by the Levites, and so makes the assembly of chap. 9:1 become in a certain sense a continuation of that of chap. 8.

See besides the introductions of Dr. A. Co., König, and especially Kue. *Outl.* 5:1495-1517 (37). Berth., *Die BB. Ezra, Neh. u. Esther*, ed. Ryssel (87); Smend, *Die Listen*

18. Literature. *der BB. Ezra u. Neh.* (81); H. E. Ryle, *Ezra and Neh.*, in *Cambr. Bibl.* (93); A. v. Hoonacker, *Neh. et Esth.* (95); Kue., *Die Chronik*, *Sam. u. Is.*

¹ [It is a question, however, whether Ezra's arrival should not rather be placed between Nehemiah's first and second visits to Jerusalem. See NEHEMIAH, § 5.]

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Perz. Tijdsch. der Israëlsche Gesch.; A. v. Hoonacker, *Neh. en Ezra*, *Tijdsch. der Israëlsche Gesch.* 7:1 (1891), *Die Gesch.*, and *Zorobabel's Heim. Tempel* (1902); W. H. Koster, *Het Herstel van Jeruz. in het Pers. Tijdsk.* (1904), Geiman tr. (1905); We., 'Die Rückkehr der Juden aus dem babyl. Exil' in *Geogr.* (1905, heft 2); J. Marquart 'Die Organisation der jüd. Gemeinde seit dem sogenannten Exil' (dated Aug. 20/98), *Bund* (1908), 250-5; W. H. Koster, 'Het Indak van Israëls Herstel', in *Geogr.* (1908), 1-12; 1909, 1-12; 1910, 1-12; 1911, 1-12; 1912, 1-12; 1913, 1-12; 1914, 1-12; 1915, 1-12; 1916, 1-12; 1917, 1-12; 1918, 1-12; 1919, 1-12; 1920, 1-12; 1921, 1-12; 1922, 1-12; 1923, 1-12; 1924, 1-12; 1925, 1-12; 1926, 1-12; 1927, 1-12; 1928, 1-12; 1929, 1-12; 1930, 1-12; 1931, 1-12; 1932, 1-12; 1933, 1-12; 1934, 1-12; 1935, 1-12; 1936, 1-12; 1937, 1-12; 1938, 1-12; 1939, 1-12; 1940, 1-12; 1941, 1-12; 1942, 1-12; 1943, 1-12; 1944, 1-12; 1945, 1-12; 1946, 1-12; 1947, 1-12; 1948, 1-12; 1949, 1-12; 1950, 1-12; 1951, 1-12; 1952, 1-12; 1953, 1-12; 1954, 1-12; 1955, 1-12; 1956, 1-12; 1957, 1-12; 1958, 1-12; 1959, 1-12; 1960, 1-12; 1961, 1-12; 1962, 1-12; 1963, 1-12; 1964, 1-12; 1965, 1-12; 1966, 1-12; 1967, 1-12; 1968, 1-12; 1969, 1-12; 1970, 1-12; 1971, 1-12; 1972, 1-12; 1973, 1-12; 1974, 1-12; 1975, 1-12; 1976, 1-12; 1977, 1-12; 1978, 1-12; 1979, 1-12; 1980, 1-12; 1981, 1-12; 1982, 1-12; 1983, 1-12; 1984, 1-12; 1985, 1-12; 1986, 1-12; 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Thus apart from the section 31-53 with the account of the 'pages' competition, which is peculiar to the Greek Ezra, the contents of the book are a doublet of the Hebrew Ezra with portions of Chronicles and Nehemiah. The opening is very abrupt ('And Josiah held the passover'); cp 1.3, where the last scene in Josiah's life is introduced not less abruptly. The present conclusion, too, is mutilated; originally, we may suppose, the narrative went beyond Neh. 8.12, perhaps coming as far down as to Neh. 8.18 or 10.29. Any considerable departure from the Hebrew Ezra is found only in the position of 2.16-30 and in the fact that 9.37 ff (= Neh. 7.73 ff) comes immediately after 9.31 (= Ezra 10.44).

Josephus in his *Antiquities* follows 1 Esd. (the Greek Ezra). The whole arrangement of his narrative, the story of the 'pages' competition, the agreement of many of his names with the Greek against the Hebrew Ezra, all abundantly show that this was the book he had before him—not the Hebrew or its Greek rendering in Esd. B. The only question is as to what parts Josephus copied from our 1 Esd.

What is related in chap. 1, Josephus takes up in *Ant.* 8.48 ff., though there, so far as we can judge, he seems to depend more on the MT of Ch. or rather on the LXX of Ch. On the other hand, he begins *Ant.* xi. 11 with our 1 Esd. 2.1-15 (and continues to use it throughout down to *Ant.* xi. 95. After 1 Esd. 2.12-13 he introduces from chap. 6 an echo of Cyrus to Sinesius and Sardis; and after 7.15 he introduces an account of intrigues of the Samaritans which is wanting in the present Greek text. From chap. 8 onwards there are many shortenings; the story ends with 9.55, but mention is added of the first of talernales (cp Neh. 8.12-15), the return of the people to their inheritance, and the death of Ezra.

Certain variations from the text make it evident that Josephus used not only a Greek text similar to 1 Esd. which now lies before us, but also the source upon which it is based; cp, for example, *Ant.* xi. 14 with 1 Esd. 6.4, and the more skillful phrasing of *Ant.* xi. 32 with 1 Esd. 3.1 ff.

The facts (1) that in the best MSS (BA) the Greek Ezra stands beside the canonical books of Ezra and Neh.; (2) that Josephus uses the Greek Ezra, and the Latin fathers frequently quote from it, especially from the portion that is peculiar to it—chap. 37 (cp Polmann)¹—lead to the conclusion that originally the same value was attached to 1 Esd. as to the Hebrew Ezra.

Augustine, for example, sees in the praise of truth in chap. 4 a prophecy of Christ, and in one of his lists of canonical books (*De doctr. Christ.* 2) enumerates two books of Ezra, of which our 1 Esd. was certainly one.

The Church's favourable judgment on 1 Esd. is due to Jerome, whose firm attachment to the Hebrew OT led him to refrain, in the first instance, from translating this and the other Apocrypha, remarking in his preface to Ezra: 'nec quoniam moveat quod unius a nobis editus liber est; nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somnii delectetur; quia et apud Hebraeos Esdræ Nehemique sermones in unum volumen coarctantur.' This became a ruling decision for the Church, and the Tridentine edition of the Vg. prints 1 Esd., as it prints the Apocryphs of Ezra (4 Esd.) and the Prayer of Manasseh, after the NT, in a small type appendix, 'quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus interdum citantur et in aliquibus Bibliis latinis . . . (not in Greek, we are to infer) reperiuntur.' The Protestant Church followed in the same course. Karlstadt (*De canonicis scripturis lib.*, 1540) places the book among the 'plane apocryphi'; Luther translated neither 1 Esd. nor 2 [4] Esd., 'sic e they contain absolutely nothing which one could not much more easily find in 4 Esd. or in even more trivial books' (Erlangen ed. 63.103 f.).

In the EV 1 Esd. heads the list of the Apocrypha.

Formerly 1 Esd. used to be regarded as a free handling of *Ezdras β*, the LXX version of the canonical Ezra (so

6. Origin and relation to canonical Ezra. Koil, Bissell, and others; see on the other side, Nestle, *Marg.* 23 ff.). Of more critical views, three have to be mentioned. (a) Some (e.g., Freudenburg and Fritzsche) consider it to have been taken directly from the Hebrew. (b) Others (e.g., Ewald, *Hist.* 5165; Thackeray in Hastings, *DB*) assume a no longer extant Greek version of the canonical Ch.-Ezra-Neh. from which were taken, in the first instance, the

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present Greek Ezra as a free redaction, and afterwards the more scrupulously careful re-letting of LXX. (c) Sir H. H. Howorth (*J. H. S.* 13) sees in 1 Esd. the original and genuine LXX translation, the present LXX text of *Ezdras β* being perhaps that of Theodotion (cp the case of Daniel); in the present case, however, both versions found admission, mingling of each other into the Greek canon. This would explain how it came about that our book, as being of greater age, took the place of precedence as *Ezdras α* in the MSS of our present LXX. That it came closer to the original than *Ezdras β* would seem to be supported by the fact that it is used by Josephus, as also by the better compiler, from a text-critical point of view, of many passages when compared with *Ezdras β* (see Thackeray-Hastings' *DB* 1760). What strikes the present writer as of primary importance to the discussion is the observation that the text of 1 Esd. is of very unequal value and of varying degrees of excellence when compared with the various parts of the parallel Hebrew.

Chap. 1 is quite manifestly inferior to 2 Ch. 35 ff.; cp, for example, 15.22 ff. 25.12 (Pharachi), 12.12-13.12 (Jehoiakim), 1.35.1-1.11 (Isaiah), 1.34.1-1.41 (Jehoiakim), 1.1-1.13.1. On the other hand, the text of chap. 6 is good—perhaps still better than in the parallel Ezra 5.1 ff.; e.g., observe the names in 6.4, the form of the superscription of the letter in 6.7, the omission of 'the Great God' of Ezra 5.6 in 6.8, the mention of the names in 6.27; according to 6.29 ff. the royal treasury makes merely a grant of the sacrifices to be offered for the life of the king, in Ezra 6.8 ff. it is a grant of all the temple expenses. In 2.10-13 [15-22] the relative value of the two texts is not so clear; the superscription and exordium of the letter, as also the names, come down to its better in 1 Esd.; on the other hand, the rest of the passage shows many misunderstandings.

This varying quality of the text excludes the supposition that the Greek version can have been produced *aus einem Guss*. It thus becomes necessary to treat it as a compilation and to analyse it as such into its component parts:—

1. Ch. 31-53, relating to the 'pages' competition, is an independent piece of narrative that is also found standing by itself in a MS of the Vg. (Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, 701, p. 94, n. 5). To all appearance this piece is not also a composite production, the praise of truth being an addition. The whole seems to have been originally written in Greek, and shows affinity with the epistle of Aristæus (Ew. *Text*, 5.166); the writer appears to have knowledge of the court history of Persia (4.22 ff.). The hero of the story (ὁ εὐσταθὴς, 4.38) was not originally Zerubbabel.

2. 6.1-7.13 2.10-30 [15-22]. Fragment of an Aramaic historical writing (the parallel portions of Ezra are written in Aramaic). It is worthy of notice that Jos. *Ant.* xi. 40 introduces immediately after our 7.15 an expansion in which Samaritan intrigues are described. This leads to the inference that something of the same kind must have fallen out between 6 and 2.15-26. The Greek translation of this Aramaic fragment here goes back perhaps to a better text recension than we have in the case of the canonical Ezra.

3. Ch. 8 ff. is from the Ezra document (= Ezra 7-10 Neh. 7-73 8.1 ff.). What the present writer thinks of that document is expressed elsewhere (see EZRA, § 5); he now speaks only of the text of the Greek Ezra, which here seems to rest upon a different Hebrew text from MT; observe the designation of Ezra as ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ νόμου (apart from 8.25 [A] where he is γραμματεὺς as in the Chronicle) as compared with the עֲזָרָה בֶּן-בִּרְיָהּ of MT, the connection of 9.37 ff. with 9.36; the name Theras (8.41); and the like.

4. 2.1-13 5.7-7.3 7.2-4 6-15. Sections taken from the Chronicle. 5. Ch. 1 is a defective, and in many places, incorrect translation of the Hebrew of 2 Ch. 35 ff., 1 Esd. B having been at the same time before the translator. Of this, as well as of the hurried manner of this translator, we have a specially instructive illustration in 12.12-13, which has been condensed from 2 Ch. 35.19a-19f. (notice also the confusion in 7.24).

Our book, then, we may venture to suppose, arose somewhat as follows:—

(a) In the first place an Egyptian Jew combined the story of 31-53 with the Aramaic fragment 6.1-7.15 . . . 2.10-30 which he translated into Greek. He made the story refer to Zerubbabel (4.13 5.6), and after 5.3 interpolated a section which has reached us only in a mutilated form (some words have also fallen out before Zerubbabel in 7.5). It contained originally the names (the names, he it observed; not the numbers) of the heads of families of the returning exiles, especially of their leaders.

(b) Next, a later writer, whose readers were acquainted

¹ *Op. cit.*, § 13.

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with the first collection of composition (a), just spoken of, addressed himself, with the entire work of the Chronicler before him, to the task of translating that portion of Ch. which we now know as the book of Ezra.

He began with 2:13, and in order to explain Zerubbabel's petition to Darius for the restoration of the temple (to which, standing the chief of Cyrus), transferred 2:16-18 to a later position in the book in its present place, the result being that what had originally followed 2:13 was lost, in the further course of his translating he introduced into his work, from the Chronicler, all that he did not already find in his own. Finally chap. 10 came to be prefixed; perhaps it owes its position here to a mere oversight (similar to that which has placed Ch. 36:22-7 at the end of Ch.) possibly remaining attached to 1 Esd. when that book was transferred from its connection in a (bad) Greek translation of Ch. Ezra-Neh. to find admission into the present Greek canon.

The purpose of the book has been estimated variously, and indeed, in the case of so complex a compilation, is difficult to determine. The subscription

7. Purpose. of *Vetus Italica* 'de Templi Restitutione'—is appropriate enough; in point of fact, the various restorations of the Jewish worship and religious organisation under Josiah, Zerubbabel, and Ezra are substantially the theme of the book. The political interest is in the background; the rebuilding of the wall becomes a rebuilding of the temple; the restitution of the sacred vessels, the cleansing of the congregation, the regulation of the religious festivals figure as the main things. The book, accordingly, in its present form, bears throughout the impress of the religious and ecclesiastical temper which characterised the Jewish people of the late post-exilic period, and this becomes all the clearer by comparison with the history we find in Josephus. Perhaps the Greek reading public for whom the work was published included others besides Jews. Note the remarks in 8:19-21 and compare also 2:3 (ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, κειρὸς ὁ βέλτερος; also 9:40); the same thing is suggested by the good Greek style which is much superior to that of 1 Esd. B. At the same time we are hardly inclined to think that the book, either as a whole or in any of its parts, was designed to influence any Gentile power in favour of the Jews.¹ It is enough to suppose a purely historical intention—that the book is designed to set forth, for the benefit of readers who have received a Greek education, the restoration of the post-exilic Jewish community.

(Cp Bertholdt, *Evangelium*, 1:171-172, in whose view the purpose was to compile from older works a history of the temple from the time when its regular services ceased down to its rebuilding and the re-establishment of the ritual.)

As we now have it, the book is full of repetitions, errors, and inconsistencies. The repeated narratives of

8. Historical Value. opposition offered to the building of the temple (2:16 ff., 5:66-73, 6) cannot all of them be historical; 5:66-73 leaves the impression of being an imitation of pure fiction; 2:16 ff. dealt originally with the building of the wall but was made by the compiler to refer to the building of the temple; ch. 6 on the other hand speaks from the outset of the building of the temple. The list of positive errors would be long.

Take as examples 1:25 (124) (Pharaoh for Pharaoh-Necho), 1:34 (32) (Jehoniah for Jotham), 1:35 (31) (Israel), 1:52 (42) (Babylonians), 2:16 (15) (Ezra as a name), 5:42 (Nehemiah and Atharates), 7:73 (74) (two years into the reign of Darius), 7:4 (Artaxerxes), 7:15 (King of the Assyrians), 9:42-43 (Ezra a high priest), 9:49 (Atharates as a proper name).

Of these errors some are to be charged to the Chronicler, others to the latest compiler. Finally, the chronological scheme is quite wrong. Artaxerxes is placed before Darius (but contrast 7:4 ³²); Zerubbabel returns, according to the connection in ch. 5, under Darius (cp EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 7); but, according to the original scheme of 5:7 ff., which also reappears in 27:71-73, under Cyrus. Thus the narrative actually proceeds backwards; 2:13-25 happens under Artaxerxes, 3:1 under Darius, 5:7 ff. under Cyrus. Manifest were the attempts to introduce order into this chaos. Josephus

¹ So Ew. *Hist.* 5:65, Bissell, *Comm.* 63, Lupton, *Comm.* 10 (see § 12, 'Literature').

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makes out the Artaxerxes of 2:16 to be Cambyses, represents Zerubbabel as having returned to the court of Darius after having come up to Jerusalem in the reign of Cyrus, adds Darius to Cyrus in 5:71 and makes the special point of the complaint of Sisinnius to be that the temple buildings were assuming too huge dimensions. Howarth (*ibid.* 17 ff.) seeks to remedy matters by substituting Darius Nodab (123-104) for Darius Hystaspis. The view of the origin of the book set forth in the preceding paragraphs adequately explains the contradictions, the compiler, as we have seen, introduced between 2:13 (14) and 3:1, the moment of the interruption of the building of the temple (the wall) under Artaxerxes in order to supply a motive for Zerubbabel's petition to Darius, and, the story of 3:1, having once broken the true historical connection, it became necessary to transfer to Darius's time events which in the document before the compiler were brought into the reign of Cyrus (5:7-10).

It is our duty as critics to distinguish between the historical value of the original elements and that of the present compilation. As it stands, the compilation bears the impress of the genuine Jewish spirit, which, without any feeling for history, writes stories for the honour and glory of Judaism, and regards the kings of the alien world-power purely as instruments for bringing to realisation the greatness of Israel. On the other hand, in the opinion of the present writer, the Aramaic source of ch. 6 is entitled to be regarded as historical; ¹ also what we read in 2:16 ff. of the interruption of the building of the wall, even if we cannot be sure under whose reign it occurred. Chap. 3:1, however, have of course no similar claim to our respect. Cp EZRA-NEHEMIAH.

In praise of the text of 1 Esd. as an aid to the student of the ME, enough has been said elsewhere (EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 11). It is of its usefulness

9. Value for literary criticism. for literary criticism that we have to speak here, supplementing the article already referred to. The question to be raised is this, How did Neh. 1:1-7:2 come to be interpolated between Ezra 10:44 and Neh. 7:73 (or conversely Neh. 7:73-10:44, which plainly belongs to the Ezra-document, between Neh. 7:73 and 11) whilst yet, in 1 Esd., 9:37 (= Neh. 7:73) follows 9:36 (= Ezra 10:44)? It should be borne in mind that 1 Esd. 9:37 is plainly out of place in its present position, and that 9:37 f. corresponds exactly to 5:46 f. (Neh. 7:73 f. to Ezra 2:70 f.). To supplement EZRA-NEHEMIAH (§§ 8, 15), we may suggest that what happened may have been somewhat like this.

The lists as well as the accounts of the contributions to the building and of the settlement are in their original place in Ezra 2 (1 Esd. 5) perhaps taken from a source that lay before the Chronicler; Neh. 7:5 suggested to the Chronicler the idea of bringing forward the lists again, and accordingly he introduces them at 7:6 along with 7:70-71. Ezra 2:66-70. Further, the original Nehemiah-document (see EZRA II, § 6) contained an account of the popular assembly in Jerusalem (7:5), of which traces still survive in 1 Esd. 9:46 (Atharates [see NEHEMIAH] the speaker) 9:51 f. 47; but the Chronicler had before him only fragments of this, and accordingly he substituted, from the Ezra-document, the account of the assembly for the reading of the law, worked over by himself and prefaced with the words 'וְעָנָה עֲזָרָה' 2:22). Thus the narrative came to disappear from its original place in the Ezra-document (let us say, before Ezra 9:1 = 1 Esd. 8:6). Everything else (Neh. 8:13-10:39) is embellishment by the Chronicler, and is to some extent parallel with Ezra 8:35-10:44 (1 Esd. 8:65-9:12). Later still Ezra 3:1 (1 Esd. 5:47), which has nothing to do with its present connection, was introduced from Neh. 7:73 f. 81, in order to bring Ezra 2:68 and Neh. 5:70 f. into complete correspondence with each other. When, finally, 1 Esd. came to be compiled in agreement with the work of the Chronicler and translated (see above, § 6, end), the translator added after 1 Esd. 9:36 from Neh. 8 everything relating to Ezra that he found in that work.

The style of the book is genuinely Greek; fluent and easy, it betrays none of C's slavish dependence on the Hebrew. Perhaps the elegance

¹ Note that the name 'Zerubbabel' in 6:13 must be due to the redactor.

FAITH

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strongly *en masse* among Messianists and David Kimhi go *נאמן* by *נאמן* - 'a' for 'a'.

In fact there is no word equivalent to 'faith' in the active sense in Biblical Hebrew. Talmudic Hebrew has *אמנה* (from *אמן* - 'to believe') and *אמון*. On the other hand, *אמנה* 'to believe' followed by *אמן* (literally 'in Yahweh') is of frequent occurrence. A notable passage is Gen. 15⁶, where I.V. gives, 'and he believed in the Lord', and he (Yahweh) counted it to him for righteousness. The idiom rendered 'he believed in' (*אמן*) is a very striking one, the belief intended is, not merely a crediting of a testimony concerning a person or a thing (this would be expressed by *אמנה*), but a laying firm hold mentally on a person or a thing, without the help of any intermediate agency (cp. the phrase, 'to cleave to Yahweh' *אמן* Dt. 10⁶ 11²², etc.). Abraham has a sure confidence in God that, in spite of natural conditions, he will give him a son as an heir, and Yahweh reckons this as righteousness, because the first obligation of the truly righteous man is to trust God.

The idiom of trust (righteousness) especially Deuteronomy; trust or belief is also hence; both *אמנה* and *אמון* are found (see Dt. 2¹⁵ 1¹).

Though, however, the phrase, 'to believe (in) God,' occurs only once in the story of Abraham, the idea of the phrase provides the narrative. Abraham is the hero of faith (see Heb. 11¹⁻¹², and ABRAHAM § 2). It is this that made it the so precious to pious Jews, for faith, they knew, was the quality which alone could preserve them as a people, and of faith they had a perfect example in Abraham (cp. Gal. 3⁹), whose spirit unlike that of his descendants (Ps. 78⁸), was 'constant' or 'steadfast' towards God. The idea must surely have been derived from some great religious teacher; was it perhaps Isaiah? Such is Dehlin's opinion. According to him the supreme importance of believing in God was first expressed by Isaiah in his interview with Ahaz, when he said, 'I've take not hold [of God], ye shall not keep hold [of your life]'; *אמן* *אמן* *אמן* (Is. 7⁹). Again, in 2 Ch. 20²⁰ the Chronicler puts these deeply-felt words into the mouth of King Jehoshaphat, 'Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, take hold of Yahweh your God; so shall ye keep hold (of your life); take hold of his prophets, so shall ye prosper.' The Psalmists, too, use the phrase, though not very frequently (Ps. 78²² 106¹²⁴ 119⁶⁶), and it so happens that the only passage of the Psalter quoted by Paul to illustrate the importance of faith (*πίστις*) is Ps. 116¹⁰, of which he adapts G's version, *ἐπιστεύσα διὰ ἐλπίδα*, which cannot represent the right text.⁴

The Second Gospel surprises us by the statement that the first sermons of Jesus contained the exhortation,

2. Its use 'Believe in (*πιστεῖτε ἐν*) the Gospel' (Mk. 1¹⁵). The phrase *πιστεῖτε ἐν* (*אמן*) is by the Synoptists, unique in the N.T.

In Jn. 3¹⁵ Eph. 1¹ have indeed been referred to as containing it; but the reference implies an interpretation which is certainly not to be preferred (see RV). In Gal. 3²⁶, however, and in 1 Tim. 3¹ we have the phrase [*ἐν*] *πίστις* [*ἐν*] *Χριστῷ* 'faith in Christ Jesus'.

Possibly 'in (*ἐν*) the gospel' was not in Mk.'s original source; this writer often introduces superfluous words from an excessive striving after clearness.

¹ Bishop Lightfoot (*Colossians* 2, 154) conjectures that the translator may have meant this to be understood, 'by faith in me'; but surely *אמן* most naturally means, 'by my fidelity to my promise' (cp. Ps. 89¹ 134⁶), and *אמן* *אמן* *אמן* can certainly mean this. Lightfoot himself quotes Rom. 3³, *ἐν πίστει καὶ ἐλπίδι*.

² Usually assigned to 1 or 2 (but see Holz, *Fiath* 95).

³ EV inconsistently renders, 'believe in the Lord your God'; but, 'believe his prophets,' though the Hebrew idiom is the same in both cases.

⁴ It is true, MT is as corrupt as the text presupposed by G (see Che. *Ps* 116).

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'Repent and believe' would be quite sufficient for the absolute use of *πιστεῖτε* (see Mk. 9¹⁵ 1¹⁵ Lk. 8¹²). Certainly the statement in Mk. 1¹⁵ may be well founded so far as 'believe' is concerned. It is credible that Jesus used the words 'believe' both very rarely in his ministry, and that he quickly drew the eyes of men upon himself, without having occasion to use the words 'believe in me.' He spoke as one having authority (Mt. 7²⁹ Mk. 1²³), and such an one produces faith in him, without having occasion to ask for it. In the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 6³) we meet with the phrase *ἀνιστάσθαι*, men of little faith, which is not classical Greek; it is equivalent to the Talmudic phrase *אמן* *אמן* 'small of faith.' After the 'calming' of the wind and the waves Jesus said (Mk. 4⁴) tells us, 'Why are ye fearful? have ye not yet faith?' Again, in the narrative of the healing of the centurion's servant we read of Jesus expressing surprise at the centurion's faith, which exceeded any faith that he had as yet found among Israelites (Mt. 8¹⁰). The scarcity of 'faith' in his native district was such that he did not in any mighty works there (Mt. 11²³), and to his own disciples he had to give the exhortation, 'Have faith in God' (*ἐχετε πίστιν θεῷ*, Mk. 11²²), whilst they on their side had to ask for help against unbelief (Mk. 9²⁴, cp. Lk. 17⁵ - *etc.*), for his efficacious intercessory prayer (Lk. 22³²). Thus all-important possession - what is it?

'In', *ἐν* Cristiano, *fatti manifesto*,
Fede che è 1.

It is not an intellectual assent and consent to dogmatic decrees; it needs not 'proofs phisic and metaphysic,' nor phraseological suggestions 'rained' throughout the Scriptures. It is the assent and consent of the human personality - the recognition 'with heart, and mind, and soul, and strength' of the truth that God is not only 'King of Israel,' and therefore of each Israelite, but also *de jure* sovereign of the world which he made, and that anything necessary for the establishment of his sovereignty *de facto* over the world and its inhabitants will be granted to those of the true Israel who ask it. Not only if the opposition of heathen rulers require signs and wonders in order that it may be quelled ('Be thou removed, O mountain'), but if it be necessary for the production in any individual of a filial feeling towards God, the sickness which oppresses, or the physical danger which threatens that individual will be removed, if he ask for this in 'faith.' For himself, Jesus demands unconditional trust; for God, he requires unflinching belief or 'faith.'

The distinction is not an idle one. In the Psalms, 'trust' is the characteristic attitude of the soul towards God. When, however, the Son of God came, some new phrase, or at any rate some old phrase which could be invested with a new dignity, seemed to be required to express the joyous and unflinching confidence which Jesus sought to cultivate in his disciples; that phrase was 'faith.' For himself, as we have seen, he asked not faith, but trust; the distinction can, however, best be expressed in German, 'One has *Vertrauen* on God, *Zufrauen* to Jesus' (Holtzmann). Jesus is one 'greater than the prophets'; in teaching his disciples how to pray, he implies that though they are his brethren, he is in a fuller sense 'Son of God' than they are. They must therefore trust him, see with his eyes, hear with his ears; then they will believe in God as he does, and be able to do the wonderful things which he himself, in the service of the kingdom, is enabled to do.

In the Fourth Gospel the noun *πίστις* eight times in Mt., five in Mk., eleven in Lk. does not occur once. The verb (*πιστεύω*) occurs ninety-nine times, and might therefore be expected to convey a prominent

¹ Dante, *Paradiso* 24¹².

² 'No è la verità che quindi piove' etc. (*Paradiso*, 24¹³⁵ 2¹ cp. 4¹⁰).

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ment of the evangelist. Such, however, cannot be said to be the case. To know God is in this context

3. In the
fourth
Gospel.

3. In the fourth Gospel.—much experience of their tendency to believe in *Jesus* rather than in the Son. The best spiritual life since can be had now, "believe in the God who will shortly redeem Israel" gives place to a personal communion with the God who has redeemed his own from the power of evil by manifesting himself to these "such persons" know God. Believing we do not a necessary prerequisite of knowledge. These who do not believe have had their sentence already *ἀποκρίματα*, in 3:19, because they do not receive the testimony of Jesus. If there are those who cannot believe, i.e., who have no spiritual susceptibility, it is because a demonic power (the prince of this world) has blinded them (in 12:31) or because they are entirely absorbed in giving and to giving honor as members of a close corporation, the existence of which is impugned by the claims of Jesus (in 5:44) (Cf. Genesis 3:2, 11:3).

4. In other NT writings. Paul's conception of truth needs to be considered in connection with his own mind and personal history, and in conformation with his conception of Righteousness (צדק). The truth'

4. In other M
writings.

and the Epistle of James is also excluded from consideration here, because it is neither clear nor homogeneous. So much, however, may be suggested: that the view of the intention of Jas. 2:14-26 sometimes put forward, viz., that the author is controverting a prevalent misuse of Paul's doctrine of faith, is possible only if the work belongs to the post-apostolic age! (cf. JAMES, *INTRODUCTION*).

The idea of faith in the Epistle to the Hebrews is not open to the same objection. It is neither mystical nor metaphysical, but it satisfies the fundamental requirements of spiritual religion. 'Faith' is obedience, just as unbelief is equivalent to disobedience (Heb. 3:18 f.), hence, 'without faith it is impossible to please God' (Heb. 11:6). It is brightened, however, by a strong tinge of hope (cf. Heb. 10:38, *ἐν πίστει ἁπλοῦς*); faith, like hope (Heb. 6:19), is an anchor of the soul; it enables a man to move about while on earth as if already in the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb. 12:22). Hence the heavenly-minded writer of the great epistle of faith in this epistle (Heb. 11:1-12:2) defines it as 'the firm expectation (*ἡσπορά*) of things hoped for, the conviction (*Ἀγνοία*) of things not seen' (Dante's 'sylogisms' (*Petr.* 2194) are not needed here). It is true, however, that in the Pastoral Epistles and in Jude³ we find traces of a nascent conception of faith which ultimately took full form in the theology of the old Catholic Church.

Besides the numerous works on the teaching of the different books of the NT, see Schlatter, *Der Glaube in NT* 2, 65 (note especially the discussion of the OT conceptions *Emeth* and *Emunah* and their Aramaean equivalents, and of the linguistic usage of Greek philosophers, historians, and jurists); also Lightfoot, *Colossians* 2, 152-56; Hatch, *Hebrew Chrestomathy*, 83-88.

On the different views of faith in the Pauline Epist. and in James, respectively, see von Soden, *J.P.F.* 84, p. 137 ff.; Holtmann, *NT Theol.* 2, 330 ff.

T. K. C.

FALCON (פֶּלֶאן; *Ḥāṭit*; in Job, 28²⁴), Lev. 11:14 Dt. 14:17 RV (AV 'kite'; Job 28:7 RV (AV 'vulture'). The only clue to the identification of the *Ṭappāh* is the keenness of sight alluded to in Job 28:7. The reference might therefore be to the *Milvina acuminis* (Tristram; see KITE). Of the genus *Falco*, however, nine species are enumerated in Palestine.

FALLOW DEER (חֲזִירֵי הַבָּרִי, De. 115, בְּרִיָּה אֶחָד [M1.; B. om.], 1 K. 123 [53] [S. om.])†, RV ROEBUCK (17.33, 4).

¹ S. H. von Soden, *Heb.* III, 6, 176, Holzmann, *Nichtest.* Theol. 2 117.

² It is not clear, however, what the Hebrew equivalent of this phrase can have been. The Hebrew text is defective; the word

³ Cf. PASTORAL EPISTLES; JUDG. EPISTLES.

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FAMILIAR SPIRIT 28, 1, 1905. See JOURNAL.

FAMILY

1. 請將下列各句譯成國語。(10分)
 1) 吾人今日之努力，乃為明日之幸福。
 2) 吾人今日之努力，乃為明日之幸福。

Keywords: child sexual abuse; disclosure; social support

1. *... (1997), et al. (1997).*

[illegible]

{The present article is introductory. Although, whether by turning it into the special sense in which the word occurs in IV of 1 K 19:20 (19:14 in B&H) or by blood and the terms expressing relationship will be considered under *Kissur*. The range of subjects covered by the word *kinship* is too large to be treated in a single article.}

The importance of the family in ancient Israel is apparent from the nature of the social conditions then prevailing, which are discussed with some detail elsewhere (see GOVERNMENT § 4 ff.). Other factors no doubt there were in the total constitution of the old type of life with which the OT deals, but none of them played a larger part than the family. Indeed, the clan and the tribe were regarded by the Hebrews themselves simply as extensions of the family, which thus had a special pre-eminence given to it. Right and wrong are determined, it makes law, administers justice (see LAW AND JUSTICE, §§ 1, 8), and maintains its due worship (see below, § 2). All public affairs are, up to a certain point, family matters; they are regulated by the fathers, the heads of families and clans. This condition of things continued long after the settlement in Canaan.

2. **Place in religion.** A society of worship. What has to be said of the tribe (see GOVERNMENT, § 84) holds good also of the family, and of the family in the first instance, viz., that community of worship is the bond which keeps the family and the clan together.

2. Place in religion.

family in the first instance, viz., that community of worship is the bond which keeps the family and the clan together.

The stone thing was true of various Indo-Germanic peoples, notably the Greeks and the Romans. Therefore the family was the oldest society of worship. The house-father was in primitive times the priest who had charge of the relations between the members of the household and the god. The right of sacrifice, in particular, was his alone. This is clearly shown in the case of the Israelite house-father, in the Passover ritual (Ex. 12 13 ff.). The transference of the designation 'father' to the priest in this connection is also worth noting. Accordingly, within historical times in Israel we still find clans celebrating special sacrificial feasts of their own, feasts that had an important place in the social scheme. The members of the family were under the strictest obligation to assemble at the family sanctuary (1 S. 20, 29) — an obligation which clearly points to an original family cultus (see FRAZER, § 1). The same family character shows itself in the family law of the slave. He is a member of the family; but he becomes so (and shows that he is so) by joining in the family worship. Eliezer prays to 'the god of his master' (Gen. 24, 2). Foreign slaves are received into the religious fellowship of the house by the rite of circumcision — an ancient custom, although no direct precept relating to it that has come down is of earlier date than P (see CIRCUMCISION, § 3). Lastly, reference may be made to all the indications from various sources which make it probable that, until well within historical times, ancestor-worship was practised, and that this earlier intermediate stage was regarded as representing one of the worship's need hardly be said, is a family worship. How profound was the influence of this family character of religion upon the family life will appear from the details which have been preserved. See further ESCATOLOGY, § 2 f.

The family takes its character from the position of woman. As to this nothing could be more instructive

3. Marriage.

3. **Marriage.** In the form of speech in which the husband is called *biñal*, the wife *b'ñah*, the man is the owner, the woman the chattel. Such at least was the custom as far back as our sources carry us (see, however, KINSIDE, § 8). In accordance with the classification of Robertson Smith, this type of marriage and family is therefore usually spoken of now as *biñal* marriage. The married woman is completely under the power of her husband; the husband has over her a proprietary right. Precisely similar is the form

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of marriage that chiefly prevailed in old Arabia. The husband acquires his property by purchase. The *mohar* paid by the ancient Hebrews, as by the ancient Arabs, and by the Syrian fellahin of the present day, on betrothal, is simply the purchase-money paid to the former proprietor—the father or guardian (cp MARRIAGE, § 1). With the payment of this purchase-money the marriage becomes legally valid, and all rights over the bride pass to the purchaser.

This is seen most clearly in the terms of the law relating to the seduction of a betrothed virgin, that is, one who has already been purchased by her future husband. The compensation to be paid was fixed exactly on the same scale as for a married woman (Dt. 22 23 ff.); looked at from the present point of view, it made no difference whether the marriage had been consummated or not; the violation of the rights of private property was equally great in both cases.

Originally, as Robertson Smith (*Kin.*, 72 ff.) rightly observes, such a *batal* marriage must have been a marriage by capture. Before a daughter of the tribe could be sold into such slavery, the slavery of woman must have become fixed as a firmly rooted usage in virtue of the established fact that ordinarily wives were obtained by plunder from abroad or as captives in war. Such women were of course, in the strictest sense, the property of the husband, the slaves of their master. We know that down to Mohammed's time marriage by capture was extremely prevalent; and, as was only to be expected, we have clear traces that it was not unknown in ancient Israel. In this way, we are told, the Benjamites who had escaped extermination were provided with wives (Judg. 21). Here (the date of the narrative is immaterial) capture in war (x. 10 ff.) stands alongside of capture (in peace) at the annual harvest festival at Shiloh (x. 19 ff.; cp DANCE, § 6). It is safe to infer that at the festival in question there survived ancient customs which owed their existence to a reminiscence of marriage by capture in the strict sense of the word. Such customs belong to the same category as those found among the Arabs, which plainly are designed, after the wife has ceased to be captured really, to represent the practice figuratively (see MARRIAGE, § 3). Dt. moreover (Dt. 21 10 ff.), has special regulations (whatever we may choose to make of them) as to the manner of entering into a valid marriage with a prisoner of war—regulations which certainly have relation to an ancient custom. By the fact of becoming the lawful married wife of her master, the captive woman passes into the ranks of the free women (as far as it is possible for any woman to be free; see § 4); she is no longer liable to be sold as a slave by her master; if he divorces her she becomes free. The rule of old Arabia was precisely similar. Obviously, however, a certain stigma attached to marriage by capture as soon as it had been supplanted in general usage by marriage (by purchase) with a tribeswoman. Laban reproaches Jacob for his stealthy flight on the ground that he had carried off his daughters with him as if they had been captives taken in war (Gen. 31 26).

Though the wife at marriage passes into the power of her husband, her position is not otherwise changed—

4. Legal position of woman. at least for the worse—and accordingly she feels no degradation. The unmarried woman in the house of her parents, also is under tutelage; she is the property of her father or guardian. Amongst the Arabs, for example, her guardian can make her his wife or marry her to his son without having to pay any *mohar*. In like manner, to take another instance, two fathers can exchange daughters as wives for their sons.

The seduction of an unbetrothed virgin is from this point of view regarded as an injury to property, and, very significantly, is dealt with by the law in that connection only. A virgin is valued at a higher figure than a widow or a divorcee. The seducer has to pay to the father, as compensation, the amount of *mohar* which the father would otherwise have been entitled to at her marriage (Ex. 22 15 [16]). The father, however, is under no compulsion to give the girl in marriage to the seducer; otherwise the way to force a marriage would be only too plain.

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Such an encroachment on his rights he is entitled to resist; so also in old Arabia.

Whilst thus treated as a valuable chattel, woman was not originally at all regarded from the point of view of working efficiency. The ancient Semites never appraised her so low. Women were looked upon rather as potential mothers, destined to give the tribe the most priceless of all gifts—namely, sons. On the number of its spears depended in those primitive times the whole power and dignity of clan and tribe. Therefore it was that the tribe did not willingly allow its women to pass by marriage into another tribe so as to enrich it with children. Later, indeed, when a sedentary life had been adopted, views changed and at the present time what the fellahin grudge is the working efficiency which by marriage is transferred from their own to another family.

The onesidedness of the marriage relation comes into

6. Special prominence especially at three points: (a) where there is polygamy, (b) where there is divorce, and (c) where there is inheritance.

(a) In a condition of society where the husband is regarded as owner of the wife, naturally no limit is set to his powers of acquisition. He can own as many wives as his means allow him to purchase and maintain. He can also acquire secondary wives and make his female slaves his concubines at his pleasure. In this there is felt to be so little of reproach to the first legal wife that instances are not wanting in which she herself promotes the arrangement (as in the cases of Sarah, Le. 1, and Rachel). The great antiquity of this custom (and thus also of the patriarchal system, see KINSHIP, § 9) is shown by the fact that the word (*ḥṭṭā*) for a secondary wife is common to all the Semitic languages (see ADVERSARY).

On the other hand the wife is very zealously guarded. Though she is by no means shut up as in the Islam of to-day, the custom of veiling—which doubtless originated in the circle of ideas that we have been considering—is very ancient (Gen. 24 65 29 25). Adultery is punished with death, and if the husband has suspicions he can subject his wife to the ordeal of jealousy (Nu. 5 11-30; see JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF). Under such conditions the only case in which the husband can be guilty of adultery is when he seduces the wife of another man. Cp MARRIAGE, § 4.

(b) The right of divorce is equally onesided in favour of the man. It is always in his power to forgo his rights of property and to send his wife back to her home, if only he is prepared at the same time to send back the *mohar*. The wife, on the other hand, has no means of obtaining a separation from her husband, or of forcing a divorce.

(c) Neither the unmarried nor the married woman is capable of inheriting. In *batal* marriages and under the patriarchal system the tendency to limit women's power of ownership and inheritance is easily intelligible. What belongs to the woman goes out of the family at her marriage. Thus in Israel daughters had no right of inheriting along with sons (see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 18), and women's right of property was confined to what they had received as a gift; the wife of good position retains at her marriage (for example) the right to the female slaves who have been given to her as her personal attendants on leaving her father's house (Gen. 16 26 30 49). Even these, however, in the last resort, rank as part of the husband's property disposable by inheritance. Numerous indications tend to show that in ancient Israel when a man died his womenkind passed to the heir in the same way as the rest of his property (cp MARRIAGE, § 8).

Strictly, however, this right of property over the wife is not a right over her person; it is a right to enjoy her society and have children by her. The husband cannot, for example, sell his wife (though he can sell his children) into slavery (Ex. 21 7). He cannot sell even the concubine whom he has bought as a slave, or gained as a prize of war. Thus, even from a purely legal point of view, the position of a woman

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who has become a wife of any sort differs from that of a mere slave. There are other aspects also in which she is by no means absolutely without resource against her husband; she can always fall back on her blood-relations, who are ever ready—as they are also under obligation—to support her whenever she has just cause for complaint. Her position is, therefore, in the last resort, essentially dependent on the dignity and influence of her own family. This being so, it is easily intelligible why men were unwilling to let their daughters pass into the possession of a foreign tribe or (later) to a distant home, where they would, to a great extent, lose the protecting influence of their kin. Conversely, we meet in Arabian literature, on occasion, the exhortation not to marry too near one's own camp if one wishes to avoid the continual interference of one's wife's relations (We. *GGV* 437, '93).

It would be a great mistake, then, to draw immediate conclusions as to the personal relations of the wife to her husband and household from the mere facts of her legal position. In the lower classes of society, no doubt, the lot of a

6. Real position. wife may well have been hard on the whole,asmuch as (just as among the bedouin and fellahin of to-day) upon her fell a very large share indeed of the most arduous labours of the domestic establishment—water-carrying, con-grinding, baking and the like—besides, as far as circumstances allowed, field labour and the task of tending the flocks and herds. That she owed the master of the house unconditional obedience hardly needs to be said. This, however, held good of her sons as well. If we can draw any conclusion from what we read of the wives of the patriarchs we cannot regard the Hebrew wife as having been unduly subordinate and dependent.

According to custom and right she was entitled to claim her wifely dues, her food and clothing, and general good treatment. Cases of cruelty to wives may be presumed to have occurred no oftener, if no seldomer, than they have always occurred in East and West alike. Women of rank and wealth, who could have personal attendants of their own, had a much easier lot. It need hardly be added that the amount of influence the wife possessed in the household would always depend upon her own character and her attractions for her husband. As a consequence of the comparatively large amount of freedom enjoyed by the Hebrew girl, she never as a wife became the (intellectually and morally) stunted creature which is now the prevalent type of woman in Mohammedan towns.

In the OT stories we are continually meeting with women of energy, capable of wielding great influence in household affairs and of taking independent action, worthy to be recommended for their ability no less than for their beauty (Gen. 16.5 ff. 27.1 f. 42 ff. Judg. 14 ff. 17 ff. 166 ff. 1 S. 25.14 ff. etc.). See also, MARRIAGE, § 4.

Though the legal status of the wife remained unchanged, it is evident that her actual position improved as time went on. More and more did she cease to be regarded as a mere chattel. The original meaning of the *môhar* was gradually lost sight of. In Gen. 31.15 the narrator (E) makes it a matter of reproach against Laban that he had sold his daughters and entirely devoured the price received. The story of the creation in J (Gen. 2.18) gives the woman a far higher place in relation to man—that of a 'helper, matching him,' as one part of a whole matches another (עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ). A no less lofty conception of the marriage relation finds expression in the prophets who represent the relation of Yahweh to his people under this figure. If, in the songs of Canticles, the beauty and love of women are represented with frank sensuousness and in glowing colours, this is supplemental in Proverbs by the praise of the virtuous wife which reveals a lofty ideal of the sex. It may always of course remain a question how far such theoretical notions had penetrated into the consciousness of the people or practically affected the position of women in everyday life.

To have a numerous progeny was the desire of every

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one in ancient Israel. 'Give me children, or I die' was the heart's cry of the wife (Gen. 30.1); 'be thou the mother of countless thousands' summed up the good wishes of parents over a departing daughter (Gen. 24.60). Barrenness was a dire misfortune, nay, a divine judgment (1 S. 1.5 ff.); for it was not until she had become mother of a son that the wife attained her full dignity in the household (1 S. 16 ff.; cp Gen. 16.4 30.1 f.). Still worse was it for the husband to have no son; his house was threatened with extinction. In the last analysis the threat of childlessness had its root in ancestor worship; the man who is childless will have no one to pay the unfulfilled dues to his manes after his death (cp ESCATOLOGY, § 5 f.). This was often the true reason why a second wife or a concubine was taken, and it was the essential consideration in levirate marriages (see MARRIAGE, § 8, ESCATOLOGY, § 6).

It is remarkable in this connection that we have absolutely no instance of resort to the means that would appear to us the most obvious—the adoption of a child from without; in Gen. 48 and parallel cases it is a son of the house-father, not an outsider, who is spoken of (see below, § 14). The only instance in the last resort fell to the slave, who had already been participator in the family worship, rather than to the mere outsider (Gen. 15.3).

The desire was, in the first instance, for sons. By them alone is the family continued; daughters marry and go elsewhere. Sons alone, not daughters, keep up the family worship; sons alone belong to the *kāhal* (see SYNAGOGUE), the aggregate of persons capable of bearing arms. The preference accorded to sons shows itself above all in the fact that they alone can inherit (see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 18). In all this we are dealing with views not specifically Israelite; they are fully shared by the ancient Arabs. A much lower value was set on daughters; but it was not forgotten that a *môhar* could be demanded for them at their marriage, and nowhere in the OT is there any trace of the contempt for girls which characterises so many nations past and present.

Amongst the ancient Arabs female infanticide seems to have been not very uncommon, the motives being not merely desire to be rid of the trouble of rearing female children, but also resentment against the disgrace of having become father of a daughter (We. *GGV*, 186.3, 16.48). No such practice, as far as our records go, was known among the Hebrews.

Any distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children in the modern sense of these words was un-

8. Legitimacy. known. Legitimacy depended, of course, on fatherhood, and amongst the Hebrews, as amongst the Arabs, the claims of the man will originally have rested not on the presumption of his paternity but on the fact that the mother was his property. Similarly, the children of the slave of the mistress belong to the mistress and are reckoned as hers, inasmuch as their mother belongs to her (Gen. 16.1 f. 30.1 ff.). At all events, wherever the paternity is certain all children are legitimate, those of the secondary as much as of the principal wife; all are children of the paterfamilias, and all, therefore, are capable of inheriting (Gen. 21.10).

Even Jephthah, though (as son of a harlot) illegitimate in the strictest sense of the word, was brought up in his father's house along with the children born in wedlock, and if these afterwards drove him away it was a case of might against right (Judg. 11.1 f. cp. 7). No doubt the right to inherit may not, in such a case, have been exactly the same as in the case of sons of a principal wife—in this respect it seems to have depended on the father's goodwill, and a definitely fixed usage cannot be discovered—but this does not alter the fact that the legitimacy of the children did not depend on the form of the marriage.

In Ex. 15.17 we read of the ease with which, according to Shiphrah and Puah, the Hebrew women delivered themselves. Nevertheless the office of the

9. Birth; recognition. midwife must have been an ancient one (Gen. 35.17 38.28 Ex. 15.17). Stade has tried to make out (*ZATW* 6.141 f. [86]) that among the Hebrews the wife brought forth 'on the knees' of her husband; but this is hardly likely.

In Gen. 30.1 it is proposed that the handmaid bear 'upon the knees' of her mistress so that the child may come to be regarded as the mistress's own. In this case it is easy to see how the

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practice arose, and how the very expression became a synonym for adoption. Custom and expression alike can have arisen only under the matriarchal system where a woman adopted, in other words, received into her kindred and clan, a child of really alien birth. The transference of the expression to denote adoption by the father represents, therefore, at best, only a secondary sense. Moreover, it is far from certain that the phrase has this meaning at all, or that the symbolical action of placing the child upon the knees at adoption on the father's part was actually used. There is no mention of it at the adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48), and in Gen. 50:23 the expression is very doubtful (see Holzinger, *Comm. ad loc.*).

From Job 3:12 all we can infer is that at that time the mother brought forth upon the knees of another person. This need not, however, have been the father; it may have been the midwife or some other female friend. In Jeremiah's time (Jer. 20:15), at the birth of a child, the father was not present. Some interpreters have found in the passage already cited from Job an instance of a symbolical act analogous to that in use among the ancient Romans, whereby the father by raising the child from the ground signified that he recognised it and wished it to live; but if so it would be a reminiscence of an earlier custom of infanticide of which we have in the whole OT no further evidence even in the case of female children, not to speak of males (see above).

The newly-born infant was bathed, salted, and swaddled (Ezek. 16:4). The use of salt in this connection seems to have been somewhat widely

10. Infancy. diffused in the ancient East, and it is still kept up to the present day. The fellâhin consider that it strengthens the child (*ZDPV* 463). This, we may be certain, was not the original reason for the custom; doubtless it had a religious significance. The mother usually suckled her own children (Gen. 21:7 1 S. 1:21 f. 1 K. 3:21 etc.), resort being had to a nurse (נָזַק) only in exceptional cases (Gen. 21:59 35:8), though afterwards this seems to have become the practice more and more among the wealthier classes (2 S. 4:4? 2 K. 11:2, cp Ex. 2:9). Weaning was late. At present the child in Palestine is kept at the breast for two or three years, and the case was nearly the same in antiquity (cp 2 Macc. 7:27; the Rabbins give two years). The weaning was made the occasion for a family festival, with sacrifices and joyous feasting (Gen. 21:8 1 S. 1:24).

The birth of the child made the mother unclean. This idea was shared by practically all the nations of antiquity, and is held still by all nations

11. Ceremonial uncleanness. living in a state of nature; we must not, therefore, in seeking to explain it, appeal to religious and ethical conceptions peculiar to the Hebrews or even to later Israel—as, for example, to the notion that the sexual life from first to last was sinful, defiling alike to body and soul. Just as little should we be justified in regarding the whole arrangement as 'a primitive quarantine, the first step towards a public hygiene' (Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitte der Völker*, 161). More probably the original idea was that the sickness of childbirth, like any other sickness, lay under the influence of certain demons, or that this, like other events in the sexual life, was under the protection of a special spirit (see Sta. *GVT* 1483 f.). The consciousness of any such origin of the practice had, needless to say, become entirely obliterated before historical times.

The priestly law (Lev. 12) distinguished two degrees of uncleanness, the first lasting (in the case of a boy) seven days, or (in that of a girl) fourteen days; the second lasting for other thirty-three days in the first case and sixty-six in the second—thus making total periods of forty and eighty days respectively. Only after the expiration of the term of uncleanness could the offering of purification be made. Though we have no evidence of such a graduation of periods for the older time, it is possible that the totals of forty and eighty days may go back to very ancient custom. Amongst the Greeks also the woman was usually held to be unclean for forty days, and according to Zoroaster she had to live in a separate place for forty days and only after the lapse of another forty days might she resume the society of her husband. Among the ancient Arabs also the woman had to live for some time in a separate tent, and according to Islam she is unclean for forty days. That the uncleanness arising from childbirth lasts longer in the case of a girl than in that of a boy is also a widely diffused belief. The Greeks, for example, held

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pregnancy in the first case to be more troublesome and birth more painful; the purification after birth had to last only thirty days in case of a boy, but forty-two in that of a girl (Hippocr. *De nat. pueri*, ed. Kuhn, 1392). See CLEAN, § 14.

On circumcision and the naming of the child see CIRCUMCISION, § 1; NAME.

Growing children were kept in the most rigorous subjection to their parents. Good morals forbade the

12. Parental authority. father to kill his child; but otherwise his power over it was almost absolute. He could sell his daughters into marriage, and even into slavery, though not to foreigners (Ex. 21:7 f.). Disobedience to parents, or cursing them, was punishable with death (Ex. 21:15 17; cp for the later time Lev. 20:9 Prov. 20:20 Mt. 15:4). Custom gave to the father the broad general right to put to death the worthless dissipated prodigal or heedless son, or the daughter who had gone astray (cp Gen. 38:24). As the legal system developed, the father's right of personally punishing was transferred to the regular courts; but in substance this changed nothing; on the complaint of the father the court would pronounce sentence of death. No limit of age at which the father's full power came to an end is ever mentioned. In practice, no doubt, it would terminate generally as soon as the son came to be independent and to have a house of his own.

The children's upbringing was, in the first years of their life, the duty of the mother. Boys and girls remained together in the harem (Prov.

13. Education. 31:1). The girl continued there till her marriage; but boys comparatively soon passed under the superintendence and guidance of the father, or in the wealthier families were handed over to special guardians (Nu. 11:12 Is. 49:23 2 K. 10:15 1 Ch. 27:32, and perhaps 2 S. 12:25). Attention would of course be paid to their initiation into the worship handed down from their ancestors (Ex. 13:8 Dt. 4:9 ff. etc.). Hardly less important was their practical instruction in the cultivation of the field and the vineyard, in the tending of cattle, or in the exercise of their father's trade. The wealthier classes also learned to read and write, arts which in Isaiah's time (probably even earlier) were, it would seem, fairly widely diffused (Is. 10:19 8:1, cp Judg. 8:14). Of schools no mention is made in the OT; it was not till a much later date that education was systematized (see Jos. *Ant.* xv. 105, and cp EDUCATION). T. B.

[We have now to refer to the act by which the privilege of virtual sonship was conferred on one who was not a

14. Adoption. son by birth (cp above, § 7). Three cases of informal adoption may plausibly be said to occur in the OT. One is the adoption of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter (Ex. 2:10); a second, that of GENEVATH (גִּנְיָת) by an Egyptian or rather N. Arabian princess (1 Ki. 11:20); a third, that of Esther by Mordecai her father's nephew (Esth. 2:7, 17). The first two, however, appear to be survivals of the matriarchal system among the Semites (Ex. 2:1-10 comes to us from a Semitic writer), and the third exhibits the influence of non-Semitic surroundings on a post-exilic Hebrew writer.

In the Pauline epistles we meet five times with the technical legal term *adoptionem* (Gal. 4:5 Rom. 8:15 23 9:4 Eph. 1:5). Here, too, except in Eph. 1:5, we notice the influence of non-Semitic social usages—usages which in Galatians are probably of the Greek type, in Romans of the Roman type, while in Ephesians (see below) 'adoption' seems to be used merely as a symbolic term, specially intelligible to Greek but by no means obscure to Jewish readers. Archaeologically, therefore, the passages in Galatians and Romans are the more interesting, but to rest in their archaeological aspects (on this subject see GALATIA, § 21) would show strange blindness to their highest significance. The writer of Galatians and Romans knows that 'all things are [his],' and scruples not to use law as an illustration of the highest truth. To faithful Christians he says that the 'spirit of adoption' is possessed already

(Rom. 8:15), but the 'inheritance' is 'according to promise' (Gal. 3:29), and till the promise is fulfilled perfect happiness is impossible. Hence 'adoption' itself can be described as something for which we 'wait'; it will be enjoyed when the 'body,' and with it the entire sympathising creation (*i.e.*, the whole world apart from man), is 'delivered from the bondage of corruption' (Rom. 8:21-23). Thus the 'spirit of adoption' resembles the 'spirit of bondage' in so far as it refers to the future, but differs from it in so far as its characteristic is, not fear, but sure confidence in God's fatherly attitude towards us (Rom. 8:15). Those who are 'under the law' are not properly 'sons,' but 'servants' (Gal. 4:7*f.*). It is true that in the context of this very passage (Gal. 4:1-3) men in this position are likened to children under age; but children under age are virtually servants, and so may in some sense be 'redeemed.' The use of this term 'redeem' (ἐξαγοράζω) in Gal. 4:5 (cp 3:13) has been illustrated by the Roman practice in adoption, which was virtually a sale by the natural father, and a buying out by the new father. Apart, however, from the question whether the Greek or the Roman type of adoption is implied, we must not press the preposition, considering the late Greek tendency to use verbs compounded with prepositions without increase of meaning.¹ The last passage (Eph. 1:5) is remarkable because 'adoption' there appears to be closely akin to moral and spiritual likeness to God; cp Jn. 1:12, where those who 'receive' (*i.e.*, believe on) the eternal word (*i.e.*, virtually Jesus Christ) are said to have 'authority' (ἐξουσίαν) given them 'to become sons of God.' The next verse explains that such persons have been 'begotten' (γεννηται), not in the natural way, but 'of God.' The 'adoption' which is in the writer's mind, though he does not use the term, is a recognition by God of a certain spiritual character in those who have 'received' Christ, and this must also be the idea of *viobēria* in Eph. 1:5.

We are a long way here from the *viobēria* of Rom. 9:4, where the 'adoption' is that referred to in Ex. 4:22, Hos. 11:1, etc. Still the persistence of Hosea on the moral conditions of Israel's sonship (cp. LOVINGKINDNESS) shows that the 'adoption' of Israel intended by the OT writers is really a recognition of a degree of likeness to God in the Israelitish people. We are also still separated by a considerable interval from the ecclesiastical use of *viobēria* recorded by Suicer (*s.v.*) Hesyehin, says this writer, defines the term thus, ὅταν τις θύον πύον λαβῇ, καὶ τὸ αἶνον παρτίσῃ. Photius, too (Ep. 97, ad Basilium Macedonem), makes a strong appeal to Basilus in the name of their old friendship and various other still more sacred things, last among which is 'the bond by which the adoption of the fair boy (ἡ γοῦ καλοῦ παιδὸς *viobēria*) binds us together.' The reference is to a child of Basilus whose sponsor Photius had been. *viobēria* has become a synonym for baptism, for which we have a parallel in the phrase 'the laver of regeneration' in Tit. 3:5 (RVmg.).

For the older literature see Uggolini, *Thes.* 30; Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, 1673; J. D. Michaelis, *Mosaïches Recht*, II.; Saalschütz, *Mosaïches Recht*, 725 ff. See also, besides the archaeological handbooks: W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (88), and 'Animal Worship and Animal Tribes,' etc., *Journ. Phil.*, 1875 ff.; Noldeke in *ZDMG*, 40:148 ff.; Wilken, *Das Mattheusbuch bei den alten Arabern* (84); Chr. Stubbe, *Die Ehe im AT* (86); Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' *GGN* 1893, p. 431 ff.; Beninger, art. 'Familie u. Ehe,' in *PRE³*; Simon, *L'Éducation des Enfants chez les anciens Juifs* (79); Strassburger, *Gesch. d. Erziehung bei den Israeliten* (85). I. B., §§ 1-13, 15; T. K. C., § 14.

FAN (מִצֶּרֶת, *mizreh*, Is. 30:24 Jer. 15:7, cp 'fanners' Jer. 51:2 AV RVmg.; ΠΥΡΟΝ Mt. 3:12 Lk. 3:17). See AGRICULTURE, § 9.

FARTHING (ἀκαρίπιον, Mt. 10:20 Lk. 12:6 [Amer. RV 'penny']; κοδρανθης, Mt. 5:26 Mk. 12:42). See MONEY.

FASTING, FASTS. Fasting (ΝΙΣΤΕ, *nisite*; later

¹ Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, 337-344.
² The fact that violent emotions such as anger, jealousy, or grief find one of their natural and appropriate expressions in abstinence from food (1 S. 17:20-34 1 K. 21:4*f.*) need not be further dwelt on here. The present article deals with fasting in its religious aspects.

עָנָה נֶפֶשׁ, *'annah nephesh*, see below, § 5), to the Hebrews,

meant, as amongst other Orientals it still means, total abstinence from meat and drink. Such abstinence lasted as a rule from sunrise to sunset, when it ended in a meal (cp e.g., Judg. 20:26 1 S. 14:24 2 S. 1:12 3:35). When a fast of more days than one is spoken of (1 S. 31:13 'seven days' fast) the expression is to be understood in the sense that meat and drink were taken each day after sundown just as at present in the Mohammedan fast of Ramadan. If, as in Esther 4:16, a prolonged fast extending over a specified number of days and nights is spoken of, this is to be regarded as exceptional. The weakened form of fasting which consists in abstinence from certain kinds of food and drink appears only as a development of later Judaism. Of Daniel we are told (Dan. 10:2*f.*) that he drank no wine, ate no flesh or dainty food, and abstained from anointing himself. It is a fast of this sort that we are to suppose in the case of Judith (Judith 8:6; see below, § 6).

On the object of fasting the only express utterance of the OT occurs in 2 S. 12:22:

'While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept, for methought, Who knows whether Yahweh will not have compassion upon me, that the child may live? But now he is dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him back again?'

David is here said to have fasted in order to raise Yahweh's pity, and so make him inclined to listen to his prayer (see below, § 3).

We may well doubt, however, whether we have here the original meaning of the act of fasting. For we could not thus explain how fasting became one of the most prevalent and widely diffused of mourning customs; the passage merely suggests the uselessness of fasting as an element of mourning for the dead. It was well, therefore, to try another explanation, and that of Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 434) seems likely to be correct. This scholar points out that sacrifice, being essentially a sacrificial meal, needed to be carefully prepared for; this preparation was obtained by fasting.

In addition to numerous parallels for such a preparation, he notices the fact that abstinence, though in another direction, was certainly a preparative for eating of the consecrated bread and sacrificial food (1 S. 21:5 [61*f.*). This is of much weight. We must, it is true, concede that fasting is nowhere mentioned as one of the details of preparation for a sacrifice, or 'sanctifying oneself' for a festal celebration. Rather is it represented everywhere as a religious act of independent value. This, however, proves nothing against the possibility of such an origin of fasting; it only shows that even in the earliest historical period the Hebrews had already lost this custom of fasting before sacrifice. And yet perhaps there may be a trace of the view of fasting which is here advocated in the reports in Exodus (34:28 [J]; cp Dt. 9:9) that Moses on Mount Sinai neither ate nor drank for forty days and after that received from God the tables of the law. Daniel, too, received his revelations after a long fast (Dan. 9:3 10:2*f.*).

The cases of Moses and Daniel prove that fasting was a means by which man was brought into such a condition that it was possible for God to have communion with him. Perhaps also a similar thought underlies and has had an influence on the report that Elijah passed forty days and forty nights in Horeb without meat or drink (cp also the fasting of Jesus, Mt. 4:2). Fasting in mourning for the dead is sufficiently explained in the same way; the funeral meal is in its origin not different from a sacrificial meal, except in the fact that the offering is in the former case made, not to Yahweh but to the deceased.

Fasting in sign of mourning finds express mention in the OT only twice; the men of Jabesh fast for Saul seven days (1 S. 31:13 1 Ch. 10:12), and David and his people fast for Saul and Jonathan on the day of the arrival of the news of their death (2 S. 1:12). 2 S. 12:21, however, warrants the conclusion that fasting in mourning was a pretty general custom; David's courtiers wonder that the king ceases to fast after the death of his child, since, in their view—*i.e.*, according to ordinary custom—it was the very time when he ought to have fasted.

The explanation of the origin of fasting now given comes nowhere clearly to light in the OT; no consciousness of it remained, at least when the narratives came to be written. The custom itself, however, sur-

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vived like so many other mourning usages (such as rending of the garments) as a universally prevalent expression of sorrow.

3. New significance.

Fasting, therefore, is frequently mentioned in this connection (2 S. 11 ff. 33 ff. 12 ff. 20 1 K. 21 27 1 S. 58 5 Joel 2 12 f. Jonah 3 5 ff. Ezra 10 6 Neh. 9 1 Dan. 9 3 Esther 4 3 1 Macc. 3 47 Judith 4 13 86; cp. MOURNING, CUSTOMS).

As we have seen already, fasting gradually came to have a significance that raised it above all other mourning customs, being considered as a specially efficacious means of influencing the deity—a pain which man brought upon himself and which must awaken the divine pity. Thus it falls into the same category as sacrifice proper, which also in process of time came to be regarded as a surrender of property—a gift made to God (Jer. 14 12). The suppliant fasted in order to give special emphasis to his prayer. Of course it is always some impending or actually present calamity which is the occasion of the act; there can be no fasting in times of prosperity, least of all on festivals (Judith 8 6). How deeply rooted was this conception of the purpose of fasting can be seen from 2 S. 12 16 ff., where David is represented as holding fasting to be useless except where it reinforces a prayer; or from 1 S. 58 3 (post-exilic), where the people think that they have just cause for complaint because Yahwé pays no heed to their fasting.

In practice, of course, there were all kinds of occasions for fasting, and these remained the same, though the frequency of fasting varied (see below).

4. Occasions for fasting.

(a) *Private*.—Like David (2 S. 12 16 ff.), the pious Israelite fasted when his friends were sick (Ps. 35 13). Ahab fasted, and not in vain, when Elijah predicted his downfall (1 K. 21 27 ff.); Nehemiah bewails with fasting the sad condition of the Jews in Jerusalem (Neh. 1 4); Ezra and his companions, before their journey to Palestine, fast in order to secure the divine protection (Ezra 8 21), and Esther does the same before her perilous visit to the king (Esth. 4 16).

(b) *Public*.—In cases of public danger, such as a plague of locusts (Joel 1 13 f.), or a revolution (Judg. 20 26 2 Ch. 29 3 1 Macc. 3 47), the entire community people fasted. It is true, the passages cited are all post-exilic; but such passages as 1 K. 21 27 ff. 1 S. 113 6 (B), Jer. 36 6 ff. show that public fasts were known also in the older period (see below).

The idea of exciting the compassion of Yahwé by such self-mortification had at first, as we might expect, a very realistic form. The deity, it was thought, could not bear to look on while his servant had such acute suffering; he became a fellow-sufferer and was moved to compassion. With the spiritualising of the conception of God there came a gradual refinement of this idea. Fasting was no longer a self-inflicted chastisement, but a humbling of oneself before God; thus the act assumed a spiritual complexion.

When this change of view came about, we know not, a notable saying in one of the Elijah-narratives marks it as already complete. "Seest thou," says Yahwé to Elijah, "how Ahab has humbled himself before me? Because he has humbled himself before me, I will not bring the disaster in his days," etc. (1 K. 21 29); cp. also Dt. 8 3. In this connection a heightened interest attaches to the remark that the ancient expression *עָשָׂה צוֹם*, *'innāh nepheš*, 'to humble, or mortify oneself' (e.g., Lev. 16 29 31 Nu. 29 7 1 S. 58 3 5, and often, and, with the addition of *עַל* *bagin*, Ps. 35 13). The derivative *צוֹמֵה*, *ta'āniā*, is a very frequent word for fasting in the post-biblical literature.

All this makes it easy to understand the close relation of fasting and penitence. Great calamities were always regarded as manifestations of the divine anger, and supplication for their removal involved as a matter of course the penitent confession of guilt. In particular, general and public fasts must early have assumed the character of days of penitence.

This seems to be the only satisfactory explanation of 1 K. 21 27 ff., and may be safely assumed for the fast days of Jeremiah's time (Jer. 36 6). Fasting is expressly associated with a confession of sin in the following passages (post-exilic):—1 S. 7 6

¹ [According to Che. Ps. (2), *ad loc.*, צוֹם is an interpolation suggested possibly by 69 to (11).]

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Neh. 9 1 Joel 2 12 ff.; similarly the great day of atonement is at the same time a fast day (Lev. 16 29 31).

It was in the period immediately before the exile that fasting began to acquire special importance. It was

one of the expedients to which the Jewish people resorted for averting the dreaded calamity; the opinion that it had any intrinsic value is combated by Jeremiah (Jer. 14 12). The popular estimation of it went on increasing during and after the exile. This may be ascribed, partly at least, to a feeling of the need of religious exercises to take the place of the suspended temple services. The post-exilic differs from the pre-exilic period not only in the increased frequency of fasting, but still more in the adoption of this usage as one of those universally practised religious exercises which needed no extraordinary or specially definite occasion. This deprives fasting of much of its religious value. It becomes simply, at least in the eyes of the multitude, a meritorious work. Against this view the later prophets struggled (1 S. 58 3 ff. Zech. 7 5 f.); but in vain. The picture of Judith (8 4 ff.) fasting every day except the eves of the sabbaths, and the sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons, and the new moons, and the feasts and joyful days of the house of Israel shows us the ideal of piety prevalent in the later period. Fasting and prayer now becomes a constant combination of words (Judith 4 9 11 Tobit 12 8 Eccles. 3 16 Lk. 2 37). The special days of the week devoted to public or private fasting were the second and the fifth (Monday and Thursday); very pious persons fasted on these days all the year through (Lk. 18 12; *Talmith*, 12a). It was forbidden to fast on Sabbaths, new moons, and feast days (also on the eves; see Judith 8 6, as above). Two degrees of fasting were distinguished. The less stringent form required abstinence from food and drink between sunrise and sunset; in the stricter, the fast lasted twenty-four hours, and abstinence from washing, anointing, sleep, and work, were added.

Public fasting too became much more frequent in post-exilic times. During the exile had arisen the custom of observing four yearly fast-days to commemorate the calamities of Jerusalem. That of the fourth month had reference to the capture of the city by the Chaldeans (Jer. 52 6 f.), that of the fifth to the destruction of the city and temple (Jer. 52 12 f.), that of the seventh to the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. 41 1 ff.), that of the tenth to the commencement of the siege (Jer. 52 4). These fast-days were not taken into the law, and disappeared after the time of Zechariah. They were revived after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; according to Dalman, however (*PRF* 7 16 f.), in Palestine only the ninth of the fifth month (Ab) was observed in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem first by the Chaldeans and afterwards by the Romans, both of which events, according to Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 53), happened on the same day of the year. In Babylonia the other three anniversaries also were permanent public fast days. The law itself enjoins rigorous fasting for the great day of atonement only (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF). On the (very late) fast of the thirteenth of Adar, which professed to commemorate the counsel of Haman that all the Jews should be put to death, see PURIM.

Over and above these regular public fasts it was competent for the community at any time of trouble or distress to enjoin a fast. Special public fasts of this kind were very common. Among such occasions one of the most frequent was the failure of the autumn rains. If by new moon of Chislen no rain had fallen, three fast days were held; if the drought still continued, the fasts were renewed and intensified.

Keil, *Handb. d. Bibl. Arch.* 353 f.; Nowack, *HA* 2 270; Benzinger, *HA* 105, 474, 477; art. 'Fasten' in Richter's *HWB*, and Buhl in *PRE* 5 718 ff.; Smend, *AT Rel. Gesch.* 142, 319; WRS *Rel. Sem.* 433 f. Schürer, *GH* 2 489 f.; Dalman, art. 'Gottesdienst, Synagogaler' in *PRE* 7 15 f.

I. B.

FAT

FAT (חֵמֶל), Ex. 29:13. See **FOOD**, § 10, **LIVER**, **SACRIFICE**.

FATE. See **FORTUNE AND DESTINY**.

FATHER (אָב, etymology unknown; πατήρ). We shall treat this subject here only in so far as it can be treated independently of 'sonship' (see **SON**). The following are special uses of the term 'father':

(1) A title of respect, 1 S. 24:11 (David calls Saul 'my father'). (2) A near or distant ancestor, e.g., Gen. 28:13 (Abraham the 'father' of Jacob); Dt. 26:5 and Is. 43:27 (the patriarch Jacob); Mt. 3:9, Jn. 8:50 (Abraham); Lk. 1:42 (David). So especially in the plural: 1 S. 3:11; 1 K. 8:21; Mt. 23:30; Jn. 4:20; 6:31; 1 Cor. 10:1. Cp. **WRS** *Ann.* 117f.

Usage naturally permitted the same word to be used of the ancestors of a tribe and of those of an individual, for the tribe was viewed as an organism (see **GENEALOGIES** I, § 2; **GOVERNMENT**, § 2). For 'father's' or 'fathers' house' (בֵּית אָבִים), cp. **FAMILY**, § 2.

(3) The reputed founder of a city, Gen. 33:19; 1 Ch. 2:51f.; 4:4 etc.; or (4) of a guild or class of men, Gen. 4:20f. (5) An honorific title of priests, Judg. 17:10; or (6) prophets, 2 K. 2:12; 5:13; 6:21; 13:14; or (7) teachers, Mt. 23:9 (cp. in later times, Abba Shaul, Abba Eleazar). (8) An official title of the chief administrator or vizier, Gen. 45:8, 2 perhaps also Is. 22:21 (Duhm); cp. S. addition to 1 S. 13, and the commentators on 1 Macc. 11:32.

In Is. 35:6 [אָבִים] (see **ABIMUTH**) we should perhaps read אָבִים, 'glorious father' (i.e., governor), parallel to אָבִים, 'prosperous prince'; but אָבִים (יִשְׂרָאֵל) 'Mighty one (of Israel)' is much better (for details see Che. in *Crit. Bib.*). The difficulties of all the ordinary explanations of MT may be seen from the commentaries (e.g., Del. and Duhm).

(9) Applied to Yahwé as the creator or producer of the people of Israel, of mankind in general, and of all natural phenomena, Dt. 32:6; Is. 63:16; 64:7; Mal. 2:10; Job 38:28. Tg. renders Is. 63:16 64:7 paraphrastically, 'thou whose compassion for us is as great as that of a father for children.'

Note also the use of δ πατήρ, 'the Father,' as a title of God in Acts 17 (δ πατήρ alone), Mt. 11:27; 24:36; 28:19 and passages, where δ πατήρ and ὁ θεός occur together; δ πατήρ = אָבִים [q.v.]. On the other NT phrases, 'my Father,' 'your Father,' sometimes with the addition of 'who is in heaven,' also 'our Father who is in heaven,' and on the wide conception of 'the heavenly Father,' see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 1:150-162.

FATHOM (οὐρῡν), Acts 27:28. See **WEIGHTS AND MEASURES**.

FATLING, an animal fattened for slaughter; see **CATTLE**, § 5.

In EV it represents (1) מִיָּחִים, *michim*, Ps. 66:15f., for which read מִיָּחִים, so Che. on Is. 5:17, *SBOT* 'Isa.' Heb. 8:3; (2) מִיָּחִים, *michim*, 2 S. 6:13, etc., see **CATTLE**, § 2 (5), and cp. מִיָּחִים, *michim*, Ezek. 34:3; RV; (3) מִיָּחִים, 1 S. 13:9, for which מִיָּחִים, *michim*, should be read; see Dr. *ad loc.*; (4) מִיָּחִים, *michim*, Mt. 22:4 = *mirra* of LXX.

FAUCHION (ἀκινάκης), Judith 136:169 AV, RV **SCIMITAR**. See **WEAPONS**.

FAWN (עֶפְרָיִם), Cant. 4:5; 7:3 [4] RV; see **ROE**, 3.

FEASTS

Character (§ 1). Minor feasts (§ 8).
Earlier stages (§§ 2-5). Changes (§§ 9-12).
Tone (§ 6). Later additions (§ 13f.).
Literature (§ 15).

Amongst the ancient Hebrews, as amongst all other ancient peoples, there was no distinction between religious and secular feasts; there was no feast without a sacrifice, and there was no sacrifice that was not a feast.¹

1. Their social character.

¹ Tg. substitutes 'בֵּית' for 'אָבִים' where Israelites, and 'אָבִים' where non-Israelites, are the speakers.

² Unk. renders Abrahah (Gen. 41:43), 'father of the king.' See, however, JOSEPH II, § 6.

³ EV might suggest the reading מִיָּחִים, cp. Nch. 8:10.

⁴ ['Feast.' For מִיָּחִים, *michim* (Eccl. 10:19 cp. Dan 5:1), *eporh*, etc., see **MEALS**; for מִיָּחִים (cp. 2 Ch. 30:22; Lam. 2:7), see **ASSEMBLY**, 2; and for מִיָּחִים, see below, §§ 4, 6, 9, 11; cp. **DANCE**, § 3.]

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Nor was there any sharp line of demarcation, as there is amongst modern nations. Between social and religious life; religious observances formed one department of social duty. A close bond of union and of intercourse, originally conceived as physical, connected the members of a clan with their god. If the clan was celebrating a joyful festival, their god must participate in it. For the Israelitish nomads in particular, no festival was complete without the eating of meat, whilst the slaughtering of an animal for food was always at the same time a sacrifice. On the other hand, a sacrifice in the most ancient periods had, as a rule, the character of a public feast. The deity stood in direct relation not so much to the individual man as to the clan or tribe as a whole. Accordingly, sacrifice was originally an affair of the clan.

Sacrifices offered by a private individual were the exception, and even in later times they betray something of the character of a public feast, inasmuch as the members of the same tribe were always welcome as guests. 'I ven a private offering was not complete without guests, and the surplus of sacrificial flesh was not sold but distributed with an open hand' (**WRS** *Rel. Sem.* 2:264).

We find only a few traces in the OT of regularly recurring feasts celebrated by the Hebrews in their nomadic state before the immigration into Canaan. The three great annual feasts, so important at a later date,—Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles,—are the festivals of an agricultural people, which were first adopted by the Hebrews in Canaan. On the other hand, one portion of the Feast of Passover—the Passover—goes back to the nomadic life of the Hebrews.

Even Jewish tradition has preserved the correct view, that the foundation of the Passover is earlier than the Exodus—that even before Moses the Hebraic pastoral tribes were accustomed to celebrate a spring festival with offerings from their herds (1 S. 7:16; 10:24f., etc.). This is confirmed by the fact that the ancient Arabians also observed a similar festival in the spring. The old Hebrew feast, however, like that of the Arabians, had not the same meaning as the later Passover, which represented the offering of the tribute due to the deity from the herd. The peculiar ritual of the Passover points more particularly to the view that the feast, like all sacrifices, was originally intended, by means of the sacramental acts of eating the sacrificial meat and partaking of the blood of the victim, to strengthen the union of the members of the tribe both with each other and with the deity. In this way they thought to insure themselves against every harm and danger. Besides the feast of Passover, the festival of the New Moon also appears to go back to a period before the conquest of Canaan: it was originally simply astronomical and quite unconnected with agriculture. Its wide prevalence among the Semites, its great importance, and above all, its connection with the ancient family sacrifices (1 S. 20:5f.), speak for its high antiquity. The Sabbath, on the other hand, may very probably have had its origin in agriculture. A third feast, which the Hebrews may have brought over with them from their nomadic life, is the feast of sheep-shearing (1 S. 25:2; 2 S. 13:23; cp. Gen. 38:12). See further, **PASSOVER**, **PENTECOST**, **SABBATH**, **TABERNACLES**.

The introduction of the worship of Yahwé among all the Hebrew tribes, so far as we can judge from the oldest sources, appears to have altered the character of these feasts only in so far that they were now all celebrated in honour of the common God Yahwé, and no longer of the several tribal deities. Very important, on the other hand, were the alterations in these, as in other departments of religion, brought about by the settlement in the land of Canaan. Those feasts which were connected with pastoral life immediately fell very decidedly into the background.

The feast of sheep-shearing, for example, was important only for those districts of the country in which the nature of the land made cattle-breeding play an important part—e.g., in the S. of

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Canaan. There it retained its position as a local feast down to the time of the kings (1 S. 25.2 2 S. 13.21); but as early as the oldest legislation it was no longer reckoned as one of the universal feasts. The same thing seems to have happened in the case of the Passover. This feast also fell very decidedly into the background and was subordinated to the countryman's spring-festival, the offering of the first-fruits of the harvest; and in the earliest legislation relating to feasts it is not counted as an independent feast at all (in Ex. 34.25 the name *Pisach* is a later insertion). Probably in particular districts, where there was little cattle-breeding, it fell out of observance entirely (cp 2 K. 23.21 ff.). Where it was celebrated it coalesced more and more with the feast of the beginning of harvest, as might easily happen, since both harvests fell approximately about the same time. Lastly, the feast of the New Moon retained its high position among feasts in popular usage (1 S. 20.4 ff. Am. 8.5 Hos. 2.13 [11] Is. 1.13); but this feast also is entirely, and, it appears, purposely ignored in the legislation.

When the Israelites became settled, the old feasts were displaced by a new cycle closely connected with agriculture.

4. Become agricultural. In the spring 'when the sickle is first put to the corn' (Dt. 16.9), the first-fruits of the new crop were offered at the feast of 'unleavened bread' (*hag ham-masith*, חַג הַמַּצֹּת 27). Seven weeks later the 'feast of weeks' or 'harvest-feast' (*hag sabu'oth* or חַג שבועות, *hag haq-kisir*: Ex. 34.22 23.16), marked the end of the harvest. Between these two feasts was contained a great seven-weeks' harvest-festival (Is. 9.2 [3]). The end of the cycle of feasts in the autumn was marked by the feast of Tabernacles, termed in the old legislation 'the feast of ingathering at the year's end' (*hag ha'asiph*: Ex. 34.22 23.16). In the old law of feasts all three stood side by side as of equal authority and importance, all requiring a visit to the sanctuary. This can hardly have been the case in practice. At all events the historical books only testify to the autumn feast (Judg. 9.27 1 S. 11.7 1 K. 12.32 6.38). It is called merely 'the feast' or 'the feast of Yahwè' (*hag*, *hagag*, or חַג חַג יְהוָה; 1 K. 8.2 12.32 Judg. 21.19 Lev. 23.39 41 Ezek. 45.25 Neh. 8.14 Zech. 14.16 ff.). Its pre-eminence over the other feasts is easily intelligible: it was the concluding festival of thanksgiving for the whole of the harvest. The spring feasts, however, also came into existence fairly early, alongside of the Feast of Tabernacles, as is proved by the law and also by Isaiah (9.2 29.1 etc.). The other feasts, as Wellhausen remarks (*Profr.*¹⁰ 94), were celebrated only in local circles, at home and not at the famous sanctuaries.

The harvest feasts were connected with the land of Canaan. Nothing exhibits more clearly than this fact the natural foundation of the ancient religious beliefs and observances of Israel. These feasts were connected, not with historical acts of deliverance by Yahwè, but with the products of the earth, which were Yahwè's gifts. Hence it clearly follows that they cannot have had their origin with a nomadic people of the desert, but must have sprung up in the country itself. We shall not be wrong in assuming that they were originally Canaanite feasts, which in common with so many other portions of the Israelitish worship of Baal were subsequently transferred to Yahwè.

There is direct evidence for the Canaanite origin of the autumn feast: every autumn the citizens of Shechem celebrated their feast of *hillalim* (Judg. 9.27). The rites of this festival were in themselves neither gentile nor Israelitish; they only became one or the other when they were connected with a definite deity. The Canaanites regarded their god as lord of the country and the dispenser of its fruits, and accordingly gave him the tribute due therefrom. For the Israelites, Yahwè was the 'Baal' of Canaan, to whom they owed their country and all that it contained; accordingly they kept the feasts in his honour.

The attitude of mind which dominated these agricultural festivals has thus already been indicated: the

5. Viewed as tribute. feasts gifts and sacrifices were the tribute owed and paid to the lord of the country.

Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*¹² 111 ff. 244 453 ff.) has conclusively proved that this was not the genuine Semitic conception of sacrifices and feasts. Nevertheless it was a conception that was continually

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coming more and more into prominence. Even the old legislation extended the demand for tribute to the increase of the flock, and required that the first-born of cattle should be sacrificed on the eighth day after birth (Ex. 34.19 22.29). Further, after this conception had once become prominent, the Passover also was conformed to it, although its peculiar ritual was entirely contrary thereto. In Ex. 11 and 12 the narrative of JE is based on the conception that Yahwè took the first-born of men and cattle among the Egyptians as a compensation, because Pharaoh had not allowed the Israelites to sacrifice the firstlings of their cattle due to Yahwè. Hence the conception of a tribute from the herd had already found its way into the feast in ancient times, and this modification of the old feast may have considerably aided its coalescence with the feast of Massoth. The firstlings of the flock corresponded to the first-fruits of the field; the essence or foundation of either feast was now the same. Still it must be noticed, in contrast with the law in Deuteronomy, that the amount of the gifts was left to the freewill of the giver. Tithe was first required in Deuteronomy (cp TAXATION); before that nothing was specifically required except the firstborn. Further, in contrast to the festal ordinance of the Priestly Code, in ancient times and down to Deuteronomy the offerings and tributes coincide with each other. Nothing is said of any other offerings at the feasts except those which consisted of the tribute.

Corresponding to this natural foundation of the whole religion, an entirely cheerful tone characterises all

6. Their joyousness. the feasts. 'Thou shalt rejoice before Yahwè' is continually repeated in D. The main feature of the festivals was unquestionably the joyous sacrificial meal; that this was not always particularly solemn is proved by Eli's suspicion about Hannah (1 S. 1.14 cp Am. 28.15 28.7 f.). Dancing and processions also formed a not unimportant part of the festival, as is indicated by the name חַג (*hag*) (see DANCE, §§ 3, 5 f.). At the autumn feast in the vineyards of Shiloh the young maidens performed choral dances (Judg. 21.19 ff.). Nowhere else is it more clearly seen that the key-note of the piety of the earlier Israelites was a feeling of joyful security. The ancient Israelite was contented with his God, and knew that his God was contented with him. This was attested to him by the gifts of the field and of the flock, by the prosperity of the community. On the other hand, the misfortune of a single individual could not come into account when compared with the wellbeing of the community as a whole. Thus there could not have been any permanent feeling of a need for atonement—apart from exceptional manifestations of divine wrath in the shape of drought, pestilence, or other national calamities; much less could there have been room for regular festivals of atonement.

The important part played by the feasts in the religion of ancient Israel is best seen from the representations of

7. Place in religious life. Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. These prophets give the impression that the entire religious observances of the nation were contained in these feasts. Special cases apart, the individual Israelite saved up his offering for these feasts (1 S. 13.21), 'satisfying the religious feelings in the interval by vows to be discharged when the festal season came round' (*Rel. Sem.*¹² 254). Were the feasts allowed to drop, the whole of the divine worship would fall with them; this it is that gives the prophetic threat of exile its sting (Hos. 2.13 [11] ff. 9.1-6 Is. 32.9 f.). On this account a high estimate must also be set upon the influence of these feasts on the religious and national development of the people. Such feasts were continually reviving not only the religious life but also, and at the same time, the national feeling. If the pilgrims from the different tribes coming in this way from far and near to a famous sanctuary found themselves united in common festal

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rejoicings and common thanksgivings to Yahwé, these meetings must have continually given fresh strength to the feeling of unity, which in Israel rested mainly on the basis of the common religion. The feasts brought home to each man's consciousness the fact that all Israel owed the produce of its land to *one* God. Besides this, various kinds of business and of trade no doubt attached themselves to these feasts (Dt. 33:18 ff.), as was the case among the ancient Arabians. On the other hand it is most important to observe—and this makes a substantial difference between the early feasts and those of the period after the Exile—that in ancient times there is no one vast and united festal community that offers its common sacrifices, but the separate sacrificial communities, households and families, unite for the sacrificial meal (cp 1 S. 1).

The three great annual festivals were not the only feasts of the ancient Israelites. Even the old law of feasts (Ex. 23:12) recognised the Sabbath as a day of rest from the busy toil of the working days, and also as a day of glad and joyful festivity (cp Hos. 2:13 [11] 2 K. 4:23 etc.). It has already been mentioned that the feast of the New Moon was celebrated universally, the passover and the feast of sleep-shearing in particular districts. A merely local importance also attached to the feast which the daughters of Israel celebrated in memory of Jephthah's ill-fated daughter (Judg. 11:40), a festival the original significance of which is obscure (see JEPHTHAH, § 6). The local cults up and down the country may have shown many instances of similar feasts celebrated in memory of some historical or legendary event.

The introduction of Deuteronomy as the law of the state in the time of Josiah gave the impulse to a complete transformation of the ancient feasts. The author of D himself, it is true, neither intended nor was conscious of any such revolution. His injunction to celebrate all feasts in Jerusalem is designed to effect an alteration only in form, leaving the substance of the feasts untouched. Apart from this one requirement, D's attitude towards the ancient religious customs is throughout conservative. Like the old law of feasts, it ignores the new moon, and leaves the Sabbath what it had been hitherto, a day of rejoicing and gladness. Nor does it interfere with the three great feasts, at which all had to appear before Yahwé. Their connection with agriculture remains undisturbed, except in the case of the feast of Passover (see below). On account of this connection also, no alteration was made in the manner of determining the dates of the feasts (Dt. 16:13) which had hitherto prevailed, though this was really demanded by their centralisation. The feast of weeks and the autumn feast continued to be as before the cheerful festivals, at which men ate and drank and made merry before Yahwé (Dt. 12:13 14:26 16:11 14 26:11). The celebration of the feast consisted, as hitherto, solely in the offering up of the first-fruits of the earth and the firstlings of the flock. D goes beyond the old legislation in fixing the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles to last for seven days, and Pentecost for one day; this however is hardly to be considered as an innovation, but rather as fixing the custom that had developed itself in the course of time.

Nor is there any real innovation in the fact that D employs fresh names; besides *Massôth* it uses the designation *Pésah* (פֶּסַח, *pésah*, Dt. 16:1 ff. v.); for the autumn feast it employs the designation *hag hassukkot*, חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת, 'feast of tabernacles' (Dt. 16:13 ff.). The latter is to be traced simply to the old custom (Is. 1:8) of living out in the gardens and vineyards in huts made of boughs during the vintage and olive-gathering. In the spring feast, however, we meet for the first time, at all events in D, the completed combination of the Passover and *Massôth* (16:1), but in all probability it had already by degrees become fully established as a religious custom (see above, § 5). The connection of this feast with the Exodus also, the most important alteration in D (see below), finds at least some countenance in the old tradition (Ex. 12:34 39) according to which the Israelites at their exodus had no time to provide themselves with provisions for the journey, but were obliged to take away the dough unleavened and to make themselves cakes of it. On the other hand, the loss of the ritual peculiar to the passover appears to be an innovation (Dt. 16:1 ff.); this it is to be explained as a necessary

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consequence of its being celebrated no longer at home but in the temple at Jerusalem.

Although D thus spared the ancient religious customs in as far as this could be done consistently with its fundamental idea of the centralization of religious observances, it was eventually inevitable that this centralization should carry with it a train of consequences which the author of Deuteronomy had never thought of. The immediate result of the transference of the cultus to Jerusalem was the detachment of the feast from its natural basis. The common celebration of the feast on one day, which certainly was not originally required to be the same every year, severed its close connection with the harvest, since the latter in the various districts, differing so widely in climate, could not have been fixed in advance for one particular date. The ancient interpretation of the feast was gradually lost sight of by explanations (already begun in D) from historical events (above, § 9). 'History is not, like the harvest, an experience of the separate households, but rather an experience of the nation as a whole' (We. *Proz.* 101). Further, if the feasts lost their individual character in this way, and gradually became days of commemoration of events in the religious history of the nation, there was no longer any reason for their retaining any peculiar ritual. The characteristic sacrifice of the firstlings, which moreover became impossible at the central sanctuary (as is already recognised in Dt. 14:24-26), came to be unnecessary, and could give place to the regular sacrificial service. With all this, and particularly with the decay of the old festival customs, disappeared also the old feeling in connection with them.

To celebrate a feast at the beginning and the end of harvest at home in the narrow circle of a sacrificial society, and there to eat the first-fruits before Yahwé, was a very different thing from the head of the family's taking with him to Jerusalem the proper tribute in money or in kind, there to deliver it at the temple, or to harter it for the things necessary for a sacrificial meal—a proceeding that has to be permitted as early as D (Dt. 14:24-26). In Jerusalem a sacrificial meal properly so called was no longer possible; only in the rarest cases could the pilgrim to a feast at Jerusalem have around him there his family, his relatives, and his friends, and all who formed the small religious society at home and at the sanctuaries scattered over the country (1 S. 1). He himself was completely lost in the vast national assembly of persons otherwise strangers to him. Thus the joyous character of the ancient nature-festival gave place to the seriousness suitable to days of commemoration of epochs in the religious history of the people, and nothing further prevented the attitude of mind that later dominated the whole divine service—penitent consciousness of sin—from making its way into the feast also.

The legislation in P boldly carried out these consequences to their last results. The feasts were unalterably fixed by month and day (Lev. 23:5 ff. Nu. 28 f.). The new moon, as all the feasts were thus regulated by reference to it, acquired a new importance, and was itself also accordingly adopted into the cycle of feasts (Nu. 28:11 ff.). The Sabbath rest, from being recreation after labour, became inactivity pure and simple, and thus from being a pleasure became an ascetic service (Ex. 16:27 ff. 31:12 ff. etc.; see SABBATH). The Exile more than anything else contributed to the increase of its importance; after the sacrificial service had fallen out of use, the Sabbath and circumcision remained the two sole 'signs of the covenant' (Ex. 31:13 cp Neh. 10:30 ff.). A further extension of the sabbatical scheme led to the institution of the sabbatical year and of the year of Jubilee, which must be held to have been purely theoretical developments of the idea of the Sabbath, quite incapable of realisation in practice. The transformation of nature-festivals into festivals of religious history had not yet been achieved in the case of the feast of Pentecost, which therefore, on this account, was treated as more or less of secondary importance; only one day was given to it, whilst the Passover and the feast of Tabernacles had eight (Lev. 23:16 ff. Nu. 28:26 ff.). The feast of Tabernacles was

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now interpreted as commemorating the fact that the Israelites dwelt in tents in the wilderness, there was no longer any word about the first-fruits of the harvest (Lev. 23:13 ff. 19 ff. Num. 29:12). In the case of the Passover this tendency actually went so far that the festival came to be not merely the echo of a divine act of deliverance, but itself such an act; it was now explained as instituted before the Exodus in order that Yihwē might spare the firstborn of the Israelites, not because he had spared them (Ex. 12:1-23). Finally, two new feast-days of purely ecclesiastical significance were introduced: the ecclesiastical new year and the feast of atonement on the 1st and 10th days respectively of the 7th month, that is, immediately before the feast of Tabernacles. That these feasts, of so wholly different a character, should have been placed on a level with the others shows in a striking manner how completely the meaning of the old feasts had faded out of memory.

It is easy to understand that the transformation of these *hagim* (dances) into feasts of atonement was never completely carried out, and therefore for the new and altered time a special feast of atonement came to be required. None the less the ritual of the several feasts betrays that all alike were reduced to the condition of purely ecclesiastical services. Only the Passover must, in accordance with its new interpretation, have the ancient rite of the sprinkling with blood restored to it (Ex. 12:1 ff.), however ill-suited to the new conditions. The ritual of the other feasts was perfectly uniform: a wearisome monotony of countless burnt-offerings and sin-offerings combined with Sabbath rest and vast gatherings at the sanctuary (Num. 28 ff.). Besides, these offerings are not, as formerly, voluntary gifts, but legally fixed dues paid by the community at large in which the individual has no direct share, but which are efficacious, *ex opere operato*, as acts of the priest, for the benefit of the whole.

So far as the old feasts had any further development at all in the later times after the Exile, this took place

absolutely on the lines laid down by P. This is particularly obvious in the case of the Sabbath and of the feast of Pentecost. The idea of the Sabbath embodied in P became ever more predominant, and led to a number of statutory regulations, which prescribed down to the minutest detail what was to be done and what left undone on the Sabbath. Moreover, just as P had already transferred the idea of the Sabbath to the other feasts also, so strict Sabbath rest came more and more to be an essential part of all festivals. The feast of Pentecost became—after the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple—a feast of commemoration of the giving of the law on Sinai, thus completing the process of transformation of the nature-feasts that has been already indicated. In other respects the work of later Judaism was in the main confined to minute elaboration of the ritual of the feasts. In this respect alone did the law still admit (and require) any supplement. The rise of a double celebration of the principal feast-days (with the exception of the day of ATONEMENT) among the Jews of the Diaspora, is characteristic of the spirit of legality that governed their celebration. Owing to the manner in which the new moon was fixed by direct observation (see NEW MOON), it was not possible to give the Jews of the Diaspora due notice beforehand of the dates of the feasts which were determined by it. On this account they celebrated the more important feasts twice over, in order that on one at all events of the two days the feast might be celebrated in common by all. The feast of the NEW YEAR (7.7.) could come to be celebrated twice over even in Jerusalem itself. In the case of Purim it might happen in the intercalary years that it had to be repeated in the second month Adar (Meg. 14; cp PURIM). There could be no clearer proof of the importance now set upon the exact date of the celebration.

To these ancient feasts, in the Maccabean period and later, were added the following new feasts: (1) the feast of Purim in commemoration of the abortive machinations of Haman against the Jews of the Persian empire (Esth. 9:23-32; see PURIM, and

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cp ESTHER, § 71; (2) the feast of the Dedication of the Temple (1 Macc. 1:59 Jo. 10:22), in commemoration of the reconsecration of the temple by Judas the Maccabee (see DEDICATION, FEAST OF); (3) the feast of Nicanor (1 Macc. 7:44 2 Macc. 15:36), celebrated on the 13th of Adar to commemorate the victory of Judas the Maccabee over Nicanor (7.7., 1) at Beth-horon in 101 B.C. This feast was still kept in the time of Josephus (Ant. xii. 105); later it passed completely into oblivion and the fast of Esther (עֵסְתֵּר נִסְתֵּר) was transposed to its day (see PURIM). (4) The feast of the Capture of the Citadel (1 Macc. 13:5-52), instituted by Simon the Maccabee in memory of the recovery of the Akra, the Syrian citadel in Jerusalem, on the 23rd of Iyyar, 171 B.C. era (= May 142 B.C.). This feast is not mentioned by Josephus; apparently it had already been forgotten. (cp silence of Meg. Ta'anith). (5) The feast of the Wood-Bringing (ἡ τῶν ξυλοφοριῶν ἑορτή, Jos. B/ii. 176), according to Josephus celebrated on the 14th of Loos (= the Jewish Ab; cp B/ii. 177). The date of its origin is unknown.

As early as Nehemiah are recorded regulations in reference to the deliveries of wood to be made by 'the houses of our fathers' for the altar of burnt-offering (Neh. 10:34 13:31). In the Mishna nine days in the year are appointed for these deliveries of wood; the chief day was the 15th of Ab, on which the priests and Levites brought their wood; this seems to have given that day in some degree the character of a feast (Ta'anith 4:5; see Schür. G/17:20 22:20 ff. [E/13:25], and cp CASTRICES, § 2).

(6) To the period subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem belongs the reintroduction of two fast days. Of the four fast days which were observed during the Exile and immediately after it (Zech. 7:35 8:19),

those of the fourth and fifth months acquired a new meaning; on the 17th of the fourth month the city was stormed by the Romans under Titus; in the fifth month, on the 10th day, according to Josephus (B/vi. 45), or on the 9th, according to the Talmud, the Romans destroyed the temple. Both days were observed; at a much later date the feast of the Rejoicing of the Law with feasting and mourning.

(7) Lastly, there was instituted a 'feast of rejoicing for the Law' (חַג שְׂמֵחָה לַתּוֹרָה, *hag simhath hattorah*). It was celebrated on the 23rd of Tisri, immediately after the eight days of the feast of Tabernacles. It is on the Sabbath after the feast of Tabernacles that the reading in the synagogue of the fifty-four great *parashim* into which the Pentateuch is divided, begins. As for the antiquity of the feast, all that can be said is that the present cycle of *parashim* was already an institution of very old standing in the first half of the eighth century (cp Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vortr.*, 37).

The foregoing sketch aims at giving a general picture of the character and development of the Hebrew feasts. For details as to their ritual, reference must be made to the special articles: ATONEMENT, DAY OF; DEDICATION, FEAST OF; NEW MOON; NEW YEAR, PASSOVER, PENTECOST, PURIM, TABERNACLES, SABBATH. Cp also HEXATEUCH, § 21 f.

The most important recent works are:—We. *Prod.* (1902), 82-117; Stade, *G/1* 1 (87), 497 ff.; Renzinger, *H/4* (94), 461-478; Nowack, *H/4* (94), 2138-2313; Kue. *Religion of Israel*; WRS *O/1* 1; Buhl, art. 'Gottesdienstliche Zeiten im AT' in *PRE* (3) 7:15 ff., etc. These all accept the Graefian view of the post-exilic date of P. For the attitude of the opponents of this theory, who represent the traditional views, Oehler's art. 'Feste,' *PRE* (3) 4:538 ff., and his *Theol. d. AT*, may be consulted; also Green, *The Hebrew Feasts in their relation to Recent Critical Hypotheses concerning the Pentateuch* (1895). For further references see separate articles mentioned above. I. B.

FELIX (ΦΗΛΙΞ [Ti. W11]). Antonius Felix, of the court of Claudius, probably, like his brother Pallas, a freedman of Antonia (the mother of Claudius), succeeded Cumanus as procurator of Palestine (52-60 A.D.);¹ see ISRAEL, § 99. His whole career eminently befitted his origin and is thus tersely summed up by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5:9): *per omnem sacrum ac libidinem jus regum serviti ingenio exuerat*. It is a striking illustration of the importance of freedmen at the court of Claudius that besides obtaining the procuratorship he was actually thrice married into royal families.² His tenure of office

¹ On the dates see CHRONOLOGY, § 66. According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 12:54) Felix had been administering Samaria and Judea whilst Cumanus was procurator of Galilee; see on this the literature cited by Schür. *Hist.* 2:173, n. 14.

² Of his two wives who are known to us, one was a granddaughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra; the other, Drusilla, was the daughter of Agrippa I. (see HERODIAN FAMILY, 10).

FERRET

was marked by interminable revolts and dissensions. The disturbances of the Zealots had been followed by the excesses of the Sicarii (see ZEALOT). Religious fanatics 'not so impure in their deeds but more wicked in their intentions,' fired by Messianic hopes and expectations, were ruthlessly put to the sword. Of such was the Egyptian prophet of Acts 21:8 (see Jos. *Ant.* 18.135, *Ant.* 20.86). The latter period of his procuratorship was marked by two prominent events at Caesarea (q.v., 1). Paul, who had been accused of defiling the temple (Acts 21:28), and of preaching the resurrection from the dead (*ib.* 22:1 ff.; cp 23:68 24:1), was sent hither for safety's sake by CLAUDIUS LYSIAS, and was accused in the presence of Felix (Acts 24). One hesitates to estimate the character of Felix from account of the trial; *v. 22a* is notably difficult, and it is not easy to decide whether the procurator already knew something of the teaching of Jesus, or whether he recognised the inner significance of Paul's speech. It is probable that to Felix Paul was no more than one of the many fanatics who had arisen in the past years, and it agrees with the general tendency of Acts to infer that the writer's aim was to indicate the neutral attitude of Rome to the new faith (cp Acts, § 5).

At Caesarea, again, a conflict arose between the Jewish and the Syrian inhabitants respecting equality of civic privileges. Felix interposed on behalf of the latter and silenced the Jews by military force. Deputations were sent to Rome, one demanding a speedy settlement of the question, the other, from the Jews, denouncing the conduct of the procurator. Felix was recalled and his place taken by FESTUS [q.v.]. Through the influence of Pallas, Felix escaped punishment, and the Syrian party, by bribing Nero's secretary Peryllus,¹ effected the annulling of the privileges of the Jews of Caesarea. See FESTUS, and cp Schür. *Hist.* 2:174-183.

S. A. C.

FELLOE. 1. *gabh*, גַּבְּ, 1 K. 7:33 RV, AV 'nave'; Ezek. 1:10 12 RV^{ms}, EV 'ring'; see WHEEL, 1(a). 2. *hillsak*, פֶּסֶק, 1 K. 7:33 AV, RV 'spoke.'

FERRET. The Heb. *amakhāh*, אֲמָכָה (Targ. אֲמָכָה, cp Pesh. *amakhāh*), thus translated in Lev. 11:30 AV, is in RV rendered 'gecko,' and from the context it certainly looks as if some kind of lizard were intended. *Amakhāh*, however, has מַגְרָאֵה (a shrew mouse, *Sorex*). The Rabbinical writers regard the animal as the hedgehog; but the latter is commonly taken to be the equivalent of the *gecko* (see BITHURN, § 1).

Six species of *gecko* are described from Palestine, of which the Egyptian species *Ptychocheilus lobatus* is perhaps the most abundant. The peculiar conformation of their feet by means of which they are able to walk on walls and ceilings is well known. Geckos are commonly but erroneously regarded as poisonous. They are nocturnal in habit, concealing themselves during the day; and when more than one species lives in or around a house they keep separate and apart from one another. They utter curious clicking sounds, from which perhaps they derive their name. Cp LIZARD.

A. E. S.

FERRY BOAT, but RV^{ms} CONVOY (עֲבָרָה), 2 S. 19:18 [19]. Neither rendering is strictly justifiable. See FORD.

FESTIVAL (Wisd. 15:12 RV^{ms} ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΣΜΟΣ [BNAC]). On the subject of festivals generally see FEASTS.

¹ Closing festival' (ἡ ἐξόδιος) is the rendering of RV^{ms} for פֶּסַח, *israh* (see ASSUMING, 1) in Lev. 23:35 Nu. 29:35 Neh. 8:18 (feast of tabernacles), Dt. 16:8 (the passover), 2 Ch. 7:9 (dedication of temple). For 'festival robes' (1 S. 3:24 RV, יְבוֹשֶׁת מַחְלִיטֹת), cp DRESS, § 8 (beg.), and see MANTLE.

FESTUS (ΦΗΣΤΟΣ [Ti. WII]). Porcius Festus succeeded FELIX as procurator of Palestine (60-62 A. D.). Since Josephus remarks on the contrast between him and his successor Albinus, we may assume that

¹ Jos. *Ant.* 20.89 θηρυλλος (Niese), *tu/go bouppos*; see Schür. *Hist.* 2:174, n. 4.

FIERY FLYING SERPENT

there were no great blots on his character. Paul, who had been left in prison at Caesarea, was brought to judgment first before Festus, and then before Agrippa and Festus, and only on his appeal to Caesar was sent to Italy (Acts 25:1); see PAUL. The conflict, also at Caesarea, between the Jews and the Syrians, had been settled in favour of the latter (see FELIX), and the hostile feeling thereby excited among the Jews was destined to play an important part in the disasters which began a few years later. The disturbed state of the popular mind still continued, and is reflected in the frequent troubles with the Sicarii (see ZEALOT). The only remaining incident of importance during the procuratorship of Festus concerns the quarrel between Agrippa II. and the priests of Jerusalem; see HERODIAN FAMILY, 8.

On the date of the arrival of Festus, see CHRONOLOGY, § 65, f.; and on the discrepancies between Jos. *Ant.* 20.8 f. and 21.14, see Schür. *Hist.* 2:175, n. 41.

FETTERS (EV rendering of כַּבְדִּים, *kebbēdīm* [in pl.]), Ps. 107:13; עֲקָבִים, *zikkim*, Job 36:8; מַשְׁכָּלִים, *meshkalim*, Judg. 16:21, and ΠΕΔΗ, Mk. 5:41. See CHAINS.

FEVER (חֲרָדָה, Dt. 28:22 (πυρετός, πυρετῶν), Mt. 8:14 f. Mk. 1:30 f. Lk. 4:38 f. Jn. 4:52 Acts 28:8 (plur.). See DISEASES, 6, and cp MEDICINE.

FIELD. 1. *Sadeh*, שָׂדֶה (Phoen. שֶׁדֶר) (a) the land outside of towns (e.g., Mic. 1:10); (b) tilled land as opposed to the desert (e.g., Josh. 24:1); also (c) of special localities, e.g., the fuller's field (Is. 7:3 36:2); (d) hill-country, probably the old meaning of שָׂדֶה (= Ass. *ladu*)—see Judg. 5:13 Dt. 32:13 Jer. 17:3 18:14 and especially Judg. 5:4 'hill-country of Edom,' Gen. 36:35 'highland of Moab'; 2 S. 1:21 + Gilead; see JASTAR, BOOK OF, § 2). The transition to 'country' was easy, because the ancestors of the Hebrews and Assyrians came from a mountainous country. The character (שָׂדֶה) representing *ladu* in Assyrian can also be read *mātu* 'country.' See Peters, *JBL*, 1893, p. 54 ff.; Barth, *Etyim. Stud.* 66; Wl. *IOF* 1:2.

2. *šēḇet*, שֶׁבֶת (once in sing. Is. 37:27; but see 2 K. 19:26), an imaginary word arising out of errors of the text. The fact, however, that it occurs in MT five times (not counting Is. 37:27) shows that scribes supposed such a word to exist. Dt. 32:12 'fields of Gomorrah' (ἡ κληματα αὐτῶν ἐν Γ.) [BAFL]; κληματα also in Is. 18:5; 2 K. 23:4 (σαλμωθ [11], σὰδ. [11], τῶ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ χειμάρρου [11]); Is. 10:8 (τὰ πεδία [BRACQ], Ἀρ. ἀρουραι, Sym. κληματα, Theod. ἀρουραι θανάτου [Qmā]); Hab. 3:17 (τὰ πεδία); Jer. 31:30 Kt. שְׁבֵת (see KIRON 1, § 2). Foreign indications of some of these passages see GIKAFI, 3.

3. *ḥēlek*, חֶלֶק, 2 S. 14:30 f. Am. 4:7 (cp חֶלֶק שְׂדֵה, *ḥēlek shēḇet*, Gen. 33:10; [see no. 5 below], also the place-names HELKATH, HELKATH-HAZZURIM). 'Portion' in 2 K. 9:10 20 f.; 'plot' in 2 K. 9:20; 'wall' in 1 K. 21:23 (MT's שֶׁדֶה, *shēḇet*, should be שְׂדֵה, *shēḇet*) Kt. emends into 'field.' On חֶלֶק, *ḥēlek*, 'field,' see Ges.-Buhl, 2:7, and cp ACELDAMA, § 1.

4. *ḥar*, חָר, 'open country,' Job 30:4, RV 'open field'; Dan. 2:38, etc. (Aram.).

5. *gannim*, גַּנִּים, Jer. 39:10 (גַּנִּים, *gannim* [Theod. in (mg.)]). Though supported by גַּנִּים, *gannim*, in Jer. 52:16 2 K. 25:12, the word does not seem to be quite correct. Probably we should read גַּנִּים, *gannim*, 'gardens,' and גַּנִּים, *gannim* (a new verb, *denom.*), 'gardeners.'

6. *ḥay*, חַי, Ezek. 29:5, RV 'earth,' חַי and שָׂדֶה (see 1) are equivalent (cp Gen. 1:24 with 31).

In NT: 7. *agros*, ἄγρος [1 (a); cp. (c)]. Cp 'the lilies of the field,' Mt. 6:28; 'the fields and villages,' Mk. 6:36; 'the potter's field,' Mt. 27:7.

8. *chōra*, χωρά, 'look on the fields,' Jn. 4:35; cp Lk. 12:16. *chōra* and *polis* are often opposed in Polybius.

9. *chōrion*, 'an enclosed piece of ground' (RV of Mt. Mk. 12:1). Judas 'purchased a field'—i.e., ACELDAMA [q.v.], Acts 1:18 f.). In *chōrion* represents *chōrion*, *chōrion*, 'vineyard' (e.g., 1 Ch. 27:27, 2 Macc. 11:5 12:7 21:4 Macc. 13:20), which illustrates Mt. 26:36 Mk. 14:12. In Jn. 4:5 EV has 'parcel of ground' to produce a connection with Gen. 33:19 (AV 'a parcel of a field,' RV 'the parcel of ground'; see no. 3 above). Cp GETHSEMANE, § 1.

FIERY SERPENT (שֶׁרֶף, *šārāph*), Nu. 21:8; and **FIERY FLYING SERPENT** (שֶׁרֶף מְעוֹפֵף, *šārāph me'ōpēp*), Is. 14:29. See SERPENT, § 1 (p).

FIG TREE

FIG TREE (Dt. 88 Judg. 9:10 f. 1 K. 4:25 [55], etc.) and **FIG** (Nu. 13:23 20:5 etc.) are both denoted by the same Heb. word *תְּמָרָה*, *tēmārāh* (pl. *tēmārōt*).

1. Derivation of *tēmārāh*

whereas Greek distinguishes them as *κύμα* and *κύκλον*. According to Lagarde (*Mittheil.* 1:38-75), the Semitic name for the fig tree means properly the tree near which another is planted or to which another is joined.¹

Lagarde contends that the tree's oldest Semitic name was *tīm*, and, discussing its modification into Heb. *tēmārāh*, Aram. *tīmā*, and Arab. *tīm*, he argues that the initial *t* is the same as the preformative of *y* s. f. imperf., and hence that a derivation from a root *tīm* is probable. This root occurs frequently as a verb in Arabic with the meaning 'it is time', 'the time has come'; and probably the original sense was that of 'bringing near' or 'joining'.

The name is explained by the practice of planting wild fig trees by the side of the cultivated trees, or of placing branches of the wild fig in flower upon the trees—a practice described by Aristotle (*II.1532*), Pliny (*HN* xv. 1979), and others, and called by the Greeks *ἐπισκαρπία* and by the Latins *caprificatio*. The wild fig, which does not itself produce an edible fruit, is useful as harbouring hymenopterous insects which migrate to the cultivated tree and enter the receptacles within the figs. The object is to carry the pollen to the female flowers; but the irritation produced by the gall-insects in attempting to deposit their eggs in them hastens the maturity of the fruit. Linnaeus rightly held that the fig has two sexes, the male being the 'caprifig' or wild fig, while the female is the cultivated fig.

This view was opposed by Miquel (who held the two plants to be different species), and by Gasparini (who made them different genera). Graf zu Solms-Laubach maintained that the 'caprifig' was the wild stock from which the cultivated fig had developed. Fritz Müller reasserted the opinion of Linnaeus, and Solms-Laubach made a journey to Java to re-examine the question in the genus *Ficus* generally, and as a result gave his adhesion to the Linnaean view. The 'caprifig' produces in its receptacles 'gallflowers'—i.e., female flowers which have become the nidus of the insects. Certainly, from early times the Hebrews seem to have known the process of artificial stimulation as applied to figs (*Am.* 7:14, see below).

Dicercious plants occasionally revert functionally; possibly we have an instance of this in the barren fig-tree (*Lk.* xiii. 6-9). There is reason to think that the normal 'fruit-bearing' fig may sometimes revert to the caprifig condition. In that case its 'figs' would not swell but would drop off early and (apparently) immature. Any one visiting such a tree would be disappointed (see, however, below, § 3).

Lagarde maintains, moreover, that the name is not one of those which from the first belonged to all the Semitic languages—in other words, that

2. Original home.

the fig was probably unknown to the Semites in their original home. The same conclusion had, on quite different grounds, been reached by Guidi (*Della sede primitiva dei popoli Semitici*, 35f.), and is generally accepted.²

On somewhat doubtful philological grounds, Lagarde argues that the name was borrowed alike by Heb., Aram., and classical Arab. from the dialect of the clan Bahra, who had their original home in SE. Arabia. However, as Halévy shows (*Mit. Crit.* 200), almost equally good reasons could be given for holding the word to be originally Hebrew or Aramaic. Although it must be admitted that Lagarde's argument is weakened by baseless philological assumptions,³ his etymology has fair probability, and if accepted throws an interesting light on the great antiquity of the art of fig cultivation.

The original home of the fig is said by De Candolle (*Orig.*, 238) to have been the Southern Mediterranean shore, westwards from Syria. Thence the fig spread northwards and eastwards. Like the vine and olive, it must have been long an inhabitant of Palestine; we see this especially in such early references as *Judg.* 9:10

¹ *Tīm* having the same relation to *tēmārāh* as *תְּמָרָה* has to *תְּמָרָה* (though this latter etymology is doubtful).

² The point is elaborately discussed in the *Gardener's Chronicle* for July 7, 1883 (p. 227) by W. R. Hemslay, F.R.S.

³ Guidi holds that Arabic probably borrowed the word from Aramaic.

⁴ See D. H. Müller in *HZK* 126. Lagarde holds, for instance, that original *t* in Arab. must answer to original *t* in Aram. and *t* in Heb., whereas there are undoubted instances of *t* remaining all through.

FIG TREE

Mic. 4:4. At the present day it is found wild in all parts of the country (*Instrum.* *NIII* 351).

Guidi (*Della sede*, 35) cites a passage from an Arabic poet in which, as in the parable of Jotham (*Judg.* 9), the

3. **Culture.** olive, the fig, and the vine as typical of cultivated trees are opposed to the bramble. The fact that these three can be traced so far back in Hebrew literature is interesting for the history of horticulture; and it is specially significant that the old phrase for possession of a country was that 'every man should sit under his own vine and fig-tree.' The medicinal use of the *תְּמָרָה*, *tēmārāh*, or cake of figs, as a poultice (*Is.* 38:51 2 K. 20:7) is known both to classical (Pliny, *HN* xxiii. 7122) and to Arabic writers (*Dn.* *ad loc.*).

The meaning of the expression *תְּמָרָה בְּיָדֶיךָ*, *tēmārāh b'yādēkā*, in *Amos* (7:14) is still uncertain. The verb *בָּרַךְ* does not occur elsewhere in Hebrew or in any other Semitic language (*Θ* *ἐνέω*, *Aq.* *ἐκκεῖν*, *Sym.* *ἐχω*, *Theod.* *χαράσσω*); but *kalus* is a common name of the fig in Arabic and Ethiopic and is held by Lagarde (*Mittheil.*, *l.c.*) to be the oldest Semitic name for the fruit, though even he thinks it may have been originally borrowed, perhaps from an Indian source. This being so, the reference is most probably to the cultivation of sycomore figs (the fruit of *Ficus Sycomorus*) by incisions made in the immature fruit. See also SYCOMORE.

The early unripe fruits which first appear on the fig tree in spring are in *Cant.* 2:13 denoted by *תְּמָרָה*, *tēmārāh*, where *תְּמָרָה* has *תְּמָרָה*, a word which occurs once in the NT (*Rev.* 8:13). *Fig* in Ar. may denote any kind of immature fruit; *Syr.* *pagel* or *pagel* (see *BETHUNIA*) is the unripe fig. *So* *תְּמָרָה* is explained by Hesychius as *τὸ πρὸ παρακατασκευῆς σίτου*. On the other hand, the early ripe fig, which was (and is) highly esteemed on account both of its peculiarly fine flavour and of its early appearance, is denoted by *תְּמָרָה*, *tēmārāh* (*Is.* 28:4 *Jer.* 21:2 *Hos.* 9:10 *Mic.* 7:14).

The use of 'fig leaves' to make 'aprons' in *Gen.* 3:7 has given rise to unnecessary difficulty, on the ground

of the softness of the leaves and the difficulty of sewing them together into a continuous covering. Lagarde, who justly remarks that the

4. **Gen. 3:7.** mention of fig leaves must have been an element in the original form of the story,² has discovered for them an allegorical and religious meaning which would (as

Dillmann remarks) have done honour to Philo. Celsus, Gesenius, Knobel, and others suppose that the banana or *Musa* is referred to, as this plant is called a fig by the natives of Malabar; it is urged that its leaves, which may be ten feet long, would provide an effective covering. It is quite inadmissible, however, to suppose that the Hebrew narrator had a Malayan plant in his mind; the banana was not known to the Egyptians, and its introduction into India (whence it was

known to the Greeks and Arabs) was more recent (cp. De Candolle, *l.c.* 245). Though later this plant became somehow associated with the Eden narrative (witness Linnaeus's name for it, *Musa paradisiaca*)

there is no ground for supposing that *תְּמָרָה* could have its meaning extended to cover a plant totally different from the fig. Probably the use of fig leaves seemed

natural because these are among the largest to be found on any Palestinian tree. N. M.—W. T. T. D.

The NT references to the fig tree are of great interest. When Jesus, according to the Fourth Gospel, speaks of

having seen Nathanael 'under the fig tree' (Jn. 1:48 50), it is natural to think, in the first instance, of some prominent fig tree such as those which in Palestine often overshadow the wells beside which travellers halt, e.g., 'Ain et-Tin, by Khan Minyeh (see, however, NATHANAE).

No tree is so widely spread in Syria and Palestine as the fig tree. Hence we cannot

5. **NT.** The Arab. verb corresponding to *תְּמָרָה* signifies 'to spread apart (the feet)' and hence 'to hasten.'

² Hehn (*Kulturpflanzen u. Haustierte*, 96) brings it into connection with the *Ficus ruminalis* of Roman legend; but little can be made of such a comparison.

FIG TREE

be surprised that on two recorded occasions Jesus drew a parable from it—(a) Mt. 24:32-35 Mk. 13:28-32 Lk. 21:29-33; (b) Lk. 13:6-9. The latter of these parables is clear; the briefest reference to it is sufficient. (a) The fig tree is one of the first trees to show, though the time of its coming into leaf varies according to the situation, and when the leaves appear there must already be immature fruit, and summer cannot be far off. (b) A fig tree that had borne no fruit for three years would seem to its owner (destitute of the practical knowledge of a gardener) to be useless, or even worse than useless. He would therefore at once cut it down, unless his gardener could persuade him that cultural treatment would be likely to restore the tree to normal fruit-bearing. The application of the parables is equally unmistakable. The first has reference to the speedy advent of the Messiah in glory; the second to the danger of destruction for the Jewish people.

A great difficulty, however, remains, and we must be careful to meet it in an unprejudiced spirit. There is a well-known story (Mt. 21:17-22 Mk. 11:12-14 20-23) placed immediately after the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, which irresistibly reminds us of the second of these parables. Is the association of ideas purely accidental, or does it point to some misunderstanding on the part of Mt. and Mk.? The improbabilities of the story are obvious, and cannot be explained away. Jesus, being hungry, came to a fig tree near Bethany, just before the passover, before the season for figs had come, and finding only leaves, cursed the tree, which immediately (*παράχρημα*) withered away (Mt.), or at any rate was seen to be withered on the following morning (Mk.). With this act, Jesus, according to the evangelists, connected an exhortation to the disciples to have faith in God, since even mountains (a proverbial expression) may be moved by prayer.

One inaccuracy in the report is too plain to be overlooked. Any exhortation which Jesus may have connected with this action must have related to the fate of the Jewish people, of which the fig tree is an image (Joel 1:7); the saying on faith is indeed genuine, but has received a wrong setting. Passing to the story itself, we cannot help being surprised at the curse ascribed to Jesus, for which there is no parallel in his life, and which, if interpreted symbolically, is diametrically opposed to the statement in Mt. 21:41 Mk. 12:9. This is the first difficulty. The second may be best expressed in the words of Augustine, 'Quid arbor fecerat fructum non afferendo? Quae culpa arboris infecunditas?' What was the offence of the fig tree? Was it the not having preserved one or two figs from the last season? Or was it the not having produced one or two precocious figs before the time? Neither alternative appears reasonable, nor is it at all natural to suppose—as a last expedient—that what Jesus required was green, unripe fruit.¹ Surely there is a better explanation, and a slight acquaintance with human nature will show how reasonable it is. Parables and history are easily confounded, so that even Sir Philip Sidney speaks with mild surprise of theologians of his time who denied the historicity of the parable of the good Samaritan. In just the same way some early Christian must have misunderstood the parable preserved in Lk. 13:6-9, and transformed it into a narrative of an act of Jesus, giving the circumstances a somewhat different form in order to bring the story as near as possible to the death of Jesus, but forgetting (see below) that the passover season was not the time for figs.

It is a confirmation of this view that neither Mt. nor Mk. gives the parable in question, though they do

FIR, FIR-TREE

record a parable of a vineyard (Mt. 21:33-46 Mk. 12:1-12) which is similar in its tendency, though it does not represent the vineyard as destroyed. It may be added that by giving up this difficult story we can the better appreciate the husbandman's loving intercession for the symbolic fig tree in the parable. It is not merely the accuracy of a detail in a narrative—it is the consistency of the character of the Saviour himself—that is in question.

The chapter on the withering of the fruitless fig tree in Tremblé's *Miracles* may still be read with profit for its subtlety and the abundance of its exegetical information. We learn there that D. Heinsius proposed to read (Mk. 11:13) *ὅτι γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς σκευῆς*, 'for where he was [in Judaea] it was the season of figs.' Tremblé also refers to the reading (adopted by Lk. and WU) *ὅτι γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν σκευῆς* (instead of *ὅτι γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς σκευῆς*), which, though very well attested, is not probable. The truth probably is that the words are a comment of an early reader which has made its way into the text (so first Toup).

S. M.—W. T. 1. 11. §§ 1-4. F. K. C. § 5.

FIGURED STONE (פִּיגְמוֹן), Lev. 26:1 AV¹⁹⁰⁸ and RV. See *Idol.*, § 1 (f).

FILIGREE WORK (פִּלִּיגְרִי), Prov. 25:11 RV¹⁹⁰⁸, AV 'pictures'; RV 'baskets'; cp. Nu. 33:52 Lev. 26:1 Ezek. 8:12. See *BASKETS* and cp. *Idol.*, § 1 (f).

FILLET in the AV occurs only as a technical term in architecture to render *קוֹרְבָּן* (Jer. 52:21), *קִרְבָּן*, *qirbān*, etc., for which see *PHILAR*. On the use of 'fillets' for the purpose of binding the hair, see *CHAULET*, *DIADEM*, *TURBAN*, § 1.

FINE (כֶּסֶף), 2 K. 23:31 RV¹⁹⁰⁸; cp. 2 Ch. 36:1; see *TRIBUTE*. On pecuniary fines or compensations for injuries (Ex. 21:22 Dt. 22:19 *לִצְרָתָא* [confiscation of goods = 1 Exd. 8:24 'penalty of money'; cp. 1 Exd. 6:12 'all his goods seized for the king' = *Exod. 11* 'let his house be made a dunghill']), see *LAW AND JUSTICE*.

FINGER (as a measure of length, Jer. 52:11, פֶּצֶחַ). See *WEIGHTS AND MEASURES*.

FIR, FIR-TREE, RV¹⁹⁰⁸: CYPRESS (צִדְרִי, 2 S. 6:5 1 K. 5:8 10[22 24] 31:1, etc.).

Brōd, which once (Cant. 1:17) occurs in an Aramaic form as *brōd*, is also found in Assyrian (*burīdu*) and Syriac (*brōthā*).

1. **Name.** and has probably passed through Phœnician into Greek as *βράθυ*, and into Latin as *bratus*.

The ancient interpretations are very varied.

Thus *Br* has *καυράσσοις* six times; *νεύρι* or *νευρίος* five times; *κέρπος* or *κέρπιος*, *ἀρεθίος* [A] or *ἀρεθίσιος*, and *νίρος*, each twice; and thrice an indeterminate rendering. *Pesh.* also is not altogether consistent, but generally renders *sharvānān*—i.e., 'cypress'; whereas in Vg. the rendering *abies* greatly preponderates. Again, some Jewish authorities, as Maimonides and Kimhi, are quoted in favour of the 'box' (*Cels. 170 f.*). See *BOX TREE*.

The OT references show that the *brōd* was a characteristic forest tree of large stature and spreading boughs (2 K. 19:23 Ezek. 31:8), evergreen

2. **OT references.** (Hos. 14:8), a chief element in the 'glory of Lebanon' (Is. 60:13; cp. 41:19 55:13), and specially associated with the cedar (Ps. 104:17 Is. 14:8 Zech. 11:2). Its timber ranked with that of the cedar as the best that could be employed in the building of houses and of ships (1 K. 5:8 10[22 24] 6:15 34 9:11 Cant. 1:17 Ezek. 27:5).

Clearly then *brōd* is one of the large conifers—probably either (1) the cypress, or (2) the fir or pine.

3. **Identification.** (1) The meaning 'cypress' has been accepted by most modern authorities, and might be regarded as established, were it proved that the equivalent in Phœnician meant the cypress. This is assumed, however, rather than proved in most cases—e.g. in the argument of Baudissin (*Stud. 2102-103*; cp. Hal. *Hel. Crit.* 30).

Even if it be granted that the representation on Phœnician coins and other monuments can be identified as the cypress and distinguished from other conifers (which in some cases Baudissin allows to be doubtful), the association of the tree with any particular deity such as the *Βρομ* or the *Βράθυ* of Philo Byblus is evidently precarious (cp. *Rel. Sem.* 206 f.), and still more so is the inference that these Phœnician names denote the cypress. The identification is possibly better supported (see *Thes.*) by the fact that in Gk. *βράθυ* (Diosc. 1:104) and in Lat. *bratus* (Pl. *HN* xii. 17 78 xxiv. 11 102) denoted the *sarum* (*Juni-*

¹ The anger of Jesus is not with Israel, but with its rulers.

² *Serm.* 98.1 (Trenth, *Miracles*, 445 B.).

³ So Post, Hastings, *DB* 2:61. Weiss (*Leben Jesu*, 2:461) is singularly meagre, and thinks it enough to suggest that the action ascribed to Jesus was analogous to symbolic actions of the old prophets (cp. 2 K. 2:21). He does not, however, quote a parallel.

FIRE

Pinus Sabina, L.), of which one sort, according to Pliny resembles a cypress; but even this is not much to build on. Moreover, whilst the ancients are known to have highly prized cypress wood for its durability and its usefulness in building houses and ships (Blümmel, *Die Kunst der Tischlerei u. Zimmerm.*, 2: 257 ff.), almost equal praise is bestowed by them on the fir and pine in these respects (*ib.* 281 ff.).

(2) More decisive arguments in favour of the *fir* are those adduced by Robertson Smith (*Prophecy*, 413 f.).

(1) *Libanus*, the modern *Lebanon*, is, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, and what this means appears from the *Tab. Persopolitanae* (see Schröder, *Phoen. Spr.*, 99). (2) The *cedar* is, according to the O.T., the characteristic tree of Lebanon along with the cedar. Now the cypress is (at any rate at present) not indigenous on Lebanon, but a species of *Libanus* is very characteristic of these mountains, and to judge from its present frequency, must have always been a prominent feature in the forests.

Doubt may indeed remain whether *cedar* is a fir or a pine,¹ since, as Tristram tells us (*VIII*, 353), the Aleppo pine is one of the most characteristic trees of Lower Lebanon, whilst *Pinus maritima* occurs occasionally on the coast and in the sandy plains.

In some passages the occurrence of *cedar* may be due to transcriptional error; in others it should possibly be restored.

(1) In 2 S. 13 we have the strange phrase 'playing before Yahweh in all kinds of fir wood, and on harps, etc.' The parallel passage, however, 'with all their might, and with songs, and with harps, etc.' (1 S. 16) supplies a better reading (most after We., so *De* *et* *et*).

4. Doubtful passages.

(2) The phrase *cedar* in the battle-picture of Nah. 2: 14 will hardly be rendered 'the spears are shaken terribly' (RV). *De* has *ἵπποι ὁρμήσονται* (Che.), though We. keeps the *ἵπποι* (Che.), and renders the clause 'the horses prance.' (1) In Ps. 72: 16, for *cedar* *cedar*, 'on the top of the mountains shall it (the corn) make a rushing noise,' Che. (*Ps.*) reads *ἵπποι* *ἵπποι*, 'like the pine of the mountains let it (justice) strike root.'

N. M.

FIRE *אֵשׁ, אֵשׁ; πυρ*. No material phenomenon seemed to primitive man to be so plainly divine as fire (cp Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, 235 f.).

1. OT. (a) There was a flaming sword at the gate of Paradise (see CHERUB, § 7), and in the storm, flashes of divine fire ('fire of God,' 2 K. 1: 12 Job 1: 16) still lightened the world, benighting the passage of the divinity (Hab. 2: 1 Ps. 77: 18 [19]). It was also believed that in the olden time no human hand lighted the sacrificial flame, but fire from a well-pleased God (see Judg. 6: 21 1 K. 18: 24 38, and cp SACRIFICIAL).

(b) Not only, then, did fire become an essential element in the ritual (see *Is.*, §§ 1, 8, SACRIFICIAL), and cp ALTRIAL, and in imaginative descriptions of theophanies (see BUSH, § 2; THEOPHANY, § 5), but also a conception of God's nature was derived, partly at least, from the characteristics of fire. 'Yahweh is a devouring fire' to those who provoke him (see Dt. 1: 24 9: 3 32: 22 Is. 30: 27 Mt. 3: 11 Heb. 12: 29); he is a cheering light to those who obey him (Ps. 46: 7 [27] Is. 25). These two manward aspects of God's nature are combined in Is. 10: 17, 'The light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame.'

(c) From the parallelism of the two expressions 'light' and 'Holy One' we see that the appearance of 'fire' or 'light' is the outward manifestation of the divine 'holiness' (cp CLEAN, § 1). To those who are not 'holy' the sense of God's nearness must be oppressive. When he approaches for judgment, such persons (who have hitherto been practically atheists) realise what he is, and exclaim, 'Who can dwell safely in the neighbourhood of the avenging God?' Such at least is the usual interpretation of that remarkable passage Is. 33: 14. Prof. Skinner, for instance, remarks, 'The word "dwell" means strictly "sojourn as a protected guest," and is the same as that used in Ps. 134.'

No one, however, has been able to make the phrase *אֵשׁ אֵשׁ* 'Who shall sojourn to us devouring' 1 Unless it were sufficiently general to include both.

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fire (so it is literally) appear quite natural as Hebrew. The whole passage is so striking that even a faint gleam of fresh light may be welcome. In accordance with the newer style of textual criticism, which recognises the imperfections of MT more fully than used to be possible, we should most probably (with *SBL* *Is.*, Heb., 196) restore the original text thus,

'Who will rebuke for us (אֵשׁ אֵשׁ) the devouring fire?
Who will rebuke for us the everlasting burnings?'

To rebuke is to 'curb, quell,' or (when used of God) to 'annihilate' by an angry word, cp Ps. 106: 1. 'He rebuked the Red Sea, and it dried up.'

Another difficulty, however, remains, and glad as one would be to renounce some explanation with confidence, it is not possible to do so. There are two current explanations.

(1) Comparing the destruction of the bush which burned and yet was not consumed (Ex. 3: 2), some critics understand 'everlasting' as equivalent to 'divine,' divine fire being necessarily eternal. This is plausible, and with a different context would be admissible. Here, however, we require a word which speaks for itself without exegetical subtlety. Besides, if 'rebuke' is right, 'divine' must of course be wrong.

(2) 'Everlasting might,' it is said, means 'continual.' This view, however, seems to confound *עֲלֵם עֲלֵם* with *עֲלֵם עֲלֵם* (see LIESENAT), and is rightly rejected by Kittel in his revision of Dillmann's commentary. Perhaps we should correct *עֲלֵם עֲלֵם* into *עֲלֵם עֲלֵם* 'peoples.' It is no ordinary siege of Jerusalem that Is. 33 presupposes, but a judgment upon the nations which will assemble (the later prophets say) to besiege Jerusalem at the close of the present age. Hence in 7: 12 we read, 'And the peoples will become burned to lime; like thorns cut off, which are kindled with fire.' Where this fire comes from we learn from a neighbouring prophecy: it comes from Yahweh, 'who has a fire in Zion, and a furnace in Jerusalem' (33: 6). It is not the usual word for 'fire'; the word *אֵשׁ* was, according to some critics,² selected to suggest Ariel ('Altar-hearth'), the name given by Isaiah to Jerusalem in 29: 1; see ARIEL, 2. The fire is evidently that of the altar, not, however, of the visible but of the invisible altar, which Isaiah knows from his vision (chap. 6) to be really existent in the sanctuary (*SBL* *Is.*, 154).

Fire, however, was not merely a destroying agent.

(3) In the hand of a refiner it separated the pure metal from the dross—a type of God's purifying judgments. It is said indeed once that the effect was not produced in the case of Israel, affliction brought no noble elements into view:

'Surely, I have refined thee, but without gain of silver; I have tried thee in the furnace in vain' (Is. 48: 10, *SBL*). However, the writer of these words is hardly the Prophet of consolation; they appear to be an interpolation. The true Second Isaiah is an optimist, as the First Isaiah himself was when he wrote the words, 'I will smelt out in the furnace³ thy dross' (Is. 1: 25), and as Malachi was, when he said, 'He is like a refiner's fire' (Mal. 3: 2), and another late prophet who declares, 'I (Yahweh) will bring the third part through the fire . . . they shall call on my name, and I will hear them' (Zech. 13: 9).

(4) Of the purgatorial fire there is no trace in the Bible; an appeal was made at the Council of Florence (1439 A.D.) to 1 Cor. 3: 15, 'he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire'; but the fire mentioned is the same as that in 1 Pt. 1: 11, which is plainly the fire of destruction. As in 1 Pt. 3: 20 it is said that 'few persons were saved (passing) through the water' (*ἵδω* *ἵδω*), so the unwise builder referred to will escape through the midst of the fire, save himself, though with the loss of his work.⁴

On the unquenchable Gehenna (out of which the notion of a purgatorial fire grew among the later Jews), see ESNULTON, §§ 10-13 3: 70-3 (also iii. f.).

Two special laws respecting the use of fire may be

¹ See Duhm, *ad Is.*, and cp Che. *Intr. Is.*, 109 f.

² *Is.*, 'an oven' (see LIESENAT, 6).

³ Such, at least, is the best of the usual views. For another theory (viz., that Ariel in 29: 12 should be Urie), see ARIEL, 2.

⁴ Reading *עֲלֵם* (Kla., Che.). Cp FURNACE, 2.

⁵ Reading *עֲלֵם* (Lowth, Budde, etc.).

⁶ The *ἵδω* is not comparative, but like the Heb. *Kaph yesititis*; *ὡς δὲ οὐ πύρος* means 'flying, as he does, through the midst of the fire.' Cp Job 24: 24, *ὡς ἀνέπνευσε*.

FIREBRAND

mentioned. (1) According to Ex. 35, not even the

3. Laws. The work of lighting a fire was permissible on the Sabbath—a prohibition which agrees with the statement in Ex. 35:2 that the manna in the wilderness might not be baked on the Sabbath. It is difficult to believe that this as an injunction which made household arrangements so difficult, was of early origin; in fact, critical analysis assigns it to P¹. (See Ex. 35:2, 3, and cp. SAMBATH.) (2) Another special law impressed on the necessity of caution in the use of fire. If a fire, starting among thorns which were troublesome and had to be consumed (Is. 33:12), should spread to another man's cornfield or orchard and damage it, restitution was to be made by the man who kindled the fire (Ex. 22:6 [1], cp. Judg. 9:15). A most useful law in such a country as Palestine where the summers are so hot. In consequence of the material employed in the construction of houses no law was needed with regard to conflagrations in cities (see HOUSE, § 1).

On the use of fire for domestic purposes see HOUSE, § 2; COAL, COOKING, (cp. § 1 f.), FOOD. On 'passing through the fire' see MORAL. On the 'pillar of fire' see PHARAO. On fire in metallurgy, see METALLURGY.

J. K. C.

FIREBRAND. 1. *ind.* שֵׁרֵף, Is. 74: Am. 4:1, also Zech. 3:2 (FV 'brand').

2. *akim*, שֵׁרֵף (of fire missiles), Prov. 26:14; also Is. 50:14 RV (AV 'spark').

3. *appah*, שֵׁרֵף, Judg. 15:47. See LAMP, TORCH.

4. *mekel*, מִקְלָה, Ps. 102:4 [1]. RV (AV 'hearth'). See HEARTH, §.

FIRE-PAN. (1) *metshah*, מִטְשָׁה (cp. CUSHER, 2; ALTAR, § 9), and (2) *metshah*, מִטְשָׁה (cp. COAL, § 3; HEARTH, 2). See COOKING, § 4.

FIRKIN (μετρητός, Ju. 26). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FIRMAMENT רָקִיעַ, στερέωμα (ADEL), Gen. 1:8, RVmg. 'expansion.' See STARS, § 1, and cp. CREATION, HEAVEN.

FIRSTBORN, FIRSTLING, etc. That the first-fruits of the body—particularly the male—possessed an intrinsic sanctity was a belief which the ancient Hebrews shared with other divisions of the Semitic stock. The firstborn male enjoyed privileges of which he was not to be deprived (Dt. 21:16), and to barter away his birthright (כְּבֹד, *bekhorah*, Gen. 25:23 f.), or to be deprived of it (1 Ch. 5:1), was deemed a disgrace; see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 18. 'Firstborn' (כְּבֹד, *bekhorah*) thus becomes an honourable title applied to Israel (Ex. 4:22) and Ephraim (Jer. 31:9), and, through the Jewish interpretation of Ps. 89:27 [28], designates also the Messiah (Heb. 1:6 Col. 1:15 Rom. 8:29). This character of the male firstborn finds analogies in the treatment of firstlings among a nomadic folk, and of the first-fruits of the field among a community which is essentially agricultural. The Hebrews, however, as we find them in the OT, had passed from the nomadic to the agricultural state with the inevitable result that elements, primarily distinct, were inextricably fused together. See SACRIFICE, TITHES.

It is noteworthy that the Sem. כְּבֹד, *bakar* ('to break forth'), is not confined to the animal world, but can include the first-fruits of trees or of the produce of the field. Thus, besides *bakar* (Ass. *bakru*, Syr. *bakrā*), used of individuals (Gen. 25:13 etc.) and animals (Ex. 11:5), it is found *bikkurim*, בִּכּוּרִים, first-fruits in general (Ex. 23:10), and *bikkurim*, בִּכּוּרִים, specifically the 'early fig' (Mic. 7:1 etc., see Fig., § 3). A similar root-meaning is possessed by the Heb. *feter*, פֶּתֶר (א' 'to cleave,' cp. Ass. *pēpēru*), 'firstling,' or, fully, *feter rehem*, פֶּתֶר רֶחֶם (*diaconos*, *metaphor*), which is limited to man and beast (Ex. 13:2 [2 f., 15, 34 f.] Nu. 3:12 [15 f., 20 f., 28 f.]). Finally, *re'eh*, רֵאשִׁית (the first or best), רֵאשִׁית, does not exclude the firstborn male (Gen. 49:1, 28 f., 29 f.), but is commonly applied to grain, fruit, etc. (Ex. 23:19 [34 f.] Dt. 26:2 f.).

Not only were the first-fruits as acceptable an offering as the firstlings, but when (in exceptional cases) a human

כְּבֹד is fem. only, Gen. 19:31-37 28 f., 1 S. 14:49. For כְּבֹד, specifically 'young camel,' see CAMEL, § 1, n. 4.

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victim was required it was a firstborn that was preferred (2 K. 3:27). Just as the fruit of a new orchard remained 'unconsecrated' for three years (Ex. 23:10 f., see Fig. 11, § 2), and was dedicated to Yahwe before it could be eaten with impunity, so the firstlings possessed a special character until they had been sanctified. Similarly we find that the eighth day after birth is set apart for the dedication of the firstling, and is at the same time a turning point in the life of the firstborn. In the case of the firstborn the evidence is shrouded in obscurity. Certain features, however, deserve consideration. It appears that the laws regulating the redemption of the firstling (see SYCITERIA) find an analogy in the redemption of the firstborn, which P¹, in some way, connects with the consecration of the Levites. It would certainly be rash to infer that at one time the Hebrews habitually sacrificed their firstborn sons, although the valuable testimony of Mic. 6:7 shows that in Manasse's time the offering of the firstborn for the sin of the father was not a novelty in the worship of Yahwe.¹

Although the association of the offering of the firstborn with the Passover is probably a late development (see EXODUS, § 3 m., 1 Ch. 18, § 2) certain features merit attention. Here the law (Ex. 13:2 [22 f.]) unambiguously assigns the פֶּתֶר רֶחֶם whether of man or beast, to Yahwe,² but commands that the firstborn of man shall be redeemed (Ex. 13:13 [13 f. Nu. 18:15 f.]). The fact that in P¹ the redemption is made by the Levites makes it probable that in later times the dedication was understood to be for the temple-service (cp. Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 282, n. 3). This is also the view of later Judaism (Targ. on Ex. 21:5, *Mish. Zebach* 14a), but is scarcely ancient.

No doubt, strictly, the offering of the firstborn to Yahwe was at one time considered to be as binding as the offering of firstlings and first-fruits, and, indeed, the evidence goes to show that in exceptional cases the offering was actually made. However, just as the first-fruits were offered as a part of the whole, it is conceivable that originally the rite of circumcision was instituted upon the same principle to typify the offering of the firstborn.³ That in later times the rite was extended to all male and was looked upon as a tribal mark (see CIRCUMCISION, § 5), does not preclude this theory.

See WRS *Rel.* §, and cp. VASATION AND TRINCING, S. A. C.

FISH. Of fresh-water fish from the Holy Land and Tristram enumerates forty-three species, only eight of which are common to the more westerly Mediterranean rivers and lakes. Of the thirty-six species found in the Jordan and its system, but one (*Bleinnius bleunius*) is found in the ordinary Mediterranean freshwater fauna; two occur in the Nile, seven in the Tigris, Euphrates, and adjacent rivers, ten in other parts of Syria, and sixteen are peculiar to the basin of the Jordan. It thus appears, as Tristram points out, that the fish fauna is very isolated; it shows affinities, however, to that of the Ethiopian zoo-geographical region, and probably dates from a geological time when the Jordan and the rivers of NE. Africa belonged to the same system.

A few of the more interesting forms may be mentioned. The blenny (*Bleinnius*)—two species—and four species of gray mullet (*Mugil*) are found in the inland lakes and rivers, *R. taurus* being very abundant in the Sea of Galilee, which is unusually well stocked with fish. The members of the family *Chromidae* were very many and are characteristic of this inland

¹ Cp. especially Ezek. 20:26. For human sacrifices generally see 2 K. 16:1, 17:17, 21:6, 23 to Jer. 7:31 Ezek. 16:20 f., 23-27, and cp. ISAAC, JERUSALEM.

² According to Ex. 13:2 (P¹) the firstborn is 'taboo' to Yahwe (the verb is *bakal*, cp. CLAN, § 1); note also the remarkable use of פֶּתֶר רֶחֶם in 25:12, compared with Ex. 4:24 f., Yahwe not only was appeased by a victim in the person of the firstborn, but, further, was satisfied by the offering of a part (the *re'eh*) for the whole.

³ According to the old writer in Ex. 4:24 f., Yahwe not only was appeased by a victim in the person of the firstborn, but, further, was satisfied by the offering of a part (the *re'eh*) for the whole.

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water. *Chromis tiberialis* is peculiar to the basin of the Jordan and very abundant. Numbers of this fish are carried down by the river and perish in the salt waters of the Dead Sea, thus affording food to the numerous fish-eating birds which congregate along the shores. In the larger expanses of water these fishes collect together in enormous shoals, and are captured by the fishermen in thousands, often hursting the nets by their weight. Other species of the same genus are also peculiar to the district but are less abundant. *C. niloticus* occurs in the Jordan basin and in the Nile, as does *Hemichromis sacra*, and these two genera are confined to the fresh waters of Palestine and Africa. When fish take any care of their eggs and young it is almost always the male that performs these functions; in the species *C. amon* and *H. sacra*, and possibly in others, the male takes the ova into his mouth and they develop in large cheek pouches which swell to such an extent that the fish is unable to close its mouth. Even when hatched the young fry remain in the buccal cavity of their parent or amongst his gills until they are about four inches long.

Another remarkable fish described by Canon Tristram, *Clarias macracanthus*, is found in muddy bottoms in the Lakes of Gennesaret and Huleh and in the Upper Nile. Members of this species are in the habit of migrating up the small and twindling streams to deposit their eggs in the upper pools, and in their course often have to traverse stretches where the water is insufficient to cover them or is absent altogether. They are able to live at least two days out of water, a fact which may be correlated with the existence of an accessory branchial organ which stretches from the second and the fourth gill arch and is received into a cavity behind the gills. When out of water the fish makes a squeaking or hissing sound. Its flesh is considered excellent.

Four species of *Cyprinodon* are found in the marshes and salt springs of Palestine; they are small fish capable of living at high temperatures (up to 91° F.) and in very concentrated saline pools. The waters of the Dead Sea, however, are fatal to them, probably because some salts are present which are injurious to life, as they live freely in water of equal density but of different composition. The males are very much smaller than the females, in fact are perhaps the smallest fishes known.

Anguilla vulgaris, the common European eel (it also occurs in N. America), is abundant in the Lake of Antioch and in some rivers, but Canon Tristram did not find it in the Jordan; it reaches a length of 4½ feet and is much appreciated as an article of food.

The remaining twenty-three species of fish found in Palestine belong to the Cyprinidae or Carp family. A few may be mentioned. *Cyprinus damascenus* is common in the Jordan, which carries them down to the Dead Sea where they perish in large numbers. *C. fratercula* is a sacred fish to the Mohammedans of N. Africa. Its flesh is said to be excellent. *Basilichthys* (Barbel) is the most abundant of the many fish in the Sea of Galilee. Tristram speaks of having seen 'thousands of these fishes in the Jordan, when an army of locusts has been attempting to cross the river, standing almost upright in the stream with their heads partially out of the water, and their mouths wide open, devouring the locusts with inconceivable rapidity.' *B. beddomii* is confined to the Sea of Galilee, and rare. *B. longiceps* is peculiar to the same lake but extends into the Jordan. It is abundant. Several species of the genera *Leuciscus* (White fish), *Alburnus* (Bleak), and of *Vemachilus* (Loach) occur in the lakes and rivers, and many of them form articles of diet.

In Hebrew aquatic animals are comprehensively defined by the expression in Gen. 1:21:—'every living creature that creeps (זָרָקֵת) and with which

2. Hebrew terms. the waters swarm' (שָׂרָץ). The usual term, however, for 'fish' is *dagh*, *daghith* (דָּג), Gen. 9:2; דָּגִים דָּגִים, *ib.* 1:26:28, from which is derived the denominative דָּגָה, 'to fish' (Jer. 16:16), and possibly דָּגָה, to multiply (Gen. 48:16). Strange to say, neither the OT nor the NT furnishes us with the specific name of a single fish. There are, however, many references to fishing.

3. Fishing. The art of fishing (דָּגָה, Am. 4:2) was pursued all the world over in three different ways.

1. The first and historically the oldest method was spearing, of which a full description is given by Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.*, ed. Birch [78], 2:125f.).

The bident was a spear with two barbed points which was either thrust at the fish with one or both hands as they passed by or was darted to a short distance, a long line fastened to it preventing its being lost and serving to secure the fish when struck. . . . Sometimes a common spear was used for the purpose' (2:121). At other times the spear was furnished with feathers, like an arrow (as in the illustration, *op. cit.* 2:107). In most cases, however, it resembled the modern harpoon, and in hippopotamus hunting was even furnished with a reel (see illustration, 2:128f.). This is the instrument mentioned in J. 3:41:7 [10:11] as דָּגָה דָּגָה, 'fish-harpoon' (i.e. 'fish-spears').

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According to Tristram (*VIR* 292) 'the fish spear is much used in the smaller streams and the northern rivers of the Lebanon.'

2. A second mode of fishing was by means of a line and hook, with or without a rod (the latter probably Mt. 17:27), of which many illustrations have been preserved on the monuments of Egypt and Assyria. These ancient anglers (cp. דָּגָה, Is. 19:8) used bait—never, so far as is known, the fly. That angling was familiar to the Hebrews is evident from its frequent use as a telling metaphor in the OT. The hue (דָּגָה) is mentioned only in Job 41:1 [40:25]. The hook (קֶשֶׁת) receives various names.

3. Professional fishermen, however, had at all times recourse to nets. The Egyptian nets were made of threads prepared from flax, and were of various kinds—all explained and illustrated by Wilkinson (see 1:292f., 2:117ff.). Most or all of these were, no doubt, employed by the fishermen of Phoenicia and Palestine. Of the many Hebrew words for 'net' the most usual, *releth* (רֶלֶת), is confined in the OT to the hunter's and the fowler's nets (see FOWL, § 8); but this is probably an accident. It is most probably the best equivalent of the general term δίκτυον, *rete* (Mt. 4:20 Lk. 5:4 ff. Jn. 21:6 ff.), applicable to a net of any description.

On the other hand, two special varieties of fishing nets are found in the NT certainly, and in the OT very probably.

(a) The one is the hand-net or casting-net (ἀμφιβληστρον), still used on the Phœnician coast and on the sea of Galilee (*ZDPV*, 1886, p. 102).

'The net is in shape like the top of a tent, with a long cord fastened to the apex. This is tied to the arm and the net so folded that, when it is thrown (cp. βάλλετε, Mt. 4:18), it expands to its utmost circumference, around which are strung beads of lead to make it drop suddenly to the bottom. Now . . . he spies his game. . . . Away goes the net, expanding as it flies, and its leaded circumference strikes the bottom ere the silly fish knows that its meshes have closed around him. By the aid of his cord the fisherman leisurely draws up the net, and the fish with it' (Thomson, *I.B.* 402). Cp. Wetstein's description in Delitzsch, *Ein Tag in Kafarnaum*, 146f.

This net corresponded to the *funda* of the Romans (for classical references see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, 'Rete'). Twenty-eight large fish were caught with a small hand-net at a single cast near Tiberias in 1884 (*ZDPV*, l.c.).

(b) The second net mentioned (σαγήνη) is the large drag, draw-net, or seine (from Lat. *sagena*). See an excellent representation of the drag-net at work in Wilkinson (1:291, also in Erman, *op. cit.*, 238, 401).

It was similar in form and construction to the drag still in use, 'with wooden floats on the upper, and leads on the lower side,' and was worked in precisely the same way.² The net of the parable in Mt. 13:47 ff. was of this sort. With the two nets just described, it has been usual to identify the דָּגָה (ἀμφιβληστρον, 'net') and the דָּגָה—in Is. 19:8 pointed דָּגָה—סַגְיָה, or ἀμφιβληστρον, EV 'drag,' of Hab. 1:15 ff.; see NET, 3. The basket or reel trap (see Kluhnger, *Upper Egypt*, 307), in the Mishna דָּגָה (*Avot*, 13:235), and the stake-net (Tristram, *op. cit.* 292) are not mentioned in OT or NT.

The most favourable time for fishing was the night (before sunrise and after sunset, according to Aristotle); this illustrates Lk. 5:5 and Jn. 21:3.

4. Fishermen. On returning to land, the fishermen collected the marketable fish into baskets (Mt. 13:48), washed (Lk. 5:2) and mended their nets (Mt. 4:21 Mk. 1:19), and spread them out on the shore to dry (Ezek. 26:5-14 47:10, שָׂמְנוּ דָּגָה, 'a place for the spreading of nets'). Fishermen seem to have formed a partnership among themselves either for some temporary purpose, or on a more permanent basis as a guild. Thus we read in the OT of the partners (דָּגָה, bands of fishermen, Job 41:6 [10:11]), and in the NT we are told that James and John were partners (κοινωνοί) with Simon (Lk. 5:10; in 7:7 they or others are called μετοχοί).

¹ For illustration of mode of spinning at the present day see Kluhnger, *Upper Egypt*, 305.

² Pieces of the ancient Egyptian drag-nets may be seen in the British and Berlin Museums.

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The wealthy Egyptian under the Pharaohs, like the wealthy Roman of a later day, had a *piscina* or fish-pond attached to his residence, where fish were fed for the table and where the owner was wont to amuse himself by angling or spearing the fish (Wilkinson, 2115, with illustration; Erman, *Ancient Egypt*, 196, 239). The name by which these fish-ponds are known in the Talmud (פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, *pisṣṭā*, *pisṣṭā*, *pisṣṭā*) shows the late date at which the institution became known to the Jews.

It is true, AV (but not RV) speaks of 'ponds for fish' (פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, Is. 19:10) and of 'fish-ponds' (Cant. 7:4[5]); on the former error see Del. on Is. 19:10; on the latter BATN-KAUM. In Job 41:2[10:26] the question 'canst thou put a bulrush (פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, RV 'rope') into (levathan's) nose?' is sufficiently explained by the ordinary procedure of anglers in carrying their fish (Wilk. 2115). The crocodile, as Biddle explains,¹ is no small fish which can be slung upon a fish.

With regard to the sources of the fish supply, Egypt has in all periods of its history been noted for the fish that abound in its waters. Fish was the cheapest of all foods, and it was always the great desire of the poor that the price of corn should be as low as that of fish (Erman, *op. cit.*, 239). Compare the complaint of Israel (Nu. 11:5), 'we remember the fish, which we ate in Egypt for nought (חֵפֶז)'. In the so-called 'Blessing of Moses' (on the date of which see DEUTERONOMY, § 26) we seem to have a reference to the fishing industry on the coast of the Mediterranean earned on by Zebulun and Issachar² (Dt. 33:18 f.). At a later period we find that a considerable trade in fish—no doubt cured, not fresh (see below)—was carried on by Tyrian merchants with Jerusalem (Neh. 13:16). There must have been a fish-market, which may have dated even from pre-exilic times, in the northern part of the city. It gave its name to a neighbouring gate (Neh. 3:1 ff.); see JERUSALEM.

In the time of Jesus there were still thriving fisheries from the Dog river to the bay of Acre, 'to carry coals to Newcastle' is an older Hebrew 'to take fish to Acre',—but more especially by the Sea of Galilee (cp Mk. 8:5 ff. Lk. 9:11 ff. Jn. 21:9). Much of the fish caught on the lake must have been used in a fresh state by the thriving populations on its western and northern shores; but at the period in question there was also a large export trade in cured or salted fish. From this industry the town of Taricheae (ταριχῆαι, salting-places) received its name. The process of curing by cutting open the fish, removing the viscera, salting thoroughly, and exposing to the sun, was much in vogue in ancient Egypt (see illustration in Wilkinson, 2118, and cp Herod. 2:92). The fishes of the two well-known miracles were in all probability of this sort, fish cured in the way indicated (ταριχῆαι, Herod. 2:92, Heb. פִּיִּשְׁתָּא—opp. פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, *Nedarim*, 64—*or* פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, already half-cooked in the sun, being in great demand for *ἐπισιτισμοῦ* or provisions for the journey (Lk. 9:12 ff.). Cured fish was also imported from Egypt (where there were several places named *Tapexia*), and from Spain. Thus in Mish. *Alakhshirin*, 6:3, mention is made of 'Egyptian fish

¹ Biddle's view of Leviathan has been controverted (see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 3). His interpretation of פִּיִּשְׁתָּא in Job 41:2[10:26] differs from that of Duhm, who renders (cp RV) 'Canst thou lay a fish (i.e., a rope of rushes) to his nose?' Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 40), however, is afraid that Leviathan would soon bite through such a rope, and thinks that Theod. (עֶקְרוֹר), Vg. (*circulatus*), and Tg. (פִּיִּשְׁתָּא) presuppose a different reading. Chet., agreeing with this, would read פִּיִּשְׁתָּא (i. 575); 1 and 2, and 3, confounded. This would give a perfect parallelism, 'a ring in his nose', 'his jaw with a hook.' So too Beer.
² Cp the paraphrase of Ps. 104, quoted by Dr. Lc.; and notice the coincidence between the meanings of *TOLA* and *PEAN* (92:2), and the trade they are here represented as carrying on. [Dr., however, hesitates to define the reference exactly, and the correctness of the text has been disputed on critical grounds; cp GLASS, § 2.]

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that comes in baskets (or barrels?)' and of the Spanish *colius* (קוליוס, *kolias*) or tunny (cp *Shabb.* 224).¹

Fish preserved in brine (פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, *maris*) was also an important article of commerce (*Abdā Zari*, 26, *Ned.* 64), especially the fish called in the Talmud פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, which some identify with the tunny, others with the anchovy or the sardine (Hersfeld, *op. cit.* 105 f., and note on p. 305 f.). Other preparations from fish were פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, often mentioned along with פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, and פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, which was kept in a pot (*Baba bath.* 144a); but their precise nature is unknown.

Fresh fish was prepared for the table in a variety of ways. One passage of the Talmud (*Ned.* 20b) mentions four methods: it may be eaten pickled (see above), roasted, baked, or boiled. The most common of these methods was probably roasting or grilling. The ancient Egyptians roasted their fish by means of a spit through the tail (Erman, 189). The fish might also be laid directly on the charcoal (Jn. 21:9). Fish was also boiled (*Ned.* 64), and might be eaten with eggs atop (פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, *Baba*, 21). Compare the riddle, from *Mid. Kāṭān*, 11a, cited by Hamburger (vol. i., 'Fisch').

Although the use of fish as an article of diet is allowed by the Noachic covenant (Gen. 9:2 P), limitations are put upon it in Deuteronomy and Leviticus. 'All that have fins (פִּיִּשְׁתָּא) and scales (פִּיִּשְׁתָּא) ye may eat; but of

those that have not fins and scales ye may eat none; they are unclean (טמא) unto you' (Dt. 14:9 f.; cp Lev. 11:9-12, where the forbidden fish are styled פִּיִּשְׁתָּא, 'an abomination'). By this provision no distinction is made between salt-water and fresh-water fish 'in the seas and in the rivers' (Lev. 11:9)—provided the necessary criteria are present. Excluded, on the other hand, are all scaleless fishes, such as the important group of the siluride or sheat-fish—the flesh of which is said to be 'excellent eating, firm and rich like an eel's' (Tristram, *FFP*, 170, 173)—skates, lampreys, and, of course, eels, and every variety of shellfish.² Similarly the author of the epistle to Barnabas (chap. 10) mentions as forbidden the *σχινα* (lamprey), *πολόπρος* and *σχινα*; and Jer. *Epist.* 151, (*Quaest.* 10, besides the *Sepia* adds the *Loligo* (a kind of cuttle), *Murena*, and *Anguilla* (eel). The fundamental requisite of fins and scales specified in the Law was somewhat simplified in later times. Thus in Mish. *Khull.* 3:7 end, we read: Rabbi Yehuda says, 'At least two scales and one fin.' Experience, however, having proved that all fish with scales have also fins, it was permitted to use as food part of a fish on which only scales were visible (*Nidda*, 51b).³

A. R. S. K.

Analogies for the prohibition of certain fish are met with elsewhere. The distinction between fishes with and without scales was made in Egypt and survived in certain rites of early Rome (cp Pliny, *HN* xxiii. 210). In Egypt the oxyrhynchus, phagrus (eel), and lepidotus were not only forbidden in certain districts (Phit. *de Ind.* 18), but were actually looked upon as sacred. Similarly Hyginus (*Astr.* 24:) states that the Syrians look upon fish as holy, and abstain from eating them (*ib.* 230); and according to Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 46) the fish in the Chalus near Aleppo were regarded as gods. Ichthyolatry was associated especially with the cult of Dereto (see ATARGATIS), who, in spite of the euhemeristic attempts of later legends, seems to have been partly a fish goddess. In a pool at the temple at Hierapolis were sacred fish

¹ For these fish see Hersfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden* (2), p. 121 (94).

² The distinction made (Mt. 13:48) between good and bad (*σάμπα*) fish proceeds on different lines, the 'bad' fish including not merely the legally unclean, but also those for which, from their size and condition, or from the prevailing taste in these matters, there was no demand in the market.

³ For this and other authoritative decisions regarding clean and unclean fish—of these last there were 700 species according to the Talmud—see Hamburger, vol. i., art. 'Fisch'; Wiener, *Die jüdischen Speisegesetze* (95), 310 ff.

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which wore ornaments of gold (cp Lucian, *Dea Syr.* 45), like the eels of Zeus at Labraunda in Caria. Another pool at Ascalon contained fish sacred to Atargatis, which were daily fed, but never eaten, since it was believed that any one who ate of them (the sprat and anchovy are especially mentioned, Selden, *de Dis Syr.* 23) would be afflicted with ulcers. On the other hand, Mnaseas (ap. Athen. 837) states that fish was daily cooked and eaten by the priests of the goddess, the idea doubtless being to bring deity and servant into closer relationship. In connection with this it is interesting to notice that a practical identification of deity, servant, and fish, takes place in the representations on Assyrian cylinders where the priest, clothed in a large fish-skin, stands before the fish which is laid upon an altar (cp Menant, *Glyptique*, 253). Examples of the sacred character of the fish could be easily multiplied. Mummified fishes have been found in Egypt (Budge, *Mummy*, 357). The Egyptian *abtu* and *ant* are mythological fishes which accompanied the boat of the sun, and similar mythical fish perhaps survive in the stories of JONAH and TUBIT (*qq.v.*).¹ Nor are traces of ichthyolatry wanting at the present day. Sacred fish are still to be found in consecrated fountains in Syria (Thomson, *LB* 537), the most important being at the mosques of Tripolis and Edessa (Sachau, *Reise*, 197).

The origin of ichthyolatry must be sought in a primitive state of totemism. The Egyptian Oxyrhynchites, and the nomes and cities of Oxyrhynchus, as well as those of Phagoriotropolis and Latopolis, derive their names clearly from the sacred Egyptian fishes (cp Wilk. 3340 ff.). The penalty for eating a sprat or anchovy mentioned above (§ 9) finds analogy in Samoa where the cuttle-fish clan avoid eating the cuttle-fish, in the belief that if they did so one of the species would grow in the stomach and cause death (Frazer, *Totemism*, 18). The dressing of the worshipper in a fish-skin is in accordance with the habits of all totemistic clans. A member will assimilate himself to his totem by disguising himself so as to resemble it.²

That a fish believed to be unwholesome was forthwith invested with a sacred character so as to prevent, in the most effectual method possible, its use as food, will not account for the prohibition of such fish as eels, lampreys, and others. Such a theory completely reverses the facts, since the evidence above adduced shows that it is the sanctity of the fish (which may have arisen from its being a totem, or else from its association with a deity) that makes it prohibited, and thus accounts for the (apparently) arbitrary *taboo* upon various fishes.

In Israel nothing is said of sacrificial fish (see CLEAN, § 11); but that certain fish were sacred among them can hardly be denied. That Dagon was a fish-god is doubtful (see DAGON), and the name of Joshua's father admits of another explanation than 'fish' (see NUN).³ Still the law in Dt. 4:13 (cp also Ex. 20:4 and see DECALOGUE) against the making of images of fish shows how prevalent the custom must have been. Such a cult, however, would not be likely to spring up among desert-people or nomads; it was doubtless of Canaanite origin and adopted by the Israelite immigrants.

Finally may be noticed the frequent occurrence of the fish in early Christian inscriptions; whatever may have been the true meaning of its introduction, it was always popular from the accidental circumstance that the word *ἰχθύς* is composed of the initial letters of the words *ἰσοῦς χριστός θεοῦ υἱός αὐτός*; see APOCALYPSE, § 911; and cp Hans Achelis, *Das Symbol des Fisches u. d. Fischdenkmäler d. römischen Katakomben* (1883).

¹ For the zodiacal 'pisces' cp the fish, *nūn*, fish of 12, and see Jensen, *Nösmol.* 81. For further evidence of the sanctity of fish cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2), 173 ff., 292 ff., Usener, *Rel.-gesch.* I, 313-150.

² Numerous examples of this custom will be found in Frazer, *op. cit.* 26 ff.; see generally CUTTINGS, § 6.

³ On the other hand the father of Bardeanes was called *ἰσάβελ* (so with Hoffm., *Auszüge*, etc., p. 137)—i.e., 'my fish is mother,' the reference being to Atargatis; cp WRS *Kin.* 304.

FLAG

For FISH-HOOK see HOOK; for FISH-POOL, see above, § 5; for FISH-GATE, cp above, § 6 (end), and see JERUSALEM. A.R.S.N., § 1; A.R.S.N., § 2 ff.; S.A.C., § 9 ff.

FITCHES. 1. This word in Is. 28:25 stands for *ḥiṣh*, חִישׁ (ΜΕΛΑΝΘΙΟΝ [CYNARIS]; *gith*). RV^{mk}, however, prefers 'black cummin' (*Nigella sativa*, L.), the seeds of which, like those of cummin, are used in the East, as they anciently were used by the Greeks and Romans, as condiments, not only in sauces, but also in bread. The cognate noun in Arabic is *ḥiṣh*, and the verb *ḥiṣḥu* means 'to use as a savoury in food.'

2. In Ezek. 49, AV gives 'fiches' for חִשְׁמִים, *kussēmim*, pl. of *kussēmeth*, חִשְׁמֶת (C δῆλα, Aq. Sym. *ḥēa*). 'SPELT', however, is RV's rendering, which is preferable (*Triticum Spelta*, L.).¹ The same Heb word occurs in Ex. 9:32 (δῆλα [Aq. Sym. *ḥēa*]) and Is. 28:25, where AV has 'RHE', RV 'spelt.'

The verb חִשַׁם (Ezek. 44:20) and its congener חִשַׁם (Ps. 80:13[14]) each occur once in OT in the sense of 'crop' or 'shear'; the grain may have its name from its comparative smoothness as compared with other kinds (Ves.). Whatever be its origin, *kussēmeth* is certainly to be distinguished (Lewy, 104 ff., *Fleischer in Levy, NHB*, 2450) from Aram. *karsana*, 'veitch'—a word probably of Indo-Europ. origin, and still the name of the vetch in Palestine (*ZDP* 911)—with which Lagarde (*GA* 59, *Arm. St.* 2367) and Wetzstein (Del. *Isa.* (2) 707) have confounded it. This latter word answers in meaning to Syr. *ḥiṣh*, whereas חִשְׁמִים answers to *ḥiṣh*. Jewish tradition even so late as Maimonides correctly distinguished the two words (Lewy, 105).

In Ex. 9:32 spelt is mentioned along with wheat as a later crop than flax and barley. See EGYPT, § 8. In Ezek. 49 it appears with wheat, barley, beans, lentils, and millet, as a constituent in the symbolic bread which the prophet was commanded to bake. In Is. 28:25 the husbandman is described as sowing spelt in the border round wheat and barley.

De Candolle (*Orig.*, 291), following Vilmorin, classifies together three species of *Triticum*—viz., *T. spelta*, L., *T. dicoccum*, Schrank., and *T. monococcum*, L.—as having the common peculiarity that when ripe they are tightly held in their sheath, which has to be removed by a special operation. He is against the identification of *kussēmeth* with *T. spelta* (ib. 292), which was a plant of temperate countries. *T. dicoccum* he regards as an ancient cultivated race of *T. spelta* (ib. 293). *T. monococcum* was a plant of Asia Minor; Schliemann found at Isarlik a grain which Wittmack identified as *T. monococcum*, var. *flavescens*; he says—'que j'avais pris d'abord pour un petit *Triticum durum* ou *dicoccum*' (*Journ. de la Soc. Nat. d'Hort. de France* [97] 157). *ḥiṣh* may then well have been *T. monococcum*.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

FLAG. Two Hebrew words call for consideration:

1. *ḥiṣh*, חִישׁ (Ex. 23:5 Is. 19:6 Jon. 2:5 [alt]) is in EV rendered 'flags' in Ex. and Is., and 'weeds' in Jon.; C has *ḥiṣh* (Aq. *ḥiṣh*) in Ex. and *ḥiṣh* in Is.; in Jon. C Sym. (Aq. *ḥiṣh*) have wrongly connected the word with *ḥiṣh*, *ḥiṣh*, 'end.' Vg. has the renderings, *carectum* (Ex. 23), *papyron* (ib. 5), *iuncus* (Is.), *pelagus* (Jon.). According to W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 101) and Steindorff (in *Beitr. z. Ass.* 1603) *ḥiṣh* = Eg. *ḥiṣh*; Müller, however, thinks that it is more probably a Semitic word borrowed by Egyptian than the converse. It is sufficiently general to denote both the freshwater reed-growths along the Nile banks and the sea plants 'wrapped about the head' of one cast into 'the deep, in the heart of the seas.' On *ḥiṣh*, as a proper name, see REF SEA.

2. *ḥiṣh*, חִישׁ (Aq. *ḥiṣh*; Gen. 41:2 18; *βούτρομον*; Job 8:11) is rendered by AV 'meadow' in Gen. and 'flag' in Job; RV has 'reed-grass' in the former and 'flag' (with mg. 'reed-grass') in the latter. The word is Egyptian and derived from a root denoting greenness; the Egyptian noun was specially applied to the reed-meadows on the banks of the Nile (Ebers, *Ag. und die Bücher Mos.* 338 ff.; Wiedemann, *Sammlung*, 16). *ḥiṣh* also occurs in the Greek of Is. 19:7 and Eccles. 40:16. In the former place *ḥiṣh* *ḥiṣh* renders *ḥiṣh*, 'open meadows', in the latter the newly discovered Heb. text has, corruptly, *ḥiṣh*, axes. Following the Syr., Cowley and Neuloh would read *ḥiṣh*, 'reed-stalks' (see Lévi's note, and cp Lewy, *Ann. Pfl.-namen*, 202). This has suggested an emendation of

¹ This is the *ḥiṣh* or *δῆλα* of the Greeks (for distinction see Theophrastus, *HP* viii. 1.), and probably the *far* of the Romans (but on the latter see De Candolle, *Orig. d. Pl. Cult.* 291).

² He says, however, that this classification is 'plus agricole que botanique.'

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the difficult passage, Ps. 37:14, where in the letters כִּכְרִיִּים Che. (Ps. 37) detects כִּכְרִיִּים; in the parallel clause he finds כִּכְרִיִּים in the mutilated form כִּכְרִי. The whole verse becomes—

Like bulrushes by the river's bank, | so did I bend the head
Like reeds by the streams, | (so) bowed down I went along.

For 'flag' in the sense of 'standard,' see ENGLISH. N. M.

FLAGON. 1. 'Flagon' (Fr. *flacon*), or large bottle, occurs five times in AV, viz., 2 S. 6:19 1 Ch. 19:3 Is. 22:24 Hos. 3:1 Cant. 2:5. RV, however, substitutes 'cask (or casks) of raisins' or (in Cant.) 'raisins,' except in Is. 22:24, where it retains 'all the vessels of flagons.' RV's rendering 'cask of raisins' (for אֵשֶׁת) is, however, probably not less incorrect than 'flagon'; the passages with אֵשֶׁת appear to need critical emendation (see FATH, § 5). In Is. 22:24 the 'flagons' of EV correspond to כִּכְרִי, *nebblim*; earthenware bottles are meant. (See BOLL, § 2 [2], and cp POTH, 118.)

2. In two places RV has introduced 'flagons,' contrary to AV, viz., Ex. 25:29 37:15 (AV 'covers': σποδῆς [BAFL]). This sense is confirmed by the cognate dialects (see Ges., Buhl, 27; and Di. in Ex.), also by G. and by Nu. 17 (RV 'cups,' AV 'covers'), where the same vessels are expressly termed קִשְׁוֹת—i.e., libation-flagons. For representations of these or similar flagons on Jewish coins of the first and second revolts, see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 128 ff.

FLAX (פִּשְׁתָּה, *pešeth* or פִּשְׁתָּה, *pišeth*, pl. פִּשְׁתִּים, *pišim*). The Hebrew word rendered 'flax' in Ex. 9:14 Josh. 26 Judg. 15:14 Prov. 31:11 Is. 19:9 42:1 (quoted Mt. 12:29, with λίαν) Ezek. 40:3 Hos. 2:5 7:11 is translated 'hnen' in Lev. 13:47 f. 52:59 Dt. 22:11 Jer. 13:1 Ezek. 44:17 f. 'tow' (RV 'flax') in Is. 43:17.

G. has generally λίαν but once, λινοκαλάμη (Josh. 26), once σπινθρον (Judg. 15:14), and twice σπινθηρος etc. (Lev. 13:47 50). In Ezek. 40:3 G. reads οἰκοδόμου, in Hos. 2:5, δούλα.

Ex. 9:31 mentions the growing plant as budding or flowering (see BOLL, Di.) at the time that barley comes into ear (cp WILKINSON, *Anc. Eg.* 2:398); but in most places the reference is to a finished product, flax (*Linum usitatissimum*, L.) or linen, which is often coupled or contrasted with wool; in Is. 42:3 43:17 Mt. 12:29 the use of flaxen wicks for lighting is probably alluded to.

The cultivation of flax in Egypt is referred to in Is. 19:9, 'those that dress combed flax' (פִּשְׁתִּים שִׁרְיָה) — an expression which is illustrated by the two combs for parting and cleansing the fibres of the flax referred to by Wilkinson (*op. cit.* 2:174). The phrase פִּשְׁתִּים שִׁרְיָה, *pišeth šir'ya*, in Josh. 26 has by some been taken to mean cotton (i.e., 'tree flax'), but is obviously 'flax in stalk,' as opposed to 'flax that has been beaten'; thus G. *λινοκαλάμη*.

De Candolle (*Orig.* 15 ff.) maintains that of the two best distinguishable species of flax, the annual (*Linum usitatissimum*) had its original home in Asia, while the perennial (*L. angustifolium*) was that which first grew in Europe. The former, however, he thinks, reached Europe from Mesopotamia and Persia at a very early prehistoric period, and was, almost certainly, the flax cultivated by the Egyptians.

See also LAM 4; and on the use of flax for nets, see FISH, § 3. N. M.

* **FLEA** (פִּרְעִי: ψάλλος). In 1 S. 21:14 [15] 26:23, according to Smith's *BT* (s.v. 'Flea'), 'David, addressing Saul, compares himself to [the flea], as the most insignificant and contemptible of living things.' The statement is incredible, and the reports of travellers among the Bedouin do but make it more so. For these insects (*Pulex irritans*, Linn.) swarm in the dust of caves. That David should refer to hunting 'a single flea' is absurd. Did he wish to preach resignation to king Saul? The question suggests itself whether the text is correct. Considering that the Flea-cleat turns out to be imaginary (see PAROSH), we may well doubt it.

An explanation lies close at hand. For פִּרְעִי אֶמָּה we should read פִּרְעִי אֶמָּה, 'wild ass of the desert'; cp Job 24:5, and especially Gen. 10:12 (where פִּרְעִי אֶמָּה should be פִּרְעִי אֶמָּה [Grätz]). David asks if Saul has come out to chase a wild pariah dog (see DOG, § 3) or a still wilder desert-ass. In 1 S. 26:20 the reference

to this form is inferred (see Ges., *Tes.*) from the twice occurring פִּרְעִי (Hos. 2:5 9:11).

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to the 'flea' is due to a misreading; G. has ψυχή μου, *psuchē mou* (see Dr. *ad loc.*). The word 'flea' (plur.) occurs in RVing of Ex. 9:19 for עֲצָב. See LIT. T. K. C.

FLESH. i. *OT usage.*—The Hebrew *bāšār* (בָּשָׂר) in the most literal sense signifies flesh, as distinct from the outer skin (Lev. 9:11), the living flesh of human beings (Lev. 13:10) and of brutes (Gen. 41:1), as well as the dead flesh

1. **Meaning of Bāšār.**

in the one case (Gen. 16:3) and in the other (Gen. 40:19). Hence by a natural extension of meaning 'flesh' is used for the whole body (Lev. 14:9 and so frequently in P; but cp also 1 K. 21:27). Further, although the Hebrews from ancient times distinguished between flesh and soul (נֶפֶשׁ) they did not at first draw any sharp line of demarcation between the two; much less were they conscious of painful contrast between the flesh in its weakness and sinfulness on the one hand, and the eternal, holy God upon the other. Naturally, therefore, 'flesh' is employed to signify not only the whole body, but also the whole man as a personal being; at least in Neh. 5:5 Job 21:6 Ps. 63:2 we appear to meet with the survival of this usage.

It is also used of the male *aidōia* (Ezek. 16:2 23:20 Lev. 15:2 16:4). Again, marriage is said to make the man and woman 'one flesh.' Kindred, and even compatriots, have the same 'bone and flesh' (Gen. 29:14 37:27 1 S. 5:1 19:13/14), and it is of the bond of common lineage in Israel that the later Isaiah is thinking when he exhorts his countrymen (Is. 58:7) not to hide themselves from their own flesh. Indeed 'flesh,' like the Arabic *bāšarun*, becomes a synonym for mankind (Ps. 65:3 Jer. 12:10), or may include all creatures that live and feel (so P in Gen. 7:15 etc.).

Next, 'flesh' is regarded as united in the case of the living man with soul, so that the whole man consists of flesh and soul (Ps. 16:9 63:2), though in one passage—where, however, both text and meaning are uncertain—the book of Job (14:22) apparently ascribes some dull feeling even to the flesh separated by death from the soul. The flesh, moreover, and especially the heart, is the receptacle of the spirit (Gen. 6:3) which is the principle of physical and spiritual life, or in a more special sense the endowment of Yahwē's chosen servants and in the Messianic age of all Israel (Joel 3:1). Therefore when Yahwē recalls his people from their disobedience, he begins, according to Ezekiel (11:19 36:26), by giving them a heart of flesh—i.e., one which is human and susceptible—instead of a heart of stone—i.e., one which is hard and inhuman.

Lastly, in the prophetic writing, man as flesh is contrasted with God as spirit. This opposition first

2. **As a synonym of 'mankind.'**

appears in Isaiah (31:3), written, as seems most likely, in 702, with a view to the Egyptian alliance; see ISAIAH i. § 14: 'The Egyptians are men and not God, and their horses are flesh and not spirit; and Yahwē will stretch out his hand, so that the helper shall stumble and the helped fall, and both of them perish together.' In this passage, the nearest approach to a dogmatic conception of God in the prophetic writings, God is represented as the absolute spirit, who exists without dependence on creatures, unaffected by national disaster. All else is flesh; the same God who gives them breath at his will withdraws it. The heathen gods are simply ignored, and it is apparent that the Divine Spirit must in the end conquer that which is mere flesh. Like thoughts recur in subsequent literature. 'Cursed is the man,' says Jeremiah (17:5), 'who trusts in human beings and makes flesh his arm, while his heart withdraws from Yahwē.' All flesh, according to Zechariah (11:17), is to be hushed into silence before Yahwē in his temple. Job asks if God has 'eyes of flesh' (10:4)—i.e., whether he is really ignorant and impatient like short-

1 Cp Ar. *bāšarun*, 'the external skin,' with the Syriac *besrā*, 'flesh,' and with the Assy. *bārū*, used of relations by blood. Probably the Arabic word best preserves the original meaning, *bāšār* being the outer, as opposed to *nafs* (= Ar. *nafs*), the inner flesh. See Hoffm. *Z. 177* 3 107.

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sighted and short-lived men. So, on the contrary, God is said in Ps. 78:39 to remember that his people 'are but flesh'—i.e., weak and fleeting. Here we reach the threshold of the NT idea of *σάρξ*. The theological use of this word is confined to Paul's employment of it to denote the seat of sin in man. Outside of this, it is used in a merely popular sense to designate the material part of man in its various contrasts with the spirit (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 102).

W. E. A.

ii. *NT usage*.—Paul's use, however, becomes part of a system of theological thought which is carried through the subject of sin and redemption (instances are so frequent and familiar as scarcely to need citation: the most obvious are Rom. 7:5-25; 8:6-13; Gal. 5:13-24). This system, therefore, must be briefly described.

In the first place, since the seat of sin is in the flesh, the punishment of sin is mainly, not wholly, physical death. The final redemption of man, of which the spirit is only the pledge, is therefore the restoration of the body (Rom. 8:10 f. 23). Moreover, since sin has its seat in the flesh, the resurrection is not only a re-creation of the body, but a change from a body of sin and death to one fitted for the higher spiritual part of man, and incorruptible (1 Cor. 15:42-49).

This localising, not only of sin, but also of the punishment of sin, in the body, explains how it is that, in the apostle's thought, redemption is through Christ's death and resurrection. As long as both punishment and cure were thought of as purely spiritual these physical means of the cure in the apostle's thought were inexplicable. It is incongruous to make Christ's physical death in some way take the place of man's spiritual death, or Christ's resurrection effect man's spiritual resurrection (Rom. 5:10). If, however, physical death is the main element in punishment, then the physical death of Christ can take the place of that of the sinner; and if resurrection is essentially corporeal, the physical resurrection of Jesus may become its appropriate cause.

Again, the placing of sin in the flesh, in the body and its members, makes it superficial, not identified with the essential man, which is in subjection to the law of God.

It is not the ego, the human personality, that sins, but sin, seated in the man as an alien principle, penetrating only the flesh, not the spirit of the man (Rom. 7:14-25). At the same time, since sin dwells in the flesh, and the flesh is resolved into the body and the members, which are the executive parts, it is sin that gets itself done in spite of the protest of the inner man (ib.).

This does not mean, of course, that it is not the man himself that sins, but that it is the man dominated, not by his inner real self, but by an alien principle of sin, in a way external to himself. The remedy is to be found in the first place in the displacement of sin as the dominant principle in the man, by the spirit. The apostle represents the dominion of sin as amounting to a law to which the man is subject, but from which he is freed by the law of the spirit of life. Sin is dispossessed, not of power, but of supreme power in the very flesh which has been its stronghold (Rom. 8:1-10).

This, however, is not all. If it were, there would be a state of strife incompatible with the apostle's idea of the completeness of the work of Christ.

4. Resurrection of the body. To be sure, sin is no longer the dominating principle even in the flesh: it is met and overcome by the stronger spirit. However, it is there still, and keeps up its fight against the spirit (Gal. 5:16-26); the flesh being the part of man which is vulnerable to sin, the final act of redemption must be the deliverance of the man from the flesh itself. This occurs, accordingly, at the resurrection, when the body of another sort, another material, fitted for the higher part of the man, is substituted for this body of flesh (1 Cor. 15:42-49). An analysis of the statement will show that the flesh of which this is said is simply the flesh itself in its primary meaning.

In the first place, the resolution of the flesh into body and members, which we find commonly in Paul, is enough to show this, unless we find rebutting testimony (Rom. 7:5 23 f.). Then the apostle's account of the way in which his good will is frustrated points to the same conclusion. He himself wills the

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good, but does not find any way to bring it to pass; because the members, which accomplish things, have within them a principle of evil instead of good (Rom. 7:14-23). The final remedy for this state of things is the redemption of the body. The pledge of this is the spirit, which helps the situation as long as the flesh complicates it; but the final cure is the change of material of the body into something befitting the spirit instead of clogging it (Rom. 8:23). This it is that achieves for man at last the condition of sonship.

We must now seek the rationale of this theory of sin. In the present state of this question, it is enough to say that it is probably not the Greek dualism, which affirms evil of matter as such.

5. Rationale of Paul's theory. (1) The Jewish philosophy which mediates between Judaism and Hellenism is Alexandrian, and Paul was not an Alexandrian (cp HELLENISM, § 6). He says of himself that he was excessively zealous for the ancestral traditions. That is to say, he was a Pharisee; and Pharisaism and Alexandrianism do not coalesce: they are opposites (Gal. 1:14 Phil. 3:5).

(2) The apostle's doctrine of the resurrection of the body involves for it a change of material, not the substitution of a body that is immaterial.

When Paul says that the resurrection body is spiritual, he is not speaking of its material (if one may speak of 'spiritual material') but of its adaptation. The contrast is with the psychical body, the *psyché* being the lower spiritual part of man; not of course the material of the present body, but its inhabitant. In the same way, the *pneuma*, which is the higher spiritual part, would be, not the material of the future body, but its spiritual principle. In 2 Cor. 5:1-8, the apostle expresses a dread of the disembodied state—what he calls his 'nakedness'—a dread that is repugnant to the essential spirit of Alexandrianism, which regards the body as a clog to the spirit, not as a covering for its shivering nakedness.

(3) Finally, Paul deprecates Greek wisdom or philosophy, speaking of it as worldly and opposed to the foolishness of the cross (1 Cor. 1:17-31).

This, again, can scarcely refer to anything else than Alexandrianism: that Jewish adaptation of Platonism is the only form of Greek thought familiar to the Jews. When a Pharisaic Jew, Paul, in a controversy with an Alexandrian Jew, Apollos, speaks in this way of Greek wisdom, the reference is plain. This applies generally to the attempt to make Paul cover the Alexandrian as well as the Jewish tracts of thought in traditional Paulinism.

The apostle shared, however, the depreciation of the body common to all races, which is due to its actual seductions and misdemeanours. The grosser and more obvious sins have there not only their seat but also their occasion. It is the side of man which is vulnerable; not actually evil, but susceptible to appetites which run easily to evil (Gal. 5:19-21 24). Then, not only is it the seat of the most obvious sins, but also in it are located the most apparent and obtrusive results of sin. The mind reacts within itself, and the moral nature in its own sphere, and in these cases the reactions of transgression are subtle; but in the case of physical transgression they are visible. This is sufficient to account for Paul's use, which is not singular except as its peculiarities are emphasised by their place in the system he has wrought out.

W. E. A., § 1 f.; E. P. G., § 3 ff.

FLESHHOOK (לֶחֶם) Ex. 27:3, etc. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 5 (ii.).

FLINT. So much of Palestine consists of cretaceous strata that we are not surprised to find flint often referred to. The terms used for it are:—

1. *חֹבֶלֶת* (Ex. 4:25 [חֹבֶלֶת], Josh. 5:2 f. [פֶּתְרָה אֲבֹרֶתוֹס]), Job 22:24 [פֶּתְרָה], Ps. 89:44 [דָּבָר], where M¹'s *חֹבֶלֶת* is corrected [דָּבָר] *חֹבֶלֶת*; see Che. *ad loc.*, Ezek. 3:9 [פֶּתְרָה]. In Is. 5:28 read *חֹבֶלֶת* [פֶּתְרָה]. Plainly generic=rock, stone. On Josh. 5:2 see KNIFE.

2. *חֹבֶלֶת* *חַלְלִימִי* (אֲבֹרֶתוֹס, אֲבֹרֶת. On Tg. see ADAMANT, § 4), flint, and, with *חֹבֶלֶת*, rocky flint and flinty rock (Dt. 8:15, quoted in Wisd. 11:41 Dt. 32:13 Job 28:9 Ps. 104:8 Is. 50:7). Emblem of hardness or unfruitfulness; hence the marvel of 'oil' or 'water' from the flinty rock (see On). Also of moral steadfastness (Is. 50:7 Ezek. 3:6). Cp also HANY.

חַלְלִימִי is etymologically identical with *חֹבֶלֶת* or *חֹבֶלֶת* the hard and costliest of precious stones, the name of which probably underlies a corrupt Hebrew name of a precious stone (see TARSISH, STONE OF). See Del. *Proh.* 86, and cp

FLOCK, TOWER OF THE

Hommel, *ISRA*, May '93, p. 291, who connects *ḥmāmā* (= *algaemā*) with *gilgāmī* or *gilgāmī*, according to him a name of the Fire-god.
3. *ḥmāmā*, 1 Macc. 10:73 EV, 'in the plain, where is neither stone nor flint' (rather, 'pebbles'). α. also in 2 S. 18:14. On both passages see SLING.

FLOCK, TOWER OF THE (מִנְדֹל־עֶרֶב) Mi. 4:3.

See EDER, THE TOWER OF

FLOOD (מַבּוּל), Gen. 6:17. See DELUGE.

FLOOR (נֶרֶץ), Gen. 50:11. See AGRICULTURE, § 8.

FLOUR (1) (קֶמֶח), Judg. 6:19 RV 'meal'; (2) (בֶּלֶת), Ex. 29:2; (3) (בֶּלֶת), 2 S. 13:1 RV, 'dough.' See BREAD, § 1. Food, § 1/2.

FLOWERS. Four Hebrew words for 'flower' or 'blossom' correspond to the single Greek word *anthos* (taking the LXX for our guide). The NT therefore could not (even if the love of flowers were more perceptible in it than it is) be expected to do justice to the floral beauty of the landscape of Palestine in spring (Cant. 2:12). It is true, the neighbourhood of Jerusalem has not a rich flora. Still, all the hills of Judah have bright though small spring-flowers; nor, since Isaiah (17:11 18:5 see *SHOOT*) refers to it, must the vine-blossom (see GRAPE) be forgotten. Samaria was probably better favoured (cp Is. 28:1). Two of the most beautiful of the flowers of Palestine compete for the honour of being referred to by Jesus in his saying on the lilies (see 'LILY'). The tulip, poppy, hyacinth, cyclamen, asphodel, of Bethlehem, crocus, and mallow may also be mentioned among the many attractive flowers. Wild roses and wild jasmine also perfume the air in some parts. Lebanon and the deserts have floral beauties of their own. Delitzsch, though he had never been in Palestine, fully realised this variety in the flora of that country (*Iris*, 18). That flowers should be an emblem of evanescence is natural (Job 14:2 Ps. 103:15 Is. 40:6 Jas. 1:10).

1. *ḥemāmā*, Ex. 25:31 ff. (ḥemāmā) Is. 18:5 (AV 'bud,' RV 'blossom,' i.e., of the vine), expresses an early stage of inflorescence. Cp ALMOND, CANDLESTICK, § 2.

2. *ḥemāmā*, Nu. 17:23 Is. 28:14 Job 14:2 (ic. Root-meaning 'to glitter'; cp MITRE, § 3).

3. *nippāh*, Is. 18:5 Job 15:33, of the early crude berries of the vine and olive respectively. See GRAPE, 2.

4. *nippāh*, Cant. 2:12, of the spring flowers.
On the 'sweet flowers' of AV (RV 'banks of sweet herbs') in Cant. 5:13, see SPICK.

FLUE NET (מִסְכֵּת), Hab. 1:15 AVmg. See NET, 3.

FLUTE (מִסְכֵּת), Dan. 3:57 10:15. See MUSIC, § 4 (b).

FLUX, BLOODY (ΔΥCΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ), Acts 28:3. See DISEASES, 9.

FLY. Two Hebrew words are rendered 'fly':
1. *ḥab*, *ḥab* (חַב, *musca*), cp Ass. *zumbu* [see LICE, end]. Every one knows the divine name Baalzebub, according to some so called as being a god who averts flies (cp the fly-god Myiodes in Plin. xxix. 634); see, however, BAAL-ZEBUB. Elsewhere the word only occurs in Is. 7:18 Eccles. 10:1. In Isaiah 'fly' and 'bee' (the Assyrians are parallel; the fly is an apt emblem of the dwellers in the Nile valley where noxious insects abound. Can the fly intended be identified? Perhaps, at least if Delitzsch and Cheyne (in *Proph. Is.*) are right in connecting the *ḥab* (Del. 'land of the whirring of wings') of Is. 18:1 with the tsetse-fly. The tsetse-fly (*Glossina morsitans*) is the most dreaded insect of S. and Central Africa; it was described by the traveller Bruce as long ago as 1790.

This fly acts as a carrier of disease. It conveys a blood parasite from one animal to another and the parasite causes the disease or death of most cattle. We know of no evidence that this disease ever visited Egypt.

We might also think of the serot fly of Upper Egypt and Nubia, which is apparently a species of *Phaenicia*

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(*Tabanidae*), and allied to our horse-flies. This insect is about the size of a wasp, with an orange-coloured body striped with black and white. Its very powerful mouth-organs inflict a painful wound from which blood flows freely, and in which other flies attempt to lay their eggs. During the rainy season in Upper Egypt, Nubia, etc., it is a plague both to man and to beast. At any rate, the serot may be taken as exemplifying the category to which the dreaded insects referred to belong.

The obscure and rather lengthy proverb about 'dead flies' in Eccles. 10:1 (EV) is well emended by Siegfried, 'A poisonous fly brings corruption to the perfume of wisdom; (so) a little folly destroys the worth of wisdom.' (cp *ḥavaroṣṣai*) at any rate supports the sense of 'deadly' or 'poisonous,' though like MT it has 'flies' (plur.). Flies in Egypt and Syria are indeed pernicious. They propagate diseases such as ophthalmia, and transmit some of the parasites which live in blood, etc.

2. *ḥab* (חַב) (*musca*), the name of the insect or insects of the plague of Egypt (Ex. 8:21 [17] ff. Ps. 78:45 105:11. EV *swarms* of flies). It is impossible to specify what particular insect is intended.

The rendering 'dog-flies' (ḥab, Ge. Kn.) implies a derivation from *ḥab*, 'to suck.' These flies have a reputation for their voracity. The rival rendering 'swarms' (cp RV) suggests a connection with *ḥab*, 'to mix.' So Pesh. *ḥab*; other early interpretations (see Ges. *Thes.*) need not be cited.

A. L. S.—S. A. C.

FODDER (בֶּלֶל), Job 6:3. See CATTLE, § 5.

FOLD (קֶרֶן), 13. 65 13, or **Folds** (קֶרֶנוֹת), Nu. 32:24. See CATTLE, § 5.

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A. VEGETABLE KINGDOM.

Cereals, §§ 1-3. Vegetables, §§ 4-6.

Condiments, § 7.

B. ANIMAL KINGDOM.

Restrictions, §§ 8-13. Cattle as food, § 14/2. Other details, § 16/2.

A historical treatment of the food of the Hebrews would eventually shape itself into a history of their social and economic progress from the condition of nomads in prehistoric times, through centuries of agricultural and pastoral life in Canaan, to the latest days of Jewish independence, when the choicest products of neighbouring countries found a ready market in the cities of Palestine. It suits our present purpose better, however, to treat the subject of food in Old and New Testament times with reference to the natural kingdom to which the various food-stuffs belong. Of the three familiar divisions, the vegetable kingdom (§§ 1-7) supplied the inhabitants of Palestine, as it still supplies the peoples of Eastern lands, with all but an insignificant proportion of the ordinary daily food. To this day the Syrian *fellahin* are practically vegetarians, tasting meat (§§ 8-16) only on the occasion of some religious or social festival. (On the price of food see § 17.)

A. VEGETABLE KINGDOM.

1. *Cereals*.—In every period of Hebrew history the most important food-stuffs were those classed by Hebrew writers under the general name *digān* (דִּגָּן), corn, which comprised the grains of a number of common cereals.

i. In the Mishna treatise *Challa* 2 12 (cp *Pesēch*, 25), whoso takes a vow to abstain from *digān* has to abstain only from the following five kinds: wheat, barley, spelt (בֹּסְמִים), 'fox-ears' (שִׁפְפֹּת שִׁטְיָ), and *ṣiphon* (שִׁפְיוֹן), of which only the first three are mentioned in the OT.³

¹ The analogy of phrases like *ḥab*, 'a deadly weapon,' is decisive.

² This treatise deals with the various contents of the kneading-trough, subject or not subject to the dough-laws (ḥalvā); see Nu. 15:20 ff., and cp BAKEMEATS, § 2), as they may be called, which for the ordinary housewife amounted to one twenty-fourth, for professional bakers one forty-eighth of the whole.

³ For the two remaining grains see below, § 3, and cp the list in Ezek. 49.

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The most highly esteemed of these cereals, universally used by rich and poor, was wheat.

(a) Wheat, *ḥiṭṭāh* (חֵטֶת, more often חֵטֶת), appears in the OT as a food-stuff in various forms. The most primitive custom—the way method practised in Rome, tradition says, till the days of Numa (see 'Cibaria' in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq.* 1142 b)—was to pluck the ears (*ḥiṭṭān*, חֵטֶת) when filled but not fully ripe, to remove the husk by simply rubbing the ears in the hand, and to eat the still juicy kernel.

This the Hebrews were allowed to do in passing through a field of standing corn (Dt. 23.25 [27]). It was disallowed on the Sabbath, however (Mt. 12.1 Mk. 2.23 Lk. 13.15), inasmuch as plucking and rubbing were legally regarded as special forms of reaping and winnowing (cp. *Shab.* 7.2). Ears, whether of wheat or of barley, eaten in this way seem to have been known as *karmel* (כַּרְמֵל, RV 'fresh ears'; Lev. 23.14 2 K. 4.13.2).

The same 'fresh ears,' crushed in a mortar or otherwise, produced the *ḥiṭṭāh* (חֵטֶת, *ḥiṭṭāh* *karmel*, of Lev. 23.15 (RV 'bruised corn of the fresh ear'). Much more common was the method of roasting the ears, before they had hardened, on an iron plate or pan.

This parched corn (חֵטֶת, more fully חֵטֶת, Lev. 23.14; חֵטֶת alone Josh. 5.11) is repeatedly mentioned in the OT as an article of diet common among all classes of the people (Lev. 23.14 1 S. 17.17 2 S. 17.28 Ruth. 1.14) and is largely eaten at the present day in the East (cp. *Rob. R.* 2.104 [411]; ZDP¹ 19.3). This mode of rendering the grains of the cereals more palatable everywhere preceded the use of the mortar and pestle by which the grains were crushed, just as the latter method preceded, and was eventually superseded by, the hand-mill or quern (see *Mitt.*). On the main use of wheat in the Hebrew food-supply see, further, BAKEMEATS, BREAD.

Among the modern Syrians the favourite mode of cooking wheat is as follows:—

The grain is boiled after it has been thoroughly cleaned (hence OT חֵטֶת, see CORN, 3) by the female members of the family (see 2 S. 4.6, and cp. *SBOT*) and freed from the impurities unre-moved by the process of winnowing; it is then spread on the housetop to dry (cp. 2 S. 17.19), after which it is ground and boiled to a thick paste. A similar dish seems to be intended by the obscure *ḥiṭṭāh* (חֵטֶת, Nu. 15.20 f.; Neh. 10.37 [38] Ezek. 44.30 f. EV renders 'dough' (cp. *ḥiṭṭāh* in Nu., *ḥiṭṭāh* in Neh., *ḥiṭṭāh* in Ezek.; other authorities 'kneading-trough'), but *ḥiṭṭāh* is more probably to be identified with the Talmudic *ḥiṭṭāh*, a porridge or paste, made from the meal of barley or wheat (see *mod. Lexx.* and especially Lag. *GGN.* 1889, p. 301). Wheat, sodden and crushed as above described, the modern *ḥiṭṭāh*, added to mutton which has been pounded to shreds with a pestle and mortar, forms *ḥiṭṭāh*, the national dish of Syria (see *COOKING*, § 3). The modern *ḥiṭṭāh*, the finest of the wheat meal, got by bolting the ordinary flour (*ḥiṭṭāh*, חֵטֶת, RV 'meal') with a fine sieve (cp. *Pirk.* *Abot*, 5.15), corresponds to the Hebrew *ḥiṭṭāh* (חֵטֶת; cp. *ḥiṭṭāh*; RV 'fine flour'). A poetical designation of this fine flour is 'the kidney fat of wheat' (Dt. 32.14 Ps. 81.16 [17] 137.14). Its price was, at one period, twice that of barley (2 K. 7.16 18). The distinction between these two kinds of Syrian flour (*ḥiṭṭāh* and *ḥiṭṭāh*) was familiar to the Egyptians of the New Empire, who made soldiers' bread from the former, and princes' bread from the latter (Kéran, *Anc. Egypt*, 1893).

(b) The second place among the food grains of the Hebrews was occupied by barley. A brief summary of what is more fully stated elsewhere (see

2. Barley. BARLEY will suffice. In the list of foods offered to David and his friends (2 S. 17.28) we find wheat and barley not only in the grain but also ground and parched (חֵטֶת, חֵטֶת). Commonly, however, barley, like wheat, was consumed in the form of bread (Judg. 7.13 2 K. 4.42 Ezek. 40.12); it formed the bread of the peasantry, and the low esteem in which it was held seems to be the ground for the sole instance of the admission of barley meal among the sacred offerings (Nu. 5.15 f.). In NT times barley bread was still in use (In. 6.9 11, and Mishna *Pissim*), and it is common among the Bedouin of N. Arabia now.

¹ In AV Nu. 18.12 and Jer. 31.12 the rendering 'wheat' is too special for חֵטֶת, RV 'corn,' but Amer. Revision 'grain' (so always for חֵטֶת).

² AV here, 'full ears of corn in the husk thereof' (חֵטֶת); RV, with the best authorities, 'fresh ears of corn in his sack.'

³ Also probably in the original text of Eccles. 39.26 (Baehr in *JQR.* July 1897).

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(c) The third of the cereals mentioned above as included under corn (*ḥiṭṭān*) in Mishmic times (*Challā*, 1. *Pir.* 2.5) is *karmel* (כַּרְמֵל; hardly

3. Spelt, etc. 'rice,' as AV except in Ezek. 4.6). See FITCHES. From Ezekiel (4.6, plur. AV 'fitches') we learn that it was, at least occasionally, employed by his countrymen to make bread. In the Mishna it is repeatedly mentioned with wheat and barley.

The two remaining cereals are not mentioned in the OT.

(d) The *ḥiṭṭāh* *ḥiṭṭāh* (lit. 'fox's ear') has been identified by the Jewish scholars (Rashi, etc.) with oats, by Low (129) with the argilops, a grass closely allied to wheat (cp. *Post, Flora of Syria*, etc., 899).

(e) The *ḥiṭṭāh* is probably a species of oats (the *avena barbata* of *Post*, 871, which by the Arabs is called *ḥiṭṭāh*). From the frequent mention in the Mishna, both (*d* and *e*) must have been cultivated and used as food by the Jews of Palestine in the first and second centuries of our era.

(f) In the Mishna treatise (*Challā*, 14, cp. *Sheb'ith* 27) cited above (§ 1, beginning), mention is made of four food-stuffs that were not subject to the dough dues. Three of them may be identified with certainty as the rice plant, millet, and sesame. (a) Rice, *ḥiṭṭāh* (*ḥiṭṭāh*), was introduced into Palestine in the Greek period (see *Helm. Kulturpfl.* 485 ff.). (β) Millet, *ḥiṭṭāh* (*ḥiṭṭāh*, Ar. *dahn*; see *MILLET*), is mentioned in Ezekiel's list (4.6), where *ḥiṭṭāh* has *ἀγρίος*, by which *ḥiṭṭāh* (RV¹) also represents the obscure and perhaps corrupt חֵטֶת of Is. 28.25. (γ) Sesame is still largely cultivated in Syria, mainly for the oil-producing quality of its seeds (see *Oil*). The seeds are used also like caraway seeds in western lands, sprinkled on the housewife's bread, and even mixed with sugar and flour of rice, to produce a species of confection. (δ) The remaining plant of the four may be the familiar *dura* of the Syrian plains (cp. *Low*, pp. 101-31, which in the present day supplies the black bread of the peasant. Mixed with wheaten flour, it is said to keep longer soft (ZDP¹ 19.8). It is not mentioned in the OT or NT.

(g) **Other vegetable products.** (a) *The pulse family.*—We pass now to another important group of food-

4. Leguminosae. It is somewhat remarkable that out of the many hundreds of species belonging to the natural order *Leguminosae* which are found at the present day in Syria (see *Post, op. cit.* 208-299) only two are mentioned in the OT or the NT, (1) the lentil, and (2) the bean. Still, we may be sure that the pulse plants in all periods furnished an important part of the Hebrews' diet. If EV rightly renders חֵטֶת, *ḥiṭṭāh*, and חֵטֶת, *ḥiṭṭāh* (Dan. 1.12 16), the diet preferred by Daniel and his companions was confined to PULSE [q.v.]. Probably, however, 'herbs' (as RV¹) is a more accurate rendering; the context suggests a contrast between vegetable food-products generally, and the sacrificial and therefore unclean meat (flesh) from the royal kitchen. Various designations of the products we are now to consider occur in the OT, the most precise being the general term *yārik* (יָרִיךְ, in the Mishna *ḥiṭṭāh* [Ab. Zar. 38]); thus חֵטֶת (AV 'garden of herbs') is the equivalent of our vegetable or kitchen garden (Dt. 11.10 1 K. 21.2; cp. חֵטֶת, 'a vegetable diet,' Prov. 15.17). Like Daniel, Judas Maccabeus and his associates are said to have lived on a vegetable diet (חֵטֶת *ḥiṭṭāh* *ḥiṭṭāh*, 2 Macc. 5.27; cp. 4 Esd. 9.26 12.51). For the same reason—the avoidance of food ceremonially unclean—Josephus and his fellow-deputies lived at Rome on figs and nuts (*Vit.* 3).

¹ In the Aramaic inscription of Panamu from Zenjirli (*l. c.*) occur the names *ḥiṭṭāh* (חֵטֶת, cp. *ḥiṭṭāh*, Is. 28.25), *ḥiṭṭāh*. So Chau in his edition of the inscription proposes to identify *ḥiṭṭāh* with the modern grain called *dura*. So also Dr. *Authority and Archeol.* 132. See, however, *Chie*, '1. a.' (Heb. *SBOT* 95).

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Regarding the antiquity of the pulse group of food and its importance among the peoples of Eastern and classical countries—with the curious exception, noted by Plutarch (*Is.* §§ 5, 8), of the Egyptian priests¹—we may refer to Hehn's great work (*Kulturpf. u. Haush.* 208 ff. [94]).

1. The first place in the group may be assigned to *lentils*, *adūlim* (עֲדֻלִּים). The staple diet of the Egyptian pyramid-builders, according to Strabo (xvii. 134; cp Wilkinson, 224), lentils were cooked by the Hebrews from the earliest times to the latest (see LENTILES).² Now as in Ezekiel's time (19), they are sometimes ground and mixed with wheat flour to make bread; but they are 'more generally used as a pottage or cooked as the Spaniards cook haricot beans, stewed with oil and flavoured with red pepper' (Tristram, *NHB* 462).

2. The bean, *ḥil* (חֵיל), occurs only in 2 S. 17:28, and as one of the numerous ingredients of Ezekiel's bread (49). Several different species of bean were cultivated in Palestine for consumption in the first two centuries of our era. For example, in chap. 1 alone of the Mishna treatise *Kil'aim*, at least four varieties are mentioned; among these is the Egyptian bean, at present one of the most extensively cultivated leguminous plants of Syria. Next, indeed, to the preparations of wheat we may place the bean in its various forms (*ful*, *lūbiyah*, etc.) as the most useful food-stuff in the Syria and Egypt of to-day (cp ZDPV 94, Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons*, etc. 250). Either the pods are boiled and eaten entire, like our French beans, or the seeds alone are eaten after being roasted, or are boiled to a thick soup. Bean meal, painfully ground in the handmill, is sometimes mixed with wheat flour and baked into bread. Landberg (*op. cit.* 77-88) gives various native recipes for favourite Syrian dishes in which lentils and beans are the main ingredients.

3. Another popular food is the *chick-pea* (*Cicer arietinum*, Arab. *ḥummuṣ*), known in early Talmudic times as עֲצֵקָה (*Pisḥ* 33, etc.). It is cooked in the same manner as the bean. Roasted, the *ḥummuṣ* furnishes an esteemed delicacy, called *ḥuḥāmi*.⁴

4. Here, too, may be mentioned the vetch (*Vicia ervilia*), the modern *kiseneh*, which is sometimes identified with the *kussimeth* of 14, 28:25 (RV and SBOT 'speh'; see § 3 [c]). It is now, as doubtless it was formerly, grown as fodder; only in times of scarcity, according to Pliny, was it used as food by man.

(β) *The gourd family*.—The principal members of the gourd family (*Cucurbitaceae*) have at all times been

5. **Cucur.** prized as food in the East. Next to the **bitacem.** fish of the Delta, the Hebrews looked back with regret to Egypt's 'cucumbers and melons' (Nu. 11:5; see CUCUMBER, MELON). At the present day bread and melons or cucumbers form the main food of the poorest class in the large cities, from Constantinople to Damascus and Cairo, for months together. The cucumber (Mish. עֲצֵקָה; Nu. 11:5 עֲצֵקָה) is largely consumed in the raw state, but also prepared with vinegar as a salad. Equally popular at all times was the water-melon, *alḥaffidh* (עֲלַחֲפִידָה; plur. Nu. 11:5), the modern *batikh*, now cultivated by the acre in certain parts of the East, besides which we frequently find in the Mishna the sugar-melon (עֲצֵקָה, *μηλοπέπων*), which came to the Jews, as its name shows, from the Greeks. The seeds of the melon are roasted and eaten like those of the chick-pea. Various gourds are included under the עֲצֵקָה of the Mishna, among them perhaps the favourite *kūsa* or vegetable-marrow.⁵ A

¹ Cp Herodotus' statement about their special abhorrence of the bean (κυμαός), 2:27. The *flamen dialis* at Rome, also, according to Aulus Gellius, was forbidden to touch the bean.

² They have been found in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland.

³ Vg. inserts it at the end of 2 S. 17:28 for the intrusive 'לך' (see *lit.* in SBOT).

⁴ In the streets of Damascus this delicacy is thus praised by its vendors: 'Tattooed, warm and soft! Make a night of it, O Barmecide!' (Wetzstein, 'Der Markt in Damascus', ZDMG 11:510).

⁵ Löw and Post give the following equations:—עֲצֵקָה, *Cucurbita Pepo* (Löw); Squash, *kūsa*, *Cucurbita Pepo* (Post, *LEFQ*, 1881, p. 119).

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popular modern dish is prepared by removing the seeds of the *kūsa* and stuffing with rice, minced mutton, and other ingredients. For the 'wild gourds' of 2 K. 4:39 see GOURDS, WILD. Post (*Flora*, 324), with some older authorities, suggests that 'the colocynth may be intended by the gall [עֲצֵקָה] in Dt. 29:18 [17] 1's. 69:21, etc.' See GAT., 1.

(γ) *Leeks, etc.*—Conspicuous among the vegetables enjoyed by Israel in Egypt were 'the leeks, the onions,

and the garlic' (Nu. 11:5), all three familiar members of the genus *Allium*.

6. **The genus** *Allium*. Marcus Aurelius's description of the garlic-smelling Jews (fortenthunt Judaeorum) whom he met in Palestine has often been quoted (Amm. Marcell. xvii. 55). The leek, *ḥatir* (חֲטִיר; Nu. 11:5; in the Mishna generally עֲצֵקָה), was at all times highly esteemed in Egypt (cp Pliny's 'landatissimus porrus in Aegypto', 19:13) and Syria. ONIONS, *ḥūlīm* (עֲחֻלִּים), and garlic, *ḥum* (עֲחֻם), Herodotus was told (2:125), held a chief place among the food supplied to the builders of the pyramids, and their universal cultivation in later times is attested by contemporary monuments. All three species were usually eaten raw as a relish (δύον) to bread, occasionally as now, no doubt, roasted or boiled with meat to form a stew (cp Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 1:184). In Syria onions are also preserved like cucumbers (ZDPV 94). For a more ambitious treatment of the onion, see Landberg, *op. cit.* 77-79.

In times of famine, no doubt, recourse was also had to other and less familiar herbs. Such was the plant (מַלְלוֹשׁ, *malluṣh*, AV 'mallows,' RV 'salt-wort'; see MALLOWS) mentioned in Job 30:4.¹ Though this plant, from its etymology, is more likely to be the saltwort than the mallow, it is true that, according to Conder, the mallow—in Syria *khubbizi* (so called from its fruit resembling in shape the native bread, *khūbz*; cp Löw, 360)—is eaten in time of scarcity 'cooked in sour milk or oil' (*Tentwork*, 317). Cp. further, HUSKS.

This probably exhausts the greens (עֲצֵקָה) mentioned by name in the OT as articles of food.² A glance, however, at any of the Mishna treatises dealing with the legal requirements as to the sowing, tithing, etc., of the fruits of the soil, shows that those above enumerated are but a fraction of the plants cultivated for food in Palestine in the first century A.D. Here we can mention only a few of the commoner greens, such as lettuce (מַלְלוֹשׁ), various species of chicory and endive (עֲצֵקָה), which furnished the main ingredients of the bitter herbs (עֲצֵקָה, Ex. 12:8) at the Passover,—as is shown by the list in *Pisḥ* 26—the lupine, still known by its Græco-Hebrew name *turmus* (תֻּרְמוֹס, *thēpmos*), expressly stated to have been a food of the poor (*Shabb.* 18:1); the *folkas* (עֲפֻלָּה, colocasia), still extensively cultivated as food (Post, *op. cit.* 85), and the *lif* (לִיף), both members of the Arum family, and used, with mustard and lupine together, to form a pickle (see Löw, 24-); the turnip (תֻּרְנוּפִּי, modern *l'f*), the radish (רִדִּישׁ), the cabbage (כְּרִית), and the asparagus (עֲצֵקָה).

Most of the vegetables we have discussed were not only used in the fresh state (רֵיחַ)—or in some cases dried (עֲצֵקָה)—but also laid in vinegar or in brine and used as pickles. Such preserved vegetables were called עֲצֵקָה (*Shēḥ'ith*, 95) or עֲצֵקָה (*Pisḥ*, 26).

Of the remaining contributions of the vegetable kingdom to the Hebrew kitchen and table, the fruits are

7. **Condiments.** of sufficient importance to claim an article for themselves (see FRUIT), leaving only the various condiments for brief mention here. For fuller treatment of these see the separate articles.³ Hehn (*op. cit.* 205) has rightly emphasised the fact that 'before pepper was discovered or came into general use, seeds like cummin, black cummin, *Nigella sativa*, the coriander, *kopiannon*, etc., naturally

¹ On this verse as a whole see Budde, and in opposition to the current explanations of *fr.* 4 b, see JUNIPER.

² RVmg. introduces the purslain into Job 30:4; but see PURSLAIN.

³ Salt, the prince of condiments, belongs elsewhere, and must, in any case, receive special notice (SALT).

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played a more important rôle in the cookery of antiquity. Of these, the first which meets us in the OT is the coriander (קָרְיָן, Ex. 16:14; Nu. 11:7; קָרְיָן; also Ex. 16:14), to the greyish-white seeds of which the manna is compared. Under the name of קָרְיָן the coriander was cultivated in later times both for its seed and for its leaves (*Mid'har*, 45); the seeds are still very largely used 'as a spice to mix with bread in the East, as well as to give an aromatic flavour to sweetmeats' (Tristram, *NHB*, 440). Black cummin (so RV^{ms} for קָרְיָן; *ἑμελλόθιον*) occurs in Is. 28:25. Its black seeds are still used in Syria to sprinkle over bread. In the NT mint, anise, cummin, and rue are associated with Jesus' denunciation of the Pharisees. Of these cummin—the 'fastidii cumminum amicissimum' of Pliny—was held in the highest esteem by the classical peoples. Like salt it was used proverbially as a symbol of friendship; the phrase, *οἱ περὶ ἄλλα καὶ κύμινον*, is synonymous with 'confidential friends' (Plutarch, quoted by Hehn). The textual variation of קָרְיָן in Is. 28:27, and the cummin shall be eaten with bread, is interesting in the light of Pliny's observation that cummin seeds were so used by the Alexandrians of his day (1947). The anise of Mt. 23:23 is undoubtedly the *Anethum graveolens* or 'dill' (so RV^{ms}; Mish. קָרְיָן, modern *shibith*). The tithe was levied on the seeds, leaves, and capsules (קָרְיָן וְקָרְיָן) of this plant (*Mid'har*, 45)—i.e., 'when its seeds are collected, or when its leaves are used as vegetable, or when its pods are eaten' (Jastrow, *Dict.*, s.v. קָרְיָן). Its use as a condiment is attested by *Ūksin*, 34. According to the Mishna (*Shab'ith*, 91) no tithe was levied on the rue (קָרְיָן, *παραπον*, Lk. 11:42), which seems to show that the form given to Jesus' words by the first ('Jewish') evangelist (Mt. 23:22) is the more accurate of the two. To the category of condiments must also be reckoned the mustard (*σινάπι*, קָרְיָן), which, according to a recent authority (see 'Condimenta' in Daremb. and Saglio), does not appear to have been used in the form with which we are familiar; rather the leaves 'were cut up and mixed with the dish to be seasoned' (Athen. 9:366 a). We have already found that the mustard leaf was used in making pickles. The best mustard, according to Pliny (1954), came from Egypt, the קָרְיָן of *Kildim*, 15.

Ginger (*Zingiber officinale*) does not seem to have been known in Palestine within our period (for קָרְיָן, *Ūksin*, 35, which Jost reads קָרְיָן and renders 'ginger,' see *SPICE*); pepper (קָרְיָן), on the other hand, had found its way into common use during the Roman period. The esteem in which this familiar condiment was held at a later date is shown by the Talmudic saying, 'As the world cannot exist without salt and pepper, neither can it exist without the Bible, the Mishna, and the Talmud' (Löw, 318). Pepper, carried in the mouth, is mentioned along with a grain of salt (קָרְיָן וְקָרְיָן), apparently as a cure for toothache (*Shab'ith*, 65). It was ground in a metal hand-mill (*Ris'it*, 25), and was used not only to season the ordinary table food, but also as a spice in the confection of mead (קָרְיָן, *olivum*; see *WINE AND STRONG DRINK*).

B. ANIMAL KINGDOM.

Whilst the Hebrews were free to make full and unrestricted use of the products of the vegetable kingdom, they were limited as regards the animal kingdom by various restrictions, most of them, in principle and origin at least, traceable to very early times.

8. Animal kingdom: restrictions.

(a) The most important was that by which the members of the animal kingdom were ranged under the two categories of 'clean' and 'unclean,' those under the former, the so-called 'clean' animals, alone being available as

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food. For the origin and significance of this distinction, as well as for parallels among other ancient peoples, see *CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, FISH, and SACRIFICE*. For our present purpose, the following summary will suffice. Of Mammals the *locus classicus* Dt. 14:1 ff. names ten species as clean: viz., 'the ox, the sheep and the goat, the hart, and the gazelle, and the roebuck, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the antelope, and the chamois' (so the RV; on the identifications see the separate articles); whilst the camel, the hare, the rock-badger (EV CONEY [q.v.]), and the swine, are similarly named as unclean.¹ As regards birds the enumeration proceeds by the method of exclusion (Lev. 11:13 ff. Dt. 14:11 ff.), various birds, chiefly birds of prey—among them the bat—being specified as forbidden or taboo (to adopt the current scientific term), in Hebrew technically *sekes* (קָרְיָן, a detestation, object of abhorrence [see *ABOMINATION*, 2]; Dt. 7:26 Lev. 7:21 11:10 ff., etc.). Of fishes only those having both scales and fins were regarded as clean (FISH, § 8 ff.), whilst, from the invertebrates, a few species of the locust family alone are admitted as food.

(b) Of equal antiquity, probably, is the prohibition as food (taboo) of the blood of the clean, *warm-blooded*, animals (hence not of the blood of fish).

9. Prohibition of blood.

This taboo holds a foremost place in the Hebrew dietary legislation (cp Dt. 12:16 23:25 15:23 Lev. 17:10 ff. [11] Gen. 9:4 Lev. 3:7 7:26 f. [P], etc.), whilst its antiquity is historically attested at a period much earlier than the promulgation of any of the codes now referred to (see 1 S. 14:32-34). The discussion of the idea or ideas ultimately underlying this prohibition—one by no means confined to the Hebrews—belongs elsewhere (see *SACRIFICE*). In the above passages of the OT the prohibition is mainly based on the ground that the blood was the seat of the 'soul' or *nephesh* (נֶפֶשׁ), properly the vital, sentient principle; cp *ESCUATOLOGY*, § 12). It was therefore too sacred for ordinary use, and was to be reserved for, and restored to God, the author of all life. In early times among the Hebrews, when as yet 'all slaughter was sacrifice,' this dedication of the blood was a matter of course; but when, on the suppression of the local sanctuaries, as the result of the Deuteronomic legislation, it became necessary to authorise slaughter for domestic purposes elsewhere than at the sanctuary, it was expressly enacted that the blood of the animal slaughtered should be allowed to flow away (Dt. 12:15 f.; see *Dr. in loc.* and cp *OTIC*, 249 ff.). The same held good of the 'beast or fowl' taken in the chase; the hunter 'shall even pour out the blood thereof and cover it with dust' (Lev. 17:13). To this abstention from blood the Hebrews have at all times remained faithful (cp Mohammed's prohibition: Kuran, *Sura* 2:167). Only on an occasion such as that in the time of Saul referred to above (1 S. 14:32 ff.; cp the interesting addition of the Old Lat. and the Vulg. in Judith 11:12, 'to lay hands upon their cattle to drink their blood'), and in a period of great religious declension, did they imitate their neighbours the Philistines (Zech. 9:7) and 'eat with the blood' (Ezek. 33:25). The attitude of the early Christian Church and of the later Jews to this part of the dietary laws will be referred to later.

Another restriction, closely associated in P with that now discussed, had to do with the intestinal fat of the three sacrificial species, the ox, sheep, and goat (Ex. 29:13 22 Lev. 3:3 ff. 7:22 ff.; cp *Jos. Ant.* iii. 9:2 f.), to which was added 'the fat tail' (קָרְיָן, *alyah*, Ex. 29:22 Lev. 3:9 RV) of the sheep of the country (see *SHEEP*).² Deuteronomy

¹ On the question whether the Israelites in time of famine ever ate ass's flesh (2 K. 6:25), see *HESKS*.

² The custom of fitting this tail in extreme cases to a small wheeled cart, which has often been ridiculed, is referred to in the Mishna; see *Shabbath*, 54, and cp Herod. 3:113.

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is silent with regard to this taboo; but its antiquity is vouched for by the incidents of 1 S. 215 ff. The prohibition, it should be observed, has reference only to the *hēlebāh*, 'the fat of the omentum and the organs that lie in or near it' (*Rel. Sem.*¹² 379 ff. which see for probable reason of this abstinence; ¹ cp SACRIFICE), and not to the fatty deposits (probably the *ḥēlebāh* or 'fat-bits' of Neh. 8:10) in other parts of the animal, about which there was no restriction. It is important also, in view of later usage, to note that this abstinence from the fat of the intestines applies only to the case of an ox, sheep, or goat offered in sacrifice. The inference is that if any of these were slaughtered privately the 'fat' might be eaten; in any case the prohibition does not extend to the fat of non-sacrificial animals (game, etc.), provided these are 'clean' and duly slaughtered. On the other hand the 'fat' of animals coming under the two categories of *Nēbhēlāh* and *Tēphēphāh* (see next paragraph) might be used for any domestic purpose other than that of food (Lev. 7:24). The eating of the 'fat,' as of the blood, entailed the death penalty (Lev. 7:25; for details see treatise *Kēritoth*, especially chap. 3; for blood, chap. 5).

Of more importance is the taboo placed by the Pentateuchal legislation on two kinds of meat known technically as (a) *Nēbhēlāh* (נֶבֶלָה, Lev. 7:24 17:15 22:8 Dt. 14:21; cp Ezek. 44:44) and (b) *Tēphēphāh* (תֵּפֶפְפָּה, Ex. 22:31 [30] Lev. 7:24 17:15 22:8; cp Ezek. 44:44). In view of the extensive development of later Jewish jurisprudence with regard to these two categories of forbidden meat, it is essential to understand clearly the original significance of the terms.

(a) The first, *Nēbhēlāh*, denotes the dead body of a person (1 K. 13:24 ff.) or the carcase of an animal; in its technical sense it means the *flesh of an animal that has succumbed to an organic disease and died a natural death*. In this sense it is opposed to the carcase of an animal that has been properly slaughtered and the blood drawn off.²

(b) The second, *Tēphēphāh*, as its etymology shows, denotes an animal that has died through being torn (תֵּפֶפְפָּה, Gen. 31:39) by wild beasts, in other words 'torn flesh.'³

Of these, *Tēphēphāh* was forbidden even by the earliest code (Ex. 22:31 [30]), which requires that it shall be cast 'unto the dogs'; the prevalence of this custom near the time of Jesus is confirmed by the lines of the Pseudo-Phocylides (148 f., *λεῖψα λαίμα κνισὶν θηρῶν ἀπὸ θήρας ἐδούρα*). *Nēbhēlāh* appears first in the legislation of D (Dt. 14:21), which allows it to be given away to the 'stranger' or to be sold to the foreigner. By the later regulations of P (H), however, its use is forbidden to native-born Israelite and stranger alike (Lev. 17:15).

With the increasing attention to the requirements of the Levitical legislation in matters of ceremonial purity that marked the later pre-Christian period, and the ever-growing eagerness of the Scribes to 'make a fence round the Torah' (*Lev. 1:1*), the two *hermini technici* under discussion gradually assumed other significances widely different from those originally belonging to them. Hence we may assume that in NT times they already possess the significance assigned to them respectively by the authoritative definition of the Mishna.

'Every animal that has to be rejected (technical term *ḥēlebāh*) on account of (a defect in) the method of slaughter (*ḥēlebāh*) is *Nēbhēlāh*; every one slaughtered according to rule but rejected for some other cause is *Tēphēphāh*' (Mish. *Chullin*, 24). In the same treatise (3.3) we find the *Tēphēphāh* category so extended as to include meat vitiated by the animal suffering from any one of a large number of fatal ailments, so that we

¹ This was certainly not due to any thought of these portions being prejudicial to health, still less to the fantastic notion of Michaelis that the fat was forbidden in order to encourage the culture of the olive!

² Cp 'ὁ θνησιμαῖος throughout; Vg. *cadaver morticini*; RV 'th' which dieth of itself.'

³ Cp ὁ θηριόλωτος; EV 'that which is torn of beasts.'

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have this other definition: 'every animal in similar circumstances that cannot live is *Tēphēphāh*.'

By means of this casuistry the original prohibition of the flesh of an animal dying of itself has now been transferred to the flesh of one not slaughtered according to rabbinic prescription. In the present work it would be out of place to enter into the minutiae of the Jewish Laws of *Shēḥṭāh* or ritual slaughter, even were this, for an outsider, possible. One other reference to the Mishna, however, may be permitted, because of its bearing on an important passage of the NT. In the same treatise (*Chullin*, 1.2) we read, 'Any one may slaughter and at any time and with any instrument except a harvest-sickle, a saw, etc., because these strangle'—i.e., they do not make the clean incision required for the proper slaughter. We have here the explanation of the 'things strangled' (τὰ πνιγνύμενα), from which, we are told, the first Gentile Christians were advised to abstain (Acts 15:20 21:25; see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM). They were to abstain not only 'from blood,' that is from meat killed by any method other than that of blood-letting (see § above), but also from the flesh of animals from which the blood had been drawn in any way other than that sanctioned by the Jewish authorities of the time.⁴

A word must suffice for a last limitation implied, not formally enjoined, in the oldest legislation. The

12. Of heathen's food.

Hebrews, on the ground of Ex. 34:15, in later times at least, consistently abstained from meat that had formed part of an offering to a foreign deity, or might be even suspected of such an origin. We have seen (above, § 4) how Daniel, Judas the Maccabee, Josephus, and their respective companions preferred a modest vegetable diet to the risk of delinquency by heathen food. On the recommendation of this form of abstinence attributed to the Council of Jerusalem (Acts, *loc. cit.*) by which the eating of 'meats offered to idols' and of blood is classed with 'fornication,' precisely as in an earlier age the eating of the blood is ranked in the same category with murder and idolatry (Ezek. 33:25; see COUNCIL, *loc. cit.*, § 11).

Having examined in detail the restrictions which the Hebrew dietary laws placed on the use of animal foods, we proceed to another interesting taboo.

At the close of the early narrative (J) of Jacob's experience at Peniel, the redactor (R₁) has added,

13. The hip-sinew.

AV 'the sinew that shrank'; cp ὁ νεῦρον ὃ ἐνάρκηνον which is upon the hollow of the thigh *unto this day* (Gen. 32:32 [33]). We have here the first reference to a popular taboo of (evidently) great antiquity, which, strangely enough, has not found a place in the dietary legislation of the Pentateuch. The sinew in question is the great muscle of the leg known to anatomists as the *nervus ischiadicus*. Whatever may have been the original significance of the abstinence here referred to (cp *Rel. Sem.*¹² 380), it is given by the writer as use and wont merely. It must soon afterwards have been raised to a formal prohibition.

The Greek translators appear to have so regarded it, rendering the narrative tense of the original by οὐ μὴ φάγωσιν, 'are by no means to eat' (cp Lk. 1:15, οὐ μὴ πινῶν, 'shall by no means drink'). The next witness is Josephus, who, after informing us that Jacob himself abstained from the flesh of this muscle, adds, 'and for this sake it is taboo for us' (ὁσὸν ἡμεῖς ἐδώμεν, *Ant.* i. 20.2). This is confirmed by the Mishnaic legislation, by which

'The whole ritual minutiae of "slaughter" are referred in the Talmud to God himself, on the ground of Dt. 12:1, where the true reference is of course to v. 15. Details of the process by which "kosher" meat (i.e., *ḥēlebāh*, 'meat prepared according to prescription,' the opposite of *ḥēlebāh*) is secured at the present day would be out of place here; suffice it to say that the custom of rubbing salt into the newly-killed meat in order to remove as much as possible of the venous blood is said on good authority to have been introduced by a Babylonian doctor of the name of Samuel in the early Talmudic period (circa 220 A.D.—i.e., later than the Mishna). See Wiener, *Die jüdischen Speisegesetze*, 206; Strack, *Das ant. J. 87 f.* (1900).

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the *sevens hebdomadas* of domestic animals and wild animals, of the right leg and the left leg, is formally forbidden (*Chullin*, 71) and the minimum punishment of forty stripes decreed for the transgressor (*ib. 3*).

This taboo is still faithfully observed by orthodox Jews. For the important dietary law against sucking the kid in its mother's milk (Ex. 2319, etc.), see COOKING, § 8; MAGIC, § 2.

From this study of the more important laws by which the use of animal food generally was regulated in OT and NT times, we proceed to review in detail the evidence of the OT regarding the individual animals. We have

14. Cattle as food.

adverted to the fact that the enjoyment of animal food was much less frequent among the Hebrews than among ourselves, more especially in the more primitive times when meat was available only on the occasion of a sacrifice. Such occasions might be offered not only by the recurring family and tribal festivals (שבתות ומועדים, 1 S. 2029; cp 13 f. 21), but also by the arrival of an honoured guest (Gen. 1817, and often), or by some event of more than usual significance (1 K. 1921). Only at the tables of royalty and of the great nobles, we may suppose, was meat a daily luxury (1 K. 423 [53] Am. 64; cp Neh. 518). In the Greek period and onwards, however, the standard of living rose with the growth of commerce; indeed the table of a wealthy Jew of the first century would astonish us by the variety and elegance of its dishes.

The source of the ordinary meat supply was at all periods the domestic animals—cattle (בקר), sheep, and goats. The minimum age at which any of these species was available for sacrifice, and therefore for food, was eight days (Lev. 2227). Sacrificial meat, if not previously consumed, had to be destroyed on the third day at latest (Lev. 716 f. 196 f.),—probably because in the warm climate of Syria decomposition sets in rapidly. The dam and her offspring must not be killed on the same day (Lev. 2223; cp the similar humanitarian legislation of Dt. 226 f.). From this passage and others (e.g., 1 S. 162) we see that the cow, as well as the ox, was eaten by the Hebrews, whilst their neighbours the Egyptians and the Phoenicians 'would as soon have eaten human flesh as that of the cow' (*Rel. Sem.*¹ 280).

The animals slaughtered might be taken directly from the herd (Gen. 187)—these are the *בְּרֵי רִנָּה* (*Ber roudet*), 'oxen from the pasture,' of 1 K. 423 [53]—but the custom of specially fattening them for the table also was in vogue (Prov. 1517). These 'fatlings' were known as *מִרְיָה*, *miri* (2 S. 613 1 K. 19 etc.), or *בְּרֵי מִרְיָה* (1 K. 423 [53] Ezek. 34320 Zech. 1116). A more expressive term is derived from the fact that the creatures were tied up (בָּקָר) and doubtless fed with special fattening stuffs, as was the case with the oxen and geese of Egypt (Ermann, *Egypt*, 438, 444); this term is *בְּרֵי מִרְיָה* (Jer. 4621—*ḳ* 2621, *μῆδοροι αἰρεῖται* = the 'fatted calf' of Lk. 1523, and the *αιρεῖται* of Mt. 224—1 S. 2824 Am. 64 Mal. 43 [320]).¹ The method of slaughtering for the table probably differed little from that practised by the Egyptians as illustrated by Wilkinson (*op. cit.* 226 f.). The throat of the animal was cut in such a manner as completely to sever the great arteries and veins of the neck, in order that the blood might flow as freely as possible (see § 9). The choicest portions (see 1 S. 824), and those probably first removed (cp Wilkinson, *loc. cit.*), were the right hind-quarter (שֵׁן, *kalēa*, AV 'shoulder,' KV 'thigh'), and the 'shin' or upper portion of the right fore-leg (שֵׁן, *shō'a*, Dt. 183 Nu. 619 [P]; cp Ezek. 214), both of which, in the case of sacrificial victims, were the perquisites of the priests (Lev. 732 f.).

¹ The MT of 1 S. 159, *הַמִּירְיָה* (AVmg. 'of the second sort'), is explained in Jewish tradition by an alleged popular belief that the young of the second bearing are superior to the firstlings. Modern editors, however, read *הַמִּירְיָה*, 'the fat ones' (cp Ezek. 3412).

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The goat and (especially) the kid were held in more esteem in former times in Syria (Gen. 279 Judg. 619 1315 19 1 S. 1420 etc.) than at present.

15. Of sheep and goats. When mutton is the principal animal food. Yet the variety of lambs known as *אֵרִימ*, *airim*, is mentioned with special honour (Dt. 3214 1 S. 159 Am. 64). Both Syrians and Arabs now set great store by the fat tail of the native sheep, 'a swagging foot-lap wide' (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 192), which was no doubt equally relished by the Hebrews. If the sheep was offered in sacrifice, however, the tail, as we learned above (§ to *leg.*), was consumed on the altar. The ancient Egyptians, on the other hand, had a decided prejudice against mutton (see Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, 1878, 230, with Birch's note). At the present day the goat is prized chiefly for its milk. The flesh of the kid is said to be 'tender and delicate, especially when boiled in milk' (Van Lennep); but this favourite Arab dish (see especially Thomson, *LE*, 93 f.) was forbidden to the Hebrews (see COOKING, § 8 end). A special article will be devoted to MILK and its preparations, butter, cheese, etc.

The daily supply of meat for Solomon's table included, we are told, besides 'ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred sheep, harts, and gazelles, and roebucks, and fatted fowl' (1 K. 423 [51]), for which see VENTURON and FOWL, respectively. The category 'fowl' included at least the following:—pigeons, turtle-doves, quails, perhaps also geese—the national food-bird of Egypt—and in later times the domestic fowl and the sparrow. For the prominent place occupied by FISH in the Hebrew food supply, and for the methods of catching and cooking them, as also for the preparation of the LOCUST and the use of HONEY, see the separate articles. For EGGS see FOWL, § 4.

Of the tabooed or unclean animals by far the most important is the pig. The Jews' abhorrence of swine's

16. Tabooed animals. flesh, which is mentioned by many of the classical writers (see references in 'Cibaria,' Darenberg and Sigheo, 1159 a, n. 537), more than anything else brought them into contempt with their heathen neighbours.¹ The martyrs of 2 Macc. 618 ff. preferred death to eating the loathsome food. It is apparently inconsistent with this feeling that swine's flesh was eaten sacramentally, though doubtless in secret, when 1s. 654 and 6617 were written. See SWINE, and on the mystic eating of 'mice' see MOUTH. It was not, however, an obscure religious tradition, but the pressure of famine that led to the eating of the unheard-of foods mentioned in 2 K. 62529.²

A few observations regarding the price of provisions, more particularly in the NT period, would form an

17. Price of food. appropriate close to this article. Unfortunately the data at command—incidental statements, for the most part, in OT and NT, in Josephus and the Mishna—are so conflicting, not to dwell on the uncertainty as to the measures and moneys, that, beyond a few relative values, no certain results can be secured. Thus all we may safely infer from 2 K. 7116 is that when the siege of Samaria was raised, the price of flour stood to that of barley in the ratio of 2:1. The ratio of wheat to barley at a later period was 3:1 (Rev. 66). Similarly, from *Minächoth*, 138 we gather that the relative values of ox, calf, ram, and lamb were 100, 20, 8, and 4 *denarii*. Josephus, again, supplies some details, which are difficult to reconcile, regarding the price of oil in his day (*J. 13. 11* 212), whilst the familiar words of Jesus have made the cheapness of sparrows proverbial (Mt. 1029 Lk. 126).³

¹ See the passages from Greek and Roman authors collected by Wiener, *Speisegesetze*, 462 ff., and Reinach, *Les Juifs chez les auteurs grecs et romains*.

² See, however, DOVE'S DUNG.

³ A large amount of material regarding prices generally in Talmudic times has been collected by Heizfeld in an appendix to his *Handelsgesch. der Juden* (194).

FOOL, FOLLY

All that requires to be said under the head of beverages will be found in the articles MILK, VINEGAR, WATER, WINE, AND STRONG DRINK. For some remarks on the methods of preparing food mentioned in OT or NT, see COOKING; on the mode of serving and the etiquette of the table, see MEALS; and on the facilities for purchasing the necessities of life, either in the natural state or prepared as food, see SHAMBERS. Besides the articles already named, see BREAD, MANNA, OIL, SALT.

A. R. S. K.

FOOL, FOLLY. The antithesis of wisdom and folly is characteristic of the late ethical or humanistic movement. Of the numerous words rendered 'fool' in EV it ought to be noticed that for two of them 'fool' is not an exact equivalent. Take especially (1) **כֶּסֶל**, *nibhal*, which, as Driver (on Dt. 22:11; 1 S. 25:23) agrees, ought not to be translated 'fool'; for an examination of passages see Cheyne (*Psalmist*), on Ps. 141. The phrase is analogous to that of 'men of Belial,' a phrase which is generally taken as equivalent to 'unprincipled, goal-for-nothing men,' but which really expresses reckless wickedness (see BELIAL).

כֶּסֶל and **כֶּסֶל** are in fact synonyms, as Abigan's speech in 1 S. 25:23 shows. The origin and meaning of **כֶּסֶל** are treated elsewhere (see NABAL); here, therefore, we need only caution the reader against rendering **כֶּסֶל** 'fool,' though this interpretation is as old as **אִשְׁמוּרָה** (Pesh. Ps. 141:531[2], *asomura*). The *nibhal* is not adequately described even as one who has 'moral and religious insensibility' (Driver, *Dr.* 256); he is a dangerously bad man, violent, destructive, or—a rendering which suits well in Ps. 141:531[2] 398[9] 741822—an 'impious' man. See also 1n. 826 (*asomura*), 21 (*asomura*), 1 S. 25:23 2 S. 3:17 13:11 1 S. 25:23 (*asomura*), Jer. 17:11 Ezek. 13:3 (*om.*) Prov. 17:21 30:22 Job 2:10 30:8 (but **כֶּסֶל**, Prov. 30:32, is corrupt).¹ The denom. verb **כָּסַל** means 'to treat as a **כֶּסֶל**' is treated' (Nab. 36 Mic. 7:6 Jer. 11:21 Dt. 32:15).² The noun **כָּסֵל** also expresses the same disregard of moral and religious law, the same nihilism we might almost call it (see NABAL on derivation); it is used, e.g., in speaking of sexual offences (Dt. 22:21 Judg. 20:6 [1] **כָּסֵל**, 2 S. 13:12 Job 42:8 Is. 9:17 [16]).

(2) The other word misrendered 'fools,' 'foolish,' is **חֲסִידִים**, *hahidim* (Ps. 55 [6] 73:75). RV better, 'the arrogant'; but the 'mad' or 'raging ones' (see 1 S. 21:13 [11]) is also to be defended (see on the respective rendering IDB, s.v. **חֲסִידִים**, and Che. on Ps. 56).

Certainly **חֲסִידִים** and **חֲסִידִים** in Eccles. mean neither arrogance, nor *vere* folly, but madness (see EV), and in Job 12:17 **חֲסִידִים** = 'the deprives of reason.'

The other terms generally (as in EV) rendered 'fool,' 'folly,' 'foolishness,' do not imply more than an inveterate moral and religious insensibility, which issues in disorderly actions (cp Che. *Jer. Rel. Life*, 136).

(3) **כֶּסֶל**, *kaal* (root idea, fatness or thickness), often in Prov. and Eccles., thrice in Ps.; **כֶּסֶל**, the constellation, may be connected (but cp STARS, § 1; Orion). See especially Prov. 20:1 31:11; also Ps. 49:11 [10] 92:7 [6] 94:1 (**כֶּסֶל**, 'fatness') Prov. 8:5 (11 **כֶּסֶל**, 'simple'). The verb **כָּסַל** in Jer. 10:8 (**כָּסַל**; late passage).

(4) **כָּסֵל**, *sakhal* (root idea, stopped up? cp **כָּסַר** with Acc. *saklu*, *sakku*, 'deaf'—i.e., stopped up; see Del. *Ass. Hitt.*), Jer. 4:22 5:21 Eccles. 2:10 7:17 etc., whence **כָּסֵלִים** in Eccles. only (syn. **כָּסֵלִים**, **חֲסִידִים**), **כָּסֵל** (2 S. 24:10) and **הַכָּסֵל** (1 S. 26:21), 'to play the fool'; **כָּסֵל**, 'to befool,' 1 S. 44:25; **כָּסֵל**, 'folly,' Eccles. 10:9, and, by emendation, 7:25³ (MT **כָּסֵל**).

(5) **אִילִל**, *ailil* (same root idea as in **כָּסֵל**), often in Prov.; also Hos. 9:7 (1 **אִילִל**) Jer. 4:22 Is. 19:11, but not Ps. 107:17 (see We. Che.); probably too **אִילִל** in Job 5:3,⁴ and **אִילִלִים** in Is. 35:8 should be **אִילִלִים** in Eccles. only (syn. **כָּסֵלִים**); the noun is **אִילִל**, 'folly,' Prov. 5:23.⁵

(6) **בְּזָר**, *bazar* (prop. 'brutishness'), Ps. 49:10 [11] 73:24 92:6 [7] (1 **בְּזָר**), Prov. 12:30.⁶

¹ Here and in Dt. 32:6 we should perhaps read **כָּסֵל**, **כָּסֵל**.

² **כָּסֵל** should perhaps be read also in Is. 28:3 (Ruben, Che.); the word now appears mispointed (**כָּסֵל**) and misplaced (in v. 4).

³ Ps. 49:13 [14] (**כָּסֵל**) and 85:8 (**כָּסֵל**) also corrupt (see Che. *Psalmist*).

⁴ Job 5:3 is probably a later insertion; it interrupts the context (see Bickel; Che. *JQR* 9:575 [97]).

⁵ Cp also the verb **אִילִל** Is. 19:13 Jer. 54 Nu. 12:11.

FOREST

(1) **אֵשׁ**, *alshim*, Prov. 9:6, but elsewhere 'the simple' (prop. 'the open'), and so uniformly RV.

(2) **אֵשׁ**, *alshim* (prop. 'insipid'), Lam. 2:14, and **אֵשׁ**, Job 1:22 (AV 'foolishly'; RV 'with foolishness'), 24:12; both these passages are corrupt.

On the idea involved in this group of ethical terms, cp ECCLESIASTUS, § 23; WISDOM LITERATURE.

Passing to the NT, we find in EV 'fool' for (a) **ἀνους** 1 Th. 2:25; cp **ἀνοια** 1 Tim. 3:9. (b) **ἀσους** Eph. 5:15 (RV 'unwise'), (c) **ἀσυνετος** Rom. 1:21 (RV 'senseless'), (d) **παρρησιος** 2 Cor. 11:23 (cp RV); (e) **ἀφρων**, a strong term, 1 Cor. 13:30 2 Cor. 11:16 12:6 11; cp **ἀφροσύνη** 2 Cor. 11:1; and finally (f) **μωρος** Mt. 7:26 23:17 (**μωρος** καὶ τυφλός) 19 (Ti. WH om.) 25:2 fl. 1 Cor. 3:18 4:10 etc.; cp **μωρολογία** Eph. 5:4 (between **ἀσχηρτης** and **εὐταπεινία**; cp Col. 3:8), 'ineffecting discourse'; **μωρολογία** Rom. 1:22 (in a different sense Mt. 5:11 etc.). **μωρα** (Vg. *fatue*) Mt. 5:22 also belongs here; it is not, as Alford supposed, the Heb. **מָוֶה**, *moeh*. In Mishnic Heb. **מָוֶה**, *moeh*, represent **μωρος**, **μωρα**; 'Never call any one *moeh*, that is, fool,' says a certain king, in entrusting his son to a pedagogue (*Psell.* *Shim'a*, 118). We cannot indeed prove that the word was already common in the time of Jesus; but such colloquial expressions would become naturalised soon. (On the exegesis of Mt. 5:22, see RACA.) See, further, HYPOCRISY.

T. K. V.—S. A. C.

FOOTMAN (**רֶגֶל**), 1 S. 4:15 15:4, see ARMY, § 1; (רֶגֶל) 1 S. 22:17, RV GUARD, cp ARMY, § 4, and see RUNNERS.

FOOTSTOOL. (1) **בִּשְׁתֵּי**, 2 Ch. 9:18; (2) **הָרֹם קֵל**, Is. 66:1; (3) **ποποδολιον**, Mt. 5:5. See THRONE.

FOOT-WASHING. See MAILS, § 4, and WASHING.

FORAY (**נָדָה**), 2 S. 3:2 RV, AV '[pushing] a troop,' See WAR and 1p ARMY, § 3.

FORD, the equivalent of **מַעְבָּר**, *ma'abar*, **מַעְבָּרָה**, *ma'abarah* (generally **ΔΙΑΒΑΣΙΣ**) in EV of Gen. 32:24 [25] Josh. 2:7 Judg. 3:2 Is. 16:2, also in RV of 2 S. 17:28 17:6 (**ἀπαβασίς**) and in Kaut. *ITS* (with which We. Dr. H. P. Sm. agree) of **מַעְבָּרָה**, *ma'abarah*, in 2 S. 19:18 [19].

The last three passages are of great interest; they come into the narrative of David's flight and subsequent return from Absalom. In all, the text needs some emendation. In 17:28 and 17:6 neither AV's 'the plain (plains) of the wilderness' (= **בְּרָא**) nor RV's 'the fords of the wilderness' (= **ΚΙ**) is a natural phrase. Read probably **בֵּית הַמַּעְבָּר** 'the house of the wilderness' (a local name like Beth-arabah). In 19:18 read **בֵּית הַמַּעְבָּר** **הַמַּעְבָּרִים**. The closing words (except **בֵּית**) are ditigraphed in v. 16 (end); **הַמַּעְבָּרִים** (v. 16) is written three times over, and each time incorrectly; probably the closing words of v. 16 originally stood in the margin as a correction. Render 'And they relieved one another (in going) before the king to escort the household of the king across the Jordan.' The ford was presumably the well-known one not far from Gidgal (2 S. 19:15 [16]; cp JORDAN, § 8 2:7).

T. K. C.

FORECOURT (**προαγλιον**), Mk. 14:68 RVmg, EV PORCH. See TEMPLE.

FOREIGNER (**נָכְרִי**, Dt. 15:3; **תִּרְשֻׁם**, Ex. 12:45), See STRANGER.

FORE-RUNNER (**προδρομος**), Heb. 6:20 Wisd. 12:8. The phrase **רֶגֶל לִפְנֵי** (**προτρεχειν**) is used of one who 'runs before' a chariot (1 S. 8:11 2 S. 15:1 [**παρρησιος**]; see CHARIOT, § 10), or of a member of the royal body-guard (1 K. 15 [**παρρησιος**]; see ARMY, § 4). In 1 Marc. 16:21 the Gk. equivalent is used of a messenger (see RUNNERS).

FOREL in Nu. 13:21 gives **προδρομοι** for **בְּנֵי** (see FIRST, § 4 [2]).

FORESHIP (**πρωρα**) Acts 27:30 EV. See SHIP.

FORESKINS, HILL OF THE (**גִּבְעַת הַפְּרִיָּה**) Josh. 5:3. See CIRCUMCISION, § 2; GILGAL; HELKATH-HAZZURIM (end).

FOREST. The first of the three words represented by 'forest' is unfortunately very doubtful.

1. **הָרֵשֶׁת**, *horet*; **δρυάς**, **Δ** in 2 Ch., also given for

¹ In Job 1:22 **תִּפְלָה** should probably be **תִּפְלָה** cp Is. 32:6 (Che.); on 21:12 see Buddle and Duhrn. As a compensation **תִּפְלָה** Job 4:18, should probably be **תִּפְלָה** (so Hupf.; but cp Dillm.).

FOREST

HAROSHUKU; cp. Ass. *harin*, 'mountain,' NH 𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤍 = Aram 𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤍, 'wood, thicket.' The readings in a Ch. 27: 1s, 17a Ezek 31, however, are all probably corrupt. In a Ch. read 𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤍, 'level country' (see [TRIZI] 18), in 1s probably 𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤍, 'the Girsute' (see GIRZUTE), in Ezek 31: 𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤍 (𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤍; cf. 'with a shadowing shroud') should be 𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤍, 'a shadowing tree' (a variant to 𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤍). On c.s. 24 is *fl.*, see HORISH.

3. **παρκς**, *parkis*, *paradeisos*, Neh 2s (RVmg 'park'),
Eccles 2s (AV 'orchard,' RV 'park'), Cant 411 (EV
'orchard,' RVmg 'a paradise'). A rare and late word,
see GARDEN.

3 **רָגַל**, *yal ar*, *ḥpawāt*; Ass. *ṣru*, Aram. **רָגַל**, usually rendered 'forest', occasionally 'wood'; **רָגַל**, to be rugged, difficult.

Some of the many references to forests, bushes, and thickets are mentioned here, partly because EA has not always preserved the colouring of the original.

(4) The phrase 'the forest in Arabia' (Is 21.1; in RV; $\text{בְּיַד הַיַּבְשָׁתִּים הַהֵם}$) is infelicitous; probably 'thickets in the desert country' would be a better rendering (see Hel. and *Is.*, and cp *YH* 17). The thorns and stunted trees and shrubs of the desert are to supply the only shelter for the fugitives. (cp Aram. ܕܝܠܝܬܝܢ).

(5) For 'forest of Carmel,' 2 K. 19 23 Is. 37 24, read with RV 'the forest of his fruitful field' = i.e., paraphrasing (with *SBG*) 'Isa.'), 'where its rich woods are thickest' (Θ εἰς ὑψος μέγας τοῦ δρυμῶν)

(c) In Jer. 56 'A lion out of the forest shall slay them,' and 128 'mine heritage is (become) unto me as a lion in the forest,' are slightly misleading. It is the tangled jungle on the banks of the Jordan that is meant (see Tristram, *NH* 118); 'sy' is often not 'forest' but 'thickets.'

(H) The forest in the trees of Carmel (Mic.7:14 RV; AV "the wood" . . .) is due to an exegetical error. The RV cannot have described their ideal hope in such terms as RV presents (cp Keil). To live in a forest would mean being constantly surrounded with the greatest hindrances to comfort. It is a picture not of future happiness, but of present misery. (I) Faithful Israel which is now (in post-exilic times) condemned to make a living with the least productive parts of the land, Palestine will in the great coming day be a land as rich as Gilead as before. The heathen will have been cast out, and Palestine will be the Holy Land (so Wellh., Nowack).

(c) Part of the royal palace built by Sadoon at Jerusalem, and used as an armory, was called the 'house of the forest of Lebanon' (1 K. 7.2 f., 10.17-21; 2 Ch. 9.16-20). Entering it, one seemed to be in the midst of the cedar groves of Lebanon. The house had 'four rows of cedar pillars, with cedar beams upon the pillars, and it was covered with cedar above upon the beams.' Hence, in all probability, its name.

(7) In Jer. 42 (H.V.) we read of 'thickets' as dense and large and that the population of a city could take refuge in them from an invader. This view of the text implies perhaps too high an estimate of the woodland in S. Palestine. Ewald seems to be right in reading 'the whole land' (בְּכָל הָאָרֶץ) for 'the whole city,' and חֵק, in substituting 'into the caves' (בְּחֵקֵי) for 'into the thickets' (בְּחֵקֵי).² For a similar mistake see S. 135, where H.V. following MT, says that the Hebrews fled before the Philistines into 'caves and thickets,' but 'thickets' (בְּחֵקֵי) should be 'holes' (בְּחֵקֵי). See Bu. *SROT*, ad loc.

(c) In Zech. 11:2 AV's 'forest of the vine' is most enigmatically rendered. Vineyards and Hasban can hardly have been mentioned together. KV substitutes 'strong forest.' The Kexibers, however, were sensible of the difficulty of the phrase, and retain the mg. 'defenced forest' (בְּצֻרָה אֲשֶׁר בְּחִטּוֹת, *castris munitis*). Probably the true reading is 'the forest shall come down by the axe' (i.e., Kt. רִבְעֵר וְרִבְעֵר Kt. רִבְעֵר are both wrong; read רִבְעֵר with Che. (*E. t. p.*, March 1899); cp Dahm's emendation of בְּרִבְעֵרָה in Is. 10:33.

(4) For 'forest of Ephraim,' see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF.

(:) For 'forest of Hareth,' see HARETH.

Possibly some writers have exaggerated the woodland in ancient Palestine. The country was too well peopled for thick forests, except in the mountains and in parts of the Plain of Sharon. There is only one solitary grove of cedars on Lebanon; but fir trees are still abundant. Forests of oak may be seen in Gilead, and park-like woods in Bashan. In Carmel and in the N. and E. of

¹ Cp Jer. 125 Zech. 113 ('pride of Jordan' EV in Zech., RV in Jer.) ἡρῶ, φρυγῶμα, *superbia*.

² Ὡς εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλσῃ (a conflated reading).

FORTRESS

Sharon oaks are abundant, and even elsewhere one still meets with a solitary oak or twelfth of huge dimensions, as at Helran, valley of Habb, Luluan, and Dan. (p. PALESTINE, § 15; CARMEL, § 2, LULUAN, SHARON, § 2, L. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825,

FORFEITURE, the penalty for sowing divers seeds (E¹⁷⁷); Dt. 22, 9V; see CHAN AND USUKAN, § 10. Forfeiture of substance (E¹⁷⁷) is threatened in Ezra 10 (71 Ed. 94). See LAM; cf also CONFISCATION.

FORKS, the LV reading of **שָׁלֹשׁ זְרוֹעִים** in 1 S. 13.11, taken apparently as meaning 'three-pronged', but the text is certainly corrupt. Between **זְרוֹעִים** and **שָׁלֹשׁ** one expects **עֲלֵיהֶם** (Ps 74.6) — i.e., 'hath-bets'. The word was written twice and twice corrupted. See **AXE**.

FORNICATION (זנות). Ezek. 16:27, πορνεία. Mt. 5:27. See MARRIAGE, § 4; also COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 11.

FORTRESS meant as a general rule a town surrounded by a defensive wall (**לִקְוֶה**); cp **חָטָו**, **חֵלְוָה**.
 The Hebrew terms are: **מִצְדָּה**, *miḥḏah*, 'citress' (Is. 17: 25; Dan. 11: 39, AV), 'strong hold' (Nu. 13: 12 & 31 Jer. 18: 15; Dan. 11: 39 RV); **מִצְדָּה**, *miḥḏah*, 'strong city' (Is. 60: 10) **חָטָו**, *ḥatav*, *miḥḏah*, 'fenced city' (Nu. 32: 17 Josh. 14: 20 15: 35 18: 12 EV). There also occur, **קִרְיָת**, *qiryat*, *ḥayyāh*, 'a defended city' (Is. 25: 1 & 2) and **קִרְיָת**, *qiryat*, *ḥayyāh*, 'a well fenced city' (Dan. 11: 15 EV).

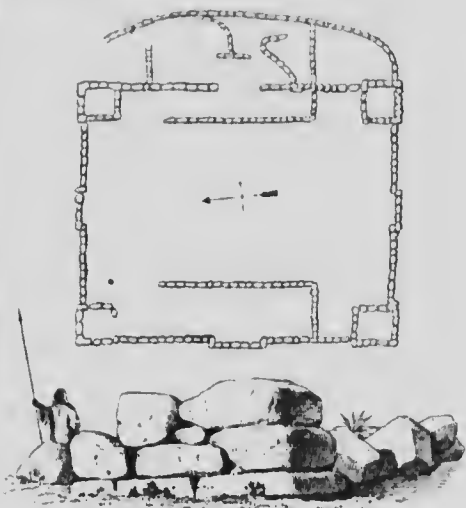


FIG. 1.—Plan and illustration of an ancient wall at Hazor.
After De Saulcy.

Port represents various Hebrew terms: (1) *gōr*, *adyok* (prop. a 'look out?'), cf. Simend *ad Ferk.* 432, 2 K. 251 f. (Jer. 52.4) *Ferk.* 42, 17-12, 21-22, 127, 298 f.; (2) *gōr* (pl.), *ma'azin* (lit. 'place of refuge'), Dan. 11.19 AV, RV 'castles'; (3) *gōr*, *muggib*, Is. 20.3 RV AV 'mount'; (4) *gōr* (pl.), *muggib*, *gōr*, *Ferk.* 33-27 RV 'strong holds'; (5) *gōr* (pl.), *muggib*, 1 K. 20.4 AV, RV better 'siege works'; (6) *gōr*, *muggib*, Is. 25.12 (elsewhere 'high tower', 'refuge', etc.; cf. Ps. 90. [10] 18-21) 46.7 (3) RVmc; (7) *gōr*, *gōr*, Is. 33.14 AV, RV 'hill'; cf. OPIEL and see TOWER.

Defensive walls, at an early stage in the history of Canaanite civilisation, consisted of great unhewn stone blocks; specimens of these may, it has been suggested, still be seen in Perea and Galilee. The illustration¹ (fig. 1) represents a fragment of an ancient wall at Hazor (Bahr el-Hülch) in Upper Galilee, and is borrowed from De

¹ From Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judaea, and Assyria*.

FORTRESS

Sanley's *Journey round the Dead Sea*. It is not easy to say whether the walled towns or fortresses that confronted the Israelites when they entered Canaan were of this primitive character; it is possible that some at least may have had walls of hewn stone analogous to those depicted on Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. Babylonian influence had already been long prevalent in Palestine when the Amarna letters were written by the prefects of the Canaanite towns to the Egyptian Pharaoh (c. 1400 B.C.), we should therefore have a right to assume that such places as Byblos (Gabal), of which Rib Addi was governor, as well as Zemar (Sumir), Ashdod, Jerusalem (Urusalim), and Lachish, were provided with fortifications of a more finished character.

This assumption has been thoroughly justified by the excavations conducted by Bliss at Lachish (Tell el Hesi) which have brought to light a cuneiform document contemporaneous (as the contents clearly prove) with the Amarna despatches.

The LACHISH of this period had crude brick walls 9 or 10 ft. in thickness, the words ascribed by J to the Israelite spies were therefore justified 'the cities of the southland were fenced and very great' (Num. 13:28; cp. Dt. 1:28; Jos. 10:1; Jos. 19:25). Fortresses such as Lachish the nomadic Hebrews could hardly take by storm, not possessing the arms and engines of war requisite for the purpose. Consequently they must have remained encamped in open spots, and when pressed by overwhelming numbers or disciplined troops must have betaken themselves to caves and hollows in the rocks, as we find they did (1 S. 13:6) when they were confronted by the better-equipped Philistines. It was only by an act of supreme daring, and probably with great loss of life, that such a stronghold as Jerusalem, the citadel of which was Zion (Ps. 125), was captured by David (2 S. 5:7).

The reigns of David and Solomon marked an onward step in Hebrew civilization. From 2 S. 5:11 (cp. 1 K. 1:34) we should infer that the fortifications erected around Millo (2 S. 5:9) were built by Phoenician workmen. For many generations the Phoenicians had the reputation of being the most skilful craftsmen in the world. Compare Herodotus' tribute of admiration to their skill in the construction of the canal near Mount Athos (Herod. 7:23). During the regal period the Hebrews became thoroughly grounded in the arts of Canaanite civilization.¹ Whilst the fortifications of Gezer, Beth-horon, Baalath, Hazor, and Megiddo were probably erected by Solomon with the aid of foreign (especially Phoenician) labour (cp. 1 K. 9:15-17 f.), we may assume that the fortresses erected in the Southern Kingdom by Asa—viz., Geba and Mizpah (1 K. 15:21 f.)—to resist Northern aggressions were built by the Hebrews themselves, and the same thing might perhaps be said of Shechem and Peniel which Jeroboam fortified (1 K. 12:25).

It would seem that Moab in the time of king Mesha likewise was dominated by this advancing civilization; we may infer this from the ruins of Rabbath Moab which exhibit floral forms of ornamentation like those of the sacred plant of Assyria.²

The most notable fortress in the Northern Kingdom was Samaria, built by one of its greatest kings, Omri, whose name the Assyrians attached, as we learn from the annals of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon (Schrader, *KAT* 2:12-14), to the Northern Kingdom (but Humrifa). This renowned fortress withstood all the assaults of the Assyrian armies—equipped (as we know they were) with engineering appliances, battering rams, and towers—for upwards of two years (724-722).

Among the fortified towns of the Southern Kingdom, Jerusalem occupied the most prominent place from a very early period (so the Amarna despatches would lead

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us to conclude).³ It is essentially a mountain city and stands on the southern extremity of a spur or plateau enclosed by two ravines, Kedron and Hinnom. A third ravine joins the Kedron at the pool of Siloam to the S.W. between the Tyropoeon and Hinnom valleys is the steep hill of Zion (see Perrot and Chipiez). This fortress, strong by nature, was regarded by the Egyptians as forming with Samaria and Ashdod important strategical outposts against Assyrian aggression. That Sargon and Sennacherib regarded them in the same light is obvious.

During the strong military rule of Azariah (Uzziah), Judah was well provided with fortresses. The statements in 2 Ch. 26:6 are sustained by the Taylor cylinder recording Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine in 701 B.C. In col. 31 we read that forty-six of these fortified towns (*michizi dinnuti* [*ketu*] *dinnuti*) were reduced by Sennacherib's officers. From line 22 we learn that the fortified city of Jerusalem was provided (as we might expect) with a gateway which was probably of massive masonry. Egress from this was barred, as we gather from this passage, by the intrenchments which enclosed the beleaguered town.⁴ These strong gateways were furnished with doors of great strength provided with bolts of iron and bronze (1 K. 4:11; cp. Dt. 33:25). Occasionally the gates may have been plated with bronze, as were the gates of Balawat erected by Shalmaneser II. (cp. Is. 45:2). Shalmaneser's plates contained representations of his military expeditions.⁵

It must be confessed that the lack of monumental records and figures having direct reference to Palestine renders it impossible to give as vivid and precise details respecting its fortresses as could be desired. We can only derive illustrative materials from the copious stores of graphic Assyrian representations furnished by its monumental portrayals and the ruins of Khorsabad and Nineveh.

The illustration, fig. 2 (next page), taken from the reliefs belonging to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. (c. 725-722) preserved in the British Museum, represents the general type of fortification of the towns of Western Asia.

It is hardly possible to accept the high figures given by Herodotus in his description of the walls of Babylon (1:173 f.).

Still, they may not have been so far in excess as we might imagine. Herodotus' measurements (178 *ad fin.*), 200 royal cubits for the height and 50 for the breadth—i.e., over 350 ft. for the former and over 80 ft. for the latter, are probably excessive; but Layard excavated one of the chief gates of ancient Nineveh, and according to the scale of his plan the walls were about 150 ft. thick. Probably, however, the strength of the walls at special points (and especially near the gateways) was exceptional. The Nineveh gateway was built by Sennacherib. Two pairs of winged bulls were placed by it—one pair looking toward the city and the other facing the exterior.

The extraordinary thickness and solidity of the walls were doubtless designed to neutralise the effect of the battering rams.

The fortified town erected by Sargon, Dūr Sarrukīn or Sargon's town, was considerably smaller than Nineveh. It stood upon a parallelogram, two sides of which measured 1950 yards, whilst the other two measured 1870 yards. As there was no proper *akropolis*, the king's palace with its massive gates and dominating towers formed a quasi-citadel into which the inhabitants could fly for refuge when the outer walls were captured or a breach was made through them. Perrot and Chipiez in their description of this interesting fortress give the following details:—

¹ The parapets of the towers were corbelled out from their walls and pierced with loopholes, as we can gather from the

² *Halsi elin urakkis*, the current expression, which again occurs in Asur-bani-pal's description of the siege of Baal of Tyre (Rassam cyl., col. 2:62).

³ See *The Bronze Ornament of the Gates of Balawat*, edited with introduction by Samuel Birch, and descriptions and translations by T. G. Pinches (*Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.*, 1882).

¹ In proof of this statement note the contrast between the condition of civilization as depicted in 1 S. 13:19 and in 2 K. 24:10.
² Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judea, Syria*, 206 f., based on De Sauley's discoveries.

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reliefs. Each doorway was flanked by a pair of towers, the wall between them being only wide enough for the entrance. We have no trace of a ditch, though it might easily have been supplied by the two mountain streams that flow past the mound. There were two gates to each of the faces SE., SW., and N.E. (see fig. 3).

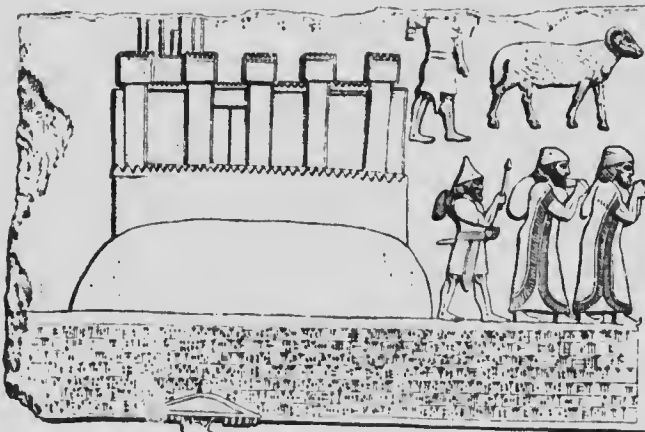


FIG. 2.—Fortress of Askutu. From a slab in the British Museum.

Owing to the massive thickness of the walls in the more important fortresses, such as Nineveh, their summit would afford ample room for a large number of defenders. According to Place (*Vivire*, 1895: 241), throughout the circumference of the *enceinte* the curtain was strengthened by rectangular flanking towers separated by intervals of 90 feet or double the front of a tower.

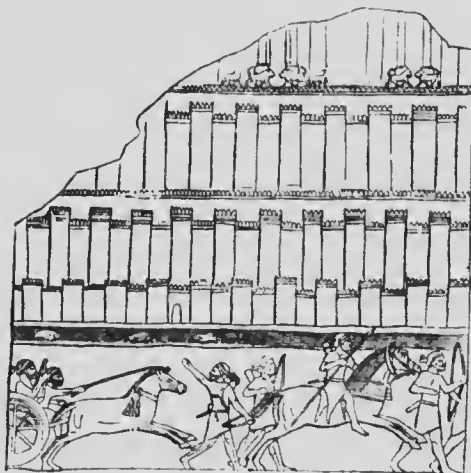


FIG. 3.—Assyrian fortress. From a slab in the British Museum.

From the scale of the figures in the sculptures we conclude that the head of the towers averages one-fourth or one-fifth the height of the curtain. Place gives to the towers a total height of 105 feet² to the top of their crenellations.

¹ The great defensive value of trenches filled with water was, however, thoroughly understood. In Sargon's description (Great Khorsabad inscr. 127 ff.) of his siege of Merodach-baladan in Bur-Vakim he narrates how Merodach-baladan made a formidable trench 200 cubits wide in front of the wall and filled it with water from the Euphrates.

² This is nearly the same height as that assigned by Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 17) to the walls of Larissa (the Assyrian Resen

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From ancient Egypt we have a useful store of illustrative material. One of the most valuable is the

4. Egyptian representations.

fortress of Semneh in Nubia, belonging to the time of the Middle Empire, erected by Useresen III., blockading the right bank of the river. Large portions of it remain. It is an immense brick building with many projecting corners and irregular ground plan, and is surrounded on the outside by a wall.

In this case an interesting point is to be noted—viz., the change in direction in the line of slope of the outer wall made with the view of rendering the planting of scaling ladders more difficult. This may be noted also in a representation of a fortress of the same period in a tomb at Beni Hasan (Krimm, *Ann.*, fig. 526).

From very early times Egypt possessed a regular system of fortification. The shape of the fortress was quadrangular. Wilkinson gives the following description:—

The walls were of crude brick 15 ft. thick and often 50 ft. high with square towers at intervals along each face, generally of the same height as the walls. . . . Sometimes the whole was doubled by an outer casing, leaving a space between the two filled in here and there by a solid buttress, which strengthened and united them and prevented any one passing freely round the inner wall when the outer one was broken

through. The towers like the rest of the walls consisted of a rampart and parapet, which last was crowned by the usual round-headed battlements. . . . The fortress was usually square with one or occasionally two entrances; but generally with one and a sally-port, or a water-gate if near the river. . . . One great principle in the large fortresses was to have a long wall on the side most exposed to attack, projecting from 70 to 100 ft. at right angles from and at the same height as the main wall, upon which the besieged were enabled to run out and sweep the faces, or curtain by what we should call 'a flanking fire.' In order to keep the enemy as far from the main wall as possible, it was raised on a broad terrace or basement, or had an outer low wall of circumvallation parallel to the main wall at a distance of from 15 to 20 feet.¹

That many of the details in the above descriptions hold good of the Palestinian fortresses during the royal period is undoubtedly true. Both Babylonian and Egyptian civilization exercised considerable influence in

Canaan from very early times. The impress of the Babylonian, however, was deeper and more permanent.² We should, therefore, expect to find a closer approximation to the Babylonian-Assyrian model. Thus the Migdal or Tower [q.v.] was a characteristic feature of Palestine from the earliest times. There were small, simple towers, and there were others of great size, solid and durable, such as would serve as landmarks and give their names to places (see MIGDAL-EL, MIGDAL-GAD). These erections in some cases go back as far as the fifteenth century B.C. at least. Compare (*ala* or *malhaz*) Magdali in the Amarna despatches,³ the determinative clearly showing that it was the name of a place (in one case Migdol on the NE Egyptian frontier). Moreover, we have frequent references to strong doors or gates in Canaanite fortified towns (Judg. 16:2 f., 1 S. 23:7, 2 S. 18:24, 33 [19:1], 2 Ch. 14:6 [7], Neh. 2:8, 3:36, 1 Macc. 13:33, 15:30). From 2 S. 18:24 we gather a few picturesque details. The gateway of the town had an inner and also an outer gate, and the king was sitting

near Nimrod. Xenophon's measurements are: height 100 ft., thickness 25 ft., stone foundation (*καπνισ*) 20 ft. in height, the circuit of the walls 2 parasangs (or about 63 m.); the walls themselves were built of clay bricks. In the case of Mespila, described by him in § 10 f., the dimensions are considerably greater.

Respecting the fortifications of Nineveh proper and Kuyunjik consult Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* (Gbr. ed. '74), 395 ff.

¹ Wilk., *Ann.*, fig. 1, 200 ft. (75).

² Nowack, *H. I.* 188 ff., 200 ff., 206 ff.

³ K B v., 139, 237, 25, 281, 14.

FORTUNATUS

between the two in the shade. There was a porter to the gate and a watchman on the roof above the gateway, who announced to the king the approach of messengers.

With these fortified gates we may compare *bi hillani* (places of windows, see LAYRICK, § 2 (2)) the name given by the Assyrians to the two towers in front of the city gate, connected by an open porch with two pillars or sphinxes, which they adopted from Syrian models in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. On the *bi-hillani*, the ruins of which have been found at Jenjir, see *Ausgrabungen in Senjirli*, Heft II., 1893, and Rosi's review, *OLZ* 197 ff.

In front of the main wall there was frequently a *bi-hillani* (Gen. 22), or *glacis* called in Syriac *bi-hillani* and in Greek *περιτειχος* or *προτειχισμα* (Is. 22: 2 S. 20: 15 1 K. 21: 23 [2]). Moreover, battlements were erected on the walls¹ (*mur*, *pinnoth*, 2 Ch. 3: 3 2 Ch. 1: 16; *mur*, *pinnoth*, Is. 54: 12 [AV 'wind' 18: 25 'pinnoth']). Of course, *migdalim* (see TOWER), rendered *πύργος* in 1 Macc. 5: 65 Judith 13, formed a characteristic feature of Hebrew (as they did of other) fortified towns in Western Asia (Ezek. 26: 4 27: 11). Ezek. 27: 11 and Cant. 4: 4 (ep. ARMOURY) may perhaps suggest that it was customary to affix shields (*שָׁרִיט*, *Shalit*) to the walls for greater protection against the missiles of the enemy. On the methods by which fortresses were stormed, see STURGE.

O. C. W.

FORTUNATUS (ΦΟΥΡΤΟΥΝΑΤΟΣ [T. W. H.]), a member of the Corinthian Church. Along with Stephanus and Achaicus he brought news of the Corinthians to Paul at Ephesus which gladdened and refreshed him (1 Cor. 16: 17 f.). See CORINTHIANS, §§ 3, 13.

FORTUNE (רָצָה; TO ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ [BA]; O ΔΑΙΜΩΝ [NQ]; *fortuna*), and **DESTINY** (רָצָה; הָרָצָה [BNQ]; *super eam*; Pesh. unites the two as *gaddi*, 'the fortunes'). Two deities (Gad and Meni) worshipped by Jews who had forsaken Yahweh and forgotten his holy mountain (Is. 65: 11). Obviously, though both are male deities, they form a pair, and if Gad be early Canaanitish, Meni can hardly be a late variation of an important Nabatean god Manāt (= the Arabian Manāt, *Koran*, 53: 19-21).

The antiquity of the worship of Gad is shown by the names BAAL-GAD, MARDUK-GAD, the one localised in the far north, the other in the territory of Judah; less certainly by the exclamation of Leah (Gen. 30: 11 f.), for רָצָה or רָצָה is perhaps more naturally taken as an appellative (so the same word often in Syriac [Baethg.]) than as a divine name (see, however, Ball in *SRB*). The tribal name Gad is also probably a borrowed divine name. Of the prevalence of the cultus of Gad or Tyche in Syria in later times there are abundant proofs (see Mordtmann, *ZDMG* 31: 99-101; Noldeke, *ib.* 52: 474, 475 f.; Baethg. *Beit*, 77 f.), nor can we doubt that it was part of the primitive Aramaean worship. Of the Syrian cultus of Meni we have only the evidence of some Aramaeo-Persian coins of the Achaemenidae (Gies. *Thes.*, 'Addenda,' 97 b); but if there was really a Babylonian god Mani,² we may assume that it was not less ancient than that of Gad.

It has often been held that Gad and Meni are the planetary gods, Jupiter and Venus. This view is supported from Arabic usage, in which Jupiter is called 'the great fortune,' and Venus 'the little fortune,' but lacks further confirmation. There were no doubt several varieties of Gad or Fortune (and consequently of Meni or Destiny). Thus in early times there was one at a well-known point of the Hermon range (Baal-gad), and a Christian writer (Jacob of Serugh) tells us that in his time many mountain-tops were crowned with temples of Fortune (Mordtmann). Moreover, there was also the domestic Fortune or good genius.

In *Rev. Rabbah*, par. 71, Leah's joyful cry is explained, 'The Fortune of the house—the Fortune of the world—is come,' and

¹ It is uncertain whether *רָצָה* and *רָצָה* are quite synonymous, or whether the latter word denoted a special form of battlements, of pointed shape, to resemble solar rays. [On *רָצָה* see CORINTHIANS.]

² Lenormant, *La Magie*, 110; Davis, *Fresh and Ref. Rev.*, Oct. '92, p. 77; Johns, *F.A.P.*, 7: 1052 (Aug. '99). See however Hommel, *F.A.P.*, 7: 1056 f. (Sept. '99).

FOWL

in *Ned. 56 a*, *Sanh. 29 a* מְרִיבָא מְרִיבָא means the couch of state reserved for the Luck of the house, and covered doubtless with fowls in his honour (cp Ball's note on Bel and the Dragon, r. 3). This refers to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.; but we may assume that the same custom was in vogue in the fifth century B.C. when Is. 65 was written.

The people accused of worshipping Gad and Meni are most probably the half-Jews commonly called Samaritans and those in the Jewish community who sympathised with them (see Duhm's *Jesaja*; Che. *Intr. Isa.* 364 ff.). To emend מְרִיבָא (Meni) into מְרִיבָא (Nami or Nani; see NAKKA) with Lagarde (*Gen. Abhandl.* 16), is arbitrary (see T. K. C.).

FOUNDATIONS (מוֹסְדוֹת, *mōsdōth*, מוֹסְדִים, *mōsdim*, *moedion*, et. ΘΕΜΕΛΙΟΝ).

(a) Of the earth: 2 S. 22: 16 (Ps. 18: 15 [16], Ps. 24 etc. Mic. 4: 1, 11 etc. Job 38: 4 Eccles. 10: 16 10: 19. (Cp passage from word of Isar on the ocean-foundations of the earth; Karppe, *Journ. asiat.* 3: 104.) *a* and *b* (see below) are practically synonymous. This usage may be connected with the primitive Babylonian idea of the earth as a huge mountain.

(b) Of the mountains: Ps. 187: 18 (2 S. 22 wrongly 'of heaven'), Dt. 32: 22 Job 18: 4 (שָׁרִיט *sharit* [שָׁרִיט *sharit*] *sharit* *sharit*); see Duhm.

(c) Of the temple: 1 K. 6: 1 f. 7: 9 Ezra 3: 10. See TEMPLE.

(d) Of Jerusalem: Ps. 87: 1 (or less probably of the temple, Ag. Jer. 12: 2, Is. 11: 2 etc.).

(e) Of the wall of the new Jerusalem: Rev. 21: 19.

Laying the foundation of a new building was a sacred rite; how else could the presence and favour of the divinity be secured? Hence a foundation-stone was to be goodly and valuable. This is set forth with great fulness in the later Babylonian inscriptions. Together with the stone, we are told that gold, silver, and stones of the mountains and the sea were deposited (*AB* 36, p. 5); a cylinder (*temenu*) containing a written record of the foundation was also indispensable. The most interesting account is that given by Nabu-nahid (Nabonidus), the last of the kings of Babylon (556-538 B.C.). After a long search for the foundation-stone of the ancient temple of Isar of Agade built by Sargon I. (3800 B.C.), he found it (*AB* 36, p. 87). Such discoveries were common; they gave confidence to later builders who knew that a spot once sacred was always sacred, and that the divine power did not love changed altars. The foundation-stone might in fact be called an altar, as the primitive rite of laying the foundation in blood (see HETL, § 3) sufficiently shows. According to Hilprecht, the cylinders and deposits in primitive Babylonia were at first placed under the threshold, and afterwards under the four corners of the building.¹ There is therefore a close connection between the sacredness of the threshold-stone and that of the corner-stone; and one remembers that 'corner-stone' and 'foundation-stone' are synonymous terms in the Hebrew Scriptures (see CORNER-STONE).

We can now understand better why the foundation-stones of Solomon's temple and of the wall of the New Jerusalem are so carefully described. Also the reference in Is. 54: 11 Rev. 21: 19 to precious stones, and the description of Yahweh's self-manifestation in Zion as a 'precious foundation corner-stone' (Is. 28: 16). It is noteworthy that the Israelites avoided such fantastic titles for their temple as 'foundation-stone of heaven and earth' (E. t. men-an-ki), borne by one of the Babylonian zikkurrats (Jassow, *Bab. and Ass.* 639).

Attention was drawn long ago to a curious use of θεμελίον in 1 Tim. 6: 19. Men do not 'lay up a good foundation.' Clericus suggested κεφαλαιον, which must surely be right. In the Epistle to Hero attributed to Ignatius, we read τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς θεμελίους τοῦ Χριστοῦ κεφαλαια. A common word among church writers. 'Laying up a fair jewel' is a natural expression. T. K. C.

FOUNTAIN (מְיָדָה, Gen. 7: 11 etc. See SPRINGS).

FOWL (AND FOWLING). Under this head it is proposed to group those members of the family *Aves* (Birds) which are mentioned in the OT or NT as used for food (§§ 1-5), and to add some observations on the methods then in vogue of

¹ Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, 22.

FOWL

catching the wild (§§ 7-12) and of rearing the domestic fowl (§ 5 f.).

1. *Fowl*.—Of all clean birds ye may eat' (Dt. 14:11, see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 9, and FOOD, § 8). The Pentateuchal legislation contains no list of the birds allowed as food; it gives, instead, two lists, practically identical, of the species tabooed (Lev. 11:13-19 Dt. 14:11-18), prominent among which are the birds of prey (עוֹרֵב, Gen. 15:11). Of the birds that remain, 'clean' and available for food, the first place belongs to the *Columbidae* or pigeon family, comprising the turtle-dove and the pigeon (as to the originally sacrosanct character of which see DOVE, SACRIFICIAL). The various species of PARTRIDGE (קָרְפָּד) were hunted for the same purpose (1 S. 26:20; cp Eccles. 11:30, for which see below). The use of the nearly allied QUAIL (קָדִישׁ), we may be sure, was not confined to the period of the desert wanderings (Ex. 16:13¹ Nu. 11:31, cp Ps. 78:27 [26] 105:4). In NT times, and doubtless for long before, the SPARROW (זָרְדִּי) was caught and sold at an exceedingly low price (Mt. 10:29 ff. Lk. 12:6 ff.).

In 1 K. 4:23 [53] the list of provisions furnished daily for Solomon's table closes with עוֹרֵבִים בְּרֵבִים (ὀρνιθῶν βομᾶδων [L.], *aves attiles*, whence our EV 'fatted fowl'; cp Kimchi's 'capons'), a phrase of uncertain meaning, and not free from critical suspicion (see FOWL, FATTED). If the reading is correct are we to take the phrase as including various species of food-birds, or as denoting only a particular species? In the latter case, the identification of the bird with the goose (so Targ. Jer.) has perhaps most in its favour. The goose (אֵרֶב) was certainly a common domestic bird in NT times, since it is several times mentioned in the Mishna with poultry and house-pigeons (*Shabb. 24:3 Chull. 12:1*). Like the duck, of which also mention is made in the Talmud, the goose, from the nature of its food, can scarcely have been a popular food-bird with the more punctilious of the Jews. It was quite otherwise with the ancient Egyptians; the flesh of the goose has been called their 'national dish.'

The introduction of the domestic fowl into Palestine can hardly be dated beyond the Persian period, even should the ancients be right (see COCK) in identifying the obscure עוֹרֵב of Prov. 30:31 with the cock (עֹקֵץ, Theod. ἀλεκτρωπ; but cp COCK). By the first century, at all events, fowls had long been domesticated (see below, § 4). The touching words in Mt. 23:37 need no quoting; cp 2 Esd. 1:30.

We have no express indication of the favourite methods of cooking fowls. Both roasting and stewing were doubtless in vogue among the Hebrews as among the Egyptians. 3. *Method of cooking*. Among the latter the goose was either roasted on a primitive spit 'stuck through the beak and neck of the bird' (Erman, *Egypt*, 189), or stewed in a pan, as portrayed on the monuments (see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 235). Roasting probably remained the popular mode of cooking the smaller birds such as sparrows, which at the present day are roasted on skewers, like the goblots of meat called *kebab* (see COOKING, § 6).

The eggs (בִּצְיָה) of several of the birds named above, in particular those of the domestic fowl, entered largely into the diet of the Hebrews. The egg of the ostrich (Job 39:14) which 'dressed with *samm* and flour in a pan savoured as a well-tasting omelette' (Doughty, *Arab. Des.* 1:132) is much relished by the Arabs of to-day; but beyond the fact that a portion of a shell was found by Bliss in the mound of Tell-el-Hesi (Lachish) there seems to be no evidence that it

¹ The so-called Targum of Jonathan has converted the modest quails into pheasants (עֲרֵבִים, φασιανῶν): Cp Targ. Ps. 105:40.

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was so used in Palestine. For the strict Jews, the egg, like the flesh, was doubtless taboo (עוֹרֵב). This objection did not apply to the eggs of the partridge, which also are eagerly collected for food by the Arabs; Jer. 17:11 may point to a similar custom among the Hebrews (cp PARTRIDGE). The eggs most in use (Lk. 11:12) were, as among ourselves, those of the domestic fowl (תְּרִיטָה). Job, according to Bickell, Budde, and Duhm who have revived the traditional interpretation, draws (Job 66) from the white of an egg a figure to express the strange unreasonableness of his affliction; Dillmann, however, prefers the rendering, 'Is there any taste in the juice of purslain' (or some other plant)? [The text needs emendation; see PURSLAIN.]

There are frequent references in the Mishna—one of the treatises of which bears the name *Beza* (egg 2)—to the use of eggs as food and to various methods of cooking them. They might be boiled (*Shabb. 9:5*), or broken and fried (עֲרֵב, *ib.* 1:10), or mixed up with oil and fried in a saucepan (*ib.* 8:5). A favourite dish (*Beza*, 2:1) consisted of eggs (perhaps poached) spread upon fish.³

The law of D—from motives purely humanitarian or partly humanitarian and partly utilitarian—required that when the eggs were taken from under a wild bird the mother should not be interfered with (Dt. 22:6 f.).

II. *Supply*.—The requisite supply of fowls, in the wider sense of the word, was obtained (a) by the complete or partial domestication of pigeons

5. *Domestic pigeons*. and poultry on the one hand, and, on the other hand, (b) by the skill of the fowler, amateur or professional.

(a) The partial domestication of the pigeon was already accomplished when Is. 60:8 was written, where the reference in the 'windows' spoken of is clearly to the lattice-like apertures (חַלְזֵי) of the dove-cote (see LATTICE, § 2). The fowls (עוֹרֵבִים) prepared for Nehemiah's table were probably pigeons and the smaller species of edible birds (Neh. 5:18; cp Ps. 84:4) and Tob. 2:10).

The usual name of the pigeon-house in later times was עֵרֶבֶת (*Shabb. 24:3, Bib. bath. 10* and often). Another name was עֵרֶבֶת (lit. 'tower'), which suggests the pigeon-towers, so common in certain parts of the East at the present day. The Jews, it would seem, recognised a distinction between the semi-domesticated pigeon, which had its home in the dove-cote or pigeon-house, and the more completely domesticated house-pigeon. The house-pigeons were called עֵרֶבֶת or עֵרֶבֶת after Herod, who is said to have introduced them into Judea. It was permitted on the Sabbath to provide them (along with the geese and poultry) with water, whilst less completely domesticated pigeons, like the bees, were supposed to be able to find water for themselves (*Shabb. 24:3*). These Herodian pigeons evidently shared the living-room with the family, as is very often the case in the present day, and had their nests in the house (*Chull. 12:1*).

The art of fattening artificially the goose and other birds used for food was widely practised in ancient

6. *Fattening*. Egypt. 'The birds were fattened in the same way as the cattle; the fattening bolus was pushed down the throat of the goose in spite of its struggles' (Erman, *Egypt*, 442). The process here described was not unknown to the Jews, as we see from *Shabb. 24:3*.

It was forbidden on the Sabbath, however, to feed the poultry in this way. Water might be poured over their bran (עֲרֵב), but kneading or mixing was forbidden, and the animals were to be allowed to feed in the ordinary way (*ibid.*, cp for Passover time *Pesach. 27*).

Hens then as now had the habit of laying outside their proper houses (*Chull. 12:1*).

The Talmudic precept (*Baba Kamma*, 7:7) that poultry may not be reared in Jerusalem 'on account of the holy things' (or 'on account of the sanctuary') must be regarded as a pious dream in view of the express and repeated testimony of the NT. It is just possible, however, that the accompanying prohibition

¹ 'The white of an egg was hardly familiar to the ancient Hebrews, who did not keep fowls' (*ib.*).

² For the curious discussion to which this treatise owes its name see Delitzsch, *Jesus und Hillel*, 22 ff.

³ On a hen's egg as a pretended unit of the Hebrew measure of capacity, see Nowack, *H.A.* 1:104.

FOWL

'nor by priests throughout the land of Israel because of (possible) uncleanness' (*ibid.*) may have been observed by the more scrupulous of the priesthood.

(b) For the supply of the non-domesticated birds, the Jews, like every other ancient people, were dependent on the art of fowling. The wide popularity of fowling may be inferred from the number and variety of the metaphors borrowed from it. The psalmists liken the evil machinations of enemies to the fowler's snare (cp Ps. 140:5 [6] 141:9 f. etc.), and the author of Job (*e.g.*, in 18:7 f.) describes the end of the wicked in metaphors borrowed from fowling and the chase. Indeed, Jesus himself emphasizes the suddenness of his parousia by a simile drawn from the same source (Lk. 21:34 f.; see below, § 10).

With regard to the fowler's equipment, the *bow* and the *sling* (שֶׁלֶט)—the latter especially in such capable hands as those of the left-handed Benjamites (Judg. 20:16)—at once suggest themselves as possible weapons; but according to Wilkinson the Egyptian fowler used them but seldom.¹

The most effective, however, of all the fowler's apparatus was the *NET* (מִשְׁכָּה, Prov. 1:7 Hos. 7:12 and often). Fowling nets are of four kinds: the flight-net, which is hung up in a perpendicular position to intercept the birds in their flight; the drag-net (well-known to poachers), which is dragged across the ground where the birds are resting.—Ezekiel probably refers to this species of net (12:13 17:20 32:3); the bag-net, which is hung loosely between two poles, and is still in use in Syria ('The birds alarmed by a lantern held in front of their roosting places at once fall into it'; Tristram, *NHB* 163); and the most elaborate, and, to judge from the Egyptian practice, the most popular form of fowler's net, the clap-net.

The clap-net was in daily use for securing the geese and other wild-fowl frequenting the marshes of the Delta, and was 'from 10 to 12 ft. long, and about 5 ft. wide.' It was closed at the right moment by means of a rope pulled vigorously, at a signal from the fowler, by four or five attendants (for further details and life-like illustrations see Wilk. 2:209 ff., Erman, 236 ff.). The modern reversible horizontal fowler's net, of which a minute and lucid description with detailed illustration will be found in Payne-Gallwey's *The Fowler in Ireland*, does not differ in principle from the ancient Egyptian, and presumably the Palestinian, clap-net.

The art of trapping birds was doubtless practised by the ancestors of the Hebrews long before the latter entered Canaan. In historic times we find a variety of traps and snares (cp especially Ps. 140:5 Job 18:8-10); but two stand out as the trapper's special companions, the *mōkēš* (מֹכֶשׂ) and the *paḥ* (פַּח). It is usual to describe the *mōkēš* as the trigger (the σκάνδαλον or σκανδάληρον [not in G] of the Greek) on which the bait was placed and by which the spring of the *paḥ* was released (see Hoffmann, *ZA TW* 3:101).

This view, however, is dependent on the MT of Amos 5:5a, which is here inferior to G (*i.e.*, 5:5 in 5a is an intrusion from 5b). Scarcely less dubious, in the present writer's opinion, is the view adopted in BDB (cp also Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 158) that *mōkēš* originally signifies 'bait.' A careful examination of the biblical data in the light of the practice of fowling among primitive peoples leads to the view that *mōkēš* is the Hebrew name for the *noose* or *snare* known to bird-catchers, young and old, all the world over.

It is thus synonymous with חֶבֶל, *ḥēbel* (cord) in Ps. 140:5 [6] which may have been used for larger birds—with the מִשְׁכָּה of Mish. *Kilim*, 23:5 (see Levy, *Lex. s.v.*), and with the שֶׁלֶט of *Biḥa Kamā*, 1:7. The last was clearly a snare by which pigeons were caught, although it could not be set within 30 stadia of an inhabited place, and, according to the Talmud, was made of hair from the tails of horses and cows (Levy, *op. cit.*).

¹ The use of the sling was almost confined to gardeners and peasants, who thus frightened the birds from the vineyards and fields (*Ant. Eg.* 1:381). The favourite weapon of the Egyptian sportsman was the *throw-stick*, a species of boomerang (*ibid.* 2:105).

FOWL, FATTED

The *paḥ*, on the other hand, we take to be a general name for any form of bird-trap.

It need not, therefore, be identified (so Driver, as above) with the special form of trap so frequently depicted on the Egyptian monuments, and explained and illustrated by Wilkinson and Erman.

The most widely distributed form of bird-trap is probably that in which the native elasticity of a twig is utilized (naturally with almost infinite variety of detail) to draw a noose

10. **Other bird-traps.** tight round the legs or head of the unwary bird. The free end of the twig, to which the noose is attached, is bent down till it reaches the ground or some other suitable support, to which it is held fast by varying devices. The touch of the bird releases the twig, which rebounds, carrying with it noose and bird through the air. Some such springe was in Amos' mind when he asked: 'Does a bird fall to the ground when there is no snare (set) for him? Does a springe fly up from the ground and take nothing at all?' (3:5). A still simpler form of trap is also in universal use, and receives in the Mishna the name of מִשְׁכָּה or clap-board.

It consists of a sloping board resting on two or more slender supports, the adjusting of which suits the variety of detail in the difficult verse, Jer. 5:26. When the bird, in search of the bait spread beneath, touches the supports, the board falls and maims or kills the bird (cp the Arab boys' method of trapping partridges in Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1:433). Since the success of such an instrument depends on the almost instantaneous fall of the clap-board, the aptness of Jesus' words: 'that day [shall] come upon you suddenly as a snare' (Lk. 21:34) is at once apparent.¹ Other forms of trap, such as the basket-trap, with its funnel-shaped entrance precluding egress, and the trap-cage, in which the bird on alighting frees a spring and shuts itself in, can only be mentioned, as there is no reference to them in OT or NT. We find, however, a solitary reference to the crate (see CAGE) in which the fowler collected the birds which he had netted, trapped, or snared (Jer. 5:27). G in Am. 8:1 f. has δῖγγος ἔκειτο (fowler's cage?) instead of 'a basket of summer fruit.'

The fowlers of the ancient world early learned the value of decoy birds. It would be out of place here

11. **Decoy birds.** to enlarge on their use as valuable auxiliaries to the methods of fowling already explained. In the Syria of to-day 'larks, tinnets, pigeons, quails, and especially partridges' are employed as decoys (see for details Tristram, *NHB* 163 f.). The only mention in the older Jewish literature of this mode of fowling is in Ecclesiasticus: 'As a decoy partridge in a cage, so is the heart of a proud man' (11:30 RV).

No fowler's equipment, however, can have been complete without the universal bird-lime (Mishna רֶבֶק *debeq*).

12. **Bird-lime.** It was probably made from the cactus or the fig. Pliny gives a recipe for making it from the berries of the mistletoe (*HN* 16:94). The Jewish fowler smeared with his lime the end of a long rod (מִשְׁכָּה), and with this he cautiously approached the birds as they rested, touching them with the point of the rod, to which, of course, they adhered (*Shabb.* 84).

It only remains to add that by the Jewish Law the fowler, no less than the hunter, when he had brought down a bird that was intended for food, was required to 'pour out the blood thereof and cover it with dust' (Lev. 17:13 f.).

A. R. S. K.

FOWL, FATTED (בְּרִירִים אֲבוֹקִים), or more plausibly 'geese' (cp Ass. *birbirra*, 'brilliance') 1 K. 4:23 [53]. See FOWL, § 2. When, however, we consider (1) that no other food-animal's name is given in the sing., and (2) that בְּרִירִים, which occurs earlier in the list (in apposition to מִשְׁכָּה), and

¹ Note especially the alternative punctuation ὡς παγὶς γὰρ περισχευεται ἐνὶ πύλῃς κ.τ.λ. and the recurring preposition.

FOX

אֲרִיִּים are synonymous, it is not improbable that the true reading is 'אֲרִיִּים', and that the words are a gloss, and should be rendered 'for אֲרִיִּים read אֲרִיִּים' (a rare word, which the previous scribe had altered into אֲרִיִּים). T. K. C.

FOX. The Hebrew term *šū'āl* שׁוּאֵל seems to include both 'fox' and 'jackal.'

Hence some writers think that Samson's *shū'ālīm* (Judg. 15.4) may have been jackals, for *šū'ālīm* are said to have been caught by Samson, and this is thought not to accord with zoology (see below). It has also been remarked that jackals may have abounded in Samson's country, for Hasselquist (*Voyages and Travels*, 1766, p. 119) found 'the little eastern fox jackal in large numbers' near Jaffa. Even Hitzig is not averse to this view, and he accordingly interprets the words of Ps. 44.19 [20] ('that thou hast sore broken us in the place of jackals, RV) as referring to the neighbourhood of Jamnia—not far from Samson's country—where Joseph and Azarias were defeated early in the Maccabean period (1 Macc. 5.56-62). Such rationalistic arguments are quite needless.

If the story in Judg. 15 is a legend, we need not consider the respective claims of the fox and the jackal, and unless any one can prove that Philistia had been laid waste and been given up to jackals, it is useless to argue from Ps. 44.19 [20] that the event referred to is the real occasion of that psalm. Presumably this passage, like so many others, is corrupt.¹ At any rate, in Ps. 63.10 [11] 'jackals' (RV^{ms}) is clearly more correct than 'foxes' (EV), for it is characteristic of the jackal to be ever on the watch for the bodies of the dead. In Neh. 4.3 [3.35] Lam. 5.18, and, according to Cheyne (*Pr.*⁽²⁾), Ps. 74.14 δ (emended text²), the jackal appears to be referred to. Foxes (ἀλώπηξ), however, are certainly meant in Mt. 8.20 Lk. 9.58 13.32.

There are, according to Tristram, two species of fox inhabiting Palestine: *Canis niloticus* (the Egyptian fox) and *C. flavescens*. The former is common in the central and southern regions; the latter is found in the wooded districts round Galilee and in the N. The *C. flavescens*, however, is regarded by some authorities (e.g., Blandford, *Fauna of Brit. Ind.*; *Mammalia*, '83) as simply a local variety of the common fox, *C. vulpes*, from which it differs in coloration.

The fox, unlike many other species of *Canide*, is solitary, and does not associate in packs, which is a point to be considered by translators and commentators (see above). Foxes excavate holes in the ground (Mt. 8.20), in which they live and bring up their litter (usually from four to six) of young. Frequently they take possession of the burrow of some other animal, such as a badger, and thus save themselves the trouble of digging. They are omnivorous. Their fondness for grapes is proverbial (Cant. 2.15) and, when crowded out by the more powerful jackal, they are confined to a vegetable diet. They usually lie concealed during the day; but as evening comes on they make their appearance, and are everywhere to be seen prowling amongst the ruins.

T. K. C. — A. E. S.

FRANKINCENSE (לְבָנָה; λίβανος, λίβανω-τος; rendered 'frankincense' Ex. 30.34 Lev. 24.7 15.17 16.13 [8] 24.7 Nu. 5.15 1 Ch. 9.29 Neh. 13.59 Cant. 36.46 14 Mt. 2.11 Rev. 18.13, rendered 'incense' [RV 'frankincense'] Is. 43.23 60.6 66.3 Jer. 6.20 17.26 41.5†) is a fragrant gum-resin, technically called *olibanum* (M. Lat., apparently from Ar. *al-lubān*), which is yielded by trees belonging to certain species of the genus

¹ Che. renders (*Pr.*⁽²⁾), with an emended text:

'For thou hast made us to dwell in dark places,

And enveloped us in gloom (of Deathland).'

See, however, Duhm, *KHC ad loc.*, who thinks that the 'place of jackals' may be a phrase for the wilderness, and compares 1 Macc. 9.33.62. This, however, does not suit the parallelism.

² B3. admits that the jackal is referred to, but supposes an obscure allusive term to be used.

³ 'Hast given him for food to a people—dwellers in the wilderness.'

Duhm omits לְבָנָה. Read rather, for לְבָנָה, לְבָנָה (Che.). Cp BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 2 f.

⁴ The latter only twice in 1 Ch. 9.29 [PRA]; 3 Macc. 5.2; λίβανος is the word in Mt. 2.11 Rev. 18.13.

⁵ [The 'hill of frankincense' in Cant. 4.6, however, should probably be the 'hill of Lebanon', and the 'smell of Lebanon' (7.11) should be 'the smell of frankincense'—לְבָנָה and לְבָנָה being confounded. Cp CAN FIELDS, § 15.]

FRIEND

Boswellia.¹ These are now met with chiefly in Somaliland about Cape Guardafui; but the most famous growth in ancient times was in the central district of Hadramaut in S. Arabia. The Heb. *bbhūnāh*, which denotes *whiteness*, appropriately refers to the form of milky exudation in which the gum issues from the tree; the same word is found in Arabic (*lubān*) and has passed into Greek.

Of the two forms in Greek, Lagarde (*Mitt.* 2.357) holds that *λίβανος*—a supposed Hebrew לִבְנָה, and λίβανωτός = לִבְנָה *bbhūnāh*; he infers that the word had its origin in Hebrew rather than in any of the cognate languages; but it seems more likely that the name arose in the dialect of a people who were acquainted with the tree itself.

Pliny's interesting account of the manner in which the gum is obtained from the tree (12.14) may be compared with the following modern description of the operation as carried out in the Somali country.²

'About the end of February or beginning of March, the Bedouins visit all the trees in succession and make a deep incision in each, peeling off a narrow strip of bark for about five inches below the wound. This is left for a month, when a fresh incision is made in the same place, but deeper. A third month elapses and the operation is again repeated, after which the gum is supposed to have attained a proper degree of consistency. The mountain sides are immediately covered with parties of men and boys, who scrape off the large clear globules into a basket, whilst the inferior quality that has run down the tree is packed separately.'

This mention of two kinds differing in quality reminds us that the frankincense employed in making the holy incense and in connection with the shewbread was a specially 'pure' kind—לְבָנָה זָכָה (*bbhūnāh zakkāh*).

Wellhausen (*Prol.*⁽³⁾ 65) and Nowack (*IA 2.247*) point out the comparative liteness of all the passages where frankincense is mentioned in OT. Still the Egyptians at an early period imported fragrant resins—and among them probably myrrh and frankincense—from the land of 'Punt,'—i.e. (as most scholars agree), Somaliland. Thus in some of the paintings of Deir al-Bahri (see *Memoir, Egypt Exploration Fund*), trees of the sort that yields these gums are portrayed as being brought to Egypt about the seventeenth century B.C.

In the developed Levitical ritual, frankincense appears with stacte, onycha, and galbanum, as a constituent of the holy incense (Ex. 30.34), and is also placed upon the shewbread (Lev. 24.7), but is oftenest mentioned as an accompaniment of the מִנְחָה, *minḥāh*, or cereal offering (Lev. 2 etc.), with which also it is repeatedly associated in the language of the prophets (Is. 43.23 66.3 Jer. 17.26 41.5). The offering of which it forms a part, and in one place (Lev. 24.7) the frankincense itself, is called an אֲזִכָּרָה, *azkārāh* (EV 'memorial', but the root idea may be that of fragrance; see SACRIFICE). The S. Arabian origin of the frankincense known to the Hebrews is indicated in Is. 60.6 Jer. 6.20. Naturally frankincense and myrrh are often mentioned together (Cant. 36.46 Mt. 2.11 etc.). Cp MYRRH. N. M.

FRIEND (רֵעַה; ὁ εταῖρος), a title applied to Ahuzzath, a courtier of Abimelech, Gen. 26.26 (רֵעַה || שֵׁר צָבָא; ὁ συμπατριώτης); to Hushai the Archite (constantly), 2 S. 15.37 16.16 (רֵעַה), 1 Ch. 27.33 (רֵעַ, ὁ βασιλῆος; but see HUSHAI); and to Zabud ben Nathan, 1 K. 4.5 (רֵעַה), who was also probably called רֵעַן, 'chief minister' or 'administrator' (see MINISTER, CHIEF).

In Gen. 26.26 and elsewhere רֵעַה should probably be רֵעֵה, 'kinsman.' The title 'friend' often occurs in 1 and 2 Macc.—e.g., 1 Macc. 2.18 'so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's Friends' (cp 2 Macc. 7.24). This is a bribe held out to Mattathias, 1 Macc. 10.65; and the king gave him honour, and entered him among his Chief Friends' (ἡμετέροις φίλοις); Jonathan is referred to. It was a title in use at the courts of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids (cp Polyb. xxxi. 37); ὁ thought

¹ The species are enumerated by Flückiger and Hanbury (*Pharm.*⁽²⁾ 134 f.). Sir G. Birdwood says (*EB*⁽³⁾ 12718), 'the gum-resin of *Boswellia Ferreriana* and *B. Bhau-Dajiana* of the Somali country, and of *B. Carterii* of the Somali country and the opposite coast of Arabia.'

² Cruttenden in *Trans. Bombay Geograph. Soc.* 7.121, quoted by Flück. and Hanb.⁽²⁾ 137.

FRINGES

of it in rendering *פְּרָשִׁים*, 'princes', by *פְּרָשִׁים*, 'friends' (Esth. 13:218 69; cp 1 Esd. 8:20). It must not be considered a novelty. Diodorus (16:50) speaks of the 'friends' of Artaxerxes; from Persia the title was adopted by Alexander. A similar title was also in use at the court of the old Egyptian kings, where there were several grades of Friends (Maspero, *ATP* 2:18).

The title may have lingered on traditionally in Palestine from the long-past Egyptian rule; at any rate, there were kings of countries adjoining Judah who must have adopted this court-title before David. The name was not merely honorific; the friends of David and Solomon were those whom ties of race or of personal gratitude had made absolutely devoted to the king; hence the surprise of Absalom in 2 S. 16:17 (see HUSHAI).

T. K. C.

FRINGES, the EV rendering of *פְּרָשִׁים*, *gdilim* (αἰσθητά [BAFL], *funicula* [Vg. adding in *fmbris*]). According to D, they were to be worn by every Israelite upon the four borders (*kānaph*, כָּנָף, ΚΡΑΤΕΛΟΝ) of the garment as a distinctive mark (Dt. 22:12). The RVmg. 'twisted threads' is probably better (cp Dr. *ad loc.*, Bab. *gidlu*, 'a string' [e.g., of onions]); the word is used in 1 K. 7:17† of festoons of chain-work upon the capitals of columns. Corresponding to this is the law in Nu. 15:37 ff. (P. or perhaps in particular H [Dr.]) which goes more into detail over the nature and object of these appendages.

This law enacts that *gdilim* (פְּרָשִׁים, Sam. מַצִּיּוֹת, EV 'fringes' RVmg. tassels, *ἐκαστῆς, fmbris*) are to be worn upon the borders (כָּנָף, *περὶ ἑκάστης* RVmg. 'corners') and that upon the *gdilim* (פְּרָשִׁים, *ἑκάστης* RVmg. 'corners') is to be set a blue cord. There can be little doubt that here again in spite of the RVmg. is preferable, and that *gdilim*, *gdilim* (in Ezek. 8:3† 'lock' of hair) is to be connected with *gdil*, a 'flower' (Is. 40:6 etc.).

The Jewish *tallith* (טלית) of later times, an oblong cloth with a hole in the middle for the head, and its tassel at each corner, is well known.³ Its excessive size led to Christ's rebuke (Mt. 23:5); but the form of the forerunner of the *tallith* in post-exilic and pre-exilic times must remain uncertain.

Jehu's tribute-bearers, portrayed upon the black obelisk of Shalmaneser H. (660-624 B.C.), wear a garment with a sort of fringed border (see illust. Moore, *SDOT*, Judges, ET 58) similar to those depicted in Assyria (cp Perrot-Chippiez, *Art. in Chald.* 2:221, fig. 118); and fringed borders were not unknown in Egypt (see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2:174 f., 323 and 324, figs. 179) and W. Asia (see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 341 [Champ. 191]). The early existence of tassels is nevertheless vouched for by representations found upon the ruins at Persepolis (see Riehm, *III* 159), and by the pictures of Asiatic tributaries depicted upon the tomb of Rekhmara (see *As. u. Eur.* 297 [Leps. *Denkm.* 116], 299 [Leps. *Denkm.* 116]; and more fully Wilk. 1, pl. 116). It is interesting to observe that these tassels (in some cases numbering five) are coloured blue.

The origin of the custom of wearing such appendages is not clear. That originally, like the frontlets, the fringes had a sacred significance, is not improbable; Robertson Smith acutely finds an analogy in the goat-skins (*agides*) fringed with thongs worn by Libyan women. He also compares the old Ar. *rith* or *hauf*, a girdle or short kilt of skin slashed into thongs, worn by some women and also by worshippers at the Kaaba (*Rel. Sem.* (2) 437). See DRESS, § 7, and cp TUNIC.

S. A. C.

FROCK (ωμομακρον [BNAE], ... טלית, only in Ecclus. 40:4†, where he that is 'clothed' in a linen (RV,

¹ Apparently for the purpose of suspending the *gdilim* (so e.g., Dr.); otherwise, following EV, we may suppose that many such cords were hung along the border. Vg. affords a simpler text, reading, in *b*, *ponentes in eis vittas hyacinthinas*.

² Cp König, *Lehrb.* 2a 60. Similarly טלית, a 'tassel' and 'lock of hair'; and Eg. (loan-word) *gdil*, 'flower' and 'fringe or tassel' (cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 104, 299).

³ Each fringe is made of eight threads, of which one is wound round the rest with double knots at prescribed intervals. No blue is now used. The *tallith* is usually made of wool or silk, with a striped border. Many Jews also wear under their clothes an oblong scarf of wool, with an opening for the head. The scarf hangs over back and breast, and fringes are added at its four corners (hence the name of the garment ארבעת כנפות, 'four corners' (Herod. 2:81), a garment with a fringe running round the border).

⁴ Cp the Eg. *καλασπίς* (Herod. 2:81), a garment with a fringe running round the border.

⁵ The mg. has *הַמַּכֵּת* 'he that maketh.'

FRONTLETS

hempen) frock' is contrasted with him that 'sitteth upon a throne.' *Ḥ*'s reading points to a kind of unbleached flax (cp LINEN). Pesh. reads 'garment of poverty' (cp Vg. *ligno crudo*); so perhaps originally the Heb. which is unfortunately incomplete. See MANTLE.

FROG (צָרָדָה; ΒΑΤΡΑΧΟΣ). Frogs are mentioned as one of the plagues of Egypt (Ex. 7:27 [8:2] ff. etc.), and in Rev. 16:13 workers of false miracles are virtually likened to frogs.

Various species of Anurous Amphibians are found both in Egypt and in Palestine; we can hardly venture to single out the *Rana esculenta*, or edible frog, as that referred to in the Bible.

A. E. S.

FRONTLETS (פְּרָשִׁים; ἀκαλειστον [BAFL], ἀκαλειστα [L.] in Dt. in allusion apparently to their being firmly bound). In Dt. 6:8 f. (cp 11:18) it is commanded: 'thou shalt bind [these my words] for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes, and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.' The corresponding expressions in Ex. 13:9 (וְנִזְכָּר, וְנִזְכָּר), a passage closely related to Deuteronomy, are plainly metaphorical; but in the present instance the context (writing upon the door-posts and gates) makes it quite clear that by פְּרָשִׁים, *frontlets*, certain external sacred signs are intended (see CUTTINGS, § 7). In the last resort the origin of these 'frontlets' (as of מִצְוָה, the boxes fastened on the doors) is to be sought in the use of amulets which prevailed among the old Israelites as a matter of course, and, as it could not be wholly done away with, was in this way turned to holier purposes.

In later Judaism also, frontlets were employed as amulets (see below). The Jewish interpreters, accordingly, are not far wrong when they find the use of phylacteries of some kind already alluded to in Prov. 3:3 6:21; in any case we must at least suppose a literal binding of words of the law round the neck to be meant. On the other hand, however, Ezek. 24:17 (וְנִזְכָּר) is to be understood as referring to a head-tire or TURBAN (q.v.), and not, as the rabbins held, to prayer-bands (cp Jer. on Ezek. 24:17, Rosenm. on Ex. 13:16). The Karaites, however, explain the passages in Dt. figuratively; as also do the older Christian interpreters (Jer., Lyra, Calvin, Grotius), and, among the moderns, Hengstenberg, Knobel, and others.

We do not know when out of the law in Dt. first arose the standing practice in accordance with which every one at morning and evening prayer (except on Sabbaths and festivals) was required to wear the two prayer-bands known in the Talmud as *tephillin* and in Greek as *φιλacteria* (Mt. 23:5). In the form in which it still prevails the custom cannot be traced further back than to the first century B.C. These *tephillin* consist of two leather satchels or capsules each fastened to a band. The one band (רֶמֶשׁ, *remesh* or *remesh*) is fastened by the worshipper round his left arm so as to bring the satchel towards his heart; the arm after receiving the *tephillah* is again covered with the sleeve. The other band (שָׂרָא, *sara*) is so fastened round the head as to bring the satchel into position between the eyebrows. The satchel of the head-*tephillah* is divided into four compartments in which severally are placed four strips of parchment containing certain words of the law (Ex. 13:1-10 11-16 Dt. 4:9 11:13-21). The satchel of the arm-*tephillah* is simple, containing a single parchment slip on which the same passages are written. Jesus censures it in the Pharisees, as characteristic of their tendency to dwell on the external acts of worship and to vain display of piety, that they 'made broad their phylacteries' (Mt. 23:5)—that is, that they wore the satchels larger and the bands broader than was customary.

The rabbins hold the *tephillin* in special sanctity and place them, in their reverence, almost on a level with the sacred writings (I ad. 83); like these, they may be rescued from a fire on the Sabbath day (*Shabb.* 101). They are holier than the frontal of the high priest's MITRE (q.v.), inasmuch as this last contains the name *יהוה* only once, whilst on the *tephillin* in the aggregate it occurs twenty-three times. They are held to be highly effective in protecting against demons; whence their name *φιλacteria* (amulets; see Targ. Cant. 8:3). They are sworn by, by touching them. God himself, in the Talmudic

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view, wears *t'phillin*, swearing by them when he swears by his holy arm. Such being the sacredness attached to phylacteries, it is easy to understand why their production and application should have become matter of minute and elaborate prescription down to the minutest detail. They ought to be so arranged as to represent the divine name Shaddai (שׁדַּי); the head-satchel contains, upon two little pieces of wood, a three-cornered and a four-cornered σ ; the loop of the head-band is so arranged upon the neck as to figure a γ ; the loop of the arm-band represents ν .

Only male Israelites of thirteen years old and upwards may wear phylacteries; women, lepers, mourners, and unclean persons of every kind are forbidden to do so. In putting them on and taking them off they ought to be kissed.

The Rabbinical precepts are collected in the extra-canonical tractate *T'phillin*, published by Raph. Kirchheim, *Septem libri Talmudici pars Microsolymitani*, Frankfurt, 1751; Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, 21, de Phylacteriis Hebraeorum; Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.*, s.v. *ṭṭṭ*.

Literature. *and Synag. Jud.* 170-175; Carpov, *Apparatus hist.-crit.* 190-197; Spencer, *De leg. Heb. ritualibus* ('De natura et origine Phylacteriorum'); Lundius, *Die alten jüdischen Heiligtümer*, 798 ff.; Lightfoot, Wolf, and other commentators on Mt. 23:5; Hamburger, *Realencykl.* art. 'Tephillin'; Klein, 'Die Tetraphoth nach Bibel u. Tradition' in *J.P.P.*, '31, pp. 666-689; Schäfer, *Gesch.* (2) 2406-408 (where further literature is cited). I. B.

FRUIT TREES, FRUIT. From the settlement in Palestine onwards fruit was an element of the first importance in the dietary of the Hebrews. That this is true of the later days of the monarchy is sufficiently evident from the injunction of the Dt. code requiring the trees in the orchards of a besieged city to be spared¹ (Dt. 20:19), which so strikingly contrasts with the unscrupulous procedure of an earlier age (2 K. 3:19-25). The most convincing evidence, however, of the large place filled by fruit in the social and religious economy of Judaism is supplied by the rules so painfully elaborated in numerous Talmudic treatises for the use, under religious sanction, of the fruits of the field and of the tree (see references below, *passim*).

Canaan was, from early times, distinguished as 'a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig trees and pomegranates; a land of oil olives and honey' (Dt. 8:8). To the fruit trees here specified Joel adds the palm tree and the *tappūth* (1:12). More extensive lists are found in later Jewish literature—as, e.g., in the Mishna treatises *P'ṭi* (1:5) and *Ma'asroth* (1:2 ff.).

Ma'asroth mentions, as subject to tithe, figs, grapes (two varieties), sumach (see below, § 12), sycamine berries, pomegranates, dates, peaches, nuts, almonds, carob beans, pears (two varieties), quinces, and medlars; these, as in all probability in use in Palestine in NT times, will be briefly noticed here, along with some others, such as the *tappūth*, the sycamore fig, and the citron. A still more extended list of fruit trees is given in the so-called 'Alphabet of Ben Sira' (11th cent.; cp Schür. *Hist.* 528, *G.P.* 3:161). Ben Sira, in reply to a test question put by Nebuchadnezzar as to the number of trees in the royal garden, replies, 'There are thirty varieties: ten bear fruit which is entirely edible, ten fruit of which only the inner portion may be eaten, and ten fruit of which only the outer portion may be eaten.'

Before we proceed to inquire into the use of the individual fruits, let us notice the law regulating the date from which the owner of an orchard might enjoy its produce.

2. Legislation. By the legislation of H (Lev. 19:23 ff.), all food trees (עֵץ אֹכֵל) or fruit trees (עֵץ פֵּרִי; so always in P) were to be allowed three years to come to maturity. The fruit during that period was technically said to be 'uncircumcised'; hence the title of the treatise *Orlah* (עֵרְוָה, 'foreskin'), comprising the later Talmudic legislation on this subject. The fruit of the fourth year⁴ was to be exclusively reserved as an offering to God, and only from the fifth year onwards was the owner free

¹ RV is here much to be preferred to AV. Point עֵרְוָה for עֵרְוָה (so most moderns, following Vss.).

² See Löw, *Aram. P'ṭi-nam.*, for names and identifications.

³ See also §§ 3, 14.

⁴ Cp *ZDPV* 11:123. The vine-shoot is here said to begin to bear in the second year; but it does not produce mature fruit till the fourth year.

to employ the fruit for his own use (Lev. 19:23-25; cp Dt. 20:6).

The first place among the fruit trees of Palestine must be given to the vine (for varieties, mode of cultivation, etc., see VINE). Although the greater

3. The vine. part of the produce of the vineyards was made into wine (see WINE), whence wine was spoken of as 'the fruit of the vine' *par excellence* (Mt. 26:29 and parallels; עֵץ הַיַּיִן of contemporary Hebrew, *Mish. Ber.* 6:1), grapes were as much relished as among ourselves. They appear as an article of commerce alongside of wine in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 13:15).

In the Mishna (*Nidd.* 9:11) it is said of wine that 'some is red (אֶדְמָה) and some is black (שְׁחִימָה)'. The dark red grapes suggested the phrase 'blood of the grape' for wine¹ (Gen. 49:12 Dt. 32:14 Eccles. 30:26 50:15), and comparisons like those in Is. 63:2 f. Rev. 14:20 etc.

The pure juice of the grape also is once described as 'the blood of grapes' (1 Macc. 6:34). The bunches or clusters of grapes (see GRAPE) were gathered in baskets (see BASKET) to be carried to the wine-press or to market (so too in Egypt; *Wilk. Anc. Eg.* [78] 1379 ff.). Under certain restrictions, passers-by could help themselves from their neighbour's vineyard (Dt. 23:24 [25])—a privilege afterwards extended to other fruits (*Ma'asr.* 2:7); fallen grapes were the perquisite of the poor and of the resident alien (Lev. 19:10). The Pharaoh is represented as drinking the juice of the grape pressed by hand into the cup (Gen. 40:11). To squeeze the grape for this purpose, even to drink the juice that flowed out of itself, was forbidden on the Sabbath (*Shabb.* 22:1). This 'liquor of grapes' (Nu. 6:3 RV) was forbidden—as were also grapes themselves—to those under the Nazirite vow (Nu. 6:1 ff.). The Mosaic legislation is in this point more drastic than the Mohammedan, which allows the use of the grape whilst forbidding wine (Koran, 2:216 5:92).

At the present day in Syria large quantities of grape juice are boiled down to make grape syrup or grape honey (Ar. *dibs* = עֲדָס, *dibās*), the *sapa* and *defrutum* of Pliny (*NH* 14:11). This seems to be referred to in such passages as Gen. 43:11 Ezek. 27:17 (see HONEY, § 1 [3]).

In addition to the grape in its natural state, the Hebrews from early times made large use of raisins (*simmakim*, עֲצֵי עֵץ, *σταφίδες*), the

4. Dried grapes. 'dried grapes' of Nu. 6:3.

The freshly gathered grapes were laid out, precisely as at the present day (see Van Lennep, *Bible Lands*, etc., 111), to be dried by the hot sun. The flat house-top or other suitable spot (עֲצֵי עֵץ, see Levy, *NHWB*, s.v.) was spread with leaves (*Mish. T'horoth*, 10:4 f.), on which the grapes were dried in clusters. It is possible that, as at the present day, they were previously dipped in a strong lye (cp the elaborate processes mentioned by Pliny, *NH* 14).

In the form of raisins, the grapes were more convenient for transport, and hence, as we might expect, we find raisins appreciated by travellers and soldiers on the march (1 Ch. 12:40). Thus Abigail brought 'an hundred clusters of raisins' to David and his men (1 S. 25:18, cp 30:12), and the servant of Mephibosheth the same number (2 S. 16:1) with 'an hundred of summer fruits' (עֲצֵי עֵץ, for which see below, § 10).

Raisins are now exported in considerable quantities from Es-Salt, Damascus, and other parts of Syria (*ZDPV* 11:174). In ancient and in modern times we find an inferior sort of wine prepared from raisins (see WINE AND STRONG DRINK).

Among the accompaniments of Baal worship Hosea (3:1) mentions עֲצֵי עֵץ (ἡ πέμματα μετὰ σταφίδος [ων]; Vg. *vinacia uvaru*). *Atikah*

5. Fruit cakes. (without עֲצֵי עֵץ, 'grapes') occurs also in 2 S. 6:19 (1 Ch. 16:3), Cant. 2:5 and Is. 16:7; RV everywhere renders it 'cake (or cakes) of raisins,' or 'raisins'

¹ Cp, however, *WRS Rel. Sem.* 230.

² The word (cp Ezek. 26:5 47:10) corresponds to the Arab. *misfah*. One such 'spreading place' stood in the midst of the vineyards of et-Taif (Kazwini, 254, quoted by Jacob, *Alarabisches Beduinenleben*, 97). In modern Arabic *safaha* is 'to spread out figs or grapes.'

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(Cant. 25; mg. 'cakes of raisins'), or 'raisin-cakes' (Is. 167; mg. 'foundations'). Let us [first] try to explain the word on the assumption that MT is correct.

1. Robertson Smith (MS note on Hos. 31) would identify the *ḥāḥā* with the later *ḥāḥā*, which was a confection of flour, honey (דבש), and oil. 'A cake baked with grape honey' would be almost, if not quite, the same as the *ḥāḥā*. Most scholars, however, since Gesenius, have explained it 'a cake of pressed raisins' like the *dēhēlīm* or 'fig cake' (see below, § 7). Perhaps a better explanation is 'a cake of flour kneaded with grapes (or with grape juice, which would ferment in the process of baking)'. This suits the reference in Cant. 25, where a restorative is clearly meant. Such grape cakes would correspond to the *ḥāḥā* still used at festivals in Cyprus ('Isa. SBOT 170). The following are the grounds of this explanation:—

(a) The Greek translators, in all cases probably, understood a cake of mixed ingredients. Thus we find *λαγανον ἀπὸ ἑνὸς*, a 'girdle cake' (Gal. 2 S. 619), and *ἀποφ(ε)της* *ἑνῆς* (1 Ch. 163; *ἑλ. λαγανον ἑνὸς*), a cake made of *ἀμύρα*, which Athenaeus and Hesychius define as 'fine flour baked with honey' (*μελίττωμα*).¹ (b) The Mishna speaks of *ḥāḥā*, which the *Gemārā* explains as lentils cooked with honey (see Levy, *op. cit.*). (c) Tg. Ps.-Jon. uses the Aramaic form to render *ḥāḥā* (Exod. 1631), which was clearly a species of sweet cake or confection. (d) Offerings of sweet cakes are common to many ancient cults (see the commentators on Jer. 718 4419, and cp. *QUEEN OF HEAVEN*). (e) The Jews of a late time were familiar with the practice of mixing dough with the juice of various fruits (*ḥāḥā*), an expression frequent in the Mishna, which acted as leaven (*Tirāmōth*, 51 ff.; *Challah*, 22).

2. [No adequate philological justification, however, having been found for *ḥāḥā*, 'cake,' it is legitimate to regard the word as probably corrupt.]

In 2 S. 619 1 Ch. 163 the degree of probability is very great (the corruptness of *ḥāḥā* just before is undeniable), and it is not much less in the other places. The emendations called for in the several passages are plain. David presents each Israelite with 'a cake of bread, a piece of flesh (*ḥāḥā*), and a *sāḥ* of lentils' (*ḥāḥā*); cp. the Mishna passage above cited (118). The bride (Cant. 25) asks to be 'stayed' or 'refreshed' with lilies (*ḥāḥā*), not with 'raisin-cakes.' Evidently something which grows in the garden is meant, and the context points to 'lilies' (*ḥāḥā*—i.e., 'quinces,' see APPLE, § 214). The Moabites in the elegy (Is. 167) mourn, not for the raisin-cakes, but, as the context shows, for the 'fruit harvest' (*ḥāḥā*) of Kir-hareseth; and the Israelites (Hos. 31) who 'look to other gods' would hardly be said to 'love cakes of raisins.'—Ashērīm and *Ḥammānīm* are the right words (—i.e., *ḥāḥā*), not *ḥāḥā*. The emendation of Hos. 31 is due to Grätz (cp. Is. 178 279). These are instructive specimens of necessary emendation. The lexicon loses one word (*ḥāḥā*); but the exegesis of five passages gains. A reference to the use of 'sweet cakes made of pressed grapes and flour' (SBOT 'Isa. 170, after Ohnefalsch-Richter) at festivals does not by any means prove the correctness of the disputed words. Such cakes would probably have been called *ḥāḥā*, or *ḥāḥā*, or possibly *ḥāḥā*; such a word as *ḥāḥā*, 'cake,' lacks philological justification.—T. K. C.]

Next to the vine, among the fruit-bearing trees, stands the fig tree, 'the sister of the vine,' as a Greek poet

6. Fig tree. has called it (*σικκη μέλαινα, ἀμπέλου κασιγνήτην*; Hipponax, quoted by Hehn, *Kulturpf. u. Hausth.* (94). These two are repeatedly named together in the OT (see FIG, which see also for varieties raised, time of ripening, etc.). As an article of diet, indeed, figs must have been even more prominent than grapes, the range of their season being greater, although Josephus declares that about the Sea of Galilee figs and grapes alike were procurable for ten months of the year (BJ iii. 108). The place of the fig among the staple articles of food in NT times is well shown by the fact that, in the case of a fire on the Sabbath day, only three necessities of life were to be rescued, viz., a basket of loaves, a cake of dried figs, and a jar of wine (*Shabb. 163*; cp. *FRONTLETS*, end).

¹ The reading *ἐν αἰσέσι* [BNAC] of Cant. 25 is probably a corruption of *ἀμύρας*. In Isaiah all the Greek versions are at a loss.

The unripe figs (*ḥāḥā*, pl. *ḥāḥā* Cant. 213; *δυσβροί* [BNAC]; NT only Rev. 813; but see BETHPHAGE) were of course not edible; but as soon as they began to take on colour, they might, like half-ripe grapes, be eaten with bread (*Shabb. 47f.*). The early fig (*ḥāḥā*, *bikkūrāh*), which appears on last year's wood, was clearly a choice delicacy, as we see from Is. 284, where the prophet speaks of the 'firstripe fig, which when he that looketh upon it seeth, while it is yet in his hand he eateth it up' (RV), and from the comparison in Jer. 242, 'very good figs, like the figs that are first ripe' (*ḥāḥā*; Mic. 71 Hos. 910). When ripe the early figs were easily shaken from the tree (Nah 312). The ordinary summer fig (*ḥāḥā*, *ḥāḥā*, LXX and NT *σῦκον*—the tree is *σῦκη*) was a favourite in all periods of Hebrew history. The Hebrews at Kadesh missed the figs, vines, and pomegranates of Egypt (Nu. 205); the 'sweetness' and 'good fruit' of the fig were appreciated in the rough days of the Judges (Judg. 911); references abound in the prophets, whilst figs appear with grapes and wine in the markets of Jerusalem (Neh. 1315) after the exile. In the first two centuries of our era—the period covered by the NT and the Mishna—figs were still one of the first articles of diet (see, for the Gospels, Lk. 136 ff. Mt. 716 2119 ff. Mk. 1113 ff. etc., and the Mishna *ḥāḥā*). Jewish prisoners at Rome in the time of Josephus lived on figs and nuts (Jos. *Ant.* 3).

Of the varieties of figs mentioned in the Mishna two are specially interesting, the so-called dark (*ḥāḥā*) and pale (*ḥāḥā*) figs (*Tirāmōth*, 479). These—more correctly dark purple and green—were, according to Hehn (*op. cit.* 96), the favourite varieties of ancient times, corresponding to the *auri* and *bianchi* of the present day. The latter (he adds) are the sweeter and therefore better adapted for drying; the former, of greater acidity, are eaten fresh.

Figs dried in the same manner as raisins were termed *ḥāḥā* (sing. *ḥāḥā*; see Levy, *NHWB*, 7. Dried figs.

ḥāḥā, with Fleischer's note, 436 f.). As *ḥāḥā* and *carica* they 'were certainly the most extensively used of all fruits' (Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d'Antiq.*, s.v. 'Cibaria', 1150 ff.) among the Greeks and Romans. They were not less popular among the Jews, to judge from their frequent recurrence in the Mishna.

Although, as it happens, they are not mentioned in OT or NT, we do find mentioned an equally popular mode of preserving figs by pressing them into a cake (*ḥāḥā*, *dibhēlāh*, *παλάθη*), which was allowed to harden and was thus easily transported. This method of treating figs was known in Egypt from very early times (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization* 66). Two hundred fig-cakes formed part of Abig's present to David (1 S. 2518; cp. 3012), and, as we should expect, they formed part of a soldier's rations (1 Ch. 1240). One such fig-cake Judith took with her to the camp of Holofernes (Judith 105, EV 'lumps of figs').

When round in shape the fig-cake was termed *ḥāḥā* (Mishna frequently), also *ḥāḥā* (*Shabb. 12*); when square (*ḥāḥā*) (see *Tirām. 48*), from the name of the brick-shaped mould (cp. 2 S. 1231; Kr. Nah. 314). From the Mishna we learn further that the *dibhēlāh* or fig-cake was so hard as to require to be cut with an axe (*Shabb. 172*).

A slice cut off (*ḥāḥā*, in late Hebrew, *ḥāḥā*) was given to a siek 'Egyptian' (see MIZRAIM, § 26) by David's men (1 S. 3012).

One interesting use of the fig (although scarcely falling under the head of food) remains to be mentioned—viz., the medicinal. Pliny has much to say regarding the medicinal properties of the fig (*H.N.* 2363 f.), and in the OT we find Isaiah prescribing a lump or cake of figs (*ḥāḥā*, *παλάθη* [*ḥāḥā*]) as a poultice for Hezekiah's boil (Is. 3821 = 2 K. 207).

Next of kin, though not in importance, to the fig (*Ficus carica*) is the fruit of the sycamore or fig-mulberry

8. Sycamore. (*Ficus sycomorus*). For the nomenclature in Hebrew and Greek, and for the process by which the fruit is rendered edible, see SYCOMORE (for illustrations of fruit and fruit instruments see Henslow, *The Plants of the Bible*, 89).

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The fruit of the sycamore was formerly held in high esteem by the Egyptians. Hence its use in the service of the altar (see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, 78, 8419, illustration, and especially Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kupros*, pl. 71). At the present day, on the other hand, 'it is only the poorest, as well as children and dogs, that eat the sycamore figs' (Henslow, *op. cit.* 91). By the Jews the tree was, like the carob tree, valued more for its wood than for its figs (see the proof from the Talmud quoted by Anderlind in his essay on the fruit trees of modern Syria, *ZDPV* 11 100), which are said to be 'insipid or woody' to the taste.

The allied sycamine (*Morus nigra*, Lk. 176; see SYCAMINE) is still cultivated everywhere for its delicious berries (Post, *Flora*, 729; *ZDPV* 11 81 f.) under the name of *tat thāmi* (Heb. תא, *Ma'asir*, 12). Their juice is of a bright blood-red colour, the *αἷμα κόκκινον* (EV 'mulberries') of 1 Macc. 6:34, by the sight of which the elephants of Antiochus were provoked to fight.

Returning to the more important fruit trees, we meet first with the olive (תא, see OLIVE for details of culture,

etc.), the chief economic value of which is indicated by the fuller name it sometimes receives in the OT, the oil olive (תא שמן, Dt. 8:8; cp 2 K. 18:32). See OTL. From the earliest times to the present day the 'olive berries' (Jas. 3:12, AV for ἐλαῖαι) were beyond all doubt an important article of diet, although, singularly enough, there is no biblical reference to their use.¹ The fruit was plucked by the hand—the method recommended by Roman writers on arboriculture (cp Pliny, *HN* 15:3)—from the lower branches at least (תא, hence תא, the olive harvest, *Chall.* 39), or the branches were shaken or beaten (תא, Dt. 24:20 Is. 27:12), probably with a long wand (cp Pliny, 'harundine levi ictu'), care being taken not to injure the tree. Hence the 'beating of the olive trees' (תא, *nakeph adyith*, Is. 17:6 24:13) became synonymous with 'olive harvest'.

The Mishna distinguishes between olives of three sorts according to their destination (*T'rum.* 18 f.)—viz., olives destined for the oil-press, olives for preserving, and olives for eating (cp 26, תא תא תא). The last-named must always have been the exception. The poor man would no doubt be glad to have the berry, even in its natural state, to eat with his morsel of bread, or dipped in salt (*Ma'asir*, 4:3). Such were probably the dry olives (תא, *Teb. Yom* 86). The usual way, however, as in all countries, and in all periods, was to lay the olives to soak in brine (תא, *Mikud.* 86, 72). For this purpose, at the present day, the brine is formed by adding salt to water till an egg can float on it (Anderlind, *ZDPV* 11 72). The olives are left for a period of twenty to thirty days (according to the native authority quoted by Landberg, *Procr. et Dict. etc.* 16), at the end of which time they are soft and palatable.

Another method, also still practised in Palestine, was first to crush the olives (תא, *Ter.* 10:7 *Ma'asir*, 4:1, and often in Mishna; for the term cp Dt. 23:21), then to place them in a jar and preserve by the addition of salt.² The berries seem to have been occasionally pickled—the technical term for which is תא—with the leaves (*Uk.* 25). From these and many other passages in the Mishna we are well entitled to affirm that the use of olives as a relish to the poor man's bread, and as a table requisite for the rich, was as universal among the Hebrews as among the other peoples of antiquity.

The same remark holds good of the fruit of the palm tree. Judaea, according to the testimony of classical

10. **Palm tree.** writers (Horace, Pliny, Tacitus), was famous in the ancient world for its palm trees and its dates, yet, if we were to argue from the silence of the Bible, we should have to maintain that dates were never seen on a Jewish table. The word does not occur in EV, except once in the margin of AV as a mistaken alternative for honey (2 Ch. 31:5).

¹ In every passage of the OT where תא signifies the fruit of the olive (as, e.g., Mic. 6:15) the reference is to its oil-producing properties.

² See Buxtorf's *Lex. s.v.* for the later Hebrew *termini technici* for the gathering of the chief kinds of fruit.

³ For further details of present-day methods, see the references given above to Landberg and Anderlind.

also in one passage (2 S. 16:1 f.) gives φοῖνικες, dates, as the rendering of תא, *hayit*, usually rendered 'summer fruit' generally. Joel, however, ranks the palm with the vine and the fig among the fruit-trees of the land (1:12).¹ In this, as in similar cases, the later testimony of the Mishna must be admitted as throwing light on the habits and tastes of preceding centuries, although the abundance of other fruit prevented the date from assuming the same unique place in the dietary of the Hebrews as it had in that of the ancient Egyptians (Wilk. *op. cit.* 1398 f.), and still has in that of the Bedouin of modern Arabia, who live for weeks at a time on dates and milk.

Still it is significant that in one passage of the Mishna three varieties of dates are mentioned as forbidden to be sold to the heathen, one of them the famous Nicolaus date, so named by Augustus after the friend of Herod, Nicolaus of Damascus, who, on the occasion of a visit to Rome, had presented the emperor with dates of this choice species (cp Pliny, *HN* 13:9). Pliny also connects with Palestine two other varieties, the *Caryote* and the *Chydotei* (*ibid.*).

Dates (תא, תא; also תא, from which it has been proposed to derive *date* through δάκρυλος), like figs, were eaten either in their fresh state,² or dried in clusters (*Teb. Yom* 36), or pressed in the form of cakes. To secure the fruit it is necessary to climb the tree and let down the clusters by a rope (see the description of the date-gathering at Teimā in Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1557 f.; cp Plin. 13:7). The dates were dried on the housetop, or on some other exposed flat surface such as the threshing-floor (Fleischer in Levy, *op. cit.* i. 437 b), the better sorts being used for dessert (cp Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3:15). According to Doughty, dates eaten alone as a meal are 'overheating and inwardly fretting' (*op. cit.* 1:48). Pressed date-cakes of great antiquity have been found in Egypt (see illustration, Wilk. 243), and they are still the most convenient form for export and for travellers. It has even been suggested that תא should be rendered 'date-cakes' in 2 S. 16:1 f. (Nowack, *HA* 1:113).

The oriental practice of eating the sweet, juicy crown or 'cabbage' of the growing palm (τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος) is known to us from Xenophon (*Anab.* ii. 3:16), who was also aware that it meant the destruction of the tree. It was also known to the later Jews (Mishna, *Uk.* 8:7), whose rabbis were much exercised as to whether the 'cabbage' (תא, תא, תא) should be classed as fruit or as vegetable (Lewy, 116 f.). On the much-esteemed date-syrup see HONEY, § 1 (3). Dates were also one of the principal fruits from which wine and vinegar were prepared (see WINE).

The pomegranate (תא, תא; for description of fruit see POMEGRANATE) remains to complete the choicest

11. **Pomegranate.** productions of Canaan (Dt. 8:8). The tree is represented in the tombs of Egypt (illustration therefrom, Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 1376), and the Hebrews are said to have there enjoyed its fruit (Nu. 20:5). The pomegranate might be eaten in its natural state (cp Cant. 4:3: 'thy temples are like a piece [תא] perhaps 'slice'; but see Wetzstein in Del. Comm. in loc.) of a pomegranate'), or it might be first cut up and dried in the sun (*Ma'asir*, 16; see תא in Levy and the Tosephta quoted in Surenhusius in loc.; another interpretation [Maimonides] explains the word as the seeds of the pomegranate; so also Low, 363). The somewhat acid juice of the pomegranate mixed with water is a favourite cooling drink in the East. A species of 'sweet wine' (תא, נאמא רבנא [1:11A]) also was prepared from this fruit (Cant. 8:2); Pliny calls it 'rhoites' (*HN* 14:19).

With the pomegranate is associated, in Joel's list of fruit-trees (1:12), the much-debated *tappūdh* (תא), which is not improbably used somewhat loosely in the

¹ In Cant. 7:817, תא, evidently means 'clusters of dates' (note the parallelism). RV, however, 'clusters of grapes' (cp Siegfried, *ad loc.*).

² For the special Hebrew names for the various kinds of dates (e.g., תא, the fresh ripe date, תא, the dried date), see Low, *op. cit.* 122-4.

FRUIT TREES, FRUIT

OT to include the apple, quince, pomegranate, etc.

12. Apple, quince, pear, apricot, citron, etc. (but cp APPLE).¹ As a fruit the *tappūh* is spoken of as sweet to the taste (Cant. 23), as of a pleasant smell (78), and as a favourite restorative (25, 'comfort me with apples'). It was

one of the commonest fruits in NT times (see Mishna *passim*). Besides its ordinary table use, the juice was used to mix and leaven dough (*Terum.* 102). Cider or apple-wine (*ḡar* *ḡar*) was a favourite drink (*Nid.* 69 *Terum.* 112 f.). The quince (*Cydonia vulgaris*), which many authorities since Celsius have identified with the *tappūh* of the Bible, was named *ḡar* by the later Jews. It can scarcely have been eaten raw, like the apple, but only when made into a preserve. That it was so treated we know from an attested etymology of the word in Talm. Jer. (see Levy, s.v. and Löw, 144). The name *χρυσόμηλον* for the quince (s. Pliny, 1510) suggests the 'golden apples' of the Hesperides (quinces according to Hehn), and the 'apples of gold in baskets of silver' of Prov. 2511 (RV).² In several Talmudic lists of fruit trees, the quince follows the pear (*Pirus communis*, *ḡar*), many varieties of which were known to the ancients, and are still grown in the orchards of Syria (Post, *Flora*, 309). This fact notwithstanding, the Greek translators were mistaken in identifying the *baca* tree (*ḡar*; see MULBERRY TREE) with the pear tree (*ḡar*), 1 Ch. 1414 (*ḡar*), a mistake repeated in Vg. both in this passage and in 2 S. 523 f. (so also Aq. in v. 23; but Aq. Symm. in v. 24 *φρούρησι*). Pliny has much to say of the methods in vogue in his day for preserving apples and pears; both of these were sometimes boiled with wine and water to make a preserve to be eaten with bread (*pulmentarii vicem*), 'a preparation never made of any other fruit with the exception of quinces' (*NH* 1517; cp 'Cibaria' in Dar. and Saglio, *op. cit.*).³

The introduction of the citron (*Citrus medica cedra*, *ḡar*), as of various other Eastern fruits, was one of the many results of Alexander's conquest of the East (see Hehn and Caudolle, *op. cit.*).

Our earliest witnesses to its cultivation among the Jews are perhaps the copper coins usually assigned to Simon the Maccabee (circa 138 B.C.), on which an *ethrog* (citron) figures either alone or with other accompaniments of the solemn procession at the feast of Tabernacles (see TABERNACLES). In view of the uncertainty as to the real date of these coins, all the more importance attaches to the incident related by Josephus from the reign of Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B.C.). His angry subjects are said to have pelted him with their citrons (*ḡar*), *Ant.* xiii. 135). The fruit is too sour ever to have been in request, except as a preserve. At the present day the pulp is never eaten in any shape (Post). From the Mishna (*M'ail.* 64) we learn that a citron or a pomegranate might be bought for a *ḡar* (the NT *ḡar*), an infinitesimal coin of which probably twenty to twenty-four were the equivalent of an English penny.

¹ Cp the use of *μηλον* in Greek. It is still disputed, however, whether: *μηλον* had first this general and then the special application (apple)—so Hehn—or *vice versa*, as Hehn's latest editor suggests (*Kulturpflanzen* (6), 594 f.). For the same comprehensive use of *malum* see Pliny, 1511.

² Cheyne thinks the passage corrupt, but believes that the true reading can be recovered (*JBL* 1899, pt. ii.; cp BASKETS). Assuming the phrase 'apples of gold'—i.e., 'apples bright as gold'—to be correct, we must, at any rate, reject the claims of the orange to be the fruit referred to, since the orange did not reach Syria from India by way of Arabia till the middle ages. See especially Hehn *op. cit.*, with the evidence of Mas'udi, 430 f.; De Cand *Orig.* 184; Wuldeboer (in *HA*, 1897) has overlooked this.

³ The apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) was unknown in Syria in Bible times, though to-day it enjoys the highest popularity in the East (see Wetzstein, *ZDMG* 1157 f.; and, especially for modern preparations of the fruit, Anderlind, *ZDP* 1175 f.). Few fruits, it is true, are so highly esteemed in the East to-day as the delicious *miskmush*; but the fact remains that the apricot was unknown even to the Jews of the second century A.D. Of its congeners, the peach (*Prunus persica*, *ḡar*); but cp Schür. *Hist.* 843) was known to the authorities of the Mishna (*Kil.* 14 *Ma'asér.* 12), the famous Syrian plum (*Prunus domestica*, *ḡar*), whence our 'damson', on the other hand, only to those of the Gēmārā (Löw, no. 105).

Many fruits of less importance were no doubt as popular as at the present day, such as the fruit of the Christ-thorn (*Zisophus spina-Christi*), which is eaten fresh or dried, with sour milk (Tristram), the service tree (*Sorbus domestica*), medlar (*Meristilus germanica*), hawthorn (*Crataegus*)—for references to which in later literature see Löw, *op. cit.*—not omitting the humble bramble (*Rubus*). The nutritious properties of the bramble berries (*ḡar*, *Toseft. Ter.* 114, the *ḡar* *ḡar* *ḡar* *ḡar* of Hippocrates; cp Lk. 644) are not overlooked by the encyclopaedic Pliny, *HN* 2473).

A very early list of 'the choice fruits' of the land of Canaan closes with 'nuts and almonds' (Gen. 4311 [J])

13. Nuts and almonds. *ḡar* *ḡar* *ḡar* *ḡar* has *ḡar* *ḡar* *ḡar* *ḡar* probably

'berries of the *Pistacia Terebinthus* [so Hehn] and walnuts'. The *ḡar* of the original are now generally identified, since Bochart, with the nuts of the *Pistacia vera*, which are still, both fresh and roasted, a delicacy among all ranks in the East (cp Wetz. *ZDMG* 11520). The 'garden of nuts' (*ḡar*) on the other hand, of which we read in Canticles (611), produced not pistachio nuts but walnuts.

These it was forbidden to crack (*ḡar*) with a hammer on the sabbath (*Shabb.* 172); nor was a merchant allowed to give such delicacies as parched corn and nuts to children 'because he might accustom them to come to him' (*Bib. Mid.* 412). Acorns and walnut shells were children's playthings (*Kil.* 1715). It has already been mentioned that certain Jewish prisoners at Rome lived on figs and walnuts (*ḡar*) to avoid pollution from eating heathen food (Jos. *Ant.* 3). An excellent oil was (*Shabb.* 22), and still is, manufactured from the green nuts.

Of the almond we may say that the OT references (Gen. 4311 Jer. 11 Nu. 178 [23] Eccles. 125) form successive links in a chronological chain of evidence for the familiarity of the Hebrews with this favourite fruit till we reach the writings of the Mishna.

Here we find two varieties distinguished, the bitter almonds and the sweet (*Ma'asér.* 14). Classical writers recommend that the sweet should be roasted, while 'bitter almonds in the whole of antiquity were supposed to prevent drunkenness if eaten before drinking' ('Cibaria', *op. cit.* 1155 f.). The modern Syrians use almonds extensively, not only as a dessert fruit but also in the preparation of a great variety of toothsome confections (see Landberg, *Prov. et Dict.* etc. 123-126, for a list of modern confections into most of which almonds and nuts enter).

The Carob or locust tree is said to be indigenous in Palestine, and yet we have in the Bible but a single

14. The Carob. incidental mention of its fruit (Lk. 1516; see, however, HUSKS).

The carob tree, however, is frequently named in the Mishna. As food trees to which the law of the 'corner' (*ḡar*, *ḡar*; see Lev. 199 f.) applies we find enumerated 'the Og-tree (*ḡar*, see below), carob trees, walnut trees, almond trees, vines, pomegranates, olives, and palms' (*ḡar* 14 f.). The carob tree was also among the trees whose fruit had to be tithed (*Ma'asér.* 13), and was accepted and presumably eaten by the priests as part of the 'heave-offering' (*Terum.* 114). Although we further hear of the pods being preserved in wine (*Shabb.* 77), which points to their fairly general use as an article of diet, their great abundance and consequent cheapness made them a special food of the poor. It is only those of the cultivated species that are edible by man.

The Og-tree above mentioned is the sumach (*Rhus coraria*), still common in Syria, not, as some have thought, the cornel, whose habitat is too far to the N. (cp Post, *Flora*, 377 f.). The red (*Ma'asér.* 12) berries of the sumach are said to make an excellent acid drink. By the Jews they were probably used chiefly as a condiment (cp *ḡar* *ḡar* *ḡar* *ḡar*, Dioscor. 1147) like the berries of the myrtle (*ḡar*). These, we learn

¹ The *rubus* in later Hebrew is *ḡar* (cp BUSH, § 1 (1)); the *ḡar* (EV 'bramble', RVm. 'thorn') of Jotham's fable is the *Rhamnus* or huckthorn (cp BRAMBLE, 1). A singular ignorance of the history of plants is betrayed by Grätz in his attempt (*MGG* 21300) to identify the *ḡar* with the *Opuntia ficus indica*, the Indian fig or prickly pear (which now forms so conspicuous a feature of an Eastern landscape, whose figs hold a place almost second to none in the summer dietary of the Syrian peasant). This species of cactus is a comparatively recent importation from America.

FRYING PAN

from Pliny (1535), were largely employed as a seasoning before the introduction of pepper (cp FOOD, § 7). Myrtle berries are still a favourite delicacy of Syrian ladies (Wetz. ZDMG 11 480 324). A similar purpose was served by the CAPER BERRY (קִינְיָה, Eccles. 125 RV), the young berries of which are still used as a condiment in Syria. On the *daddim* see MANDRAKES.

A. K. S. K.

FRYING PAN (קִרְחֵית) Lev. 27. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 7.

FUEL (אֵשׁ, קִמְלֵת, Is. 95 19; אֶבֶר, Ezek. 15 46 21 32 [37]). See COAL, § 2.

FULLER (כֹּבֵשׁ, lit. 'treader' [πλυνων, ΒΝΑΩΓ] Mal. 3 2; ΚΝΑΦΕΥΣ Mk. 9 3). In the preparation of woven woollen materials there are two processes, both of which are now termed 'fulling' (from the Low Lat. *fullure*); probably at one time a common operation sufficed for both. The primary sense is to cleanse or bleach, and this is undoubtedly the sense in Mk. 9 3. The secondary is to null or felt the wool together in such a way as to minimise shrinkage in the finished article. This is done by heating or stamping the woven fabric in hot water. Cp LVE, NITRE, SOAP.

The **Fuller's field** (קֶרֶן כֹּבֵשׁ, ἀργὸς τ. γκαφέως [BAL, *ager fullonis*]) is mentioned only in defining the locality of the conduit of the upper pool. Its exact position is obscure. Stade (GVI 1592 f.) suggests that it lay to the SE. of Jerusalem. From Is. 36 2 (= 2 K. 18 17) it would appear to have been situated on the road to Iachish, whereas in Is. 7 3 a N. or NW. position is looked for. At all events it must have been near the wall (36 11); see JERUSALEM. The 'fuller's monument' (τὸ τοῦ γκαφέως μνημα) with which it has been associated, lay near the NE. corner of the third wall (Jos. II v. 42).

It is perhaps an objection to the usual rendering of the name that elsewhere the Piel form of כֹּבֵשׁ is regularly met with, the Kal particip. כֹּבֵשׁ finding its only analogy in the Punic כֹּבֵשׁ a washer(man). For another supposed resort of fullers, see EN-ROGEL.

A. E. S. S. A. C.

FURLONG (σταδίων), Mt. 14 24, etc. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FURNACE. Of the words enumerated below, nos. 1-4 are names for smelting furnaces, though no. 3, if a genuine word, rather means 'crucible.' All except no. 3 are rendering by κάμνος, which is also used in Eccles. 38 28 Rev. 1 15 of the smelting furnace, and in Eccles. 27 5 and 38 30 of that of the potter.² Κάμνος 'furnace' in Mt. 13 42 50 is a symbolic term for Gehenna, which was imagined as a fiery furnace, on the ground that, according to Is. 31 9, God had 'a furnace in Jerusalem' ('*Erubin* 19 a), cp TOPHET; ESCHATOLOGY, § 70. 3[v]. In Dan. 3 a 'fiery furnace' is mentioned as used for the punishment of great offenders, and 'roasting in the fire' is the anticipated punishment of two Jews in

¹ 'Fuller' comes ultimately from Lat. *fullo*. The true Eng. term is 'walker' (also in Germ.), for which cp Wyclif, Mk. 9 3: 'a fullere or walkere of cloth.'

² For the Egyptian potter's furnace see illustration in Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 108.

FURNITURE, CAMEL'S

the Babylonian period (Jer. 29 21-23). That this was a Babylonian practice is undeniable (see, e.g., Smith, *Hist. of Assyriology*, 163; cp AHAB, a). It has also been reported as found in Persia down to the seventeenth century (Chardin).

1. קִינְיָה, *kiñin*, וְשֶׁבֶר, *to subduer*, κάμνος [καμνοίς] *formax*; Gen. 19 28 Ex. 9 3 10 10 19 19. See METALLURGY, and cp POTTERY; NISSEAN. Allusions to the smelting furnace or brick-kiln (κάμνος) are found also in Eccles. 2 5 22 24 27 31 26 34 28 30 43 4; see also Wisd. 38 (καυνοῦνται).

1. Hebrew terms.

2. קִינְיָה, *kiñin*, derivation uncertain; κάμνος, *formax*; Dt. 4 20 1 K 8 51 (here καυνοῦνται), Prov. 17 3 27 21 (here καυνοῦνται), Is. 48 10 ('the furnace of affliction' [כִּינְיָה]; text doubtful), Jer. 11 4 Ezek. 22 18 (om.) 20 22; also Eccles. 43 4 (Heb. difficult). קִינְיָה is also to be read, perhaps, in Is. 1 25 (קִינְיָה for קִינְיָה; Lowth, etc.)

3. קִינְיָה, *kiñin*; κάμνος; Tg. Ar. 127 [6]. The older critics think that קִינְיָה may possibly mean 'crucible'; Ⓢ gives κάμνος in Prov. 27 21 for קִינְיָה. The phrase, however, in which קִינְיָה occurs is plainly corrupt. It becomes in Che. Ps. 61, 'in the toils of the wicked'; if this is so, the phrase must have got in from the margin, where it was placed by a corrector, with reference to v. 6 [7]. See SILVER.

4. קִינְיָה, *attān*, probably an ancient loan-word; Ass. *attānu*, *attānu* (see Del. *Av. HVB* 158 d; Muss-Arn. 131 d); cp Syr. Ar. Ethiop.; κάμνος, *formax*; Dan. 3 6 11 15 17 19 21 23 26. See METALLURGY.

5. קִינְיָה, *tannūr*, Ass. *tinnūru* (Del. *Ass. HVB* 711 d); κλίβανος, *clibanus*; rendered 'furnace' in Gen. 15 17 and Is. 8 19; also in the expression 'tower of the furnaces' in Neh. 3 11 12 38 (καυνοῦνται [BM], θαννοῦνται [AL], θαννοῦνται [N²]) θαννοῦνται (L in 12 38).

The last term (*tannūr*) is much more frequently rendered 'oven.' *Tannūr* is in fact the special term for a baking-oven. In Mal. 4 1 [3 10] Ps.

2. The *tannūr*. 219 [10] RV has sought to give dignity to the name by changing 'oven' into 'furnace.' This is done quite needlessly, even in Ps. 219 [10], where one is glad to hope that the emended text which makes 'thorns of the wilderness' the objects burned in the *tannūr*, not human beings, may be right.¹ In Is. 31 9 EV's rendering 'furnace,' though more dignified, is less accurate than 'oven.' The passage is probably not Isaiah's work (see Che. *Intr.* Is. 204), and is based on Gen. 15 17, where the divine appearance is likened to a smoking oven and a flaming torch. The oven intended is the ordinary baker's oven, for a description of which see BREAD, § 2 (c). Such ovens have been found at Tell el-Hesi, with sides baked hard, showing use (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 114 f.). Modern Syrians still use the same primitive kind of oven.

From the phrase 'the tower of furnaces' (Neh. 3 11 12 38) it has been supposed that a number of public furnaces stood together near one of the towers of Jerusalem. It is possible, however (נִי or נִי are often confounded with כִּי), that the תַּנּוּרִים is a very early corruption of תַּנּוּרֵי דָם, 'tower of the palm trees' (Che.); even now 'several fine and ancient (palm-) trees still wave among the buildings of Jerusalem within the walls' (Tristram, *NHB* 383). Cp also Neh. 8 15 Jn. 12 13.

FURNITURE, CAMEL'S (כִּרְהֵקֵל), Gen. 31 34. See CAMEL, § 2.

¹ Thou wilt make them as [thorns of the wilderness
In] a heated oven at the time of their punishment.
(Che. Ps. 61).

G

GAAL (גַּאֵל, 'dut beetle'—§ 68; cp Ar. *ju'al* [Welh.]; גַּאֵלָאָה [BA]; A has also גַּאֵל constantly.

1. Nationality. Jos. גַּאֵלִים, and other forms, an early denagogue with a striking story (Judg. 9:26-41). To understand the rôle he played we must seek to determine the vexed question whether he was an Israelite or a Canaanite. Those who adopt the view that he was an Israelite appeal (1) to the name of his father (Judg. 9:26), (2) to the speech assigned to him in Judg. 9:28 (גַּאֵל [BA]).

1. It is true, Gaal is described in MT as 'son of Ebed'; but in Θ^B he appears as *viv* גַּאֵל, and Kuenen (*Opus.* 119 n. 5), Siade (*GP* 1194), Budde (*Ki.* 117), Kittel (*Gen.* 277), and W. R. Smith (*TA* 1886, p. 197) identify this 'Jobel' with 'Johaal' (גַּאֵל), a possible Israelitish name meaning 'Yahwè is Haal.' According to these scholars 'Johaal' is the correct name of Gaal's father, which was altered contemptuously into 'Ebed' (slave) out of repugnance to the divine name 'Haal' (cp Ishbosheth for Ishbaal). This theory, however, though widely accepted of late, is certainly erroneous; Θ^B גַּאֵל, as Moore has abundantly proved, is simply עֶבֶד (Obed), a synonym of עֶבֶד (Ebed), and Obed or Ebed is a shortened theophorous name—i.e., the second and omitted part of the name which began with Obed or Ebed was that of a god.

2. As to Judg. 9:28, it is no doubt a difficult passage, but so much is clear that Robertson Smith's view of it as 'a Hebrew declaration of revolt against the king of Shechem (9:26), who for three years has by the aid of his mercenaries tyrannised over Israel (9:22)', is opposed to the context. Unless (with this scholar) we transfer *v.* 28 elsewhere (viz. to a place after *v.* 22), it is undeniable that Gaal identifies himself with the Shechemites, and appeals to their pride of race against the half-Israelite king Abimelech, who maintains himself on the throne (as appears from 9:53) by Israelitish warriors. A denagogue who talks thus cannot possibly be an Israelite.

It is almost equally important to recognise that the account of the doings of Gaal in *vv.* 26-29 stands in no connection with *vv.* 22 (23)-25. It is not

2. Story. the organised brigandage set on foot by the Shechemites that tempts Gaal (as We. represents) to place himself and his kinsmen at the service of the Shechemites. The sequel of *vv.* 22 (23)-25 is to be sought in *vv.* 42-45, whilst in *vv.* 26-41 we have an independent, parallel account of the hostilities between Abimelech and the Shechemites which issued in the victory of the former. It is a writer symbolized by J who has preserved the tradition of Gaal's short-lived greatness; the other account may be assigned to E (Moore, Bu.). The occasion which the newly-arrived Gaal seized to make his fortune was the annual vintage-festival (*v.* 27a), or, as another report says, a solemn sacrificial meal³ in the 'house of their god' (see BAAL-BERITH). The temper of the people was already hostile to Abimelech. After cleverly stirring up race-prejudices⁴ he came boldly to the point and proposed himself as the leader of a Shechemite revolt (9:28 f.). This part of the narrative is an admirable specimen of the traditional Hebrew folk-stories. The festival scene has been justly praised by Robertson Smith (*l.c.*); but the scene between Gaal and Zebul (*vv.* 36-38) is hardly less striking. For the issue of Gaal's attempt, see ABIMELECH, 2.

T. K. C.

GAASH, THE HILL OF (גִּישׁ), in the hill-country of Ephraim, had TIMNATH-HERES (*q.v.*), the

¹ Note, however, the qualification in ET (*TBS* p. xlii.), has now abandoned it (*IJG* (1) 26 (194)).

² Wellhausen, who argued for it in 1871 (*TBS* p. xlii.), has now abandoned it (*IJG* (1) 26 (194)). Hothenberg (*TLZ*, 1891, p. 371), Moore, and Budde (commentary differs from *Ki.* 117) adopt the form Obed, which is found in some MSS (30, 56; cp 63 [שְׁמוֹתָם]), and (see above) is probably Θ^B 's true reading. A and other MSS, quoted fully by Moore, give *גַּאֵל*. For the prefixed *ג* in *גַּאֵל*, cp 1 Ch. 2:12 37 f. 26 f., 2 Ch. 23:1, where Θ^B has *גַּאֵל*, Θ^A *גַּאֵל*.

³ Namely, that in which Gaal was admitted to full religious rights as a Shechemite (Budde, *Ki.* 75).

⁴ See ABIMELECH, 2; but cp We. *CH* (2) 353; n. 2; *IJG* (1) 27.

burial-place of Joshua, on its northern slope or at its northern base; Josh. 24:30 (ΤΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ [ΤΟΥ] ΓΑΛΑΔΑΔ [BL], τ. ο. ΓΑΔΑ [A]), Judg. 29 (τ. ο. ΓΑΔΑ [BA]). The brooks [or 'wadies'] of Gaash are also alluded to in 2 S. 23:30 (απο χειμαρρων γαδ [B], εκ ναλαεσ [A], ο εφ νεχαβαι ταλα [αριστη], L), and 1 Ch. 11:32 (εκ ναχαλει γασι [B], εκ ναχαλη γ. [A], απο ναχαλι γ. [L]; see HURAI), and may perhaps be found to furnish a clue for deciding between the claims of *Tibneh* and *Hadrin* respectively to represent Timnath-heres.

GABA (גָּבָא), Josh. 18:24, Ezra 2:26, Neh. 7:30 AV, RV GEBA.

GABAEI (ΓΑΒΑΗΑΙ[OC] [BNA], also ΓΑΜ. [A];—i.e., perhaps גַּבְאֵי, 'God has chosen out' (see NAMES, § 27).

1. The great-great-grandfather of Tobit (1ob. 11).

2. (Γαβαηλω [BNA], γαβλω [M], 1:14, γαμω. [A, 4:20]) brother of Gabrias, the Jew of Rages to whom Tobit lent his money (Tob. 1:14 4:20).

GABATHA (ΓΑΒΑΘΑ [BNALΘ]), Esth. 12:1. See BIGTHAN.

GABBAI, SALLAI (גַּבְאִי, סַלַּי), the name (in spite of the comma after Gabbai) of a Benjamite clan among the inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA II., § 5 [A] § 15 [1] u), Neh. 11:8 (γῆθη σῆλαι [B], γῆθῆι σ. [A], γῆθῆι σῆλαι [M]; γῆθῆι σῆλαι, so HK Conc., ιεθου σῆλαι [L]). In 1 Ch. 9:18 the corresponding name is IBNEIAH (יִבְנִיָּה), no doubt the more authentic reading of Gabbai. It is conjectured that SALLAI came into the text from the margin, where SALLU (v. 7) had been written to explain the word גַּבְאִי ('and after him').

GABBATHA (ΓΑΒΒΑΘΑ [Ti. WII], the 'Hebrew' equivalent of ΓΑΒΒΑΘΑ in Ju. 19:13) is the Greek transcription of the Aram. גַּבְבָּתָא (emph. st. of גַּבְבָּ 'height, back, ridge'; cp Kautzsch, *Aram. Gram.* 8 n. 2, 10).¹

A similar Heb. word גַּבְבָּ is doubtless to be read instead of the difficult גַּבְבָּ 'height' in Ezek. 41:8 (so Davidson, Kautzsch, Bertholet; cp RV 'basement'), see PAVEMENT.

GABBE (ΓΑΒΒΗC [A]), 1 Esd. 5:20 RV, AV Gabbes = Ezra 2:26 GEBA.

GABRIAS (ΓΑΒΡ[Ε]ΙΑ [BA] ΓΑΒΡΕΙ[Α]—i.e., גַּבְרִיָּה 'man of Yahwè'), brother of Gabael [2], Tob. 1:14 4:20.

GABRIEL (גַּבְרִיָּאל—i.e., man of God, ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ [87 and BAQI Theod.; Ti. WII]) is the name of the angel who was sent to Daniel to explain the vision of the ram and the he-goat, and to communicate the prediction of the Seventy Weeks (Dan. 8:16 9:21). He was also employed to announce the birth of John the Baptist to Zechariah, and that of the Messiah to the Virgin Mary (Lk. 1:19 26). Both Jewish and Christian writers generally speak of him as an archangel—a habit which is readily accounted for when Lk. 1:19 is compared with Rev. 8:2, and also with Tobit 12:15. In Enoch (see Charles, *Enoch*, notes on chap. 40) he is spoken of as one of the archangels; his task is that of intercession, and he is set over 'all the powers.'

His name frequently occurs in the Jewish literature of the later post-biblical period. Thus, according to Targ. Ps.-Jon., the man who showed the way to Joseph (Gen. 37:15) was no other than Gabriel in human form; and in Dt. 34:6 it is affirmed that he, along with Michael, Uriel, Jophiel, Jephaphiah, and the Metatron, buried the body of Moses. In the Targum on 2 Ch. 32:21 he is named as the angel who destroyed the host of Sennacherib; and in similar writings of a still later period he is spoken of as the spirit who presides over fire, thunder, the ripening of the fruits of the earth, and similar processes. See ANGEL, § 4, n.

W. R. S.

¹ According to Bar-Hebraeus γαββαθα is from גַּבְבָּ (the Syr. Θ being equivalent to the Gk. β). See Duval *Syr. Gram.* 22, n. 3, 30.

GAD

Character (§ 10).
Settlement statistics (§ 11).
Towns and boundaries (§ 12).
Genealogies (§ 13).

1. Name. of the 'land of Gad' (גִּאֲדָה); but neither this nor the phrase 'men of Gad' in the inscription of Mesha (line 10) need imply that Gad is a geographical name like Ephraim.

Similarly the phrase 'men of Gad' (גַּד מְנִי; see below), although it might no doubt be interpreted on the analogy of 'men of [the town] **SRN**,' and 'men of [the town] **MIRTh**' (lines 13/), and of 'men of Jabesh' (1 S. 11 q), may be explained just as well otherwise.

Gad is therefore, probably, a people, not a district. The name of the district may have been Gilead, with which Gad is sometimes confused (see next paragraph, and col. 1580 note 4, and cp GILEAD).

E.V. speaks once (2 S. 24.5) of a *wady* (𐤍𐤕; AV 'river,' RV 'valley') of Gad; but 𐤍𐤕 confirms Wellhausen's restoration: '... in the midst of the *wady* to Gad' [𐤍𐤕 'the Gadite']... The only question is whether 'Gad' does not represent an original 'Gilead' (cp v. 6a).

Popular etymology as usual supplied the name Gird with several explanations. According to one version, it contained a reference to bands of freebooters; in the 'blessing' of Jacob, as we have it (Gen. 49:19),

Gad—raiders [*gʷidn̥s*] raid [*yəgʷidennu*] him
But he raids [*yɛgʷid*] their rear,⁶

the people might think of the bands of Jephthah. According to another version the accession of Gad to the ranks of the Leah tribes was a piece of 'good fortune' (Gen. 30 a, b).

So RV rightly, following $\text{ADP } 7$ ($\nu\epsilon\nu\chi\eta$). Holzinger wisely rejects Ball's theory 'that we should render 'by the help of [the] god [Gad]'; although the tribal name is no doubt in fact dependent on the name (see below); it was, probably, the possibility of this that led MT, Targum Onkelos, Aq. ($\text{גָּדוֹן הַגִּדֹּנִי}$), Sym. i. (גִּד , Gad) and Peshitta to read גִּד 'there has come,'¹⁸ for ג 'with.'

The fact is, Gad bears the same relation to Gaddiel (Nu. 13to) that Dan does to Daniel. Alongside of Gaddiel, we find the abbreviated form Gaddi (as a Man-assite, in the same list of 'spies'; v. 11), and, strange to say, the still more abbreviated form Gad (next art.).⁹ The gentile would naturally be גַּד, 'Gaddie.' The Massoretic form גַּד, EV **Gadite**, is doubtless a late euphemistic device (cp above). G has preserved the correct form (גַּדִּי [BNAF]; but גַּד Deut. 3 15 [B*AF], 1 Ch. 5 18 [B], 12 8 [A]).

¹ For the gentilic see below (§ 1).

² 'Gad' and 'Gilead' may be merely variants, the original having been simply 'the land of Gilead.'

³ On 'land of Benjamin' see BENJAMIN, § 1.

4 יָצָא; thirteen times in Nu., fifteen times in Josh.; also
1 Ch. 5 11 12 14.

¹ Compare the parallel phrase 'men of Judah' in 2 S. 19:17 and other early passages (also in the post-exilic insertion 1 S. 11:86). See Moore on Judg. 7:14.

⁷ ^Θ1 probably differs only apparently: εὐρυχρεὰ καὶ is doubt-

less a miswritten $\epsilon\nu \nu\chi\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$, not a rendering (as Holzinger thinks) of $\epsilon\gamma\gamma$.

⁸ *Ber. rabb.* sect. 71 explains: כבא מי שעמד לנדר כסותין

⁹ Manasseh is the only other tribe-name said to have been borne by an individual in pre-exilic times.

Other readings in **B** are: γὰρ {L, except s K. 1514, t Ch. 5 m, γὰρ δὲ; and s N. 23 p, ἀγνοεῖ, γὰρ ἀλλὰ δὲ {H, s N. 23 p; A. s K. 1011h γὰρ δὲ; {H, t Ch. 12a, γὰρ αὖ. {A^{vid} s K. 1517, γὰρ δὲ {H s Ch. 1217, A. s K. 154b. Peshitta has **h** like

In the inscription of Meshu (I 10) the expression used is *šm m*, 'man of land' (see above).

The evidence, lacking in the case of DAN² (p. 1), that the tribe-name was a divine title is conclusive (see FORTUNE). In Galilee, indeed, beyond the tribe-name the worship of the god Gad seems to have left no trace; but he was honoured in the farthest N. (BAAL-GAD), and in the S. (MIGDAL-GAD) of West Palestine (see also AGAD), and, at a later date, in the central highlands (cp FORTUNE).

As Gad is known to us best as an Assyrian deity (cp. Baethgen, *Beitr.* 76 ff.; but see also We, *Ar. Heid.*²),

2. Connected with Aram? 146 and PHENICIA), it is natural to inquire whether there is anything to suggest that the Gadites were Aramean.

The name of a prominent figure in the East Palestinian episode in the reign of David suggests that its bearer was Aramean (see *BARUCH*),³ and later there were others in Gilead who bore the same name; Gadiidai, also, occurs as an Ar.-Ass. name (*SW*); and, as we shall see (§ 9), East Jordan came more and more under Aramean influence. Did the imperious Aramean, then, impose his deity on the people of Gilead? It is a fact that our earliest reference to East Palestine has nothing to say of Gad: it was "Gilead" ⁴ that abode beyond Jordan (*Jdg* 5:17), and the same peculiarity is to be noticed in the story (or stories) of Jephthah. Further, the genealogical system followed by J and E, namely Gad a son of Zilpah, which has been supposed to be Aramean (see, however, *ZILPAH*).

That Gad was of a stock somewhat different from Joseph is likely enough; this seems to be true of its 'brother' tribe in the highlands of Galilee (see ASHER i., § 1).

Whatever may have seen the affinities of Asher, however, it can hardly have been Asherah. The linking together of the two tribes may have to be explained otherwise. Asher and Gad are deities of Gilead? Fortune. It may be that the grouping of the tribes under a common name is a memorial of the worship of those related deities (see ZEPHAN). The tribal name Manasseh is perhaps a parallel to this. She, 'ried has ingeniously explained Manasseh as a memorial of the worship of Meni (Is. 66 17), a deity akin to Gad (see MANASSEH). If the Song of Deborah as we have it has been changed (as some have argued) to suit later views about Yahwé, may the objectionable tribe-names Gad and Manasseh have been suppressed (in Judg. 5 14 'Machir' apparently takes the place of Manasseh)?² Asher might escape the censure for some reason unknown to us. It is at least a plausible conjecture, however, that the explanation of the variety of nomenclature is to be found in the exceedingly mixed character of the population of Gilead.

When the Gileadites began to ask themselves whence they came, they would not unnaturally think of the Aramaean districts towards the north. The northern Aramaic, we know, was much nearer to Hebrew than it became later (cp ARAMAIC, § 2, begin.). There were constant dealings with the Arameans; and there was no physical barrier to be an obstacle. In fact, one of the most important features of the history of Syria in general, during the centuries that elapsed from the time when Israel began to become a nation to the time when it finally lost its independence, is the advance southwards of the Arameans.

Accordingly we find traditions of the kind just suggested. At the important sanctuary (and fortress) of MAHANAIM⁶ it seems to have been told that the divine host, from the alighting of which the place had received its name, n-*t* the immigrating Jacobite, after they had severed themselves from the Aramaeans (Gen. 32 *f.*, E). Elsewhere also there were places that did honour to the immigrant Jacob (see SUCCOTH, PENUEL, and especially RAMOTH-GILAD).

¹ 1 Ch. 5 26 and 128.

² Cp Kuenen, *Tk.T* 5 291.

⁴ Unless we should read 'Gad' for Gilead; cp 2 S. 23.36 [B], 2 K. 10.33 [A]. The whole clause is commonplace and not beyond suspicion (cp C. Niebuhr, *Gesch.* 254).

⁶ In the Chronicler's list of David's tribe rulers (1 Ch. 27 16 ff.) Gad and Asher are selected for omission to make way for two half-Manassehs and Levi; so, in Ezek. 48, Gad to make room for Levi. Cf. also ISSACHAR, § 3.

⁶ Perhaps Ajlūn; but it has been suggested that there may have been more than one trans-Jordanic Mahanaim. See MAHANAIM.

GAD

It must be remembered, however, that the relations of Israel as a political power with Aram were unfriendly (below, § 9), and the Jacob story is evidently influenced by later events. We have no more reason to expect to find a genuine tradition of the settlement of the various tribes and clans in Gilead than of settlements elsewhere. Indeed, everything in Gilead was so unstable that memory would more probably go back an exceptionally short distance.

It was well known that the people living in Gilead were of diverse origin. Whether any considerable element in the population was recognised as being Amorite (see below, § 11) or Rephaim¹ we cannot tell. It is clear,

3. Mixed Population

however, that people were distinctly conscious of a Reubenite strand (Judg 5:15f.). How far the Reubenites were settled in any one portion, or were represented by families here and there (so, perhaps, the writer of Nu. 32:34-38),² or were nomadic shepherd clans, is uncertain (see REUBEN): naturally the conditions changed.³

We must turn now to extra-biblical sources. Unfortunately we cannot hope for much light. The

4. Egyptian evidence

Egyptian expeditions aimed at Lebanon and the N., which did not naturally take them into Gilead. It would seem, indeed, that as early as the time of Thutmose III. they were not unacquainted with the country N. of the Yarmuk, if no. 28 (A-si-ti-ra-ty) in the Kinn list is Tell Ashtari (ASHTAROTH), and no. 91 (O-ta-ra-a) is EDREI.⁴ Flinders Petrie has even conjectured that the same list names two places farther S., in Aylun,⁵ where also W. M. Muller places no. 16, Hauran. Of the inhabitants, however, this (were it certain) would tell nothing. On the other hand, three or four generations later, if letter 161 of the Amarna collection tells us nothing more than that Attamunya ruler of Zir-Bašan (Zi-ri-ba-sa-ni: a trans-Jordanic place?) professed readiness to be loyal to the Egyptian arms, another letter (A-B 5145) in the same collection tells the Pharaoh of that time that one of his caravans (?) has been led by the writer to Hama (BOZRAH?), whose king, along with the king of Hahnni,⁶ is accused by the writer of letter 142 of being in league with Biridasya, a ruler who had handed over Astarti⁷ (ASHTAROTH) to the SA.GAS. Hahiri, therefore, if we may identify SA.GAS and Hahiri, were already getting a hold in the district where a late Hebrew story told of the fate of Og, seizing his very city. Farther S., in Gilead proper, of which we hear nothing, they may have been already present in force.⁸

We should have evidence that the condition of things implied in letter 145 was still present in the time of Amenhotep IV. if we could accept the conjecture of Flinders Petrie about the letter (no. 11) in which that Pharaoh is requested by a Babylonian king (Burnaburiaš) to make reparation for the plundering of a caravan, on the ground that the Pharaoh is suzerain. Petrie proposes to identify Hinnatuni in Kinahhi (cp HANNATHON), where the attack was made, with Kanawāt (KENATU) in Hauran. However that may be, letter 196 (l. 32) suggests that Egyptian authority at Hinnatuni was weak.

¹ It has been conjectured that there may at one time have been a people called Girshite settled on both sides of Jordan (see GILEAD, § 6, GIRSHITES).

² The cities assigned to Reuben seem to form a group surrounded by cities assigned to Gad (see REUBEN).

³ Perhaps the most striking example is the case of Heshbon: Amorite (Nu. 21:25), Reubenite (Nu. 32:17 Josh. 13:17), Gadite (Josh. 13:26 [?] 21:39 = 1 Ch. 6:81 [60]), Moabite (Is. 15:4 16:9 Jer. 48:2), Ammonite (Jer. 49:1). Cp § 12.

⁴ Flinders Petrie conjectures, further, that no. 29 (A-no-r-po) is the modern Rafah and no. 30 (Ma-ka-ra) the modern Tell Miklad, farther N.

⁵ Esh-Shuni (no. 24: A-na-sa-na), and Fahl (PELLA; no. 33: Pa-hu-ra).

⁶ A name connected conjecturally by Petrie with Golan and the river Allan.

⁷ Mentioned also in 237:21. Is '(a)u) Ya-bi-Si' in line 28 JABEN?

⁸ Cp Ernst Trampe, *Syrien vor dem Eindringen der Israeliten*, 16 [98].

GAD

By Seti I., however, of dyn. 19, Egyptian authority was reasserted in Palestine, and at the time of Ram(esses) II. it was so far effective over East Palestine that civilians could erect monuments with hieroglyphic inscriptions (the 'stone of Job' at esh-Sheikh Sa'd the text are given in col. 1241 n. 11). There is no evidence, however, that his son Merneptah made his power felt E. of the Jordan, and Egypt disappeared below the horizon for more than two centuries (see below, § 6).

Of the state of things just described we could not have guessed from what has survived of the East Palestinian traditions. Their confused

5. Character of land

and fragmentary character is an inevitable consequence, as we have already

hinted (§ 2, end), of the physical conditions of life in the uplands E. of Jordan.

No doubt it was a goodly land to live in. Writers have vied with one another in praising its well-wooded hills and valleys green with corn (cp GILEAD). Its streams, too, call forth general admiration, the Yarmuk especially, which is as large as the Jordan which it joins, and which may (see JABOK) once have played an important part in Hebrew legend. There was one blessing, however, that it lacked—security. Its

6. Insecurity

uplands were in direct contact with the eastern desert. From year to year, from century to century, from millennium to millennium, the desert of North Arabia has driven its waves of hungry nomads westwards as a devastating flood. So it has been, and so it must be till some strong hand intervenes to bid the flood hold back. It is probably only because the centre of observation lay W. in Ephraim that we do not hear more about the endless conflicts with nomadic tribes; what we read in Judg. 6 ff. (incursions of Midianites)¹ owes its preservation to its connection with an Ephraimite tale.²

According to ME there was a place called Kamon that boasted of containing the remains of one of the ancient heroes (JAIR; see, however, CAMON). The Chronicler (1 Ch. 5:19) at any rate preserves the names of desert tribes that must have contributed, at one time or another, to the general unrest (see HAGAR, § 2, ISHMAEL, § 4 [7]).

There was not wanting, however, another source of unrest—the danger of invasion by other tribes settled in the east. It is true, invasion might come even from the west. In proof of this see JEPHTHAH, § 5, and note Shishak's claim to have included in the sweep of his incursion trans-Jordanic cities such as Mahanaim (no. 22: Ma-ha-nai) and Penuel³ (no. 53: Pe-nu-a-ni); see SHISHAK. These, however, were isolated events. Gad usually looked to the west for fruits of peace.

What people is referred to in the stories of Jephthah and Jair is not clear (see JEPHTHAH, where it is suggested that the people lived in Hauran); but we know of three enemies that gave little rest.

(i.) Whether the inroads of the Ammonites began with the time of Saul we do not know certainly. The

legend about the relationship of 7. From Ammon. Ammon (Moab) and Israel may be late (see LOT). The measures taken by DAVID (§ 8, a) must have given Gad some relief; but there is no evidence that the relations with Ammon established by him continued long; and it is not clear what they were.

Winckler thinks (GT 1214) that Shobi (2 S. 17:27) was a king of Ammon appointed by David. His king Baša, however, is mentioned by Shalmaneser II. (CP 1127) as a vassal of Biridri of Damascus. Indeed, he seems to have been an Aramean from Beth-rehob (Wi. 1214). Ammon probably remained dependent on Aram for long. Ultimately the place of Aram was taken by Assyria. Winckler therefore suggests that the attacks on Gilead, also subject to Aram, complained of by Amos (1:13-15) were instigated, or at least countenanced, by Assyria, just as

¹ Elsewhere it is suggested that Jerubbaal was a Gadite, and the city of Succoth, which he took, the frontier-fortress towards the desert better known as Salhad (see GIBSON).

² The literary history, and therefore the meaning, of the references to unfriendly relations with Midian in Nu. 22:25 is obscure.

³ On Jeroboam's fortification of Penuel see PENUEL.

GAD

Nebuchadnezzar may have been responsible for the raids that are said to have occurred in the reign of Jehoiakim (2 K. 24).

(ii.) We have no means of determining with certainty whether Moab or Gad arrived from the desert earlier.

8. Conflict with Moab. In later times there prevailed in Israel a belief that it was Moab; but it has been maintained¹ that Moab thought it was Gad (*MT* 1. 10; but see below, § 8).

A priori, perhaps, the probability is in favour of Gad's being the earlier (*Wt. Gt* 1. 201 f. 43 f.). The story of Eglon, indeed, which has been thought (*Wt. Gt* 1. 204 f. 48, n. 1) to refer to the first arrival of Moab, nowhere mentions Gad. In its present form, however, the scene is laid W. of the Jordan.²

Whichever of the tribes arrived first, Winckler's argument that a considerable interval must have intervened between their arrivals seems to be valid. The tribes had become too dissimilar to unite. The conflict of interests must therefore have led to struggles.

What relations prevailed in the time of Saul we cannot say definitely (1 S. 14.7 is not authoritative; see SAUL); but the fact that, after the disaster at Gilboa, the royal seat was in Gilead (MAHANAIM = Ajlun?), could not be indifferent to Moab. When we come down to the time of David we seem to reach an actual tradition of a subjugation of Moab (DAVID, § 8), which must have relieved Gad of one source of anxiety. The subjugation cannot have been as thorough as that of Edom (*Wt. Gt* 1. 202); but Gadites and other Israelites may at this time have settled north of the Arnon (*MT* 1. 10; § 8). At what times this quiet prevailed, through Israel's being able to make its suzerainty effective, we do not know. Omri and Ahab were able to maintain the upper hand, by the confession of Mesha himself.³ On the story of a punitive expedition by Ahab's younger son see JEROME (1); Moab continued to be a thorn in the flesh to Gad. Whether Moab was ever again subject to Israel is not clear (see JEROME, 2). That during the reign of the house of Jehu, Moab assumed the rôle played in the days of Gideon by Midian, could not be stated on the authority of 2 K. 13.20; it is not for such things that Amos threatens Moab (*Am* 2. 1-3). On the other hand, Winckler argues somewhat plausibly for an intervention on the part of Moab in the time of turmoil that preceded the fall of Samaria (*Gt* 1. 208 f.). See, further, MOAB.

(iii.) On the other side were the Arameans. The struggle with them involved all North Israel (indeed, at times, South Israel also) and is one aspect of its history; but the details are obscure. On the history of the relations with nearer tribes, such as Maacah, Geshur, etc., see MACHIR. The great historic struggle was with Damascus, which was in the main successful in Gilead. The writers who brought the Book of Kings into the shape in which we read it⁴ knew nothing of the horrors experienced across the Jordan in the bitter struggle, and did not care to preserve a connected account of the contest.⁵ Omri may have been, Baasha probably was, Ahab certainly was, a vassal of Damascus. This in no way interfered with Israel's relations towards Moab. The spirit that inspired the struggle with Benhadad was a desire to assert independence. Accordingly we need not suppose that Gilead was detached from Ephraim. Both were attached to Damascus (see OMRI, AHAH). If it was the accession of Hazael that tempted JEROME (q.v., 1) to revolt, he paid the penalty with his life.⁶ Whether or not 2 K. 10.32 warrants the statement that from the time of Jehu East Palestine belonged to Damascus (so Winckler), it is noteworthy that in Shallum, Menahem (PEKAHIAH?) and Pekah, Gilead apparently set revolutionary kings on the throne of North Israel, Pekah

9. With Syria. times, South Israel also) and is one aspect of its history; but the details are obscure. On the history of the relations with nearer tribes, such as Maacah, Geshur, etc., see MACHIR. The great historic struggle was with Damascus, which was in the main successful in Gilead. The writers who brought the Book of Kings into the shape in which we read it⁴ knew nothing of the horrors experienced across the Jordan in the bitter struggle, and did not care to preserve a connected account of the contest.⁵ Omri may have been, Baasha probably was, Ahab certainly was, a vassal of Damascus. This in no way interfered with Israel's relations towards Moab. The spirit that inspired the struggle with Benhadad was a desire to assert independence. Accordingly we need not suppose that Gilead was detached from Ephraim. Both were attached to Damascus (see OMRI, AHAH). If it was the accession of Hazael that tempted JEROME (q.v., 1) to revolt, he paid the penalty with his life.⁶ Whether or not 2 K. 10.32 warrants the statement that from the time of Jehu East Palestine belonged to Damascus (so Winckler), it is noteworthy that in Shallum, Menahem (PEKAHIAH?) and Pekah, Gilead apparently set revolutionary kings on the throne of North Israel, Pekah

¹ G. H. B. Wright, *Was Israel ever in Egypt?* 252; Guthe, *GT* 1. 46.

² On the question of the position of Seirath see SEIRATH. Winckler thinks that in one version of the story Eglon was slain somewhere on the eastern side. See further, EGLON.

³ Mesha claims to have recovered 'the land of Medeba' (*MT* 1. 8), Ataroth (10), Nebo (14), Jahaz (19), and Horonen (21). For the twelve towns that he rebuilt see lines 9 f. 13 f. 21 f. 26 f.

⁴ Israelitish writers might have had more to tell us about Gad.

⁵ Hence the conflicting theories as to the identification of the city which was repeatedly the object of contention (see RAMOTH-GILEAD).

⁶ The indignation against the Aramean policy felt in Israel appears in *Am* 1. 3.

GAD

receiving the active support of Rezin (because Menahem [or his son?] remained loyal to Assyria?).¹

Inhabiting a tract of country ever exposed to the ravages of peoples of the desert (§ 5), Gad could provide

10. Character and history of people. a refuge for fugitives from the W. (ISHBAAL, DAVID) and rear a race of daring spirits (MENAHEM, PEKAH, SHALLUM) such as those whose warlike

skill is praised in the poetical fragment preserved by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 12.8); occupying a land fitted by nature for the rearing of cattle (§ 4) it could offer a home for the accumulation of wealth (BARZILLAI); but, if the primitive society which we may suppose to have lived on in such a retreat was able to produce a religious enthusiast and send him forth to champion the old against the innovations of an Ahab (on the question of the origin of ELIJAH see col. 1270, n. 1), there is at least no evidence of its ever having made any contribution to the literature of Israel.² It is not so certain, however, that it may not have had a contribution to make to the development of its civilisation. The very insecurity of life may have produced a greater willingness to submit to the limitations of monarchy than is characteristic of Ephraim (Jephthah, Saul, David; see *Wt. Gt* 1. 51 n.). If Winckler's solution³ of the mystery of Jahesh-Gilead should be accepted (for a different view see SAUL) the true foundation of monarchy in N. Israel, and consequently in all Israel, was really laid east of Jordan.

Communication between the trans-Jordanic lands and the highlands of Ephraim being easy (see EPHRAIM, § 3 f., JORDAN, § 7),⁴ the eastern tribes, although they took no part in the fight celebrated in Judg. 5, became closely linked with northern Israel.⁵ When at last Ephraim succumbed before the advance of Assyria, Gad shared or rather anticipated its fortunes (see TIGLATH-PILESER). The change thus produced was radical (see AMMON, § 5 f., MOAB, ISRAEL, § 32).

Henceforth we hear of Gilead as a land where Israel used to dwell (*Mic* 7. 14) and whither it might return (*Zech* 10.10), where later there were Jews (1 Macc. 5) —but not of Gad: Gad was a tradition of the past,⁶ or a dream of the future (*Ezek* 48 Rev. 7. 5).

An unfortunate consequence of the failure of the Eastern Israelites to leave any literary remains is that

11. Sanctuaries and theories about settlement. we are almost entirely confined, for our knowledge of them and their traditions, to such hints as western writers have chosen to give. From

what has been said (§ 5, begin.) it is obvious how little we can hope to learn of the actual condition of things east of Jordan from any of the contributors to the Hexateuch.

Most of the legends about the early settlements of Israel in western Palestine seem to be connected with some sanctuary or other. In the E. too there were of course sanctuaries: Peimel, Succoth, Ramah of Gilead (its very name shows its character: see RAMOTH-GILEAD), Mahanaim (probably); see further, STUTTIM, PISGAH, NEBO, BETH-PEOR (on Goren Ha-Atad see ABEL-MIZRAIM), ZEPHON, MIZPAH. We have perhaps contemporary testimony to such local sanctuaries in Hosea (68 12.11 [12]); but the text is doubtful: see GILEAD, 2). There are seldom, however, the clear local traditions that we find in the W.

¹ Guthe, however, argues conversely that the Gileadite kings represented the anti-Aramean party (*GT* 1. 188).

² See, however, *EZEKIEL* 1. 1, § 1.

³ In the forthcoming second vol. of his *GT*.

⁴ On the strange genealogical linking of the Zilpate Gad with the Leah tribes see ZILPAH, RICHEN.

⁵ When David succeeded to the Benjamite kingdom, therefore, his rule extended in time across the Jordan. In the list of Solomon's prefects we read (see §) of one for the land of Gilead (see *GRUEK*, 2), one at RAMOTH-GILEAD (q.v.), and one at Mahanaim.

⁶ We can understand how one of the writers called P said (*Josh* 13.25) that Gad inhabited half the land of the sons of Ammon (see, however, AMMON, § 3).

Probably the reason is one we have referred to already: our literature was all produced in the W. If any old tradition underlies the story of the altar in Josh. 22, it has been quite obscured. It is even a question on which side of the river the altar is represented to have been. JABESIT [q. v.], which may have been a sanctuary, and must have been a place of considerable influence, is linked strangely with Benjamin (see above, § 10).

It would appear that the writers of the Hexateuch, who regarded the eastern population as a part of Israel just as truly as the western, were much perplexed to account for their not being in 'the land of Israel': Ezek. 47.13 (Co. *Kischiel*) seems to regard Jordan as separating 'the land of Israel' from Gilead. Such a problem had its attractions. It is all the more necessary to be circumspect in dealing with the solutions that were offered.

Where the writers formally give a reason they agree in suggesting that the East-Jordan tribes were (in some unexplained way) distinguished from the other tribes by being pre-Israel, and that they asked for, and received permission to settle in, the pre-eminently pastoral eastern plateau. We need not wonder at this inversion of cause and effect; it is inevitable in such naive philosophy of history. A question that seems to have awakened considerable interest was whether there was in this settlement beyond Jordan any blame. The answer given was that it would have been blameworthy had the tribes simply remained behind, but that as a matter of fact they crossed over with their brethren and then returned. According to one version, however, they did this after censure by Moses at their own suggestion (Nu. 32.6-10), whereas according to another it was at the direction of Moses (Dt. 3.14-20).

A favourable view of the conduct of the eastern tribes finds hearty expression in the saying incorporated in the 'Blessing of Moses' (Dt. 33.20 f.).

The text is uncertain in places. It may have read somewhat as follows:—

Blessed is he that gives room for Gad,
[Gad] has let himself down² [but] like a lion (ess);
He rends arm and crown,
He looked him out the first-fruits of the land,
For a portion [lit.] for a leader was there;
[but he came [hither] at the people's head:
Yahwe's righteous acts he wrought
And his ordinances with Israel.

It might be asked: Are we to connect these stories with other hints of a movement eastwards (see MACHIR, REUBEN), and infer from them that there was a theory that the Israelites E. of the Jordan reached Gilead from the Ephraimite side? It is not very likely;³ and if there was it was no doubt a pure guess. On the other hand, the degree of probability of the story that the settlement of Gad was earlier than the entrance of Joseph into W. Palestine will be estimated variously by different minds. It may be asked, Must not the tribes farthest E. be those that arrived last?⁴ It is not impossible, on the other hand, that Gad came no later than Joseph, but was content, or was forced, to remain in Gilead while Joseph pressed over.

The view prevailing among the various writers who have contributed to the Hexateuch is that Gad obtained possession of its home E. of the Jordan by conquest. Every one of the peoples whom Israel knew on the E. of the Jordan is represented in some story or other as unfavourable to the settlement; see AMMON, MOAB, MIDIAN. The most popular story, however, seems to have been that most of the territory was found in the possession of Amorites.

According to J.⁵ Moses, after sending to spy out Jazer, drove the Amorites out of its towns (Nu. 21.32) and took them and settled in all the Amorites' cities: in Heshbon and all its towns (v. 25; on v. 20 see below). According to E. Israel asked Sihon to allow them to traverse his territory (Nu. 21.21 f.), and when

he refused defeated him at Jakkaz and occupied his territory from Arnon to Jabbok (21.23-24).

There were historical difficulties, however: the most prominent trans-Jordanic element was Moab; moreover Israel obtained possession of lands far N. of the Heshbon district.

A later writer, therefore, explains that the district of Heshbon as far S. as the Arnon had been won for the Amorites from Moab (v. 26); and in later documents it is represented that the northern portion was ruled by a certain Og whose chief cities were Edrei and Ashtaroth (see Og).

That at Jakkaz and about Edrei tradition told of great battles once having been fought near by is not unlikely. On the other hand, the story that the fights were with Amorites¹ has been variously estimated.² What we have learned of the Amurri from the Amarna letters makes it more plausible than it was (cp Wt. *GT* 150-54), see SUTON.

In contrast with the prevailing story that 'Heshbon and all the towns thereof' (Nu. 21.25, J.), or 'Jazer and the towns thereof' (v. 32, J.), were taken from the Amorites by all Israel, we find the statement that [all] Gilead was taken from the Amorites by Machir³ (Nu. 32.39-41; ultimate source uncertain). On Josh. 13.25 see above, col. 1584, n. 5.

The later historiographers had lost the thread of events in the trans-Jordanic territory, and until (or unless) some further sources of information become available, all we can regard as certain is that the population among which Gad and the other clans and tribes ultimately reckoned to Israel were settled, was very heterogeneous.

As has been hinted (§ 8), Winkler thinks that the earliest story represented Gad and Reuben as settled in territory that had been Midianitish (cp *GT* 14-9), not Moabitish.

Some addition to our stock of local traditions would be obtained if we could regard the mention of certain places in the stories of the arrival of Israel E. of the Jordan as owing their origin to traditions actually current at those places. To do so, however, seems somewhat precarious. We cannot be sure, for example, that there was really any place that boasted of being the burial-place of Moses; Gad may have been content to assign the figure of that hero to the twilight period preceding the arrival of their fathers in the home known to history (see MOSES). On the question of the date of the arrival of Gad, see above (§§ 11, 8).

To attempt to assign to Gad a definite territory is useless. The conflicting statements found in the Hexateuch and the references to the same subject in the historical books are, in their present form at least, the

work of men who had no real knowledge of the early conditions E. of Jordan.

According to Nu. 32 Reuben and Gad were impressed with the desirableness of 'the land of JAZER and the land of Gilead' (v. 2), 'the land which Yahwe spoke before the congregation of Israel' (v. 4) as 'a place (land) for cattle,' and Gad and Reuben asked Moses and Eleazar the priest and the princes of the congregation that it should be given to them; v. 3 identifies the land with nine towns: 'Ataroth, Dibon, Jazer, Nimrah, Heshbon, Elealeh, Sebam, Nefsa, Beon.' According to v. 33 (minus the interpolation) Moses actually gave them 'the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan'; an interpolator adds that they were given to Gad, Reuben, and half Manasseh. In vv. 34-38 we read that the nine towns asked for in v. 3 were rebuilt, the last five by REUBEN, the first four (which appear elsewhere, Is. 15.7, Jer. 48, as Moabitish) by Gad, who also built four others: AROER, ATROTID-SUCCHAN (unknown), JOZEDAN (cp Judg.

¹ To suppose that there was really at Ashtaroth-Karnaim a local tradition of an early Elamite invasion (Gen. 14) would be unwise (see CHENORLAOMER).

² Favourably by Wellhausen, Winkler and others, unfavourably by Meyer, Stade and others.

³ [It may be asked whether the story of Machir who took Gilead and dispossessed the Amorites is not due to a misunderstanding of an old tradition that Manassites possessed themselves of the strong city of Salhad, both Machir and Gilead being very possibly corruptions of Salhad. The process of corruption of names seems to have begun very early, and different corrupt fragments of the same name were actually taken to represent different persons, not only in the genealogies of Chronicles, but even in earlier writings. The occurrence of 'Machir' in Judg. 5.14 is a problem which requires fuller consideration.—F. K. C.]

¹ Compare the contrast between 'land of Canaan' and 'land of Gilead' in Josh. 22.9-11; also 22.11 (end), whatever view of the position of the altar be taken.

² Taken, perhaps, from the saying in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5.17).

³ Judg. 12.46 could not be cited in confirmation; the text is corrupt. See SUTON-FRAN, and cp Bu. Moore, *ad loc.*

⁴ Compare Winkler, *GT* 145.

⁵ According to Stade a late addition.

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811f), and BETH-HARAN (cp Josh. 18:27), of which the first is Moabite elsewhere (Jer. 48:19). The first of each group is claimed by Mesha as Moabite (Daibon, *MT* 11:28; Aroer, 4:26), and Aroer as a conquest, whilst Josh. 13:16 f. assigns Aroer, Daibon, and Heshbon to Reuben.

Finally, an attempt is made in the Hexateuch to delimit the territory given by Moses to Gad.

Apparently it is made to include the whole of the E. side of the Jordan valley, and the uplands between Heshbon and RAMATH-MIZPEH reaching as far E. as the upper course of the Jabbok (Josh. 13:24-28). See further REUBEN, MANASSEH, MACHIR. According to one of the writers called P, Ramoth-Gilead, Mahanaim, Heshbon, and Jaazer were Gadite levitical cities (Josh. 21:33f.).

For a list of Moabite cities referred to in the prophetic writings, see MOAB.

The genealogy of Gad in Gen. 46:16=Nu. 26:15 contains seven names.¹

Zephon suggests the place-name ZAPHON (q.r.); Haggi might be the clan from which came the mother of Adonijab (see, however, HAGGITH); David was well received E. of the Jordan when the son of Maacah rebelled against him; Shuni (שוני) may be a corruption of Sharonite (שָׁרֹן); cp 1 Ch. 5:16; *MT* 1:13; see SHARON; Ozni (Nu.) and Ezbon (Gen.) may be merely variants; 'Eri' (עֵרִי) may be half of 'Aroerite' (עֲרֹעֵרִי); Josh. 13:25;² Arel may be really Uriel (cp JERUBBAAL, who was perhaps a Gadite).

The passage in which the genealogy in 1 Ch. 5 occurs is plainly corrupt.

Possibly Gad's genealogy really begins at v. 13 (see REUBEN) with a group of seven names (one of which is גַּדִּי). v. 14 appears to say that these seven are sons of a certain Abihail, whose genealogy is then traced. Among the links we find Gilead and Michael (both, it is maintained elsewhere [ZELOPHEHAD], corruptions of the same name—Salhad),³ Jeshishai (corrupted from Manasseh⁴), Jahdo, Buz-Ahi (שָׁבָא Ahibuz⁵; see KEMUEL, Uz, and cp AHI), Abdiel, Guni. All these 'dwelt in Gilead in Bashan, and in her towns,' etc.; whether 'Gilead' is the original word is disputed (see ZELOPHEHAD).

Not many personal names are definitely assigned to Gad.

The list of eleven attached by the Chronicler to the poetical fragment referred to above (§ 10) does not seem to be of value. In P's list of 'spies' we have Geuel, son of Machi. The omission of a prince (נָשִׁיךְ) of Gad (and Reuben) from P's list of dividers of western Palestine in Nu. 34:17-28, needs no explanation.

H. W. H.

GAD (גַּד, § 57; גַּדַּד [BAL]), a seer (cp PROPHECY) especially devoted to the interests of king David, to whom he gave warning of the divine displeasure at the famous census, and whom he afterwards directed to raise an altar on a certain threshing-floor (2 S. 24:11 ff. = 1 Ch. 21:9 ff.). In the description of him as 'the prophet Gad, David's seer,' the title 'the prophet' seems to be a later insertion (H. P. Smith, following G. and Ch.), derived from 1 S. 22:5 where 'the prophet' Gad is represented as warning David to seek a refuge in Judah (see MIZPEH, 3). The latter passage is, according to Budde, a late addition. In 2 Ch. 29:25 Gad appears as concerned in the regulation of the musical service in the temple, and in 1 Ch. 29:29 as a historian (see DRIVER, *Introd.* 528f., and cp CHRONICLES, § 6 [1], HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 14).

T. K. C.

GAD (גַּד), Is. 65:11 EV^{mk}, RV FORTUNE (q.r.).

GADARA (ΓΑΔΑΡΑ), **Gadarenes**, Mk. 5:1 I.k. 8:26 37. AV; Mt. 8:28 (RV). For Greek readings see GERASENES.

It has been shown elsewhere (GERASENES) that, though 'Gadarenes' is probably correct in Mt., the original tradition spoke of 'the country of the Gerasesenes.' The vigorous defence, however, of the reading 'Gadarenes' by Keim (*Jesus von Nazara*, 2:531) is strong enough for devoting some space to the

¹ The Book of Jubilees (4:21) calls them eight, but the present text has only six names. Gad's wife's name is given: Māha.

² Compare, however, the Benjamite name Iri (עִירִי), also following Ezbon in 1 Ch. 7:7 (BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. a).

³ More strictly of Salhad and Salecah respectively. For Michael Pesh. reads 'Machir.' (In fact, מַכִּיר itself might be a corruption of מַכְיָר = Salhad, and מַכְיָרִיל of Zelophehad. — T. K. C.)

⁴ fell out after גַּד.

⁵ G. omits Abi, and Pesh. omits several names.

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famous city of the Decapolis called Gadara (now *Mh̄s*), which, moreover, plays a certain part in Jewish history. Gadara lies 1194 feet above sea-level, near the western edge of the Heshan plateau, 4½ miles from the Jordan, about midway between the Yarmūk (Hieromax) and the Wādy el-'Arab. It was captured by Antiochus the Great in his first invasion of Palestine in 218 B.C. (Polyb. 5:71), and again, after a ten months' siege, by Alexander Jannæus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3:3, B/1.42). Under Jewish rule it does not seem to have flourished; Pompey restored it, after his Syrian campaign in 64-63 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4:4, B/1.77), and Augustus gave it to Herod in 30 B.C. (*Ant.* xv. 7:3, B/1.203). After the death of Herod it came under the immediate suzerainty of Rome (*Ant.* xvii. 11:4, B/ii.63). At the beginning of the Jewish war it was laid waste by one of the Jewish generals (Jos. B/ii.181); but at a later stage the Gadarenes asked and received from Vespasian a Roman garrison (B/iv.73). Josephus speaks of it as πόλις Γαδάρης (*Ant.* xvii. 11:4, B/ii.63), and *μνημόνους τῆς περὶ αὐτῆς* (B/iv.73). That its territory extended as far as to the sea of Galilee seems to be shown by the frequent occurrence of the figure of a ship on its coins, and perhaps also by the mention of a ναυμαχία upon one coin.

Gadara was for several centuries the seat of a hishopric (*Geogr. Sac. S. Paul.* 307; *Rel. Pal.* 776). It fell to ruins soon after the Mohammedan conquest, and has now been deserted for centuries, save for a few families of shepherds, who occasionally find a home in its rock-hewn tombs. The ruins occupy a narrow and high ridge, which projects from the mountains of Gilead. On its northern side is the deep valley of the Hieromax, now called Sherif el-Manāqirah; on the west is the Jordan valley; and on the south is a glen called Wādy el-'Arab, running parallel to the Hieromax. The ruins crown the ridge, and as it declines in elevation towards the east, the site is strong and commanding. The space occupied by the city is about two miles in circuit; and there are traces of the ancient wall all round.

GADDI (גַּדִּי, § 57, abbrev. for GADDIEL (?); גַּדַּד[ע] [BAL]), a Manassite (Nu. 13:11 [12]). See MACCABEES i., § 3, n. Cp GAD i., col. 1579, end.

GADDIEL (גַּדִּיֶּל, 'God is Fortune,' § 31; Hommel, very unhappily, 'my grandfather is God' [*AHT* 300] after Ar. *jaddun*, 'grandfather'; γουδινα [BAL], γουδι. [FI]), a Zebulunite (Nu. 13:10 [11]). Cp GAD i., col. 1579, end.

GADDIS (ΓΑΔΔΙC [VA], ΓΑΔΔΕΙ [N]), surname of John the Maccabee. See MACCABEES i., § 3, n.

GADFLY is the plausible rendering of RV^{mk} for גַּדִּי, *héres*, Jer. 46:20 (EV DESTRUCTION), following Hitzig, Graf, Keil; cp Chrysostom, Field's *Hex.* 2708. Mic. 2:13, however, suggests that *héres* was originally גַּרִּי, 'an invader.'

The versions have: ἀποσπασμα [BMAQ], ἐκκεντρίων [Aq., Symm.], *stimulator* [Vg.], مُصَوِّم [Pesh.—i.e., 'a host.' Schultens compares Ar. *hāris*, a species of *Cimex*. See Ges. *Theo.* add. 111. T. K. C.

GADI (גַּדִּי; ΓΑΔΔ[ע] [BL], ΓΑΔΔΕΙ [A v. 14], ΓΑΔΔΕΙ [A v. 17]), father of Menahem (2 K. 15:14 17).

The analogy of 'ben Jabesh' (see SHALLUM, 1) in v. 13 suggests that 'Gadi' expresses the local or tribal name of Menahem. Render 'a Gadite' (Klo.); but cp NAMES, § 57. T. K. C.

GADITE (גַּדִּיִּת), Deut. 3:12. See GAD, § 1.

GAHAM (גַּחַם; ΓΑΔΑΜ [AD], ΓΑΔΑΜ [L], ΓΑΔΑΜΟC [Jo.]), a Nahorite clan (Gen. 22:24). From its position between Tebah (*Tubhi*) and Tahash (*Tehis*), Gaham should be a disguise of Hamath. The loss of the final n is intelligible, but the prefixed g remains a riddle.

T. K. C.

GAHAR (גַּחַר; ΓΑΔΑΡ [A]), family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2:47 (γαελ [B], γααρ [L])=Neh. 7:49 (om. BM, γαηλ [L])=1 Esd. 5:30 (γαηλ [L]). EV possibly CATHUA (q.r.) or GEDDUR (but cp GIDDEL, 1).

GAI (גַּי), without the article, therefore representing a place-name; גַּי [A], but גַּי [BL.—i.e., גַּי], the spot to which the men of Israel pursued the Philistines after the death of Goliath (1 S. 17:52). Wellhausen, Driver, Budde, Klostermann, and others agree in reading 'Gath' for 'Gai.' Whether the verse is even then restored to its original form is doubtful (see We. *ad loc.*). Cp GATH, SHAARAIM, 1.

GAIOUS (ΓΑΙΟΥC [Ti. WH]).

1. A Corinthian, baptized by Paul (1 Cor. 1:14). In grateful

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acknowledgment of his hospitality to Christians Paul calls him 'my host, and of the whole church' (Rom. 16:23). According to Origen (*ad loc.*) this Gaius afterwards became bishop of Thessalonica; the grounds of this statement are unknown. The list of the seventy disciples by pseudo-Dorotheus contains a Gaius, who is said to have succeeded Timothy as bishop of Ephesus. It is not worth while to support this by the theory that Rom. 16, where Gaius is referred to, was addressed to the Ephesian Church.

2. A Gentile Christian, who went with Paul to Miletus (Acts 20:4). As the Gk. text stands, he was of Derbe; but this seems inconsistent with 19:29, where Gaius and Aristarchus are represented as both Macedonians (the reading *Μακεδόνα*—Aristarchus a Macedonian—being very ill-supported). Many scholars (*e.g.*, Salmon, in Hastings' *DB* 280a) suppose two different persons to be referred to; but the two passages stand so close together that this is improbable. It is necessary to read either *Δερβαιοὶ δὲ Τιμόθεος* (Blass after Valckenar) or *καὶ Δερβ. Τιμ.* (Lachmann).

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That Timothy was of Lystra, is no doubt a common opinion; but it is not certain that *καὶ εἰς Λύστραν* is not an interpretation (see Blass, and cp *ΤΙΜΟΘΗ*).

3. Gaius 'the beloved' (ὁ ἀγαπητός), to whom 3 Jn. is addressed; cp *EPISTOLARY LITERATURE*, § 7. Of his personality nothing is known. T. K. C.

GALAAD (Γαλααδ [ANV]). 1 Macc. 5:9 etc., RV *GILEAD* [7.v., 1].

GALAL (Γαλαλ; Γαλααδ [B], Γαλαλή [A]).

1. A Levite, apparently in the line of Asaph, in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see *EZRA* ii., § 5 [b], § 15 [1] a), 1 Ch. 9:15 (*γαλαρ* [L]). The name is, however, corrupt, see *HERESH* and cp *MATTANIAH*, 2.

2. A Levite in the line of Jeduthun in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (*EZRA* ii., § 5 [b], § 15 [1] a), 1 Ch. 9:16 (*γαλαλ* [L]) = Neh. 11:17 (*γαλαλ* [M.C. m. sup., *γαλαλ* [L], BA om.).

GALATIA¹

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MAP.

Asia Minor, with the political divisions about 50 A.D. (after col. 1592)

A. HISTORY OF GALATIA.

The migration which left a settlement of Celts

1. **Settlement of Celts.** islanded in Asia Minor was the last phase of a movement of which the inroads into Italy (390 B.C.) and Greece (279 B.C.) were episodes; but its history is known only in outline.

In 280 B.C. the Celtic bands overran Macedonia, killing the brave Ptolemy Ceraunus who rashly opposed them with inferior force. The main horde under Brennus and Acichorius penetrated Greece proper; but, being repulsed in Ætolia and before Delphi, retired northwards again, and uniting with their brethren in the neighbourhood of Byzantium determined to cross into Asia Minor. In this design they succeeded, being assisted by Nicomedes I. of Bithynia, who concluded a treaty with the seventeen Celtic chiefs, securing their aid against his brothers.

The invaders must have seized immediately at least some part of the country known afterwards as Galatia. Our authorities represent its seizure as coming somewhat later; but the survival of the Celts as a nation implies the possession of some place of deposit for their wives and children during those early years.

With their settlement on the uplands of the interior the Celts entered upon the second stage of their history, forming a true robber-state, from which bands of marauders issued systematically to fall upon the rich city-territories of western Asia. According to Livy (38:16), the three tribes cast lots for the region in which each plundered; this may not be true; but certainly all Asia Minor within the Taurus was at their mercy for the next fifty years, and the kings were fain to purchase partial immunity from their raids by the hazardous device of employing them as mercenaries in their armies (Polyb. 5:53-65; Justin, 25:2).

A change came with the victories of the Pergamene kings (especially those of Attalus I., gained between 240 and 230 B.C.). The inscriptions reveal several victories; cp Livy, 38:17, *Attalus rex sepe fudit fugavitque*. They are closely connected with an important chapter of Greek Art. The main result was to confine the Celts within definite limits (Paus. i. 8:1; Strabo 567); henceforth they were restricted to Galatia proper, and their historical influence was exerted mainly indirectly.

The Celts occupied the NW. part of the great plateau constituting the interior of Asia Minor (cp Holm, *Gr. Hist.*, ET, 46 f.). The range having no distinctive name, of which the last member to the W. is the Mysian Olympus, separated them from Bithynia and

Pontus. On the E. the Halys (*Kisil Irmak*), the greatest river of Asia Minor, on the W. the Sangarius (*Sakaria*), ran through deep gorges to the Black Sea, dividing the land of the Celts into three nearly equal portions.

The Trocmi settled E. of the Halys, round Tavium (*Nefes Keui*); the Tectosages between the two rivers, around Ancyra (*Angora*); the Tolistobogii¹ W. of the Sangarius round Pessinus (*Bala Hissar*). The territory of the three tribes formed a rough rectangle, extending about 200 m. from E. to W. On the S. lay the Axylon, or treeless steppes of Lycaonia, and the plateau of Iconium (*Konia*), in the E. part of which is the salt lake Tatta.

The importance of the Celts was due entirely to their geographical situation. The three tribes held in their hands the old Royal Road from Ephesus, by way of Pessinus, Ancyra and Pteria (*Boghaz Keui*, near Tavium), to the Euphrates (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 27 f.).

The alternative and more direct route following 'the one easy path that nature has made between the Aegean coast and the high grounds of the plateau' (*ib.*, and 49), through S. Phrygia and Lycaonia, was only in the infancy of its development; consequently the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, and those of Syria and Cilicia, were partially severed from one another, so that the former escaped the blighting shadow of Seleucid autocracy (Holm, *op. cit.* 49 f.).

Strabo (567) gives a sketch of the Galatian political organisation.

Each tribe was divided into four clans (cp the Helvetii, Cæs. *BG* 1:12), ruled by a tetrarch under whom were a judge and a general, the latter with two subordinates. The general council of the twelve tetrarchies consisted of 300 men, who met at a place called Drynemeton (= *Dryu-neimkeidh*, 'the temple of the oaks' according to Perrot, *Expl. arch. de la Galatie*, 182, who locates it near *Assarli-Kaya*, 7 hrs. SW. of Ancyra. Holder, however [*Altelt. Sprachschatz*], regards *Dry-* as merely an intensive prefix, and *neimeton* as = sanctuary. Cp Rams. in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1808, p. 234 f.). This assembly was principally a high court of justice; in other respects the clans were independent. By Roman times this old system had quite disappeared. (See especially on this subject Ramsay, *Hist. Comm. on Gal.* 72 ff.).

The commanding position of the Galatians upon the old route, and on the flank of the new one, explains the necessity for the punitive expedition of the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso (189 B.C., Livy, 38:12 f.).

¹ The form Tolistobogii is usual in inscriptions and coins of the Roman period, and is found in early authorities. In early inscriptions the form Tolistoagii is given.

¹ *Galatia* [Ti. WH] only in Gal. 4:1-1 Cor. 16:1-1 Pet. 1:1; *Galatians*, *Γαλαταί* [Ti. WH] in Gal. 3:1; *GALATIAN*, *Γαλατιανός* [Ti. WH] in Acts 16:8-23.

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This broke their power, and apparently they partially succumbed to Ariarathes of Cappadocia and the rulers of Pontus (Van Gelder, *Galat.* 257 f., Polyb. 81.73). Their losses on this side were balanced, however, according to Rams. *Stud. Bibl.* 449 f., by the conquest of the Lycian tetrarchy, containing Iconium and thirteen other cities (cp Pliny, *H.N.* 6.95 and Ptol. v. 4.10 who calls it *προσηλυμμένη*, 'the added territory'). This was probably about 160 B.C.

During the latter part of the second century B.C. the Galatians seem to have been under the ascendancy of Pontus—that is to say, the Pontic party among the Galatians themselves was triumphant. Then came a national reaction. At any rate the Romans in their struggle with the Pontic sultan found no allies more faithful than the Galatians, and 'by the side of the command of Mithridates to murder the Italians went the massacre of the whole Galatian nobility' (Momms. *Prov. of R. Emp.* [ET] 1.339). Only three tetrarchs escaped.

In 64 B.C., when the contest with Mithridates was ended, Pompeius established over the Celts three tetrarchs (a misuse of the title, see above). Of these, the most successful and prominent was Deiotarus of the Tolistobogii, who gradually made himself supreme over the other two tribes, and after temporary eclipse during Caesar's lifetime was finally recognised by the Romans as king of Galatia (died in 41 B.C.).

In 39 B.C., Amyntas, formerly a secretary of King Deiotarus, was made king of Pisidia (including Antioch) by Antonius, who between 39 and 36 B.C. disposed of kingdoms with a high hand in Asia Minor (App. *BC* 5.75). In 36 B.C. Amyntas was given in addition Galatia proper, with Isauria, part of Pamphylia, and W. Cilicia, as well as the Lycian plain intervening between his Pisidian and his Galatian domains, so that Iconium and Lystra were both under his sway (Dio Cass. 49.32).

The manifest ability of Amyntas as an instrument of Roman policy caused Augustus to confirm the Celtic prince in his kingdom, notwithstanding that he had fought for Antonius at Actium. He was also given a free hand on the non-Roman part of his frontiers. Soon therefore he made himself master of Derbe, which had been seized by Antipater (once Cicero's friend; *Ep. ad Fam.* 13.73).

In 25 B.C. the whole question of Roman policy in central Asia Minor had to be faced anew, for Amyntas met his death unexpectedly in an expedition against the Homonades, an independent tribe in Mt. Taurus.

The death of Amyntas threw the burden of governing his vast territories upon the Romans themselves (Dio Cass. 53.26). Marcus Lollius was

3. Galatia a Province. the first governor of the new province; but its organisation was not completed before 20 B.C. Pamphylia was separated from Galatia and put under a governor of its own (Dio Cass. 53.26). Various dynasts were recognised as rulers of the parts adjacent on the NE. and SE. frontiers: Polemon ruled over Pontus, whilst Cilicia Tracheiotis, with eastern Lycania, including Kastabala and Kybistra, the old eleventh *Strategia*,¹ was attached to the kingdom of Archelaus of Cappadocia (Strabo, 535 537; App. *B. Mithr.* 105). In course of time, however, these parts were absorbed one after another and attached to Galatia Provincia.

Additions to Province.

- 5 B.C. Paphlagonia (the district round Mt. Olgassys [*Ulgas Dag*]) with the cities Gangra and Andrappa after the death of Deiotarus brother of Castor (cp Rams. in *Rev. des Ét. Gr.*, 1894, p. 251; Reinach, *Rev. Numism.* '91, p. 395).
- a. B.C. Amasia and Gazelonitis, together with the domain of Ateporix (cp Rams. *Hist. Comm.* 227 f.).
- 34/35 A.D. Komana Pontica. This region together with that of Amasia is called as a whole *Pontus Galaticus* (Ptol. v. 6.3) as distinguished from *Pontus Polemoniatus*—i.e., the part of Pontus governed by King Polemon.
- 47 A.D. Derbe and the Lycian part of the eleventh *Strategia* of Cappadocia transferred to Galatia by Claudius on the restoration of Antiochus IV. (see DERBE).
- 63 A.D. *Pontus Polemoniatus*, the kingdom of Polemon II., which retained its title even after incorporation (Ptol. v. 6.4).

¹ The eleventh *Strategia* dated probably from 129 B.C. (cp Justin, 37.1); it originally included also Derbe and Laranda. See Ramsay, *Hist. Comm.* 64 f. 106 f.

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The core of the province was constituted by the old kingdom of Amyntas,—i.e., the territory of the three Celtic tribes with eastern Phrygia, Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycania,—so that all the towns mentioned in Acts 13.7, as visited by Paul (except those of Pamphylia) belonged at that time to the Province Galatia.

There is no literary evidence as to the constitution imposed upon the Province, and inscriptions other than epitaphs are rare in Galatia (see Anderson in *J. Hell. Stud.* 19.2 f.).

The governor was a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*—i.e., the province was imperial, but there were no legions within its borders. Ancyra, as being the old home of the Galatian kings, far exceeding, then as now (cp Murray, *Handb. to AM* 78), the other towns of the province in wealth, was the official capital. It had been an important city even before the Celts entered the country (*JHS* 19.48).

In S. Galatia, Antioch (*Colonia Caesarea Antiocheia*) was a sort of secondary capital, for it was in this region that the work of Romanisation was specially active from 20 B.C. to 50 A.D., as is clear from the number of Roman colonies founded by Augustus about 6 B.C. (besides Antioch, Lystra and Parlaia in Lycania, Cremona in Pisidia, Comama and Olbasa further W. Cp *CIL* 8, Suppl. no. 6974). These were connected by a system of roads which radiated from Antioch as the military centre of the whole of southern Galatia (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM*, 398 f.). Under succeeding Emperors, especially Claudius, this policy was continued, and several cities (e.g., Derbe and Iconium) were remodelled and renamed in Roman fashion.

In a special way the southern part of the province was important in Paul's time.

The two main roads from Ephesus to inner Asia traversed it, dividing at Apameia in Phrygia, the one to go N. of the *Sultan Dag* through Laodicea Comusina

4. Settlement of Jews.

and Caesarea in Cappadocia to the Euphrates, the other to go S. of the range through Antioch and Iconium and the Cilician Gates. To this fact we must mainly attribute the presence of large numbers of Jews in the cities of this region (see DELUGE, § 20, end). The Jewish colonies, indeed, dated from the time of the Seleucid kings, who established them with special privileges and citizen rights in their garrison towns in Asia Minor (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 8.1 and 8.4. Cp *ῥόμος τῶν Ἰουδαίων* in an inscription of Apameia, Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 538, 668. See also Schürer, *Hist. of Jews*, ET, ii. 2252 f.). Hence Paul's experiences in Acts 13.14 14 Gal. 1.7 17. Ramsay has pointed out that the analogy between Jewish ceremonial and the entire native Phrygian and Lycian religious system would tend to increase the influence of the Jews (*St. Paul*, 141).

B. GALATIANS OF THE EPISTLE AND ACTS.

What remains of this article is devoted to the question, Where were the churches to which the epistle to the Galatians was

5. Galatians in NT: sent? ¹ The accepted opinion has been that they were in northern cities not mentioned in Acts. This opinion may conveniently be called the 'North Galatian theory'. The arguments in favour of it are discussed below (§§ 8-31). In recent years (see § 33) it has been proposed by many scholars to find the churches in the southern cities mentioned in Acts—Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra. This opinion may conveniently be called the 'South Galatian theory'. As Ramsay has said (*Expos.* '95, p. 34), 'The central question as to the two Galatian theories . . . is so fundamental, that it affects almost every general enquiry whether in regard to Acts as a history and as a literary composition, or in regard to Paul's policy and character.' ² The question should not be taken in too narrow a sense (Ramsay, *Hist. Comm.* 9).

I. Case for South Galatian Theory.

The official title of the vast province we have described, extending almost from sea to sea, was 'Galatia.'

This is proved by Ptolemy's enumeration of Asia Minor, and with the other official titles of the provinces of Asia Minor, and by Pliny's definition of Galatia as extending S. to Pamphylia (*H.N.* 5.140 f., attesting *Galatia Pamphylia Carthaginiensis et Milyas*). It is also clear from Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.9, *Galatiam ac Pamphylia provincias Calpurnio Asprenatio recedens Galba permiserat* (=68/69 A.D.). Cp Rams. in *Stud. Bibl.* 4.21 f.).

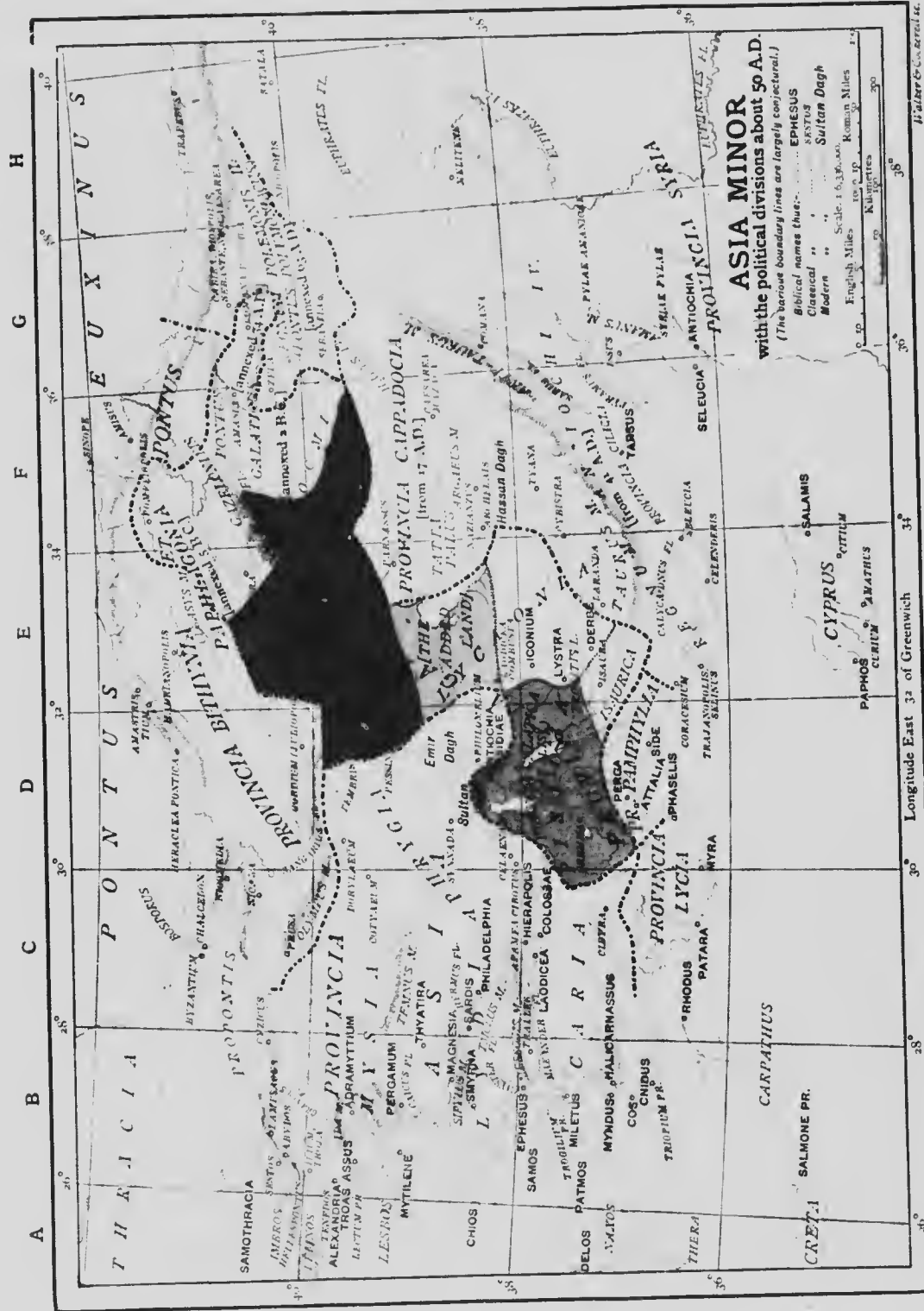
¹ The references in 1 and 2 Macc. also are dealt with below, § 32.
² For a different view, see below, § 8.

MAP OF ASIA MINOR

INDEX TO NAMES

Abydos, B1	Comana Pontica, G1	Isaurica, DE3	Palmos, B3	Sebaste, G1
Adled Lund, The, E2	Cos, B3	Issus, G3	Parga, D3	Selaste, E2
Adanymittum, B2	Cotacum, C2	Julio polis, D1	Pergamum, B2	Selastia, C2
Alexandria, B2	Coracesium, F3	Lampsacus, B1	Pessinus, D2	Selucia, E3
Anania M., G3	Crenna, D3	Laodicea, C3	Phaselis, D3	Selinus, E3
Anasia, F1	Creta, AB4	Laodicea Combusta, E2	Philadelphus, C2	Sestos, B1
Anastasis, E4	Carium, E4	Laranda, F3	Philonelium, D2	Side, D3
Anisus, F1	Cyblistra, F3	Lectum Pr., B2	Phrygia, CD2	Sinope, F1
Ancyra, E2	Cyzicus, EF4	Lenno, A2	Phrygia Galatica, CD1, 2, 3	Sipylos M., B2
Antiochia, G3	Delos, A3	Lesbos, AB2	Psidia, CDF2, 3	Smyrna, B2
Antiochia Pisidiae, D2	Derbe, F3	Lycaonia, E2, 3	Pontus Euxinus, F1	Sultan Dagb, D2
Anu-Taurus M., F2, 3	Diospolis, G1	Lydia, BC2	Pontus Galaticus, F1	Synnada, D2
Apamea Cibotus, D2	Dorylaeum, D2	Lystra, E3	Pontus Ptolemaicus, GH1	Syriae Pylae, G3
Archelus, F2	Enur Dagb, D2	Meander Fl., BC2, 3	Propontis, BC1	Tarsus, F3
Argesus M., F2	Ephesus, B3	Magnesia, B2	Provincia Asia, C2	Tatta Palus, E2
Assus, B2	Euphrates, Fl., GH2-4	Melitene, H2	Provincia Bithynia et Pontus, DEFG1	Taurus M., EF3
Attalia, D3	Gangra, F1	Messogis M., BC2, 3	Provincia Cappadocia, E-G2	Tavium, F2
Beaporus, C1	Gazelontis, F1	Miletus, B3	Provincia Cilicia, F3	Tectosages, F1
Byzantium, C1	Gordium, D1	Myndus, B3	Provincia Galatia, C-F1, 3	Tenbris Fl., D2
Cabira, G1	Granicus Fl., B1	Myra, D3	Provincia Lycia, CD3	Tennus, M., C2
Cesarea Mazaca, F2	Hadrianopolis, E1	Mysia, BC2	Provincia Pamphylia, DF3	Tenedos, B2
Caicus Fl., B2	Halicarnassus, B3	Nyctele, B2	Provincia Syria, GH3	Thera, A3
Calyadnus Fl., E3	Halys Fl., E-H1, 2	Naxos, A3	Prusa, C1	Thracia, AB1, 1
Caralis L., D3	Hassan Dagb, F2	Nazianzus, F2	Pylae Ananica, G3	Thyatira, B2
Caria, C3	Hellespontus, B1	Nicea, C1	Pyranus Fl., FG3	Tium, E1
Carpathus, B4	Hieraclea Pontica, 1, 1	Nicomedia, C1	Regnum Antiochi IV., E-G3	Tmolus M., C2
Cayster Fl., BC2	Hiermus Fl., C2	Nicopolis, H1	Regnum Ptolemonis II., GH1	Tolistobog, DH2
Celene, D2	Hierapolis, C3	Olgasys M., E1	Rhodus, C3	Trajanopolis, E3
Celenderis, F3	Iconium, E3	Olympus M., C1, 2	Salamis, F4	Tralles, B3
Chalcedon, C1	Ida M., B2	Paphlagonia, EF1	Salmone Tr., B4	Trapezus, H1
Chios, AB2	Ilium, B2	Paphos, F4	Samos, B3	Troas, B2
Chyra, C3	Imbros, A1	Parnassus, F2	Samotheica, A1	Troctis L., D3
Citium, F4	Isaura, E3	Patara, C3	Sangarius Fl., CD1	Troeni, F1, 2
Cnidus, B3			Sardis, C2	Troglum Tr., B3
Colosse, C3			Sarus Fl., FG2, 3	Troja, B2
Comana, G2			Satula, H1	Triopium Tr., B3
				Tyana, F3
				Zela, F1

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Ramsay, however, contends that the Greek-speaking natives did not habitually call the province 'Galatia'; they called it the 'Galatic Province' (cp *CLL* 3991, an inscription of Iconium which speaks of an ἐπίτροπος Γαλατικῆς ἐπαρχίας), or else enumerated its parts. The use of the single term 'Galatia' implied the adoption of the Roman point of view, in which national distinctions counted as nothing before the imperial organisation. To this antithesis between the Roman and the native standpoint is traced the difference in phrase between the Epistles and Acts.

On the other hand, whilst it is now admitted that 'Galatia' was the official name of the province, it is still maintained by those who favour the North Galatian theory that the derivative name 'Galatians' could not be used in addressing Pisanians and Lycaonians as it is used of the readers of Galatians in Gal. 3:1 (see below, § 29). This contention, however, is not convincing.

By the Romans the ethnic derived from the name of the province was regularly used to denote the inhabitants of that province, irrespective of internal national distinctions. This is conclusively proved by the exhaustive discussion of Ramsay (*Stud. Bibl.* 420 ff.). On the other hand, the national appellations, such as *Phrygia* or *Lycaonia*, were extra-Roman and servile (cp Mommsen in *Hermes*, 24, p. 31 ff.) and in their nature negative of that unity which was the imperial ideal. No general term for the whole population of the province (Galatia) other than 'Galatians' was possible for the Roman governor or for the Roman historian (Tac. *Ann.* 15, 6, *Pontica et Galatiana Cappadociaque aust. Ind.*). The same is true, also, of the case of men belonging to Roman colonies like *Colonia Caesarea Antiocheia* (Antioch) and *Colonia Julia Felix Gemina Lystra* (Lystra), and of semi-Roman towns like *Clauis* (Iconium) and *Clauis D. the* (Derbe). So long as we refuse to think of the four cities under these, their Roman names in Paul's time, we obscure for ourselves their true position within the province, and fail to grasp Paul's own Roman character and attitude towards the imperial system (Rams. *St. Paul*, 135, *id. Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 12).

This argument can be met only by adherence to the old form of the North Galatian theory, that the 'Churches of Galatia' were the northern cities, Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium (Lightf. *Gal.* 20; he doubtfully adds Juliopolis, which, however, belonged to Bithynia); but this view runs counter to the fact that the development of the northern part of the plateau resulted later, from the transference of the seat of government first to Nicomedia and afterwards to Constantinople (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of A.M.*, 74, 197-247). It further demands an erroneous interpretation of Acts 16:18-23 (on these verses, see, however, § 9 f. 12-14), otherwise no record can be found in Acts of the foundation of churches in N. Galatia.

It is a significant fact, however, that the history of the North Galatian theory shows a steady tendency to place the scene of the apostle's activity ever further southwards. Zöckler maintains the impossibility of Ancyra or Tavium, and restricts the churches of Galatia to Pessinus and the villages of the Axylian (St. Kr. '95, pp. 50, 7). Others hold that whilst the S. Galatian churches mentioned in Acts are addressed in the Ep., it includes also foundations, otherwise unknown, in N. Galatia. The South Galatian theory is that we have in Acts a complete list and a complete account of the foundation of the Galatian churches, and that Paul never travelled in any part of Galatia proper.

The attempt to restrict the application of the name 'Galatians' (Γαλάται) to those of Celtic blood is futile, as the majority of the inhabitants of Galatia proper must have been descended from the old conquered races. —The Phrygians or the Cappadocians together with, in Paul's time, Greeks, Romans, and Jews (cp, however, below, § 29, end). Especially in the towns must this have been the case (Vint. Gelder, *Gal. rev.*).

It is true that even in the first century A.D. the Celtic element retained its distinctive characteristics (as late as the 4th cent. A.D., according to Jerome, the Celtic tongue, in dialect resembling that of the Gallic *Tricory*, was used side by side with Greek); yet no sound argument can be based upon the supposed correspondence between the characteristics of the Galatian converts (Gal. 5:12 f. 14) and those charged against the Gauls, though no doubt many passages may be quoted in support of such correspondence (cp Meyer-Sieffert, *Brief an Gal.* 10). On this 'pedantic analysis' of Galatian character see Ramsay, *Hist. Comm.* 102.

The Roman provincial title 'Galatia' is not used in Acts; but in 166 we find the phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* (EV 'region of Galatia'), and in

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Acts 18:23, the phrase *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν* (AV 'country of Galatia,' RV 'region of Galatia'). The phrases are ambiguous, and various explanations have been proposed (see §§ 9 f. 12-14).

The question as to the precise significance of these phrases must be distinguished from that as to the locality of the Galatian churches. The latter question must be fought out on the field of geography and history; and the example of Zahn (*Find.* 134) shows that essential acceptance of the S. Galatian theory is comparable with a desire to interpret the doubtful phrases as referring to N. Galatia. It is for the North Galatian theorists that the interpretation of the two expressions is of vital importance, if they wish to secure coincidence between Acts and the Epistles; otherwise they must fall back upon a theory of lacunae which turns the edge of all criticism (Rams. *Stud. Bibl.* 417).

The holders of the accepted North Galatian view take the term 'Galatic country' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) to be simply a synonym for 'Galatia' (Γαλατία) — i.e., Galatia proper.

6. Difficulty of accepted view. The argument against this is decisive: Why, if Paul and the writer of Acts both refer to Galatia proper, should they differ so remarkably as to the name, the writer of Acts employing a circumlocution which stands alone among all the references collected from ancient authors? On the other hand, the adjective 'Galatic' (Γαλατικός) is used by Ptolemy and in the inscriptions² always in a definite special sense, to indicate the extensions of the original Galatia. Paul, writing as a Roman citizen, and from the Roman imperial standpoint, never uses any but Roman provincial titles³ (coinciding, of course, in some cases with pre-Roman national designations), whilst the Greek writer of Acts adopts the popular and colloquial usage of the more educated classes (Rams. in *Evangel.* '986, p. 125 f. = *Hist. Comm.* § 23, p. 314 ff.).

The North Galatian view demands also that 'Phrygia' (Φρυγίαν) be a noun in both passages; but this only makes more pressing the question why the simple term 'Galatia' was not written.

Lightfoot (*Gal.* 22) correctly argued that the phrase of Acts 16:6 (see § 5, end) must denote a single territory to which the two epithets Phrygian and Galatian are applied — 'it was, in fact, the land originally inhabited by Phrygians, but subsequently occupied by Gauls.' For the proof of this point as a matter of grammar, consult Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.* 486, *St. Paul*, 210). The historical justification of the phrase, however, given by Lightfoot, though true, is inadmissible here, being quite out of harmony with the style of Acts, and failing to explain why the writer should have been at the pains to use a cumbersome expression that serves no purpose.

Accepting the unity of the expression in Acts 16:6, we may take it to be a 'general and comprehensive description rather than as the exclusive denomination of any one particular district' (so Gifford in *Expos.* July '94, p. 12).

It denotes then the borderlands of Galatia and Phrygia.⁴ This certainly gives a perfectly intelligible route to the apostle, from Antioch northwards as far perhaps as Nakoleia, where, being forbidden to cross into Bithynia, he turned westwards (Acts 16:7).

The route from Antioch to Nakoleia, however, lay well within the borders of Asian Phrygia (since the boundaries of Asia fell E. of Trokiades, Orkistos, and Amorion, according to Ramsay [*Hist. Geogr.* 172] and Wadd. [*Phrygia*, 25]). The only road to which the description 'Phrygian and Galatian' is really applicable is the direct road from Iconium to Porylaion (*Eskei Sheher*), the modern Araba route from *Konia* to Constantinople, lying many miles E. of that suggested by Gifford (cp Rams. 21).

¹ See Holder, *Alteltischer Sprachschatz*, s.v. 'Galatia,' where most of them are given.

² 'Pontus Galaticus,' *CLL* 3, Suppl. 6213; 'Phrygia Galatica' in *Acta Sanct.* 2th Sept., p. 523, as amended by Rams. (*In urbe Antiochia Pisidia ex regione Phrygia Galatica*, where the MS has *Galatica*. See *Stud. Bibl.* 420). In *CLL* 3001, *Γαλατικὴ ἐπαρχία* is the enlarged province (date of this inscr. = 54 A.D.).

³ So also, and for the same reason, are Roman provincial titles used in 1 P. 1:11, which sums up all Asia Minor within the Taurus. See Rams. *Church in R. Emp.* 110; Zahn, *Find.* 1124.

⁴ Lightfoot seems to approximate to this view in his *Coloss.* 41.

¹ The untenable position that it was not, first assumed by Schürer in *JP. P.* 92, p. 471, was abandoned in *TLZ*, 30th Sept. '93, p. 506.

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op. cit. 107). From the supposition that Paul diverged N. from Iconium, the natural inference is that the prohibition to speak in Asia was given at Iconium, or at Lystra, and that Paul did not go on to Antioch (though his intention had been to visit all the churches, Acts 15:36: *κατὰ πόλιν πάσας*).

In the second place, Lightfoot is certainly right in his remark (*Coloss.* 26 n.) that the boundaries of the province Galatia were drawn with precision.

We must not take our own ignorance of the details of the frontier line as indicating any uncertainty as to the actual limits of jurisdiction of the various governors. Even though such uncertainty might obtain in particular districts, the question still remains unanswered, why here alone the writer of Acts has been careful to insist upon the ambiguity, if such there was.

Ramsay follows Lightfoot in the translation of Acts 16:6, rendering 'the Phrygo-Galatic territory' (so RV 'the region of Phrygia and Galatia,' as against AV 'Phrygia and the region of Galatia'). He differs from him, however, in the explanation, holding that the various parts of the province were to some unknown extent distinct, and were termed *χωραί*, *Regiones*.¹ Two of these *Regiones* were traversed by Paul in Acts 16:1-6 18:23—viz., Galatic Phrygia and Galatic Lycaonia.

The 'Phrygian' region (*Φρυγία*); more fully 'the Phrygian and Galatic region,' *ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα*, as in Acts 16:6 = *Phrygia Galatica* was that part of Phrygia which belonged to the province Galatia, containing the cities Antioch and Iconium (cp Acts 14:6, where the E. boundary of the Phrygian part of the province is put between Iconium and Lystra).

Just as SE. Phrygia lay in Galatia Provincia, whilst NW. Phrygia lay in the province of Asia (hence called *Ἀσιακή Φρυγία* by Galen, 4:12), so E. Lycaonia formed part of the kingdom of Antiochus (hence called *Lycaonia Antiochiana*, *CIL* 10:880), whilst W. Lycaonia lay in the province Galatia (and was probably called *Lycaonia Galatica*; cp *Pontus Galaticus*). It is obvious that these two sections of Lycaonia might also be spoken of respectively as the 'region of Antiochus' (*Ἀντιοχειακή χώρα*; so *Psol.* v. 6:17) and the 'Galatic region' (*Γαλατικὴ χώρα*; Acts 18:23).

In Acts 16:6 the Phrygo-Galatic district is given the full name; but in Acts 18:23 it is simply called *ἡ Φρυγία* (*χώρα*);² in the latter passage the Lycaono-Galatic region, of the cities Derbe and Lystra (Acts 14:6), is also mentioned, under the title *Γαλατικὴ χώρα*.

Ramsay further holds that Paul was 'actually in Asia' when the prohibition to preach reached him (*Church in R. Emp.* (5) 75).

Ramsay refuses therefore to understand the participle 'having been forbidden' (*καταθέρτες*) as giving the reason for the step described in the words 'they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia' (*διήλθον . . . χώραν*), arguing that the order of verbs is also the order in time (*ib.* 89); in short, that AV 'and were forbidden' is correct (as though the Greek ran *διήλθον . . . καὶ καταθέρσαν*). This is not impossible, though harsh. It is, nevertheless, however, that in his *St. Paul*, Ramsay follows Lightfoot (*Bibl. Ess.* 237) in retaining the reading (*καταθέρτες*) of the inferior MSS, upon purely subjective grounds,³ that can have no weight against the authority of the great MSS. The aorist, 'they went through' (*διήλθον*) must be read, and the participle 'having been prevented' (*καταθέρτες*) gives the reason, not so much for the action 'they went through . . . region' (*διήλθον . . . χώραν*), as for the suppressed verb implied in the emphasis put upon the expression 'The Phrygian and Galatic region' as opposed to 'in Asia'—they made a tour of the Phrygo-Galatic region (only, and confined themselves to that), having been forbidden,' etc.⁴

The point at which the prohibition was received is immaterial, and is in no wise indicated, but is most naturally assumed to have been Antioch.

In opposition to Ramsay, who, on grounds never fully explained, regards Acts 16:6-10 as 'the most remarkable, the most emotional, and the most instructive paragraph

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in Acts' (*Church in R. Emp.* 484), we must call attention to the hiatus between *διήλθον* and *καταθέρτες*.

All mention of entry upon Asian Phrygia is omitted, together with the reasons which led to such entry; for it is only by anticipation from the subsequent 'they assayed to go into Bithynia' that such reason (*i.e.*, the desire to evangelize Bithynia) can be adduced. Seeing that at the outset no intention of opening up new ground was expressed by Paul (Acts 15:36; the implication seen by Ramsay in Acts 16:3 [*Church in R. Emp.* 75] is unjustifiable in the face of the words *τοὺς ὄντας* in N. instead of retracing his steps, or descending to Attalia, as on the first journey (Acts 14:25).¹ (Cp, however, below, § 10 n.)

Further, we must not demand a too rigid parallelism in meaning between the phrases of Acts 16:6 and 18:23. The North Galatian view makes them mean precisely the same thing, accounting for the difference in form by saying that the route was reversed on the third journey; and Ramsay, but for different reasons, regards 'Phrygia' (*Φρυγία*) of Acts 18:23 as equivalent to the whole expression 'the Phrygian and Galatic region' (*ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα*) of Acts 16:6. Acts 18:23, however, should rather be brought into closer connection than is usually the case with the resumption of the narrative in Acts 19:1 after the digression about Apollos. The word 'Phrygia' (*Φρυγία*) must be taken in Acts 18:23 in the sense natural and obvious in this passage, as a noun (cp Acts 2:10). It here indicates the non-Galatian part of Phrygia, the special region thereof being particularised as 'the upper country' (*τὰ ὀρεινὰ μέρη* of Acts 19:1) which, following Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.* 94), we explain as the district traversed by the shorter hill-road by way of Seibin and the Cayster Valley. In his most recent utterances Ramsay connects the introduction of Christianity into Eumeneia and this region with this passage (*Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 250-275; cp *Expos.* '95, p. 389).

That 'Phrygia' in Acts 18:23 is to be taken as including, or even solely signifying, *Asian* Phrygia is supported by the phrase given by Asterius, bishop of Amaseia, in Pontus, about 400 A.D.—*μετῆλθεν οὐν ἐκ Κορίνθου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Πασιδων χώραν*, *εἰς τὴν Ἀνατολίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Φρυγίας πόλεις καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπισκεψάμενος, εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, κοινὸς ὢν τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος* (*Patr. Gr.* ed. Migne, xl, Hom. 5). The traditional confusion of the Syrian with the Pisidian Antioch does not justify Zahn (*Einf.* 1:136) in setting this evidence aside as a mere false inference. The passage proves that Asterius interpreted 'the Galatic region' (*τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν*) of Acts 18:23 as Lycaonia (against the N. Galatian hypothesis); but it also proves that he took *Φρυγία* to signify the country between the Galatic region and Asia (using the latter term in the narrower Byzantine sense). A possible rejoinder might be based upon the words 'confirming all the disciples,' in Acts 18:23—that, on the hypothesis expressed above, there could not have been any 'disciples' in Asian Phrygia at the time of Paul's passage through that region. Yet we must grant the probability of the expansion of the teaching from the Christian centres in Galatian Phrygia and Lycaonia, even as from Ephesus in Asia at a later date. Paul's work would be wrongly conceived as that of a pioneer simply. W. J. W.

II. Case for North Galatian Theory.

The following paragraphs are devoted to a statement of the reasons which in the view of the writer compel adoption of the North Galatian theory.

1. *General case for North Galatian theory.*—It may perhaps conduce to a dispassionate consideration of these if it is pointed out at once that the question is, after all, not one of first-rate moment. How comparatively subordinate in importance it is is illustrated

even in the strange way in which it has severed allies and united opponents.²

It would be a great mistake to imagine that the establishment of the South Galatian theory would mean the vindication of the thorough credibility of the whole

¹ So also Zahn (*Einf.* 1:135) rightly protests against the invaluable but unjustifiable assumption that Bithynia was Paul's goal from the moment that Asia was closed against him. 'Der Absicht aber, nach B. vorzudringen, wird erst in dem Moment gedacht, wo P. nahe an der Grenze B. und zugleich an einem Punkt stand, wo eine andere Strasse nach Mysien abging.'

² Thus we find conservative theologians like Zahn and Zieckler ranged on opposite sides, and similarly critical writers like Hausrath and Lipsius—Zahn and Hausrath supporting the South, and Zieckler and Lipsius the North Galatian theory.

of Acts, or that to prove the North Galatian theory would be to discredit the book entirely. Only a few sections of Acts are involved. The rest of the book has to be tried by other tests (ACTS, §§ 2-4-7-12-14; cf. also such articles as APOLLOS, BARJESUS, CORNELIUS, CHRISTIAN, COMMUNITY, COUNCIL, SIMON MAGUS, THEOTIMAS). Nor can acceptance of the North Galatian theory be said to cast a reflection on the author of Acts that is excessively grave. He has not stated what is untrue; he has simply omitted to mention a subject at its proper place and touched upon it very slightly when he mentions it later—the subject, namely, of the founding of the Galatian churches. Much more serious (to confine ourselves to Galatia) is a shortcoming of a different kind—his total failure, namely, to mention another matter of which we learn from the epistle to the Galatians. The appearance of the Judaizers, their baleful influence, and Paul's polemic against them constitute one of the most important chapters in the history of early Christianity, and yet Acts does not mention them at all. Still this charge does not depend on the acceptance of the North Galatian theory; it is quite as serious from the point of view of the other. It is unnecessary, however, to anticipate here what will have to be said later (see § 19); we proceed accordingly to lay down a general basis for the discussion of the question which ought to be treated as purely historical.

It is established beyond dispute that in Paul's time the districts in which are situated Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antiochia Pisidia—i.e., the cities visited by him on what is usually called his first missionary journey (Acts 13 f.)—belonged to Galatia Provincia (see above, § 3), and that in official usage the word Galatia also included them.¹

Derbe and Lystra lay in that part of Lycaonia which had been added to the province of Galatia; Iconium and Antioch in the portion of Phrygia² which then belonged to the same province.

Thus it becomes in a general way not impossible that the epistle to the Galatians may have been addressed to the churches of South or New Galatia.

ii. *Any churches in North Galatia?*—The possibility would be changed into certitude if Paul had founded no churches at all in North Galatia. In that case Acts 166-182, the only places in Acts where mention is made of Galatia, would have to be understood of South Galatia, for churches in Galatia are presupposed in 182 at least.

Ramsay, the most recent and most cautious advocate of this theory in Great Britain, at the outset, and even down to p. 77 f. of the 3rd ed. of his *Church*, identified the 'cities' traversed by Paul and Silas according to Acts 164 f. with the four we have mentioned—Derbe and Lystra (already visited in 160), Iconium (incidentally mentioned in 162), and Antioch (last named in 142). On this view he explained the 'And they went through' (διήλθον δὲ) of 166 as 'geographical recapitulation of the journey' through the

¹ See especially Pliny, *H.N.* v. 42-140 f.; Ptol. v. 4-11 f.; also Pliny, *H.N.* v. 27-95; Tac. *Ann.* 13-35-156, cp. *Hist.* 29; cp. Ramsay in *St. Paul, et eccles.* 421-36, and *E.A.* 1, 286, p. 129 f. = *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, 318-320 (chap. 2).

² At that time Iconium belonged, more strictly, to Lycaonia. Acts 146, however, seems to represent Lycaonia as being first entered on the way from Iconium to Lystra. Ramsay, therefore (*Church*, chap. 2), assumes that the author is here following the ancient popular usage in accordance with which Iconium belonged to Phrygia; so in Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2-10) and even down to the second century A.D. According to Ramsay (chap. 23), Antioch in Paul's time belonged to Phrygia, and ought to have been called 'on the side of Pisidia' (ἐν ὁρίσει Πισιδίας), to distinguish it from a city of the same name on the Meander, on the border of Phrygia and Caria. From this, he considers, came the abbreviation (Acts 13-14) 'Pisidian Antioch' (Ἀντιόχεια ἡ Πισιδία), whilst at a later date the conception Pisidia was so far extended that it included Antioch, and the reading of D, 'Antioch of Pisidia' (Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Πισιδίας), came to be appropriate. The non-Galatian portion of Lycaonia constituted the kingdom of king Antiochus; the non-Galatian portion of Phrygia belonged to the province of Asia.

second pair of these four cities, Iconium and Antioch—that is to say, through Galatian Phrygia.

On the other hand, in an appendix to the same book, p. xii†, he finds in 164 f. only the Lycaonian-Galatian churches, Derbe and Lystra, named in 164, together with the Syrian and Cilician, mentioned in 154, and no longer says of 166 that it recapitulates the journey, but that the journey 'is resumed from Lystra'—as from the last point which, according to the narrative, Paul and Silas had reached. In agreement with this, in *St. Paul*, chap. 8-1 (190 f.), he expressly controverts the interpretation of 166 according to which Paul had already reached Iconium by way of Lystra.

In both views of the matter, however, Ramsay takes 'the Phrygia(n) and Galatic region' (τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χ.) to mean the *regio*—i.e., the portion of the province which by its ancient popular name is Phrygian, but by its new official designation is Galatian. Thus he takes 'and' (καὶ) as = *et*, and 'Phrygia' as adjectival, just as 'Galatic' is. In 1823, according to *Church*, chap. 5, n. 1 (p. 90), 'the same territory' is intended as in 166; all that we have is a 'variation in form' (or 'in order')—'the Galatic region and Phrygia' (τὴν Γαλατικὴν καὶ Φρυγίαν)—and this is 'correct and excellent, if "Phrygia" here is a noun.'

For further elucidation Ramsay refers to p. 93. There, however, we find him expressing another view, namely, that in 1823 are included not only Iconium and Antioch but also Derbe and Lystra. 'If the writer wished to carry out this complicated phraseology he would have had to say: Lycaonia-Galatic and Phrygo-Galatic. He avoids the difficulty by using the simple phrase: the Galatic country.' 'The Galatic region' thus, according to Ramsay, here includes the Lycaonian and the Phrygian portion of the province of Galatia. This is implied, also, in the expression immediately following the words quoted above: 'after traversing which, Paul would reach Asian Phrygia.' On this view, accordingly, 'Phrygia' in 1823 denotes, not (as in 166) the portion of Phrygia belonging to the province of Galatia, but that which belonged to the province of Asia.

In the appendix (p. xii†) Ramsay expresses a third view—that in 1823 'Galatic region' is only 'Lycaonia Galatica', whilst 'Phrygia' is Phrygia Galatica.³

Further, as regards the prohibition to preach in Asia—i.e., according to Ramsay, in the province of Asia—Ramsay's former view (*Church*, 75; also app. p. xii†) was that Paul had already received it in Antiochia Pisidia. In the *Expos.*, 95a, p. 392 and in *Church*, 75, however, he maintains that it came to him only after he had already entered the province of Asia. In either view, however, this 'being prevented' (κωλιθέυρες) comes in point of time after 'they went through' (διήλθον)—what Ramsay holds to be linguistically possible (διήλθον κωλιθέυρες = διήλθον καὶ ἐκωλήθησαν = διελεύοντες ἐκωλήθησαν; *Church*, chap. 4 ad fin., p. 89 in 3rd and 4th editions, in 4th ed. also 485 f.; *St. Paul*, chap. 94, n. 2). At the same time, he declares (*Expos.*, 95a, p. 393, n. 1; *Church*, 486) his South Galatian theory to be 'perfectly consistent with taking κωλιθέυρες ["being prevented"] as giving the reason for διήλθον ["went through"]'. It is hard to perceive how this can be; but, in any case, as has been noted above (§ 7), Ramsay has changed his position, inasmuch as now (*St. Paul*, ch. 91 [p. 195 f.]), along with Lightfoot (*Bibl. Ess.* 237 f.), he follows the 'inferior manuscripts' (reading 'And having traversed . . . having been forbidden . . . having come over against Mysia, they attempted, etc.'; similarly AV; διελεύοντες δὲ . . . κωλιθέυρες . . . ἐλεύοντες κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἐπείραζον, etc.). This reading of TR 'suits the South Galatian theory admirably'; but the reason he gives for preferring it is purely subjective (see above, col.

³ Similarly *St. Paul*, chap. 546 (pp. 104, 111 f.); *Stud. bibl. et eccles.* 450; *Church*, 482 f. and 90*, whilst p. 93, word for word agreeing with *Church*, follows the second view. And in *St. Paul*, chap. 94, n. 1 (p. 210 f.); *Stud. bibl. et eccles.* l.c.; *Church*, 90* 483; *Gal.* introd., § 19, p. 209, he holds 'Phrygia' (Φρυγία) in 1823 to be an adjective. See below, § 13. He has not changed his view of 166.

1595, n. 3). Considerations of this kind do not admit of argument; but it may be said that the MSS HLP which support the reading have no weight.

With regard to the correct reading 'they went through' . . . being prevented' (*διήλθον* . . . *καλυπτόμενοι*), it

10. No; to North Galatia.

has to be maintained that the participle must contain, if not something antecedent to 'they went' (*διήλθον*), at least something synchronous with it, in no case a thing subsequent to it, if all the rules of grammar and all sure understanding of language are not to be given up.

Synchronism is what is denoted by the aorist participle (for example) in 124, where it precedes the verb, and in 1720, where it follows it; 2335 and even 2513 must be similarly taken if the text is to be accepted (WH conjecture some primitive error, and prefer with cursives, *Vg.*, etc., the fut. *ἀπαγγέλλουσιν*). In 167, however, 'being prevented' (*καλυπτόμενοι*) could be conceived to refer to something synchronous with 'they went' (*διήλθον*) only if Asia (*Ἀσία*) could be taken to denote the same country as 'the Phrygia(n) and Galatic region' (*ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα*). In point of fact, however, only Phrygia can be taken to mean a portion of Asia, and that only in one case—viz., when 'Asia' is understood as meaning the entire province of that name; yet Galatia, whether taken as designating a district of country or as the name of a province, is in any case distinct from Asia.

Thus 'being prevented' (*καλυπτόμενοι*) must be held to have been antecedent to 'they went' (*διήλθον*). Again, as Ramsay himself assumes, the prohibition to preach in Asia cannot naturally be supposed to have been made until Paul had entered Asia, or (at least) was on the point of doing so. From Lystra, where we left him (162[-5]), it is impossible to pass directly into Asia (the nearest portion of which would be Asian Phrygia); Asia could be entered only after traversing Galatian Phrygia (Iconium and Antioch). This region, accordingly, must have been passed through *before* the occurrence of the 'preventing' (*καλυπτόμενοι*). Now, if a journey through this same Galatian Phrygia (as Ramsay understands the geographical name) is indicated in the text as having followed the 'preventing', the journey in question can only have consisted in a renewed visit to the churches which had just been left. If this were what the author really meant, he would expose himself to a charge of very great carelessness for not having been more explicit; but if he did not know that a return was involved, an accusation of geographical confusion would become inevitable. Moreover, it would be contrary to the whole practice of Paul (see e.g., 167 f.), because he had been prohibited from preaching in a given district, to give up all search for a new field for his activities, and consent to have his mission brought to a stand in a country which he had just left as being already sufficiently provided for.²

Thus, we must take 'the Phrygia(n) and Galatic region' (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*) to mean something

¹ So also in Gal. 319, where Ramsay (*Exp.*, '934, p. 333 f. = *Gal.* 321 [ch. 38]) wrongly takes *διαταγὴς δι' ἀγγέλων*, 'ordained through angels', as something following *ὁ νόμος προσετέθη*— 'the law was added'—in point of time.

² This improbable supposition seems to be the inevitable result even of the attempt made above in § 7. If the prohibition to preach in Asia (Acts 162) constitutes the reason, not for the journey of Paul and Silas through the Galatian portion of Phrygia (and thus through Iconium and Antiochia Pisidia), but for a fact which the reader is left to infer from the explanation given, viz., that 'they confined themselves to this region,' then they must either have remained in Antiochia, which according to § 7 they had already reached, or they must have retraced their steps. Moreover, we fail to find that any such additional fact is suggested by the simple statement 'And they went through,' etc. (*διήλθον δέ, κ.τ.λ.*), or that when supplied it harmonises with the subsequent context. According to r. 7 Paul and Silas did *not* confine themselves to the Phrygo-Galatian territory, but advanced farther to the N. Thus in very deed we have a 'hiatus';—not, however, between 'they went through' (*διήλθον*, r. 6) and 'Then they went' (*ἔλθοντες*, r. 7), two expressions which, on the view we are about to develop, hang excellently well together, but between the (supplied) notion that Paul and Silas were restricted to Phrygo-Galatia, and the actual continued journey to the N. (*ἔλθοντες*, etc.). The 'hiatus' is obliterated as soon as the supplement is taken away.

else than Galatian Phrygia (or otherwise Galatian Lycaonia). In that case, however, the only remaining alternative is to take 'Galatic region' as meaning Old Galatia. 'Phrygia' can then be that portion of Galatian Phrygia which—if we assume the prohibition to preach in Asia to have been received in Galatian Phrygia—Paul and Silas had not yet traversed, but had to traverse in order to reach North Galatia; or it can be Asian Phrygia, if they thought they could reach North Galatia by this route more easily, or if they had already entered Asian Phrygia before the prohibition came. That this last is what had actually occurred is now assumed, as already mentioned, by Ramsay himself, and that it was only the preaching in Asia that was interdicted, not the travelling through it, is excellently argued by himself from the fact that in 167, at Bithynia, mention of the prohibition to travel through it is expressly added.

It is objected that North Galatia is very difficult of access to travellers. Broadly, however, this cannot be

11. Paul's route to North Galatia.

granted if we look at the roads which are shown in Ramsay's own map.¹ That Judaizers in particular were able to find their way thither easily enough is shown by the fact that Jewish names occur in as many as five inscriptions of Old [North] Galatia (*IGG* 3 495 474 488 492; add 497 with Ramsay, *Gal.*, introd., § 15, p. 169, and *KEI* 1077 [85]). The only point for consideration is as to whether Paul and Silas could have found a tolerable route into North Galatia from their last halting-place before 166. If, as Ramsay will have it, this halting-place was Antiochia Pisidia, the direct route northwards lay over the Sulfian Dagh. If this range could not be crossed, it was possible to go round it, either eastward through Galatian Phrygia or westward through Asian Phrygia. The only remaining geographical difficulty is as to how they could subsequently get out of North Galatia *κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν* (167). Whether we take this to mean 'over against Mysia' (cp 277), or 'in the neighbourhood of Mysia,' is immaterial; in either case, a point is intended from which it would be possible to go to Bithynia also. Such a point is best found in Asian Phrygia.

Although North Galatia is the last region mentioned as traversed before 167, we are not precluded from supposing that, after passing through some part of Phrygia into North Galatia, Paul and Silas actually made their way from North Galatia into the northern part of Asian Phrygia. Ramsay assumes that the journey from 166 to 167 must have been due N. through Asian Phrygia. Thus, North Galatia would be excluded because not named. This assumption, however, is not compelled by the text. Even on Ramsay's interpretation of 166 as referring to Galatian Phrygia, the journey through one district is omitted in Acts—that, namely, through Asian Phrygia—unless 'being prevented' (*καλυπτόμενοι*) is to be taken as subsequent to 'they went' (*διήλθον*). At this point, in fact, the narrative is cut; and assuredly it admits of being filled up in the sense indicated above quite as readily as in that advocated by Ramsay.

In 1823 the text is explicit in favour of the assumption that Paul's route was directed to North Galatia and lay through Cappadocia, in other words, somewhat as follows:—*via* Arabissos, Kokkussos, Arasaxa, Matiane, Archelais, Parnassos, and then Ancyra, Germa, Pessinus.

Had Paul gone through Cilicia to South Galatia, he would certainly have strengthened the Cilician churches also; and this would have been mentioned, as in 1641, all the more because in 1823 stress is laid upon 'in order' (*κατέβη*). That is further a reason why we should not think of this third journey (if North

¹ The only route by which Ephesus, it may be remarked, can be reached from Ancyra, the capital of Old [North] Galatia, is a circuitous route, leading first to the north-westward almost as far as to the Black Sea (crossing the river Sancarius, NE of Nicæa in Bithynia) and then turning southward to Konia; and yet (Ramsay, *Exp.*, *Gal.*, p. 41 = *Gal.* 254 [chap. 6]) between the two cities there was such 'abundant (or 'easy') communication' as 'leaves it,' in Ramsay's opinion, 'unexplained why Paul's news of the Galatians' change of attitude referred to in Gal. 151 was so sudden and so completely disastrous, even if one places Galatians as early as possible in the Ephesian residence' of Paul.

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Galatia is regarded as its goal) as having, nevertheless, been taken (as the second) had been) through Cilicia and South Galatia (cp. § 17). In that case, moreover, the idea conveyed by 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) would become unclear.

According to what has just been said, the Phrygia of 1821 will be not the Galatian but the Asian Phrygia, as the route from ? Galatia to Ephesus (191) lay through the latter, not through the former (see above, § 11, note, and § 7, end). In 186 also we must understand the Asian Phrygia, not the Galatian, a question which up to this point of the enquiry has been left open (cp. further, § 15, end).

The successive journeys, then, are to be figured thus: according to 166, Paul had already come from South Galatia westwards as far as to Asia (for what we are to understand, more exactly, by this, see below, §§ 14 f.), or at least to the neighbourhood of Asia; then, in consequence of the prohibition to preach there, he directed his steps in a north-easterly direction, and reached North [Old] Galatia through Asian Phrygia.

If it be felt, with Ramsay, that North Galatia had too important a place in the movement of the world to deserve to be chosen by Paul as a mission field, it always remains open to us to suppose his objective to have been East Bithynia, that he tarried in North Galatia on the way only on account of illness, and that as soon as he had recovered sufficiently he made for West Bithynia.

According to 1821, on the other hand, if we do not neglect the changed order of the words, he travelled from the E. through Cappadocia into North Galatia in the first instance, and afterwards into Asian Phrygia and thence to Ephesus.

Linguistically also the North Galatian theory thus offers three great advantages. First, it enables us to interpret 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) in both passages consistently; so also 'Phrygia' (Φρυγία); whilst, according to Ramsay's second view (referred to above; see § 9), both expressions and, according to his third view, 'Galatic region', have to be taken in 1821 in a sense different from that which they bear in 166. Secondly, it does justice to the changed order in which the words occur, which Ramsay certainly does not. Lastly, on this view the association of the two geographical names becomes correct, whilst in 1821 alike according to the second and according to the third view of Ramsay, we have the anomaly that the first member of the pair is designated by the name of the province of which it forms a part, whilst the second is designated by its own special name without any indication of the province to which it belongs.

12. Linguistic advantages of North Galatian theory.

On Ramsay's second interpretation, according to which the two districts belong to separate provinces, uniformity would have demanded that both provinces should be named—the Galatic and the Asian region (though, indeed, this would not tell which region of each of the provinces is intended). The confusion of the text of Acts 1821 would be the more incredible because the second member would denote the Phrygian region without more precise designation, whilst the first member also contains, as Ramsay holds, a Phrygian region, namely, that belonging to the province of Galatia.

According to Ramsay's third view both members belong to the same province—Galatia. On that hypothesis it becomes all the more inconceivable that the first member (Galatian Lyconia) should be called simply 'the Galatian region,' as if the second (Galatian Phrygia) were not equally a Galatian region. As on Ramsay's second view we should have expected to read 'the Galatian and the Asian region,' so, on his third, uniformity would demand 'the Lyconian and the Phrygian region' (supply, 'of the province of Galatia').

Ramsay now says (*St. Paul*, chap. 54-6) that in Lyconia 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) without qualification was a current expression used to distinguish the Galatian Lycia from that region of Lyconia which belonged to king Antiochus. If this be so, we have in this member of the phrase not an official but a quite local expression. How, then, could any writer have coupled with this as a second member, by the use of a common article, another expression which has no local usage to justify it?

Who could be expected to understand even this second

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expression correctly? According to Ramsay—*St. Paul* represents his third view—only Galatian Phrygia is intended; but the author says 'Phrygia' without qualification. Moreover, who could be expected to understand the first expression? In Phrygia also one could equally well use the phrase 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα), without qualification, to distinguish Galatian Phrygia from Asian Phrygia. In fact, Ramsay himself (*Church*, 452 f.) adds: 'When persons at a distance distinguished the two parts [viz. of Lyconia], they of course substituted [Lyconia] Ἀντιόχεια for [region] χώρα, designating them as Lyconia Antiochiana and Lyconia Galaticae.' This is exactly what the author of Acts does not do.

In a word, we have here three pieces of carelessness which Ramsay might not to have attributed to an author whom he ranks as a historian with Thucydides (*St. Paul*, p. 3 f.). On the North Galatian theory the meaning of 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) is clear without any knowledge of local phraseology.

Ramsay (*Church*, 79-81, 90 f., *Exp.*, 988, pp. 120-128 *Gal.* 314-316 [chap. 23]) maintains that for North

Galatia the form 'Galatia' (Γαλατία) is always used, and urges the adjectival form 'Galatic' as proving that a region added to Galatia only at a later date is

intended. As an analogy he cites *Pontus Galaticus*. In this case, however, the indication that the district did not originally belong to Galatia lies not in the adjective but in the substantive (*Pontus*); and the case will not be changed even if, for the sake of brevity, the substantive is dropped, for the reader would still have supplied the word *Pontus*.

The substantive 'region' (χώρα), also, Ramsay considers to be against the interpretation 'Old Galatian,' and to point to a new district recently added; and the position is supported (*Church*, 483) by the newly-adopted rendering of 'Phrygia' (Φρυγία) in 1821 as an adjective, inasmuch as hereby, besides the Lycian, the Phrygian district which had been newly added to Galatia is designated as 'region' (χώρα). But in Mk. 15 'the Judea region' (ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα) is quite the same as 'Judea' (ἡ Ἰουδαία) in the parallel Mt. 28. In truth, it is quite arbitrary to assume, as Ramsay does, that region (χώρα) must necessarily be the Greek equivalent for *regio* in the sense of an officially delimited division of a province. If 'region' (χώρα) in a non-official sense means simply 'district,' then 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) will naturally mean the district inhabited by Galatians properly so-called—i.e., 'Old' [North] Galatia. Nor would this meaning be excluded even if 'region' (χώρα) were to be taken in the official sense.

There is, however, absolutely nothing remarkable in the author's employment of the non-official language. He does it, for example, also in Lk. 23 8-9 151-15 1912 Acts 10 2620 (cp. Jn. 1154). In so doing he follows the usage of the LXX (ἡ χώρα τῶν Ναβυαίων, Gen. 1128 11 Nub. 97; τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, Is. 2713; τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Is. 1917; ἐν χώρᾳ Αἰγυπτίων, Is. 1919; Αἰγύπτου, Is. 1911; εἰς γῆν Σηὶρ εἰς χώραν Ἐδῶν, Gen. 3214) [χώρα thus = γῆ; just as in 1128 11 γῆ and χώρα are parallel]. This use of language deprives of all force Ramsay's question (*Exp.*, 988, p. 126

Gal. 314 [ch. 23] p. 'Why should Luke alone employ everywhere a different name for the country, diverging from the universal usage of Greek and Latin writers, and also from his master Paul?' Lk. 8 use of 'region' (χώρα) shows that he is employing 'no' (in a strict sense) a name but a periphrasis as in Acts 10 2620 (χώρα τῆς Ἰουδαίας). Perhaps the purpose of the periphrasis is to suggest the participation of the inhabitants in the events recorded (cp. col. 1664, n. 3). It may even be conjectured that Lk. uses 'region' (χώρα) in the non-official sense in all the other passages also (Acts 1349 [as in Lk. 1514], Acts 1220 Lk. 31), perhaps also in Acts 81, although the plural (χώραι) can also mean the country districts as contrasted with the town, as in Lk. 2121.

As for the divergence from the practice of Paul in particular, since that apostle would certainly have found such a periphrasis inappropriate in passages

so formal as Gal 1:1 (or 16:12) Titus 4:10, we are unable to find in these few passages any proof that he never expressed himself otherwise. On the other hand, we cannot share Ramsay's presupposition that the author of Acts was a companion of Paul and painfully followed his manner of expressing himself except in cases where he could follow a usage that had a Greek rather than a Roman flavour (see next col., note 2, end).

Ramsay insists that, on account of the common article, the words 'the Phrygian and Galatian region' (*τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ Γαλατίας χώρας*) in 16:6 must denote a single territory, which must thus have lain in South Galatia. This cannot be conceded, if only because 'and' (*καὶ*) in the sense of 'or' (*ἢ*) can never be the rule, but only at most a rare exception.¹

Ramsay himself has withdrawn this contention by his further elaboration of his argument in the *Expist.*, 95b, pp. 20-4. There he says rightly that the writer of Acts regards two substantives, when he takes them together under one article, as a unity only in a certain sense—namely, as a pair. He denies the applicability of this rule to 16:6, not because in this passage we are dealing with adjectives, not substantives, but only because the two, if regarded as different countries, would belong to different provinces ('Phrygia' [*Φρυγία*], he says rightly, on this view—that is, on the North Galatian theory—must be the part pertaining to the province of Asia), and because, accordingly, preaching had been prohibited in Phrygia but not in Galatia.

Even if this distinction had to be made, there was nothing in it to prevent the writer, in so summary a narrative, from including both districts under one article.² To do so became still easier as he employed the common substantive 'region,' *χώρα* (it is best, with Ramsay, to take 'Phrygia' [*Φρυγία*] in 16:6, as well as in 18:23, as an adjective).³

Apart from this, there is another answer to Ramsay's objection. If by Phrygia (following one of the two possibilities mentioned above, § 10, end) we are to understand the remaining portion of Galatian Phrygia which Paul and Silas had still to traverse before entering North Galatia, the prohibition to preach applies to this just as little as to the 'Galatian region' (*Γαλατική χώρα*). Or, if Asian Phrygia is intended—the conclusion come to under § 11—and by Asia not the entire province of Asia but only 'in the popular sense' 'the Aegean coast lands' without Phrygia (§ 15; cf. Ramsay, *Church*, chap. 82), the prohibition to preach applies to Phrygia as little as to the 'Galatian region' and the two quite accurately constitute a pair.

It would not, it is true, be permissible to take 'Asia' in this popular sense if the view held by Ramsay—formerly at least (*Church* 82)—were correct: the view, namely, that the narrative of Paul's travels—all of them, not merely the 'we' portions—under Paul's influence invariably uses the geographical expressions that were capable of more than one meaning in the official Roman sense, and that Luke, the author of the narrative, is distinguished by this from the usage of Acts elsewhere, which in 29f. (where Phrygia is mentioned along with

¹ Ramsay even supports this rendering (*St. Paul*, ch. 94, n. 1, p. 219f.) by Acts 13:9, 'Saul, who also [is] Paul,' *Σαῦλος καὶ Παῦλος*, as if 'also' and 'or' were the same (cf. Winer's *Grammar*, § 12, n. 6; in Moulton's translation of the earlier edition, 133). Hardly less bold is the rule which he lays down in *St. Paul*, *loc. cit.*: 'when a list is given in Greek, the items of which are designated by adjectives with the same noun, the regular order is to use the noun with the first adjective'; and in *Church*, 486: 'when two separate things, designated by the same noun accompanied by different adjectives, are coupled together, the proper order is to express the noun with the first adjective and to leave it to be understood with the second.' He has himself found it necessary to recognise exceptions in Strabo (*Church*, 486f.).

² Ramsay (*Expist.*, 95b, pp. 29-33) does not venture to allege that in Acts two districts can be grouped under a common article only when they are politically connected; he is content to add that this may happen also if they constitute a unity for the purpose of the mission. Even this, however, hardly holds good in 15:1, and certainly not in 19:21 or in what he himself recognises as an exception—27:5.

³ Ramsay is mistaken in supposing that the adverbial character of 'Phrygia' (*Φρυγία*) is an argument against the North Galatian theory.

Asia), and perhaps also in 6:9, follows the popular use. Even at this earlier date, however, Ramsay found himself forced to concede that, in the case of Pontus, i.e., follows the popular usage (see above, col. 159f, n. 2). As Ramsay now completely identifies the author of the entire book of Acts with the author of the journey-narrative (*St. Paul*, ch. 171), he is all the less justified in attributing to the latter in 16:6 a conception of 'Asia' different from that in 29.¹ Moreover, the critical view of Acts regards both passages as due to the author of the complete work, the 'we' source not beginning till 16:9. Thus that 'Asia' is used in the popular sense in 16:6 becomes probable because it is so used undoubtedly in 29 and the remaining passages in Acts admit of other interpretation.²

Here, then, we can now say still more precisely than in § 11 that Paul, proceeding from South Galatia (Lystra, etc. 16:1-5) westwards, had already reached Asia (in the narrower sense) or at least its neighbourhood (16:6); that, on account of the prohibition to preach there, he directed his steps (16:6a) towards the NE., and founded, first, in Asian Phrygia, those churches which we find him visiting anew in 18:23, and afterwards those in North Galatia.³ As for the word Phrygia, it must unquestionably be used in the popular sense, for the word has no different official sense whatever. The word thus includes in point of language the whole of the former territory of Phrygia, and it is only as a matter of fact that the meaning is limited to the Asian portion (see above, § 11).

Apart, however, from the question whether i.e., adhered exactly to the usage of Paul, it is quite impermissible to say of Paul that he invariably confined himself to the official usage.⁴

¹ Ramsay believes it possible from his point of view to maintain so much at least, that Luke, as long as he was under the influence of Paul, and thus while he was writing out his memoirs of the journey, followed the official usage, and only afterwards adopted the popular. Such a change would in itself be remarkable enough. Moreover, see § 16.

² See the enumeration of them given elsewhere (Asia, col. 159, end, col. 349, end). In *Stud. Bibl. et eccl.* (143-46) Ramsay withdraws his concession of a popular use of the word Asia in a sense less extended than as denoting the province, because other writers of the same period use 'Asia' only of the entire quarter of the globe if not of the province. But an author who, as in Acts 29f., names Phrygia alongside of Asia unquestionably does employ 'Asia' in a narrower sense than as denoting the province of this name; and the fact remains, even if this usage is not followed by other writers. Against the restriction of the meaning to Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and smaller districts in short, the Aegean coast lands—Ramsay, *Stud. Bibl.* 430f., urges that it did not come in till after the division of the province in 295 A.D. The point, however, is not whether exactly these districts are what is meant, but merely that Phrygia is not included along with them. On Ramsay's own showing (*Church*, chap. 82) this was so also when the province of Asia was constituted in 133 B.C.; and the narrower use of 'Asia' (without Phrygia), which unquestionably occurs in Acts 29, may be a survival from that time. As for the name Galatia, the fact of its not occurring in Acts 13f. might seem to make against its being used in Acts in the official sense. The objection would apply with double force on Ramsay's assumption that when Luke mentions a certain district in which Paul proposes to make a missionary tour, he always names it by its comprehensive and official name before particularising (*Expist.*, 95b, 35-40). The assumption, however, cannot be maintained. Ramsay himself in one place (*St. Paul*, ch. 51, p. 61) limits the assumption by the insertion of the word 'usually,' but he afterwards (*ibid.*, ch. 91, p. 196) leaves it unqualified ('wherever'). Apart from the notices of entrances upon new missionary fields, Ramsay attributes the employment of the official phraseology to Luke in other places also (ch. 91, no. 3, p. 135f. and ch. 114, p. 231f.). On the other hand, in *Expist.*, 98b, p. 126, *Gal.* chap. 23f., p. 115, he accedes to the opposite view: 'it has been shown in page after page of my *St. Paul* that Luke follows the Greek popular and colloquial usage, as it was current among the more educated half of society in the cities of the Aegean land' (cf. § 13, end).

³ We assume, with Ramsay, that in Acts 16:6 and in other (though not, as Ramsay holds, in all) passages in Acts the 'going through' (*διερχόμεθα*) was accompanied with missionary preaching. See Asia, col. 149, n. 1. Compare also the conjecture regarding 'region' (*χώρα*) above, § 11 (col. 159, end).

⁴ So Ramsay, *Church*, chap. 82, *St. Paul*, chap. 61, no. 3, p. 135f.; *Expist.*, 95b, pp. 29-32, 125f.—*Gal.* chap. 11, pp. 275-

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The assertion may possibly hold good for 2 Cor. 11.9, if, as Ramsay (*E. p.*, '95b, p. 38) tells us, Philippi did not belong to Macedonia in popular parlance, nor 2 Cor. 11.9, certainly relates to the same events as Phil. 4.13. Besides this instance, there is yet one other—curiously enough, unnoticed by Ramsay—which favours his view. Galilee and Samaria became incorporated with Judaea as a single territory under Roman rule—according to Josephus, *J. Ant.* xix. 9. *R. H.* 11.6, after the death of Herod Agrippa I. (A.D. 10) in 44 A.D., but according to Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.44) after the deposition of Ventidius Cumanen in 42 A.D. (Schür. *C. I.* 1.479 f., 1.479a f.). That the official name of this territory was Judaea we have evidence going as far back as 69 A.D. (*Tac. Hist.* 5.1). It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that the name had been already given to it in 44 A.D. for 2 Cor. 11.9. If, now, we are at liberty to assume the existence of Christian churches in Galilee we may be sure that Paul did not intend to exclude them when he wrote 1 Thess. 2.14. Gal. 1.22. As, nevertheless, he mentions only Judaea, he appears to be following the official phraseology.

All the other passages adduced by Ramsay, on the other hand, prove nothing.

Judaea is named by Paul in 2 Cor. 1.16, Rom. 15.19 also; but here only the narrower meaning need be understood.

Where, apart from 2 Cor. 11.9, he names Macedonia (1 Thess. 1.7 f., 4.11, 1 Cor. 16.5, 2 Cor. 1.16, 2.13, 7.5, 8.1, Rom. 15.26, and also Phil. 4.13) the apostle may be using the word quite as well in its popular as in its official sense.

So also with the Syria and Cilicia of Gal. 1.21. The order in which they are named here is not in accordance with that in Acts 9.3, 11.25 f., which brings Paul from Jerusalem first to Antioch, and then to Syria. Ramsay seeks to remove the discrepancy by showing that at that time Syria and Cilicia were united as a single province but had not received a common name. But should Paul ever have found it necessary to enumerate them in an order which was not that of his actual route, this necessity could only have arisen from the existence of a fixed and unvarying *nomos loquendi* such as we have for example in the case of *provincia Bithynia et Pontus*. Ramsay himself, however, has to confess that in the present instance he has not been able to find any proof of such a fixed usage. All that he can adduce is a collection of three names (*E. p.*, '92b, p. 11 f. = *Gal.* ch. 14, p. 277 f.; *Stud. bibl.* et cetera, 424) in accordance with which he designates the province on his own map in *St. Paul's* 'provincia Syria et Cilicia et Phoenice'; but this he takes so little seriously that in the same work (*St. Paul* ch. 8.7, p. 184) he says 'Cilicia was part of Syria.' But that Paul is thinking of Syria and Cilicia as a geographical unity is rendered positively improbable by his repetition of the article (*τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας*).²

Where Paul then mentions Asia (1 Cor. 16.19, 2 Cor. 1.8) and Achaia (1 Thess. 1.7 f., 2 Cor. 1.1, 2.14, 11.10, Rom. 15.26), the popular sense is quite as possible as the official. Indeed, if it is accepted as a fact (so, for example, by Ramsay) that Paul made some converts to Christianity in Athens (Acts 17.17 f.), whilst yet we find him calling the Corinthian Stephanas (1 Cor. 1.16, 16.15) his first convert in Achaia, he here uses Achaia in its popular sense, which, as Ramsay tells us (*E. p.*, '95b, p. 38), did not include Athens (see Achaia). If Rom. 15.19 is assumed to be genuine and Tit. 3.12 to have reference to it, Paul here uses *Illyricum* in a wider sense, which includes the whole coast of Epirus as far as to Actium, where the Epirian Nicopolis lay. Epirus never was part of Illyria. From Apollonia, onwards they did not even touch each other; the southern border of Illyria was much farther N., passing through Scodra and Lissus on the Drilon. There are many other cities named Nicopolis, but not one of them in any district visited, so far as we know, by Paul. Ramsay does not express himself upon 1 Cor. 16.15 and Tit. 3.12; but on the other hand he notes that in Rom. 15.19 Paul uses the Roman form 'Illyricum' whilst the Greeks used *Illyrikos* only as an adjective, the substantive being *Illyria* (*E. p.*, '92b, p. 30 = *Gal.* chap. 14, p. 276 f.). This, however, tells us nothing as to the geographical denotation of the expression.³ Further (*E. p.* and

279, chap. 23, p. 314; also Zahn (*Einl. in das NT.*, § 11, n. 4), who, however, although a supporter of the South Galatian theory, traverses every other contention of Ramsay's dealt with above in §§ 9-15 (so far as they are to be found in *Church*; *St. Paul* he had not yet seen).

² This of course will not hold good if we follow the chronology (based on Tacitus) adopted by O. Holtmann (*NTliche Zeitsch.* 123-129) and Harnack (*Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.* ii. 1. *Chronol.* 1233-230), for in this case both epistles belong to a date earlier than the introduction of the official nomenclature.

³ The omission of the second article, though adopted by Ramsay as the right reading, is supported only by κ among the uncials.

⁴ To a like category belongs Ramsay's assertion (*E. p.*, '92b, p. 115 = *Gal.* chap. 25, p. 321) that Paul of set purpose calls the Philippians *Philippenses* (Phil. 4.15), which 'is the Greek representative of the Latin *Philippensis*, according to a rule familiar to archaeologists . . . he avoids the Greek ethnic, which was *Φιλιππῆσι* or *Φιλίππωνες*. He would not address the inhabitants of a Roman colony by a Greek name, but only by the Latin name written in Greek form.' Elsewhere (*J. of Theol. Stud.* 1 (16/1901) he says still more definitely: 'the suffix *-enses* was only used in Greek to represent Latin names.' But does not Homer call the Ithacans *Ιθακῶντες* (Od. 2.25 and often)? Bühler

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(*Gal.*, as above) he lays emphasis on the point that in 2 Tim. 4.10 Paul designates as Dalmatia the province which in Rom. 15.19 he had called *Illyrikos* in agreement, he thinks, with the change in the name of Illyria which had actually happened in the closing years of the apostle's life. Dalmatia has in the past denoted only the southern portion of that province. However, a mere begging of the question to assume that the province of 2 Tim. 4.10 covers the same area as the province of Rom. 15.19 Dalmatia in Timothy could quite as easily mean that part of Illyria which in popular speech had retained its old name.

Further, it is not legitimate to argue for Paul's adoption of the official phraseology from the fact that he nowhere employs geographical expressions which have only a popular but no official meaning, before doing so, it would be necessary to produce passages in which Paul had occasion to use such expressions, and yet avoided doing so. Lastly, that Paul must have followed the official usage on account of the manner in which his missionary activity connected itself with the official capitals (*E. p.*, '95b, p. 35 f., and often) is a mere theory that proves nothing.

Moreover, even if Paul did invariably follow the official practice, the conclusion so often based upon this—viz., that Paul must by Galatia have meant South Galatia—would still be quite illegitimate. As if North Galatia did not equally belong to the province of Galatia! Thus, if we assume the word Galatia to be used in its official sense, it becomes only a possibility, not a necessity, that our epistle was addressed to South Galatians.

In 1821 Paul 'establishes all the disciples'. As there were disciples in South Galatia, it has been thought by some that we must interpret only in this sense 'the Galatic region' (*τῆς Παλαριστῆς χώρας*) traversed by him along with Phrygia, and that North Galatia must be excluded. To escape

the second necessity, some have assumed the course of the journey to have been as in 186—first through South Galatia and afterwards through North Galatia (against this see, further, § 11 above). Neither assumption is at all compelled by the text. 'All' (*πάντας*) must be meant to be limited by the route stated to have been taken. One who travels through Galatia (and Phrygia) can stablish only the disciples whom he finds there—in other words, if South Galatia is meant, only the South Galatians—if North Galatia, only those of the N. The possibility of the existence of the latter is not excluded by the fact that there were disciples in South Galatia. 'In order' (*καθ' ἑξῆς*) in like manner means only that Paul visited successively each church which lay on his route, not that he visited every place in Asia Minor where there were disciples.

It may be the case that in wide districts of North Galatia nothing but Celtic was spoken, and that

18. Nor difficult journey. travelling in the interior—especially for an invalid (*Gal.* 4.13)—was very arduous. Lightfoot's assumption, however, that Paul carried his mission throughout the whole of North Galatia is as gratuitous as it is embarrassing. Ramsay's disinclination towards the North Galatian theory is in large measure due to the fact that he looks at it only in the form presented by Lightfoot. In reality, it is sufficient to suppose that during his illness, or during his convalescence, Paul founded a few churches, none of them very far apart,

(*Das griech. Secundärsuffix -της* 40 *Glott.*, '98), besides a large number of other adjectives in this termination, has collected fifteen which are derived from proper names—among them names of various Greek places, in which a derivation from the Latin *-ensis* is quite improbable. *Ἰλlyρικός* occurs in documents in Demosthenes, *Ἀκατικός* in Callimachus (circa 260 B.C.). Nor are they all derivatives from words ending in *-ης* or *-α*, such as *Ἰλακή* or *Ἰλῆα*. Not to mention any but words that are unquestionably early, from pre-Roman times: *Ἀκατικός* comes from *Ἀκαός* (like *Βροχτικός*, therefore, in Hesiod, and *Ἀπορτικός* in Aratus, circa 270 B.C.), and *Τιρατικός* is, in *Iliad*, 2.751, a river descending from Mount *Τίραπος*, in Hesiod, *Shield*, 181, and in Apollonius of Rhodes (circa 250 B.C.) a man from the same district. Cp. also Kühner, *Ausf. Gramm.* d. griech. Sprache, § 334, n. 2.

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and all situated in the W. of North Galatia, where acquaintance with Greek, as far as Pessinus and Gema are concerned, is recorded even by Ramsay (*Church*, chap. 61, no. 6). Nor, in this case, need the Galatian mission have taken up such an excessive amount of time as to embarrass the chronology of the journeys of Paul, as Ramsay supposes (*Church*, 84-86).¹

Even granting that our first notice of a bishop (and so of a Christian church) in these regions is as late as 175 A.D., whilst for Ancyra, more to the eastward, on the other hand, it is as much as some thirty years earlier, we have in this insufficient justification for saying, as Ramsay does (*St. Paul, et cetera*, 410), that 'the only form of the North Galatian theory that is not a historical absurdity is Lightfoot's, who held that Paul's Galatian churches were in the great cities, especially Ancyra.'

The limitation of the old Galatian missionary field indicated above deprives of much of its weight the objection that the founding of the North Galatian Churches is not recorded in

19. Nor the silence of Acts.

Acts. Ramsay repeatedly declares their existence to be for him incredible for the reason that, had they existed, he could no longer hold Acts to be a work produced within the first century by a companion of Paul (*Church*, chap. 8, and pp. 59-81 86 f., etc.). On the claim for Acts thus presupposed by Ramsay, see Acts, §§ 2, 4-7, 12-14. As far as the silence of Acts as to the founding of the North Galatian churches is concerned, it may be pointed out that the same book says practically nothing about the founding of the churches in Cilicia, and absolutely nothing about those of Ephesus and Rome, or about Paul's journey to Corinth, which we infer from 2 Cor. 2:12-14 12-13. Still more noteworthy is its absolute suppression of the very name of Titus on account of the bitter controversy that had been waged over him (Gal. 2:1). The same consideration must have determined the author to recall as little as possible the memory of the Galatian churches within which there had been such violent disputes. Not till 1821, and even then only incidentally, does he allude to their existence.

In *N.T. references suit North Galatia best*—It is to be held as proven that Paul did found churches in North Galatia, the point which we have now to determine is whether the references in the N.T. and especially in Galatians, suit North or South Galatia better. That both portions of the province are meant equally is inadmissible. According to Gal. 1:10, the occasion of their founding must have been the same for all the Galatian churches.

Nothing decisive is made out when it is proved that passages in Galatians which would be appropriate to

20. Indecisive arguments.

North Galatia are suitable also to the South. (1) Had Paul actually circumcised Timothy and delivered the decree of the apostles (Acts 16:1), but see Acts, § 7, and Col. 3:11, § 10), enabling the Judaeizers to cite a case of self-contradiction in view of his preaching of freedom from the law (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, chap. 82, *Ep.*, '98b, pp. 17-200 f. = *Gal.* [chap. 8] pp. 26-265, [chap. 27] pp. 324-326, but on Gal. 5:11 f. see next article, §§ 10 and 13, n.), the fact could have been proclaimed quite as easily in North as in South Galatia. (2) Star gods, which are meant by the *αστροείδα* in 1 Cor. (EV, ELLI-MENTS, 7:7, § 2), were worshipped not only in Antiochia Pisidia (where moon-worship is proved to have existed), and castration and stigmatisation (if 5:12-13 do really refer to the practice of these in pagan worship) also were widely spread. (3) Gal. 3:28 is regarded by Ramsay (*Church*, 41) as an 'allusion' to the readers 'as Greeks . . . for purpose of courtesy'. This also would be equally appropriate for North Galatia. Besides, the statement can be intended quite generally, without any 'allusion' at all.

¹ This divergence from Lightfoot's view is therefore not, as might perhaps at first appear, a half retraction of the North Galatian theory and an approximation to the South Galatian. It is simply a better formulating of the North Galatian, which avoids the difficulties needlessly introduced by Lightfoot.

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(4) Paul can conceivably have been received as an 'angel of God' (ἀγγέλων θεοῦ) (1:14) on other occasions besides that of his dedication at Lystra (Acts 14:12-13), to which Ramsay (*Church*, chap. 61, no. 9; *St. Paul*, chap. 58) refers the passage. (5) Ramsay argues (*Church*, chap. 62) that if in the Pauline Epistles the South Galatians are alluded to only in 2 Tim. 3:11, and not in Galatians and 1 Cor. 16:1, Acts must be regarded as unhistorical when it speaks of his conspicuous love for them; yet that an erroneous representation of the kind could not have arisen in the second century, in which those churches had no importance whatever. Very possibly, however, Paul may have written epistles to the South Galatians which we no longer possess. An epistle to the Laodiceans has perhaps been lost (Col. 4:16); certainly one to Corinth has (1 Cor. 5:9-11). The apostle may in any case be supposed to have loved the North Galatians also, as far, at least, as to write an epistle to them if it was they who stood in danger of drifting away from the true Gospel.

Another argument for the South Galatian address of

21. Inheritance, etc.

the Epistle is found by Ramsay in the language used by Paul regarding inheritance and other matters.

1. *The laws of inheritance according to Ramsay.*—

(a) When the Gentiles who follow Abraham in his faith are called his sons (Gal. 3:7), this, Ramsay holds, has its explanation in the conception that they are heirs of his faith. This conception, he goes on to say, rests upon a law of inheritance according to which only sons (real or adoptive, not daughters or strangers, or infants, so that, conversely also, all heirs can be called sons). Such was indeed the ancient Roman law of inheritance. In Paul's time, however, it was by Roman law open to a man to make any one his heir without adopting him as a son. On the other hand, the ancient Roman idea held good in the Greek law, and this according to Ramsay's conjecture had 'certainly' been introduced into South Galatia under Alexander the Great and the Seleucids (143-30 B.C.) long before it came under the Roman rule, and had continued to be the law under that rule while in North Galatia the Romans had introduced their contemporary law at once in place of that of the Ptolemies (*Ep.*, '98b, pp. 200-204; *Gal.* [chaps. 31-34] pp. 175-177, 179-183).

(b) Further, according to the contemporary law of Rome, a will remained secret during the lifetime of the testator, came into force only at his death, and until his death could always be changed by the testator. In Ramsay's view, the opposite is the case with the will (*διαθήκη*) of Gal. 3:15, 17, and therefore, he thinks, it is a will in the Greek sense that Paul has in his mind. Such a will was from the first 'open and public, immediately effective, and irrevocable.' It must be deposited either in original or in a properly certified copy in the 'Record Office' of the city, and the officials there were bound to satisfy themselves that it was a properly valid document before they accepted it; if there was an earlier will, the later must not be accepted unless it was found not to interfere with the preceding one; and so it continued to be in South Galatia down to the apostle's time, whatever the changes, greater or smaller, it may have passed through elsewhere (*Ep.*, '98a, pp. 200-203; *Gal.* [chaps. 31-34] pp. 175-177, 179-183).

(c) Lastly, in Roman law, a son under age remains till his fourteenth year under a tutor, and till his twenty-fifth under a curator. The tutors, Ramsay takes it, answer to the 'guardians' (*ἐκτερονόμοι*), the curators to the 'stewards' (*οικονομοί*) of Gal. 4:2. He discusses, however, this difference, that according to Roman law the father can institute by will only the tutor, not also the curator, of his son. Greek law here presents no analogy; it seems to know only 'guardians' (*ἐκτερονόμοι*), not 'stewards' (*οικονομοί*). On the other hand, Ramsay finds a full analogy to what we meet with in Galatians in the 'Syro-Roman, or as he prefers to call it 'Greece-Syrian,' law-book of the fifth century A.D., edited by Bruns and Sachau in 1886. Here the father nominates by will not only the future guardian (*ἐκτερονόμος*) but also the future curator of his son. Ramsay holds that this law dates from the time of the Seleucids, and had force in South Galatia before that of Rome. When in Syria the Roman law likewise became influential, 'the name *curator* was substituted,' in the Syrian law book referred to, 'for *ἐκτερονόμος*,' while the word, *οικονόμος*, written, however, in Syriac letters, was retained (*Ep.*, '98c, pp. 419-441; *Gal.* [chap. 41] pp. 191-193).

2. *Are the facts established?* The present writer is not in a position to bring to a test these various statements in all their details. It has to be observed, however, not only that many of them are pure conjectures, but also that what they allege regarding Greek law is in the most essential points at variance with what we know as Attic law, or indeed as Greek law generally.

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understood otherwise than as meaning that what Paul had in his mind was adoption by a person still alive. But this is absolutely excluded; *διαθήκη* in the language of the law as that had been long established in Paul's time never means anything else than a will made with reference to death (the sense of 'covenant' does not come into consideration here). It is of course true that the analogy to a man who makes arrangements with his death in view halts somewhat when applied to God; but that Paul does so apply it is unquestionable.

Thus another view of Gal. 3:15-17, which has the support of many scholars, though not taken into account by Ramsay, becomes all the more inevitable. When it is said (3:15) that 'no man maketh void or addeeth to' a man's testament, the testator himself is not to be regarded as included in the proposition. He himself might perhaps have it in his power to change it. Only, this possibility does not come into account in the ease under consideration. For in the apostle's view it is not God but the angels who are regarded as authors of the Mosaic law, which announces a change of the divine purpose—compared to a testament—given in the promise to Abraham. Of the angels he assumes that their action was on their own responsibility, not at the command of God. On this interpretation, the question whether it is with Greek or with Roman law that we are dealing, does not arise. In every system of law it holds good that an outsider cannot alter another man's will.

(c) As for Gal. 4:2, the plural 'guardians and stewards' (*ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους*) makes it very improbable from the outset that the apostle is thinking of the son as being subject to the 'guardians' during one part of his minority and to the 'stewards' during another part only; for the law speaks, as is but natural, in the singular, of one tutor and one curator. If, however, Paul is thinking of both tutors and curators as discharging their office simultaneously it becomes impossible to detect his exact legal meaning. Equally impossible is it to do so if, as is not improbable, he is thinking of the father of the heir as still living. It must be remembered that in the figure the father is God. In 3:17 he is compelled to think of God as dead; but not in 4:1f.

(d) Even if we grant, however, for the sake of argument, the possibility that Paul's manner of expressing himself in Galatians is in agreement with Greek law, what has been proved? Only that Paul himself was acquainted with this law, not by any means that his readers also were. Or has the apostle in other matters paid such careful regard to the circumstances of his readers? The Galatians were all, or nearly all, Gentile Christians (see next article, § 11) and yet he writes in a way that includes them also with reference to the Mosaic law, 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law' (3:13); 'we were kept in ward under the law . . . so that the law hath been our tutor,' etc. (3:23-25), and 'Christ redeemed them which were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons' (4:5). The church of Corinth in like manner was, practically, entirely Gentile; yet Paul writes (1 Cor. 10:1), 'our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea,' etc. In the case of a writer who is so careless to guard his language on obvious and important points, it is futile to single out individual phrases, assume them to have been carefully chosen with reference to the special environment of the readers and on these to base far-reaching conclusions as to where that environment was (as, e.g., Ramsay does in *Gal.* chap. 35, p. 374).

The same remark applies to the proof of a South Galatian address which Ramsay finds in the 'tutor' (*παιδαγωγός*) of 3:24f. on the ground that there were no slaves of this kind in North Galatia, or again in 3:28 because in South Galatia the women enjoyed greater independence than elsewhere (*ETP.*, 688, pp. 433-436, 438f. = *Gal.* chap. 39f., pp. 381-385 389-391), and other proofs of the same nature.

It is probable that in Acts 20:4 we have an enumeration of the representatives of churches who had been

22 Acts 20:4. appointed as men of trust, in accordance with 2 Cor. 8:23, to see to the due conveyance of the proceeds of the great collection

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to Jerusalem. Among these, whilst we find two South Galatians—Gaius and Timothy—no North Galatian is mentioned; and from this it has been supposed that in 1 Cor. 16:1 South Galatia must be meant. The list, however, is not complete. It has no representatives of Corinth and Philippi,¹ and names of North Galatians can equally well have been omitted. Above all, it would have been quite irrational to carry moneys from South Galatia to Jerusalem by way of Macedonia² and run all the risks (2 Cor. 11:26) of such a journey. Moreover, Timothy was the constant companion of Paul, and in like manner Gaius also will have been a member of the company on other accounts than that of the collection.

1 Cor. 16:1 comes into consideration for the reason that Paul presumably used 'Galatia' in Galatians in the same sense as here. Now, 1 Cor. 16:1 is held to refer to South Galatia, because it is deemed improbable that Paul did not invite the South Galatians also to take a part in the great love-offering of the Gentile churches. But he may very well have invited them even if 1 Cor. 16:1 refers to North Galatia. Paul here says only that he has appointed a particular manner of making the collection in Galatia. It is open to us to suppose that he has not as yet had occasion to do this for South Galatia also, or that another method had already been adopted there.

In Galatians Paul makes no reference to the journey to Jerusalem mentioned in Acts 18:22. From this is drawn the inference that the epistle must have been addressed to South Galatia, because, as is shown by Gal. 4:13, Paul must have already visited the readers twice before the despatch of the epistle. These two visits can perhaps, if one is willing to be satisfied with the meagrest possible evidence, be held to be proved for South Galatia from Acts 13:14-14:20 and 14:21-23; or, the first visit from Acts 13:14-14:23 and the second from Acts 16:1-5; as far as North Galatia is concerned they are not to be found till 16:6 and 18:23. That, however, the journey of 18:22f. may very well have occurred and yet not be mentioned in Galatians, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1c.

In Gal. 2:1-10 Paul speaks of the Council of Jerusalem as hitherto unknown to the Galatians. This also has

25. 'Council unknown to Galatians.' suggested the inference that Paul's second visit to the readers must have occurred before the council—in other words, that it is related in Acts 14:21-23, and so must have been made to South Galatia. On the other hand, even if the Council of Jerusalem had already been held, Paul surely had every motive for keeping back as long as possible from newly-converted Gentile Christians all knowledge of the existence of misunderstandings of the kind. His principle was to feed such churches with milk, and to set forth Christ plainly before their eyes (1 Cor. 3:2 Gal. 3:1). At his second visit he had, it is true, found the churches already to some extent under the influence of Judaism (19, 'said before,' *προεῖρηκαμεν*, 53, 'again,' *πάλιν*); but the 'I marvel' (*θαυμάζω*) of 16 shows that he had left them in the honest belief that he had been successful in counteracting this danger.

¹ As the Corinthians had only shortly before brought against Paul the charge that he was applying the collection to his own purposes (2 Cor. 12:18-19), it would have been inconceivably imprudent on his part to take upon himself the responsibility for due conveyance of the Corinthian contribution (so Ramsay, *St. Paul*, chap. 13:2), even had he been asked to do so. In point of fact, the apostle had very clearly expressed, in 2 Cor. 8:20f., the principle by which he was precluded from this. That Luke was a Philippian is only a bold conjecture of Ramsay's (*St. Paul*, chap. 9:1 10:3 11:2 17:4, and frequently), quite apart from the consideration that it is by no means certain that it is Luke who speaks in 'we' (see ACTS, § 6).

² *Προελθόντες*, not *προσελθόντες*, must be read in 20:5; the latter is quite irreconcilable with the fact that the persons named have already accompanied Paul from Europe (*εὐρώπης* 20:4).

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From the 'again' (παλιν) of 53 it is legitimate to infer that in this connection he had employed substantially the same arguments as those which he afterwards used in the epistle (e.g., 52.4 31-5 46); and we may regard it as a proof of his apostolic wisdom that he declined to make use of the controversies of the Council of Jerusalem in furtherance of his end.

At the Council of Jerusalem Paul supported the interests of the readers of Galatians, according to the 26. 'With you,' 'with you' (πρὸς ὑμᾶς) of 25. This would still hold good, however, even on the assumption that at that time they had not yet been converted—which was the case with the North Galatians. Paul was concerned at that crisis in vindicating freedom from the law for the churches which he was yet to found as well as for those which he had already established. Even if the letter be assumed to be addressed to South Galatians, 'with you' (πρὸς ὑμᾶς) constitutes only an individual application. That in the Council of Jerusalem Paul should have had in his mind only his South Galatian churches, and not equally those founded by him in Syria, Cilicia, etc., would be a wholly untenable supposition.

The sickness of Paul, alluded to in Gal. 4.13, Ramsay (*Church*, chap. 3, pp. 62-65) considers to have been malaria, which is endemic in Pamphylia, and, as he thinks, was the cause of the apostle's going for recovery to the more highly situated Antiochia Pisidia.

As Ramsay further (*St. Paul*, chap. 52) identifies this sickness with 'the thorn in the flesh,' it is very improbable that malaria can be meant. The view finds no real support in the fact that fever occurs in inscriptions as a punishment sent by the gods of this lower world, to which Ramsay supposes the 'messenger of Satan' (ἄγγελος σατανᾶ) of 2 Cor. 12.7b to refer (*Exp.*, *oph.*, p. 21 f. = *Gal.* chap. 48, p. 423).

Unless 2 Cor. 12.7a is to be held to be meaningless, the apostle's malady was associated with ecstatic visions; and these are not, so far as we know, symptomatic of malaria, though certainly they are of epilepsy, with which Krenkel (among others) has identified Paul's 'thorn in the flesh' (*Beitr. zur Aufhellung der Geistes- u. d. Briefe d. Ap. Paulus*, 90, pp. 47-126, and, earlier, in *ZWT.*, 73, pp. 238-244). Ramsay (*Gal.* chap. 48, p. 427) himself says: 'In fact, it is the visions which give probability to the theory of epilepsy. . . . The theory is seductive. But are we prepared to accept the consequences? . . . Has the modern world, with all that is best and truest in it, been built upon the dreams of epileptic insanity?' This is the argument of a theologian, not of a historian.

However this may be, the fact that Pamphylia exposes the traveller to risks of malaria is no proof that Paul could not possibly have been seized with illness even in North Galatia. Moreover, Paul says that on account of his sickness he was received as an 'angel of god' (ἄγγελος θεοῦ; Gal. 4.14). About any reception of this kind in Antiochia Pisidia (where, according to Ramsay, he had this illness), we read nothing in Acts (on the contrary, we are told of a persecution instigated by the Jews [13.50], of which Galatians says nothing); and Ramsay cannot think of him any longer as having been ill in Lystra, where, according to Ramsay, the favourable reception occurred.

Thus, whilst on the points formerly discussed, all that it was possible to prove was that the individual actual data warranted the North Galatian theory just as much as the Southern, here we have a consideration which makes positively for North and against South Galatia. On the four points remaining to be considered we come to this same conclusion.

Barnabas, it is thought, must have been personally known to the Galatians. He is introduced without remark in Gal. 2.19 13; and he was the companion of Paul only on his first journey, not on his second (Acts 15.36-40). Peter also, however, is mentioned in Gal. 1.18 without explanation; and Barnabas, although he was unknown to the Corinthians, is introduced in the same manner in 1 Cor. 9.6—it was enough that they had heard about him. Besides, Paul expresses himself as having been in so exclusive a sense

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the founder of the Galatian churches (Gal. 18 f. 31 f. 412-20) that it is almost impossible to suppose South Galatia to be meant. According to Acts 14.12, Barnabas was even taken for Jupiter in Lystra.

The apostrophe 'O Galatians' (ὦ Γαλάται, in 31 addressed to persons who, by origin, were much rather Lycanians or Phrygians, would be intelligible in an official manifesto; but in a letter such as this of Paul's it would become so only if besides New Galatians Old Galatians were included (against which supposition, see above, col. 1607, beg. of m. 1). On the assumption that the apostrophe was addressed to the New Galatians alone, such a mode of address is in the highest degree improbable.

It must not be forgotten that Ramsay has been able to cite not a single instance, so far as Galatia is concerned, and in the case of the province of Asia, which had subsisted more than a century longer, only one, in which the inhabitants of districts first incorporated with the provinces by the Romans designated themselves by the official provincial name (*It. 16.30-20*; see *St. Paul*, *et cetera*, 43). It is only by a series of exceedingly bold hypotheses that he endeavours (*op. cit.*, 25, 46-55; *Gal.*, introd., § 7, p. 64 f.) to establish a probability that Iconium and Lystra had already become part of Galatia before the setting up of the Roman province, about 160 B.C. Herbe, certainly, was not added to Galatia until 25 B.C., according to § 7, above, not until 41 A.D. Accordingly the aptness of the exclamation 'O Galatians' as addressed to the North Galatians, depends not on their Celtic descent, but on the fact that only in North Galatia was to be found the people who had borne that name from of old, and in common speech, not merely in official documents.

But we will not, however great the improbability, dispute the abstract possibility that Paul might have made use of the term 'Galatians' as a comprehensive designation of inhabitants of several recently-added portions of the province of Galatia. Not even in such a case could he have made use of the address 'to the churches of Galatia' (ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας; Gal. 1.2) in writing to South Galatia if there were churches already in North Galatia. Even if the letter were sent by the hands of a 'rusty messenger' who quite understood where to deliver it, the article (ταῖς) would have been inadmissible. Now, the letter contains information about the Council of Jerusalem and the controversy with Peter in Antioch in Syria. If addressed to South Galatia, the letter must, accordingly, have been written between the date of the controversy and that of the founding of the North Galatian churches (Acts 18.6). If so, the first alternative is that it was written from Antioch, in Syria, before Acts 15.40; in which case the two visits of Paul implied in the 'the former [time]' (τὸ πρότερον) of Gal. 4.13 would have to be sought in Acts 13.14-14.20 and 14.21-23 (see above, § 24). Against this view we must bring an observation which also makes against Ramsay's dating of the epistle from Paul's next stay in Antioch in Syria (Acts 18.23; see *St. Paul*, chap. 84). On both occasions there was an immediate prospect of a renewed visit to the readers by the apostle. Ramsay considers that Paul may have entrusted the bearer of the epistle with an oral announcement of his proposed visit. In such a case, however (1 Cor. 4.18-21 15.8 2 Cor. 12.14 13.1 f.), the apostle's procedure is very different. Moreover, he manifestly writes Gal. 4.20 on the supposition that he is not about to see them soon.

A second possibility would be that the epistle was written between Acts 16.5 and 16.6. In that case Acts 13.14-14.23 would have to be reckoned as the first visit, and 16.1-5 as the second. How would this leave a sufficient interval during which, after the second visit, the Judaizers could have had time for going to the readers and so completely changing their attitude towards the apostle and his message, and for Paul to hear of all this before his arrival in North Galatia from the South?

Most decisive of all is Gal. 1.21. If the epistle were

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addressed to South Galatia, Paul would, according to 31. Gal. 1.21. Acts 13.47, have been with his readers in the period indicated in Gal. 1.21 between his first and his second visit to Jerusalem (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 14). It is not for a moment to be thought that Paul would have left unnoticed so very conclusive a proof of his absence from Jerusalem, and have mentioned precisely two other provinces which were not those to which his readers belonged.

On the very bold attempt, which has on this account been made, to transpose Acts 13.47 so as to make it follow Acts 15.34, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 14. In any case, the project will not be favoured by those who have any interest in maintaining the credibility of Acts. Ramsay (*Churches*, chap. 6.3; *St. Paul*, chap. 8.3) proposes another way of meeting the difficulty. He brings the journey to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. 1.18 into connection with Acts 9.25-30; and that in Gal. 2.1-10 into connection with Acts 11.30 and 12.25; and concedes that before Galatians was written Paul had certainly been a third and a fourth time in Jerusalem (Acts 15 and 18.22), but maintains that there was no need to mention this in Galatians, as in that epistle all he wished to show was his independence of the original apostles at the time 'when he converted the Galatians.'

This last contention is not only destitute of any warrant from the text, but is also entirely inconsistent with the situation. The Judaizers could have overthrown Paul's authority in Galatia just as well if *after* his first missionary activity there he had shown that he was dependent on the original apostles. This was, in fact, what, according to Ramsay, actually happened. In Acts 15 'he was commissioned' 'by the other apostles' 'to deliver to them' (*i.e.*, to the Galatians) 'the Apostolic decree' (Ramsay, *Gal.* chap. 18, p. 287). In these circumstances how can Paul still attach importance to his being able to prove that he was independent of the original apostles *at first*? Only on one assumption—that although his dependence became evident at the Council of Jerusalem, the Galatians are still unaware of it. If he takes for granted that they know it (according to Acts 16.4, which Ramsay holds to be historical, he himself personally informed the South Galatians of the apostolic decree), the proof of his independence in Gal. 1.10-2.10 is meaningless; if on the other hand he hopes by silence—nay, by the express declaration of 26 (*ἐμὸι οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέβητο*: RV, 'they who were of repute imparted nothing to me')—to prevent his readers from learning or remembering the fact of his dependence, he is deliberately setting himself in his epistle to deceive them. In this case his moral character must be sacrificed to save the credibility of Acts. This is what Ramsay (*Gal.* ch. 19, p. 302) accuses the advocates of the North Galatian theory of doing when they hold that Paul leaves unnoticed the journey mentioned in Acts 11.30-12.25. That he did so, however, is assumed only by those of them who, like Ramsay, hold absolutely by the historical character of everything contained in Acts. In any case, for Paul to omit all mention of this journey would be a small matter compared with his hiding that dependence on the original apostles which is testified to by the apostolic decree. On the South Galatian theory, Paul could be exonerated only by placing Galatians earlier than Acts 15, and if Ramsay's date be adhered to, only by rendering Gal. 1.10-2.10 wholly purposeless. Moreover, it is quite illegitimate to identify Gal. 2.1-10, not with Acts 15 but with Acts 11.30-12.25 (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 14).

In *Gal.* chap. 18 *l.c.* pp. 236-304 Ramsay inclines not to identify the journey in Gal. 2.1-10 with any of those recorded in Acts, but to insert it between Acts 9 and Acts 11.30. We do not press, as against this, that on such an assumption Paul has omitted to mention not two journeys, but three; for Ramsay may say of the one in Acts 11.30-12.25 what is said in COUNCIL, § 14, of that in Acts 18.22—that Paul does not mention it because in chaps. 3-6 he has lost sight of his intention to enumerate his visits to Jerusalem. So far as Acts is concerned, Ramsay's assumption that such a

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visit is omitted is much more remarkable. The main thing, however, is that by the assumption the situation is no wise improved: Paul still ignores his dependence on the original apostles at the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15. On the contrary, on Ramsay's interpretation of Gal. 2.1-10 the situation becomes worse. According to Ramsay (*Gal.* chap. 18 p. 296) on the journey of Gal. 2.1-10, which is not mentioned in Acts, Paul 'consulted' (Gal. 2.2 [*ἀνεθέμην*]) the original apostles, 'asked their advice,' because his gospel 'was not fully matured until shortly before the beginning of the first journey' (Acts 13.1). This means entire dependence; for the contrast is that 'after it had fixed itself in his nature as the truth of God . . . he no longer "conferred with flesh and blood."' The upshot then is this: Paul seeks to make evident his independence of the original apostles precisely by recording this act of submission to them.

Equally impossible as an expedient is it to maintain that in Gal. 1.21 Paul is naming only two provinces (Syria and Cilicia) for the reason that they were the only provinces on account of his successful activity in which the Christians of Judaea 'glorified God' (1.24), and that he is silent on his sojourn in South Galatia because his mission in that country had perhaps ceased to have their approval. Without the aid of the untenable theory (see next article, § 10) of Clemens (to which Ramsay now [*Gal.* chap. 18, pp. 291, 296] seems to lean), it would be impossible to perceive why Paul should have conducted his mission in South Galatia on any other principles than those which he followed in Syria and Cilicia.

Above all, no unfavourable judgment on the part of the Jewish Christians regarding his mission to his readers could have determined the apostle to leave unmentioned the clearest proof of all that he had kept away from Jerusalem. Gal. 1.23 *f.* can be dispensed with as far as the primary object of the argument is concerned, and Paul would willingly have refrained from adding these verses had he been able at this point to say that during the interval in question he had been with his readers.

P. W. S.

C. GALATIANS ELSEWHERE.

In 2 Tim. 4.10 the reading varies between Γαλιναρ [N] and Γαλατῶν [W11]; and even if the latter be adopted the reference may still be to Gaul.

32. 'Galatia' or 'Gaul' in Tim. and Macc. The current Greek name for Gaul during the first two centuries A.D. was Γαλατία (Γαλάται) unless the older title Κελτική (Κέλται, Κέλται) was employed.¹

To distinguish the Asiatic Celts the phrases οἱ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Γαλάται (Plut. *Mor.* 218), ἡ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Γαλατία (Dios. *Mag.* *med.* 3.56), or Γαλατογραικία, Γαλατογραικοί (Strabo 1.30, 56) might be used; but generally the context must decide (cp. Plut. *Pomp.* 31, 33, 38). Not until late did the Greeks adopt the Roman terms Γαλαλία, Γαλλοί. It is in Herodian that we first meet with the distinction, adopted by modern writers, between Γαλλία-Gaul, and Γαλατία-Galatia in Asia Minor. There would be a strong tendency to alter Γαλατία into Γαλλία in NT MSS in this passage, owing to the general belief that western Gaul was meant, combined with the fact that at the time of their origin the word Γαλατία as applied to Gaul had been abandoned in favour of the Latin Γαλλία, αἱ Γαλλίαι (cp. Theod. 2.227, *Galatiam dixit quia nunc nominamus Gallias*).

On linguistic grounds, then, no general decision is possible. The passages in which the name occurs must be examined separately.

1. It has been argued that if Paul had meant Gaul he would, according to his usual practice, have used the Roman provincial name, and that, as Timothy was in Asia Minor, possibly even in Galatia, he would have avoided an ambiguous term. Paul was, however, after all, Greek in language and thought (cp. Hicks, *St. Paul and Hellenism*, in *Stud. Bibl.* 47, 'he thinks in the tongue that he speaks and writes'). Further, if Crescens had actually gone to Timothy's own sphere of labour, more would have been said, and Timothy certainly could not fail to attach the right significance to

¹ Cp. Paus. 1.41, οὐδὲ δὲ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐβουλήσαν. Κέλται γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ὠνομάζοντο.

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the word. Finally, the combination with Dalmatia is significant (and is curiously paralleled on Mon. Ancyr.: ep. Momms. *Res. gest. D. Aug.* 95, $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ $\iota\omicron\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ καὶ $\Gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ καὶ παρὰ $\Delta\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\omega\tilde{\nu}$). The reference therefore is probably to Gaul. Although the churches of Vienne and Mayence claimed Crescens as their founder, their claim may be based merely upon this very passage.

2. In 1 Macc. 82 the Roman victories 'among the Galatians' (AV^{ms}. 'Frenchmen'; RV 'Gauls') are mentioned. The date is about 160 B.C., some sixty years after the Roman conquest of Cisalpine Gaul (Polyb. 2.14-15). That the reference is to this war is suggested by the addition 'and brought them under tribute,' and by the mention of Spain (17-3); for Livy (38.4) says nothing of tribute having been imposed upon the Asiatic Celts. On the other hand, the victorious march of Marius through Galatia was of comparatively recent date (189 B.C.), and must have made a profound impression throughout the Seleucid dominions, so that the reference is almost certainly to that event.

3. In 2 Macc. 82 a victory gained by Jews in Babylon 'against the Gauls' (RV, Gk. $\Gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha\iota$) is mentioned; perhaps an allusion to the victories of Antiochus I. Soter, king of Syria (281-261 B.C.). W. J. W.

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For the history of the Celtic tribes, G. Perrot, *De Galatia provincia Romana*, '67; and his *Exploration arch. de la Galatie*, '72; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, 1885, 358-395; Chevalier, *Gallien in Kleinasien*, '83; Koepff, 'Ueber die Galatiker, d. Attabis,' in *Rhein. Mus.* 40, 114-137 ('85); Niese, *ibid.* 28, 523-500 ('91); Stähelin, *Geschichte der Röm. Prov. Gal.*, '97.

Van Gelder, *Galatarum res in Grecia et Asia geste usque ad medium seculum secundum a. Chr.*, '88; Zwintscher, *Die Galatarum tetrarchia et Amynta reg.*, '92; Holder, *Alteltischer Sprachschatz*, s.v. 'Galatia'.

The South Galatian address has been maintained principally by Perrot (*op. cit. supra*, '67), Renan (*St. Paul*), Hausrath (*Paulus*, and *N.liche Zeitgesch.*), Weissacker (*Ap. Zeugn.*), I. Menen (*ZW.T.*, '94, pp. 396-423), Zahn (*Einl. in das N.T.*), and W. M. Ramsay (*Historical Geog. of Asia Minor*, '90; *Church in Rom. Emp.*, (1) '93, (2) '93, (3) '94, (4) '95, (5) '97; *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, '95-'97; *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, (1) '95, (2) '96, (3) '97, (4) '98, (5) '99; *Hist. Comm. on Gal.*, (1) '99, (2) 1900; it should be noted that the later editions differ from the earlier in many details; consult also specially *Studia bibl. et eccl.* 4, 15-57, 1901, and see articles in *Expos.*, Jan., Feb., Apr. '94, July, Aug. '95, and 'Galatia' in Hastings' *D.P.* 291-89).

The North Galatian address is supported especially by Sieffert (*Zeichn. für hist. Theol.*, '71, pp. 257-300, and *Introd.* to *P. to Gal.* in Meyer's *N.T. Comment.* 1, 11th ed. '99), where a fuller list of authorities on both sides is given; Lightfoot, *Galatians*¹⁰, *Introd.* 2-35; Chase, in *Expos.*, Dec. '93, May '94; and Zöckler (*St. Paul*, '95, pp. 51-102).

W. J. W., §§ 1-7, 32; P. W. S., §§ 8-31.

GALATIANS (THE EPISTLE)

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A. GENUINENESS (§§ 1-6).

R. OTHER PROBLEMS (§§ 10-15).

1. Date (§ 10).

A. GENUINENESS.

The genuineness of the four so-called 'principal' epistles of Paul—Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., and Gal.—so unreservedly accepted by the Tübingen school, has not been allowed to remain unquestioned in recent times. When the opposite view was first set forth with characteristic boldness by Bruno Bauer (*Kritik d. paulin. Briefe*, '50-'52), it received no serious attention; but it has recently been again pressed in all seriousness by Loman (*Th. T.*, '82, '83, '86) and his many successors in Holland,¹ by Edwin Johnson, the anonymous author of *Antiqua Mater* ('87), and especially by Steck (*Galatierbrief*, '88).

Of the arguments brought against the genuineness of Galatians we may mention first: *The difficulties presented by many of its details.* For

1. **Difficulties.** For example, a contradiction has been found between 110 where the apostle disclaims any desire to please men, and 22 where, notwithstanding, he submits himself to the judgment of the original apostles. This, as well as many other examples of hypercriticism, we may safely disregard. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the epistle contains much that is obscure and (to us) surprising. It can only be welcomed as a gain for science that such difficulties have been pointed out anew. But the spuriousness of the epistle follows from them only by a *petitio principii*—viz., by assuming that the historical Paul, of whose writing we, in the view of these negative critics, do not possess a single line, was invariably in the habit of expressing himself with absolute clearness, and also that the text of what he wrote has at no point ever suffered at the hands of copyists.

For example, 17 is certainly obscure; but it admits of being interpreted as meaning 'another gospel which [is no gospel at all but] consists in nought else [or, rests upon nought else] than this, that there be some' etc. Again, in 214 the thesis is: 'If I build up again the Mosaic law which I have declared to be obsolete, I thereby declare the life I have hitherto been living

2. Readers (§ 11).

3. Judaizing emissaries (§ 12 f.).

4. Purpose of Epistle (§ 13).

5. Its place in history (§ 15).

Bibliography (§ 16).

in freedom from the law to have been a life of transgression. In 219 the sequence is unexpected; but the intention is to justify the implication in 218 of the sinfulness of again building up the law. In 110 the conjectural emendation $\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$, with the mark of interrogation instead of the present $\alpha\pi\tau\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$, has much to recommend it (as in Rom. 3:1; in Gal. $\alpha\pi\tau\iota$ occurs immediately before, in 16); so has the interpretation of $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omega$ as equivalent to $\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\sigma\tau\omega$ (or, still better, the supplanting of $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omega$ by a word bearing this meaning); for Paul apparently is here guarding himself against the same reproach as in 2 Cor. 4:5. Once more; in Gal. 3:20, the thesis sought to be established is that the law was given, not immediately by God, but mediately by angels, who were but inadequately fitted for the service. As a step in the proof, use is made of the (erroneous) assumption that only a plurality of persons will make use of a mediator, and that a single person will always communicate what he has to say personally and directly. The assumption here follows rabbinical modes of thought,—resembling the argument in 3:16 against 3:20, Rom. 4:10, where it is urged that in the OT by the 'seed of Abraham' Christ alone can be meant, inasmuch as the word $\sigma\sigma\epsilon\phi\eta\alpha$ is used in the singular;—resembling, also, the argument elaborated in 4:21-31, according to which the Jews who continue in unbelief are the children not of Sarah but of Hagar. Here again it is a mere *petitio principii* to take for granted that the historical Paul must have been incapable of adopting such rabbinical lines of thought.¹

As regards other obscure points, there has been an attempt to explain them as due to *unskilful borrowing from the author of Romans*. It must

2. Romans used?

be conceded not only that the two epistles have many thoughts in common, but also that in Romans these are for the most part elaborated with greater clearness.

In Gal. 36 the mention of Abraham comes in quite abruptly, whilst in Rom. 4 it fits naturally into the context; in Gal. 3:27 there is a mixture of two metaphors which in Rom. 6:3 and 13:14 are applied separately and suitably; in Gal. 3:19 the words, literally taken, admit of being construed as meaning that the law was given in order to prevent transgressions, and only from Rom. 5:20 does it become clear that 'for the multiplication of transgressions' is what is intended.

On the other hand, positive blunders, of the kind that can occur only in the case of a compiler manipulating another man's work, cannot be shown anywhere.

In 56 circumcision is spoken of as a matter of indifference, and in 22 as positively hurtful; but, as the first passage is intended to refer only to those who had been circumcised before their conversion to Christ, whilst the latter has in view only those who, being already Christians, suffer themselves to be

¹ Among them Völter, *Komp. d. paulin. Hauptbriefe*, '90; van Manen, *Paulus I.* III. (Vols. '90; Romans, '91; Corinthians, '96). See van Manen (*J.P.T.*, '81, '84, '86, '87; *Th. T.*, '90; *P.A.T.*, 21 Feb., Apr. '96), also Steck (*Prot. A.L.*, '91, no. 31-14, '92, no. 34 f.; '95, no. 7 f.; *Prot. Monatshefte*, '97, pp. 333-344).

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circumcised, there is no contradiction. Such a digression as we have in 3.11 f. at the close of which 3.11 resumes the interrupted connection with 3.10, or such as occurs in 5.12 (from 12a or perhaps even from 12a¹), can very well have been made by the historical Paul (or written on the margin by a very early reader). Many other points that at first sight are very puzzling to us we can easily suppose to have been clear to the Galatians through the oral teaching of Paul.

Steck, it is true, on the ground that we have no information as to what Paul may have preached in Galatia, forbids this supposition; and, in like manner, he holds it to be illegitimate to regard the collection alluded to in Gal. 2.10 as historical, independent evidence from other sources being wanting. On such lines as these we need not be surprised that in the single word *apostolus* in Gal. 2.11 he finds conclusive evidence that the author of our epistle is quoting 1 Cor., and more particularly 6.9 f.

It is alleged, further, that *see of the synoptical gospels* is seen in at least Rom. 12.14 13.8-10 1 Cor. 13.2 f. 13.13 f.

3. Synoptists earlier than Gal. 7

As it is maintained that these epistles are older than Galatians, it is relevant to discuss the allegation in the present connection. In point of fact, all the observed phenomena can be sufficiently explained by the assumption that the author knew the gospel history from oral sources. Indeed, it is actually in 1 Cor. 7.1 f. that the genuine (because stricter) form of the prohibition of divorce has been preserved.

It is not to be supposed that if Jesus had mentioned the case of adultery as an exception to the general prohibition—as we read in Mt. 5.19 19.9—any tradition would have overlooked such a mitigation; least of all it is to be supposed that Paul would have done so. In fact, the latter finds himself compelled on his own responsibility to establish a new exception—that, namely, by which it is provided that a marriage with a non-Christian may lawfully be dissolved if there seems no prospect of its being continued 'in peace' (1 Cor. 7.13).

The attempt to trace the account of the resurrection of Jesus in 1 Cor. 15.3-8 to the written synoptists also must be held a failure.

In view of the denial of the resurrection of Jesus current in Corinth, the writer of the epistle was under the most stringent necessity to adduce everything that could be alleged in proof of it. That being so, he would assuredly have passed over none of the circumstances connected with the event detailed in the gospels; least of all could he pass over what is related about the empty grave.

On the other hand, it is easy to understand why the synoptists left on one side the accounts recorded by Paul. What Paul constantly affirms is only that the risen Jesus had been seen. The synoptists believe that they have much more conclusive evidence to bring—namely, that Jesus had been touched, and that he had eaten.

It is claimed that *extra-canonical writings also have been used* in the composition of the four epistles. Even should this be made out as regards

4. Extra-canonical writings used?

Philothorn about 20 B.C.; see Vollmer, *Die Attika bei Paulus*, 83-93 [95] and Seneca (died 65 A.D.); see Steck, 249-295, especially for Rom. 12.10, the genuineness of the epistles would not (when we consider the early date of these writers) thereby be impugned. Nor would it be impugned because of their employment of the *Assumptio Mosis*.

George Syncellus, in the eighth century, finds such employment in Gal. 4.15; a MS of the eleventh century finds it in 5.1. Euthalius in the fifth century mentions an *ἀποκρυφὸν Μωϋσεως* as source. The passage does not occur in the portion of the *Assumptio* that has come down to us (cp. Schür. *GLT*, § 32, 53; 62, 257, ET 501 f.; Clemens, *Chron. d. Paul. Briefe*, 257). Whether a Jewish book could have contained so anti-Jewish a proposition unless through interpolation by a Christian hand need not here be discussed. The *Assumptio* was in any case composed within the time of the sons of Herod the Great; in 46 f. (according to the most reasonable reading) it erroneously predicts for them a shorter reign than their father has had (see APOCALYPTIC, § 64).

1 See R. H. Charles, *Assumptio of Moses* (Ox.) p. 15 f. The view of Volkmar and Hilgenfeldt—that in the *Assumptio* the use of the plural *servantes* in 10⁸ proves use of 4 Esd., and particularly of chaps. 11 f., which speak of the eagle with three heads (Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian)—is quite mistaken. The passage rests simply on Dt. 32.11 (*servans*, which, moreover, in Clemen and Sallust invariably means but one neck, renders *αετράκεως*), and is speaking of elevation in heaven, not of elevation over the Romans. For a fuller discussion of this point see the present writer's articles in the *Protestantische Monatshefte*, 1898, pp. 252-254; 1899, pp. 150-152; 1900, pp. 20-22.

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4 Esd. was written, it is true, under Domitian, and would, therefore, be decisive of the question before us if the departure from the OT text in Rom. 10.7 could be traced to 4 Esd. 4.8. The variation, however, comes simply from Ps. 107.26; cp. 139.8.

It is also contended that, as compared with Acts, the representation given in Galatians is only of a secondary character. In particular, it is improbable (it is argued) that the historical Paul proclaimed his Gentile Christian

5. Dependent on Acts?

Paul proclaimed his Gentile Christian gospel for fourteen years without gainsaying, that at the Council of Jerusalem he agreed to so manifestly untenable a solution of the matter, and in Antioch came into so violent collision with Peter (Gal. 2.10-21). As to this, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM (§§ 4, 9, 3). The only serious difficulties are those arising from the statement in 1.22, that Paul was unknown by sight to the churches of Judea, though they must have known him very well as their persecutor. The statement seems intended to mark with the utmost possible distinctness Paul's independence of the Jewish Christians. Even on the part of a writer of the second century, however, it would have been too grave a slip to say of the Palestinian Christians who had survived the persecution, that they had not known Paul. If written in the second century, the meaning of such a declaration could only be that the churches of Judea, having been broken up and dispersed by the persecution, and only at a later date reconstituted, were as such unacquainted with Paul. Thus interpreted, however, the passage can very well have been written by Paul himself. That it is not quite literally accurate must be conceded: the reconstituted churches must still have included persons who had known Paul in his persecuting days. Still, it is easy to understand why Paul did not have these persons in his mind. What he wishes to prove is simply that his own Christianity had not been derived from any man, but had come to him immediately from Christ. Had he received any Christian instruction from man, that would have been after his conversion, not before; and there is no difficulty in believing that from the time of his conversion he had entered into no personal relations with the churches of Judea, and, more particularly, that in Jerusalem at the time of his first visit (1.18 f.) he had remained incognito, and communicated only with Peter and James, since otherwise there was reason to apprehend a renewal of the persecution that had broken out against him in Damascus (2 Cor. 11.32 f.). Paul, accordingly, leaves out of consideration those persons in the churches of Judea who had known him before his conversion, because their acquaintance with him then did not affect that independence of the Jewish Christian churches which he claimed for his own view of Christianity; and this cannot with any fairness be charged against him as a failure in veracity (1.20). On the other hand, that is exactly what, we are told by Steck, is so improbable historically—that Paul after his conversion remained away from Jerusalem for three whole years; and the view of Acts (2.10-12) is preferred. This brings us to what lies at the root of the question in this aspect—

namely, the demand for a straightforward, rectilinear development in the history. It is, we are told, historically inconceivable that the view of Jesus and the original apostles, which was still entirely Jewish-legal, was followed immediately by that of the principal epistles of Paul, and only afterwards by the mediating view of Acts and the other writings. Steck, therefore, has made out—and he alone with fairly good success—what he considers to be straightforward development as follows:—Jesus, the original apostles, the historical Paul, Mk. and Mt., Lk., Acts, Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., the remaining Pauline Epistles (leaving out those to Timothy and Titus, then Marcion. To this series the objection suggests itself that, whilst its author makes out the historical Paul to have been only a shade freer from the law than Peter (Acts 16.1 21.16-26, e.g.),

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namely, the demand for a straightforward, rectilinear development in the history. It is, we are told, historically inconceivable that the view of Jesus and the original apostles, which was still entirely Jewish-legal, was followed immediately by that of the principal epistles of Paul, and only afterwards by the mediating view of Acts and the other writings. Steck, therefore, has made out—and he alone with fairly good success—what he considers to be straightforward development as follows:—Jesus, the original apostles, the historical Paul, Mk. and Mt., Lk., Acts, Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., the remaining Pauline Epistles (leaving out those to Timothy and Titus, then Marcion. To this series the objection suggests itself that, whilst its author makes out the historical Paul to have been only a shade freer from the law than Peter (Acts 16.1 21.16-26, e.g.),

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are accepted as historical), he at the same time (p. 373, 369 f.) speaks of him as fundamentally free from the law, and names him as apostle of the Gentiles *κατ' ἐξουσίαν*; and Steck is open to the further criticism that he attributes to Acts the 'tendency' to smooth over differences—in other words, to go back to a point of the development that had been reached before. But the most fatal objection of all is that Steck himself, after an interval of no more than a year (*Prot. K.Z.* 1880, pp. 108, 841), found it necessary to demolish the entire structure, and to place Rom. and Cor. before 1 k. and Acts, because he (rightly) saw that Acts (see Acts, § 16) could not be assigned to a date earlier than after the beginning of the second century, and because in Marcion (*circa* 140 A.D.) the existence of ten Pauline epistles—of which, moreover, three (Rom. and 1 and 2 Cor.), according to Steck's view, must be regarded as each made up of three (or more) originally independent pieces—is already recognised. Further, the historical evolution argued for by Steck will not for a moment allow two separate lines of development, such as the line of the synoptic and that of the Pauline Christology, to go on concurrently. Still, alongside that line of development of Christianity, which had its roots in Palestine, he recognises another, almost independent, which took its rise in the heathen philosophical ideas current in Rome—a line of development as belonging to which he reckons, for example, the principal epistles of Paul (denying at the same time their use of the Rabbinical forms of thought). Within his first-mentioned series, too, he recognises a certain weakening of the antinomism of Galatians in the minor Pauline epistles, as well as an accentuation of it in Marcion. In all this it becomes abundantly evident that historical science does not in the least require that a rectilinear development should be made out. It is, of course, the business of historical science to understand everything that happens; but a development is not unintelligible even if it runs far ahead of its own time, and afterwards falls back upon the footsteps it has already outrun, to retrace them anew, step by step. Were this otherwise, we should have to eliminate from history all its great and epoch-making men—Luther, for example, and, in the end, Jesus himself.

The fact is certainly eloquent that not only Bruno Bauer and others, but Loman also (down to 1884 at least), denied the historicity of Jesus, and that in this respect Johnson has even gone beyond the last-named. On the other hand, it is highly significant that it is not enough for Johnson if Bruno Bauer derives Christianity from the humanist ideas of Philo, Seneca, and the Roman emperors down to Marcus Aurelius. In this quarter he misses the oriental fervour which he deems necessary to the founding of a religion, and, therefore—it is the least he can do—he transfers the origination of Christianity out of such ideas to the East. Over and above this, he is compelled to see in Marcion a highly important reformer, through whom Christianity was at least liberated from its rudimentary Jewish beginnings. We find Steck, on the same lines, characterising as an original and spiritually-gifted person the very man who (in his view) put together the epistle to the Galatians with so little skill.

As far as Paul in particular is concerned, it must be admitted that any ordinary man in his position would assuredly have gone immediately after his conversion to Jerusalem for authentic instruction in his new faith. Now, what if Paul was not an ordinary man? The more fanatical he had been as a Pharisee in his zeal for the Mosaic law, the more clearly must he have recognised the impossibility of ever fulfilling it completely, and all the more manifest must it have been to him that in Christianity an altogether new way of salvation was opened up. Then, further, the appearance of Christ to him on the way to Damascus gave him a clearer view of the divine purpose of the death on the cross than all the original apostles together could have supplied. It was in this manner that he obtained an idea quite different from theirs of the Christ whom he had never seen on earth (so 2 Cor. 5:16 rightly interpreted). It was in this manner that he discovered in Christianity at once the true religion for the world

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and the divine decree of abrogation as regarded the Mosaic law. It was in this manner that he found himself constrained to vindicate the great religious blessing of freedom against every attempt at a re-imposition of bondage with the keenness which we perceive in Gal. 2:14-21 18 f. 512.

7. Objections confined to Rom. and Cor.

The traces of a later age, which Steck believes himself to have discovered, have reference only to Rom. and 1 and 2 Cor. It will be sufficient here to remark that in the first instance these would only justify the excision of a few verses—e.g., 1 Cor. 15:29 Rom. 16:1 (if baptism for the dead, or the institution of deaconesses, were still unknown within the lifetime of the apostle). Some of the particulars alleged by Steck rest upon false exegesis—e.g., where 1 Cor. 7:37 is taken as referring to a man wishing to preserve his virginity in monastic fashion—a sense which would require the word *παρθένος*.

8. Considerations implying early date.

On the other hand, the epistles contain much that would have been meaningless and even impossible in the second century. The close adhesion to the Mosaic law which gives the chief occasion for Gal. and Rom. was, at that late date, but feebly represented (Just. *Dial.* 47; Ignat. *ad Philad.* 13; *ad Magnes.* 81, 91, 103, etc.). The gift of tongues, regarding which such elaborate precepts are laid down in 1 Cor. 14, was already unknown to the author of Acts, otherwise he would not have taken it (Acts 2:1-11) as meaning speech in existing foreign languages (see *SPIRITUAL GIFTS*). To put into the mouth of Paul an expression of the expectation of surviving till the second coming of Christ (1 Cor. 15:51 f.), would have been a most perverse proceeding on the part of a second-century writer. The case of the incestuous person (1 Cor. 5:1-2), the intimate relation between Paul and the Galatian churches (Gal. 4:12-20), the journeys of Timothy and Titus to Corinth, the charge of fickleness brought against Paul on account of a change in the plan of his tour (2 Cor. 1:12-24), and, indeed (very conspicuously), the whole of 2 Cor., are so personal and full of individuality, that in this case we are really entitled to draw the conclusion (so often illegitimate) that they could not have been invented. As it is conceded on all hands that the four epistles stand or fall together, that conclusion must apply with equal validity to the many portions of Rom., 1 Cor., and Gal., in which the individuality is less marked.

9. External evidence sufficient.

Lastly, the genuineness is sufficiently attested by the external evidence. If the four epistles are to stand or fall together, the first epistle of Clem. Rom. would be proof enough of their genuineness.

It cites (37:1-3) 1 Cor. by name as a writing of Paul, and (35:36-5) transcribes, without giving a name, Rom. 1:29 f. and even Heb. 1. Now, this epistle of Clement (11) informs us that it was written in a time of persecution; it is still unaware of a distinction between *πρεσβύτεροι* (145) and *ἐπισκοποι* (144: 424 f.; see BISHOP, § 8, MINISTRY); and it knows nothing of Gnosticism. Probably, therefore, it was written under Domitian (93-96), or perhaps under Trajan (112-117); at the very latest, under Hadrian (*circa* 120). Its colourlessness forbids the suggestion that circumstances of the time, as indicated by it, are fictitious. If it were a product of imagination dating from 150-170 A.D., it would serve the interests of that time—viz., the idea of the episcopate and the polemic against Gnosticism. Let only this be further observed, that the principal Pauline epistles are largely made use of in 1 Pet. (especially, and manifestly, Gal. 3:21 5:13 17 in 1 Pet. 1:5 2:16 11, and Rom. 12 f. in 1 Pet. 3:8-12 4:7-11 2:13-18), and that there is a great probability that 1 Pet. dates from 112 A.D. The epistle of James also, which is of still earlier date (see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 8), in like manner shows acquaintance, not only with the Pauline doctrines, but also with the text of the chief epistles.

The clearest proof is Jas. 4:1. This verse is clearly dependent on Rom. 7:23; otherwise the word *μετα* would not have been used, for the context is speaking, not of the conflict of desires within the man, but of the conflict of the desires of one man against those of his fellow-men (*ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, as if *ἐκ τῶν ἡδονῶν τῶν στρατευομένων κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον*, instead of which phrase we have, borrowed from Rom. 7:23, *ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑμῶν*).

Finally, on the evidence supplied by the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies*, see SIMON MAGUS.

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There is thus hardly any necessity for going into the evidence of Marcion, who about 140 admitted ten Pauline epistles into his church library, or for calling attention to the wholesale execution among the extra-canonical writings (and even among the heathen writings) of the second century which has to be made by Johnson before he can affirm that the NT came into existence between Justin and Irenaeus about 155-180 A.D., and that even Marcion perhaps was still unacquainted with any personal Christ—acquainted only with the ideal figure of a *χριστός* (see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 1).

R. OTHER PROBLEMS.

Having disposed of the objections to the genuineness of Galatians we turn to the remaining problems. The

10. Date. superior limit for the date of the epistle has been indicated already (see preceding article, § 24). In view of Gal. 16 it is not advisable to bring it much lower.

True, *οὐτως ταχὺς* means, not 'so soon,' but 'so suddenly.' Thus the expression, considered in itself, allows the supposition that the beginning of the Galatians' falling away was of late origin—a supposition precluded by the other rendering—and requires us to think only that the subsequent steps of the declension, once begun, took but a short time. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the churches had already begun to show inclinations towards Judaism before Paul's second visit, and that Paul believed himself to have obviated this by his oral communications with them. His surprise at the suddenness of the change that had come over them is intelligible only if we suppose the change to have happened shortly after his last visit.

Thus, the epistle is best assigned to the beginning of Paul's three-years' stay in Ephesus, whither he had gone after leaving Galatia (Acts 19:1).

On account of its similarity in contents to Romans, some have thought it necessary to assign the epistle to the same period. In that case its date would be some three or four years later; for it is highly probable that Romans was written during the apostle's last stay in Corinth (Acts 20:1-3; cp Rom. 16:23 with 1 Cor. 1:14). Only, identical subjects are not handled in an identical manner in the two epistles.

In Gal. 4:30 the Jews who continue in unbelief are expressly excluded from the inheritance, whilst in Rom. 9:11-25:32 the apostle shows a strong interest in their ultimate salvation. In Gal. 3:3-4:39 the Mosaic worship is placed on precisely the same plane with that of the heathen, whilst in Rom. 7:12-14 the defect is sought, not in the Mosaic law, but only in the sinfulness of man. In Gal. 1:6-9 Paul anathematizes every doctrine not in accordance with his own, whilst in Rom. 1:12-6:17 he recognises the doctrines which prevail in Rome, though deposing the whole letter to their correction, as on an equal footing with his.

Clemen (*Chron. d. Paulin. Briefe*, '93) appeals to those differences in support of his contention that Galatians is (as Steck also holds) the last of the four chief Pauline Epistles, in the belief that in this way he is able to accept what is true in Steck's position and yet to conserve the genuineness of the epistles. His proofs admit of being turned the other way. Besides, his theory that Paul, during the first period of his missionary activity, continued to be Jewish-Christian in his thought and teaching, and that he reached the culminating point of his anti-Judaism only at the end of his life, is erroneous. In the case of so energetic a thinker as the apostle, the development indicated above in § 5 f. is certainly more probable. As far as the apostle's earlier period is concerned, Clemen's view is in direct opposition to Gal. 1:6. The culminating point of Paul's antinomism must have been reached in his controversy with Peter in the Syrian Antioch at latest. That after that day, after his refusal to circumcise Titus at the time of the Council of Jerusalem—he continued to preach circumcision is inconceivable (cp preceding article, § 20 a). If this reproach, then, was levelled at him even at so late a date as that of Galatians (5:11; on 1:10 see below, col. 1625, n.), it cannot have been anything but a slander. If his adversaries were capable of this, there is nothing to show that with

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reference to any period after the apostle's conversion they had any ground for their assertion. They may safely be held to have applied to the present an assertion that was true only of the time during which Paul was still a Jew. It is also on general grounds probable that Paul in the closing years of his life became gentler, not, as Clemen says, harsher. The second coming of Christ he believed to be near at hand; yet, before this could happen the gospel had to be preached to all the world (Rom. 10:13-11:25). It must have become clearer and clearer to him that he and his disciples were not in a position to accomplish this by themselves, and that accordingly the Jewish-Christian way of looking at things also was willed by God. Phil. 1:13-18 expresses this with special clearness. In the Epistle to the Romans an ironical attitude was particularly desirable, inasmuch as he wished to establish friendly relations with the church in Rome, and thus to have a new centre from which to carry on activities. It is further worthy of remark that in Galatians, as in Rom. 3:25, the death of Christ is represented only as a propitiation for sins that are past—not yet, as in Rom. 8:3, as serving also for the averting of sins to come, and that the doctrine of the 'spirit' (*πνεῦμα*) in Gal. 5:16-25 is much less elaborately thought out than it is in Rom. 6:8.

On the home of the readers, see preceding article. As for their nationality—according to Gal. 4:8 5:2 6:12 f. they were, at least preponderantly,

11. Readers. Gentile Christians. Whether there may not also have been among them a sprinkling of Jewish Christians cannot be decided by reference to 3:13 23-25 4:5, for in that case all the readers together must have been Jewish Christians. These passages, therefore, show only that Paul is inadvertently applying to his readers that which holds good as regards himself (see preceding article, § 21, 3 d). In 4:1, on the other hand, he says, truly, not that his readers are yet under the law, but that they are now only contemplating the assumption of that yoke. That there was a Jewish element in the Galatian churches might be inferred more readily from 3:28, though here also, perhaps, Paul is speaking more from principle than was exactly required by the personal circumstances of his readers. The Judaizing emissaries, too, could have found access all the easier if born Jews already belonged to the churches. But the question must be allowed to remain undecided.

From 3:1 5:7 we learn that the Judaizing emissaries were personally unknown to Paul. Both before and after his second visit they had been at work among the Galatians. Whether the same persons were engaged in this on both occasions, we have no means of knowing; but on both occasions they wrought in the same spirit, though on the second with immeasurably greater success (see preceding article, § 25).

That one or more prominent persons were included among them follows from the *οὗτος εἶναι* of 5:10. It is impossible, however, to say whether any individual (possibly one of the original apostles) is intended. For *ὁ παρασσω ὑμᾶς* can mean 'every one who brings you into perplexity' just as easily as *ὁ ἁπλοῦς*. In 2 Cor. 11:4 refers to all the Judaizers who had already arrived in Corinth (*οἱ ὑπερβίαν ἀποστόλου*, 11:5), since the proposition that follows (*ἀνέχεσθε, ἢ ἀνέχεσθε*) does not state a conceivable case merely, but an actual fact. It is certain, however, that the original apostles, in Jerusalem at least, did not interfere with the activity of these *παρασσωτες* (1:7; cp 5:12; see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3). From 6:12 f. some have thought it must follow that they themselves had not as yet been circumcised, but were only fanatical proselytes. In that case it would be incomprehensible why they should not have accepted circumcision long before, or how they could without this have brought the Galatians so far. The determination of the question lies not in the reading *περιτεταμένους*, which is quite plainly a correction intended to make the meaning easier, but in taking the present *ὁ περιτεμνόμενος* in a timeless sense—the men of the circumcision (cp 1 Thess. 2:12: *ὁ καλῶς*, 1:10: *ὁ νομιζόμενος*).

What their representations to the Galatians had been

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can be plainly gathered from the answers of the apostle.

13. Their doings. They had said that in order to gain salvation it was not enough to comply with the teaching of Paul, who had simply demanded faith in Christ crucified (3:1 f. 5) and risen, but that it was also necessary to fulfil all the prescriptions of the Mosaic law (3:25 to 5:4), to which none the promise of salvation was attached (3:18 5:4). They had said that, on the other hand, the doctrine of Paul opened a wide door to moral laxity (5:13). These arguments on the merits of the case they fortified by personal ones. They maintained that Paul was not strictly an apostle at all, but dependent on the original apostles (1:11 f. 1:15-2:21). Only these, the 'pillars' (2:9; see CORINTH., § 6), were competent to decide the true doctrine, as they had formerly (1:10 f., 2:6) been taught by the Lord himself when he was on earth. Wherever, therefore, the teaching of Paul departed from theirs, it was to be rejected. Nay, more, elsewhere (this is obviously what we are to understand) Paul himself was still preaching circumcision (5:11); he is thus in contradiction with himself if he has failed to exact it of the Galatians. Thereby he has deprived them of their title to salvation; and this he can have done only out of a desire to please men,¹ and so make the acceptance of Christianity seem easier than it really was. To these Judaizers, accordingly, the description in Acts 15:13 applies admirably. They had already brought it about that the Galatians observed the Jewish feasts (1:10), and were seriously thinking of receiving circumcision (5:1 f. 6:12 f.). Their moral character is represented by Paul as very despicable. He ascribes to them motives quite as low as the motives which they ascribe to him. It is not, he says, about the salvation of the Galatians that they are concerned: all that they seek is personal consideration among them (4:17) and repute with their Judaistic (perhaps even Jewish) co-religionists for having brought the Galatians to circumcision (6:13), and they are in dread of persecution by these same comrades should they fail to insist on circumcision in their proselytising efforts, and, like Paul, rest satisfied with faith in the cross of Christ (6:12). It is probable that in this Paul is as unjust to them as he was to Peter in charging him with hypocrisy (2:11-13; see CORINTH., § 3). From their point of view, they could hardly do otherwise than, on religious grounds, hold Paul's preaching to be not only dangerous but also God-dishonouring. But we have seen that among the means which they made use of even slander had a place (5:11), and that they flagrantly violated the compact of the Council of Jerusalem (2:9).

It was to counteract the influence of those persons that Paul wrote Galatians. Its course of thought is not

rightly apprehended if we view chapters 1 f. as constituting a personal apologia, and chapters 3 f. and 5 f. as forming respectively a dogmatic and a practical section. Nor does it avail to take the dogmatic portion as ending at 4:7 or 4:11, or not till 5:6 or 5:24, as if 4:21-31 were not intensely dogmatic, and 4:8-20 very much the reverse. The epistle must be viewed much more as being an epistle; repetitions must not be ignored or denied; and a chief turning-point must be recognised in 5:13.

After the salutation, 1:1-5, and statement of the position of matters, 1:6-10, there follows what constitutes the first main division of the epistle, the historical demonstration that the gospel of Paul is independent of the original apostles, and is of directly divine origin. Here there are three sections: 1:11-24 2:1-10 2:11-21. The second main division contains the dogmatic proof that Christian freedom and observance of the law are incompatible. This in the first instance occupies 3:1-4:7 continuously. Next follow a practical application to the readers (4:8-11), a calling to mind of their former good relations with Paul (4:12-20), a renewed proof from the OT (4:21-31), a new proof drawn from

¹ The *ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀρεσκύν* of 1:10 will refer to this. It is not till *ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡρεσκύν* that this alleged 'pleasing of men, as shown towards Gentiles, will be put on a level with the complaisance which Paul, before he became a Christian, and when persecuting Christians, had shown towards the Jews. See, further, above, § 1.

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first principles (5:1-6), and a renewed application to the readers (5:7-12). The third main division consists (like Rom. 6-8) of exhortation and proof that morality is not impaired by Christian freedom—this in 5:13-24 in general terms, in 5:25 6:10 in relation to particular points of special importance for the readers. Finally, the autograph conclusion, 6:11-18, sums up once more the leading polemical points.

The importance of Galatians for its first readers undoubtedly consisted in this—that it won them back to Paul and his gospel.

15. Place in history. Thus much may be presumed, if 1 Cor. (16:1), which, as we gather from 16:8, was written at the close of the three-years' stay in Ephesus, is of a later date than our epistle (see above, § 10).

For the history of primitive Christianity Galatians is a historical source of the first order. It constituted for the Tübingen school the Archimedean fulcrum by which it revolutionised the traditional conception of the history of the first century. What has already been said under ACTS (§§ 4 6 f.) and CORINTH. OF JERUSALEM (§§ 1 7-11) may suffice to show the magnitude and fundamental character of the errors to which we should have been exposed had this epistle not been preserved to us. The character of Paul, the imperiousness which he showed in the service of what he had recognised to be truth, his ardent love and zealous care for the churches which he had founded, the rabbinical ingenuity yet truly religious depth of his thinking, and at the same time the far-reaching nature of the differences that separated the various tendencies in the early church, find immediate expression here as hardly anywhere else.

In all time Galatians will be the charter of freedom, not only from the Mosaic law but also from every yoke that is imposed upon the religious life as an external condition of salvation without reference to any inner necessity of the soul. It was in this sense that it supplied Luther with a foundation from which to carry on his life-work against the freshly-asserted claims of work-righteousness in the Catholic Church of his day.

The outstanding commentaries are those of Luther (Latin in 1519, German in 1525, and fuller Latin in 1532); Winer (21; 40, 50); Rueckert (33); H. A. W. Meyer (41; 49; 70; 80); by Sieffert in '80, 81, 94, identical with 70; 86, 99; ET from German ed. 70; Hilgenfeld (82); Jowett (35; 40, 50); condensed ed. 94; Wieseler (39); Holsten (*Inhalt u. Gedankengang des Galaterbriefs*, '59, expanded into *Das Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus*, '68; also—a new work—*Das Evangelium des Paulus*, 11, '80); Lightfoot (65; 100, 90); J. Ch. K. von Hofmann (*Die Heilige Schrift Neues Testaments*, 21, 63; 22, 72); Lipsius (*Handcomm.* 22, 91, 92); also in Dutch, by Baljon (89) and Cramer (*Nieuwe bijdragen door Cramer en Lamerz*, 6, '90), both with many textual conjectures. As to the conjectures, see Baljon (*De tekst der brieven aan de Romeinen, Corinthiërs en Galatiërs, akademisch proefschrift*, Utrecht, '84), and on the attempts at dissection see Clemens (*Einheitlichkeit der paulinischen Briefe*, '94). Marcion's text is specially dealt with by Hilgenfeld (*Z. hist. Theol.*, '55, 426-483), van Manen (*Theol. Tijds.* 1857, pp. 382-404, 451-533), and Theod. Zahn (*Gesch. d. N. Testaments Kanons*, 2, 490-529, '92). Mention must also be made of the work of Volkmar (*Paulus von Damaskus bis zum Galaterbrief*, '87; partly also in *Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz*, '84 f.).

P. W. S.

GALBANUM (חֶלְבָנִיחַ, χαλβανη ἡλεγκμοῦ [Bl.]. χαλβρ. m. [A]. *galbanum boni odoris* [= כֶּסֶם חֶלְבָנִיחַ?], Ex. 30:34 f.), which was an ingredient in the holy incense, is a resinous substance often mentioned by botanical writers, ancient and modern. Though the etymology of חֶלְבָנִיחַ, *helbaniah*, is uncertain,¹ the names χαλβανη and *galbanum* are certainly connected with, and probably derived from, the Hebrew word.

The source of the gum is even yet not quite certain. Dioscorides and Theophrastus speak of it as the product of a Syrian *mastrux*; but in modern times the galbanum of commerce is known to be produced only in Persia, and since Boissier it has generally been identified—e.g., by Flückiger and Hanbury (370 ff.), and by Dymock (2152 ff.)—as the gum of the umbelliferous *Fritula galbaniflua*, Boiss. et Buhse, and the kindred species *F. rubricaulis*, Boiss.² The resin is formed of 'tears

¹ Its connection with חֶלְבָנִיחַ, 'milk,' is improbable.

² Besides these, its principal known sources, however, there may have been others: thus Sir G. Birdwood speaks in this connection

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which exuda spontaneously from the stem, especially on its lower part and about the bases of the leaves.' It has 'a peculiar, nut unpleasant, aromatic odour' (Flück. and Hanb. *l.c.*).

N. M.

GALEED (גלעד). 1. or **Jegar-Sahadutha** (ג'ג'ר-ס'הד'וּתָה), the former the Hebrew, the latter the Aramaic, designation of the heap or cairn which was a sign of the covenant between Jacob and Laban, Gen. 31.47 ('Galeed' again in v. 45).

The renderings of G and Vg. (on which see Nestle, *Marg.* p. 10) show an uncertainty as to whether גלעד is a noun or a verb. For Galeed, *βουρὴ μαρτυρίαι* [A], *β. μαρτυρ* [Dul L. 1.1]; *ACERUUM TESTIMONII* in v. 47. *β. μαρτυρίαι* [A] 1.1, *β. μαρτυρίου* [E]; *GALAAD* in v. 48. For Jegar-sahadutha, *βουρὴ μαρτυρ* [A], *β. τῆς μ.* [Dul L. 1.], *βουρὴν μαρτυρίας* [F], *tumulum testis*.

Both have the same meaning—viz., 'heap of witness'—and the intention of the former is to suggest a derivation of the name GILEAD (*q.v.*).

The original tradition, however, must have been without this trivial etymology. ג'ג'ר-ס'הד'וּתָה (Jegar-sahadutha) is certainly a corruption of ג'ר-ס'הד'וּתָה (Gar-Sahad), 'fortress of Sahad.' We have to suppose that J and E both had access to stories of the lives of the patriarchs in a written form, among which was that of the meeting of Laban and Jacob. J's source of information contained one statement which was very possibly wanting in E's, and which J's account gave, partly in a mutilated, partly in a corrupt form. The early tradition must have said that Jacob set his face towards Gar-Sahad on Mount Hauran, but 'Gar-Sahad' had become corrupted into 'Gar-Sahad' (ג'ר-ס'הד'וּתָה) and 'on Mount Hauran' into 'on the mountain' (ג'ר-ס'הד'וּתָה). The latter phrase may have originally stood in v. 25, where we now read ג'ר-ס'הד'וּתָה, 'on the mountain.' Reasoning on the strange phrase Gar-Sahad, J seems to have come to the conclusion that it was really Jegar-sahadutha ('heap of witness' in Aramaic), and that it referred to a cairn which Jacob must have erected as a boundary mark, and this suggested explaining Gilead as a modification of Gal'ed, the Hebrew equivalent of Jegar-sahadutha. He forgot the improbability (pointed out by We. *CH* 43) that the grandchildren of 'Nahor' and Abraham—both sons of Elber—should have spoken different dialects; but how else could he have explained Gar-Sahad? That Wellhausen is wrong in treating v. 47 as a late archaeological gloss should be clear; 'heap of witness' is by no means an obvious explanation of 'Gilead,' and has to be accounted for. The verse belongs to J, but is misplaced; v. 43 should run, 'therefore he (Jacob) called it Gal'ed, but Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha.' *Vr.* 49 (on which see GILGAL, § 4) and so belong to E; they give an explanation of E's pillar (*מַצֵּבָה*) corresponding to that of J's cairn (*גָּלֵד*). It has only to be added that Nahor is miswritten for Hauran (ג'ר-ס'הד'וּתָה); the 'God of Nahor' in v. 53 (E) was originally 'the God of Hauran'—a phrase which lost its force when E, like J, brought the meeting of Laban and Jacob farther S. in order to suit the subsequent travels of the patriarch.

2. **GALEED** (גלעד) may also originally have stood in another important passage now evidently mutilated—viz., Josh. 22.34, where we read of a great altar set up by Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, as a 'witness' (cp v. 27) to the tribes on both sides of the Jordan that those on the eastern side were equally worshippers of Yahweh, in the strict legal fashion, with their brethren on the W. (So Dr. Bennett in *SBOT*; *EV*, following Pesh. and some Heb. MSS. is content with supplying גלעד [*22*].)

The narrative to which the passage belongs (*rv.* 9-34) must be very late, but may be based upon an early record which contained a second explanation of the name Gilead, connecting it with a great altar erected in early times by the eastern tribes. Whether this is probable or not, is a question on which critics are not at all unanimous. Those who agree with Dr. will ascribe to the editor the anxious assurances of the eastern tribes that no sacrifices should be offered upon the altar, and certain other peculiarities, such as the indistinctness of the description of the locality of the altar (*rv.* 10-12), and the omission of the name of the altar (*rv.* 34; cp Bennett). If on the other hand the narrative is 'an absolutely unhistorical invention framed to defend the doctrine of a unique sanctuary' (Kue. *Her.* 107, cp 339 f., and see We. *CH* 135), we must suppose that the name of the altar was accidentally omitted by a very early scribe, or perhaps (cp 1 S. 13.1 and Budd's crit. note in *SBOT*) was never inserted by the narrator. It is worth noticing that both in v. 11 and in v. 34 G reads differently from MT. In

of *Ophidia galbanifera* of Khorassan, and *Galbanum officinale* of Syria (*EB* 12.718).

1 Cp Kar-Asur, Kar-Istar, Kar-Sarrukin, 'fortress of Asur, of Istar, of Sarrukin.'

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particular G has in v. 11, *ḡal galalad* ('in Gilead'; G nm.) where MT has גלעד (in the districts'), and in v. 34, *ḡal galalad* ('ḡal galalad' and Joshua named the altar . . . and said). At any rate, both texts (and also Jos. *Ant.* v. 1.20) agree in not giving the name of the altar. Cp *ED*. T. K. C.

GALEM (Josh. 15.59, *Var. Hb.*, G only). See GILGAL, 1.

GALGALA (Γαλαλα [ANV]), 1 Macc. 9.2. See ARBELA, § 2 f., and cp GILGAL, § 6 (c).

GALILEE (גליל, גלילי [2 K. 15.29]; Aram. גליל; Γαλιλαία [H], ΑΙΛΑ, [ΠΝΑΚΤΙ] and NT); G. ILLEA, G. GENTUM).

The name *gālil* means 'circle,' 'district,' 'region.' Once only we find the qualifying addition 'of the nations'—viz., 1s. 9.18.25, 'In the former time he brought into

1. **Name.** contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time he confers honour on the road to the sea, the other side of the Jordan, the district (*gālil*) of the nations' (G. Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν). The latter phrase clearly means 'the district inhabited by a mixed population of Jews and foreigners.' Josh. 17.23 is partly parallel, for we should doubtless read (with *Isr.*, *St. Ar.* 185.2, p. 870) 'the king of the nations of the *gālil*' (not, as in MT, 'of Gilgal'). Cp 1 Macc. 5.15, Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων; Γαλιλαία simply, often in 1 Macc. (once in Macc. and twice in NT the article is omitted).

'Galilee' (to retain the convenient though late coined

2. **Original** Graecised name) seems at a comparatively early period to have specially designated

reference. the territory of Naphtali. The cities mentioned in the list of Tiglath-pileser's conquests (2 K. 15.29) as constituting 'the *gālil*' (Galilee) are, with probably one exception, all in Naphtali, and, as if to prevent misunderstanding, the narrator sums up these 'and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali.'

Although the early Naphtalites failed to occupy all the land which they coveted (Judg. 1.33), and in Gen. 30.7 f. Naphtali is the son of a slave-girl, Naphtali, like Zebulun, is praised for its heroism in a patriotic war (Judg. 5.18). Probably, therefore, the special application of the phrase 'district (of the nations)' to Naphtali arose out of the occupation of Naphtali by the Arameans under Benhadad I. The chief (Naphtalite) Gilelean city was of course Kedesh, which is called 'Kedesh in the *gālil*' (Galilee), in the hill-country of Naphtali (cp Tob. 13).

The *gālil* was, however, a vague expression, and must surely have been sometimes used with a wider reference. For this we may cite 1 K. 9.10-13, though this passage is decisive only for the time when it was edited. The connection between the *gālil* mentioned here and that of Josh. 17.23 seems hardly disputable. Whoever gave the last touches to the story of the despised twenty cities of 'Cabul' must have considered that the 'land of the *gālil*' extended to the Asherite town of Cabul, for to exclude the town of Cabul from the 'land of Cabul' would be as unnatural as to exclude the town of Goshen from the land of Goshen (Josh. 10.41; cp 15.51). In the time of Josephus we know that CABUL (*q.v.*) was a border city of Galilee, and there is every probability that this ancient place was spoken of as Gilelean long before this; Janoah, too, even if Asherite, was apparently regarded as Gilelean when 2 K. 15.29 was written, though the writer certainly seems to have applied the term 'Galilee' more especially to Naphtali. How, indeed, could Asher have failed to be included in the *gālil haggoyim*? According to Judg. 1.31-33 the non-Israelitish element in Asher

1 Janoah (= Yeno'amu) being probably Asherite (see JANOA), in spite of Buhl's hesitation (*Geog.* 229). It is no doubt out of the right geographical order; but this is probably a confusion introduced by the editor, and was not in the original record. It would, of course, be possible to emend גליל into גלעד (cp 1 K. 15.20, and see CHISNERETH), but the corruption assumed seems not very likely.

2 As Henzinger points out, the preceding word גלילי cannot be right; he misses, however, the true explanation of the presence of the word. It is simply miswritten for גליל; the scribe, as usual, left the wrong word and the right side by side. Cp the corruptions mentioned under GILEAD, 2.

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was considerably larger than that in Naphtali. The highly mixed origin of the tribe so-called is implied in Gen. 30.12 f. (birth of Asher), and is confirmed by the fact that the Hebrew tribesmen borrowed their name of Asher from their non-Israelitish parents, an extensive North Palestinian region having been called *Asher* in the time of the Egyptian kings, Seti I. and Rameses II. (see ASHER, § 1).

The land of Zebulun also had a natural claim to be called Galilean. Zebulun is not indeed said to have been, like Asher, the son of a slave-girl, but, like Asher and Naphtali, it had to tolerate Canaanitish enclaves in its territory (Judg. 1.30), and, if Is. 9.1 [8.23] may be followed, it suffered, like Naphtali, from the invasion of Tiglath-pileser—i.e., was partly Aramaised. In the latter passages Zebulun (which corresponds to the 'road to the sea'; see ZEBULUN) and Naphtali together form 'the district (*galil*) of the nations,'¹ and very possibly in 1 K. 9.13 'the land of Cabul' should be emended into 'the land of Zebulun' (see CABUL), implying that the 'twenty cities in the land of the *galil*' were in Zebulun.

After 734 B.C. 'the *galil*' in its widest sense became an integral part of the Assyrian empire, and hence, though the greater part of the old Israelitish population remained, its purity must have become by degrees more and more contaminated. In 2 Ch. 30.10, however, there may be an allusion to post-exilic attempts of the Jews of South Palestine to strengthen the Jewish spirit in the N. 'as far as Zebulun,' and 1 Mace. 5.14-23 shows that Jews lived in 'Galilee' in Macabean times. The term Galilee in post-exilic times, however, had obtained a wider meaning than of old. We know the boundaries of Galilee in the time of Josephus, and we may assume that they were the same in the preceding centuries. According to him, Galilee was bounded on the N. and W. by the territory of the Tyrians, to which Mount Carmel also belonged, on the S. by Samaria and Scythopolis (Beth-shean), on the E. by the trans-Jordanic region and by the Lake of Gennesaret (*B/J* iii. 31).

It was divided into two parts, Upper and Lower Galilee, the boundary line of which was, naturally, the plain of er-Rāmeh (the ha-Ramah of Josh. 19.46). The Mishna, which recognises the same divisions, though it adds the district of Tiberias (taken from Lower Galilee), names as the frontier city Kefar Hananyah;² Josephus, however (*J/* 1.188), mentions Bersabe or Beer-sabai (see § 7). Elsewhere this historian mentions Kedasa or Kydasa (the ancient Kedesh) as a Tyrian fortress on the Galilean border (*Ant.* vii. 56 *B/J* ii. 181 iv. 21). This is important, for it suggests a change in the N. boundary of Galilee. In the N., Galilee seems to have lost; but in the S. it gained considerably, for Ginea or En-gannim, S. of the Great Plain, marked the southern limit of Galilee. Sometimes, too, localities on the E. of the Lake of Gennesaret (or Sea of Galilee) are reckoned as Galilean (see, e.g., Jos. *B/J* ii. 81, where Judas of Gamala is called *ἀσὴρ Γαλιλαῖος*)—a natural inconsistency. Nominally, therefore, Galilee was cut off from the Lebanon by the territory of Tyre. It was, however, its relation to the Lebanon and to Hermon that made Galilee so rich in moisture,³ and especially in streams and wells, and therefore so pre-eminent in fertility, as compared with both Samaria and Judaea. There is no difference in this respect between Lower and Upper

4. Physical characteristics. Hermon that made Galilee so rich in moisture,³ and especially in streams and wells, and therefore so pre-eminent in fertility, as compared with both Samaria and Judaea. There is no difference in this respect between Lower and Upper

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Galilee, the distinction drawn in the Mishna is merely that the latter produces, and that the former does not produce, sycamores. Not only in Asher (*Dt* 33.24), but also throughout Galilee, olives were so abundant that it was easier, as a Rabbi said, to support an entire legion by means of olives than in the Land of Israel (where food is less easily had) to raise a single child.⁴ Naphtali was specially famous for its vines, and for 16 m. round Scythopolis the land 'flowed with milk and honey' (*Deut* 6.2). All this luxury might have enervated the inhabitants but for the long stretches of highland country.

Upper Galilee, in particular (*Gen* 35, 'the hill-country of Naphtali'), consists of a broad mountain-ridge, a continuation of the Lebanon range. On the summit is a tract of undulating table-land, diversified by wooded heights and smooth green plains. In the centre of this table-land stood Kedesh-Naphtali, among whose rich pastures Heber, the Kenite, sojourned (*Judg* 4.11). On the E. the mountains break down abruptly into the deep basin of the upper Jordan. On the W. the slopes are more gradual, and long ravines of singular beauty and wildness wind down to the sea-coast and the plain of Acre. These western declivities, once the possession of Asher, are still celebrated for their olive groves (cp the name *Bir-zuth*). The town of Safed, perched on the culminating point of the mountain chain to the S., is one of the four sacred cities of the Jews. It is also noted as the centre of a wide volcanic region (see EARTHQUAKE § 3).

The southern slopes of the mountain range, from the castellated heights of Safed to the broad plain of Esdraelon, afford some of the most picturesque scenery in Palestine. Forests of evergreen oak sweep round the flanks of the hills in graceful belts, and line the sides of the valleys, leaving open glades, and undulating expanses of green grass, such as are seen in English parks. Here, too, are upland plains, like vast terraces, with rich soil and rank vegetation. The largest is that now called el-Battōf—fertile, but without sufficient drainage on the eastern side, and therefore marshy. There are others to the eastward, along the brow of the hills that encircle Tiberias, and extending down to Tabor. These are separated from the great plain of Esdraelon by a line of rocky but picturesque hills, which culminate on the E. in the dome of Tabor. Esdraelon stretches out beyond them like a sea of verdure, leaving in the distance the base of Carmel and the mountains of Samaria.

Lower Galilee was a land of husbandmen, famed for its corn-fields (the wheat of Chorazin was proverbial), as Upper Galilee was for its olive groves, and Judaea for its vineyards. The demand for the Galilean wheat must have been large indeed (cp Acts 12.28). GENNESARET (see GENNESAR), however, surpassed all other regions; its fertility excited Josephus to an unwonted enthusiasm (*B/J* iii. 32 f. 108). The best pomegranates came from Shikmonah—i.e., we can hardly doubt, the Sykaminos of Josephus, between Caesarea and Acco, near Mount Carmel; and it should be noted that Eusebius (*OS* 267.70) expressly identifies Sykaminos and Hephra—i.e., the modern Haifa. Probably the old town lay a little to the N. of Haifa, on the site of some ruins still called 'the old Haifa.' For the oil of ancient Galilee cp 2 Ch. 2.10, and for its wheat and fat oxen (but not 'fowls'; see FOWL, § 2), 1 K. 4.23 [53]. Turning to the rivers and lakes, we must give the first place to the Jordan all of which to the N. of the Lake of Gennesaret, and one-third of its length to the S., belonged to Galilee. Many small streams flowing from the eastern watershed meet the Jordan; those on the W., including the Kishon (Nahr el-Mukatta'), flow into the Mediterranean (see KISHON). The Semachonitis or Lake of Huleh (not the 'Waters

¹ The phrase 'the other side of Jordan' corresponds to 'Gilead' in the traditional text of 1 K. 15.29, which lay before the author of this late insertion in Isaiah (see *S/* 107 and cp Duhm). Gilead (*PRE* 3.6337) seems wrong in explaining 22.2 of the district on the W. shore of the Jordan from Huleh to Dan. 22.2 is surely corrupt (see col. 1628, note 2).

² Neub. *Géogr.* 226.
³ 'All vegetation,' says Merrill, 'would be affected by the "dew of Hermon," which is praised in Ps. 133.3.' See, however, Dew, § 2 (d).

⁴ *Per. Rabba*, par. 20, following Wünsche's translation (cp Neub. *Géogr.* 130).

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of MEROM') and the SEA OF GALILEE are the two lakes. The former is a triangular basin, about 6 ft. above the sea-level; it is very disappointing, being shallow and reedy, water-fowl abound in it. The latter is described in the next article. On the famous hot springs of Tiberias (rivalled by those of Gadara) see TIBERIAS.

The population of Galilee in the time of Jesus was of more diverse origin than it had ever been before.

5. Later population. The somewhat mixed old Israelitish population had been further modified by Phœnician, Ituran (Arabian?), and Greek elements, so that the Jews, with perfect justice from their point of view, could look down on the Galileans, whose imperfect legal orthodoxy and inaccurate pronunciation soon 'bewrayed' them (Mk. 14:70 Mt. 23:7). Still, the Galileans could boast of great names in their past history,² and they were themselves no cowards when their religion was at stake; the old spirit of the Naphtalites lived again in their descendants, however mixed the race of those descendants might be. They were doubtless too industrious to be strictly orthodox from a Pharisaic point of view; but the Messianic hope burned more brightly in Galilee than anywhere else in Palestine, and hundreds of inquirers from the populous Galilean towns and villages followed the great Teacher wherever he went. He had a word for all. He knew them indeed, as brothers know brothers, for it can hardly be doubted that, as Prof. Percy Gardner has well said, 'according to all historic probability, Jesus of Nazareth was born at Nazareth' (*Exploratio Evangelica*, 254 [199]), or rather at the Nazarene or Galilean Bethlehem, for which, by a misunderstanding, 'Nazareth' appears to have been substituted (see NAZARETH). This connection of Jesus with Galilee has been well treated by Renan, though he has doubtless fallen into exaggerations which repel sober minds.

The region adjacent to Jerusalem is perhaps the most *triste* country in the world. Galilee, on the other hand, is full of verdure and of shade, the true country of the song of songs. During March and April the fields are carpeted with flowers. The animals are small, but of great gentleness. The forms of the mountains are more harmonious there than elsewhere, and inspire higher thoughts. Jesus seems to have had a special fondness for them' (*Œuvre de Jésus-Christ*, 87 f.).

The early history of Christianity cannot be understood apart from its physical environment. Galilee is dear to us, because by every right Jesus can be called a Galilean, and must have imbibed the moral and physical influences of his village home; Umbria gives the key to St. Francis; Galilee, in some sense, gives the key to Jesus of Nazareth. How he 'had compassion' on its teeming multitudes we know from the Gospels, and it is no slight merit in Dr. Selah Merrill that he has supplemented the one-sided (though not untrue) statements of Renan by proving the density of the population of ancient Galilee.³ 'He who wandered among the hills and valleys of Galilee was never far from some great and populous city.'⁴ Yet, such are the revenges of history, this home of the fulfiller and transformer of the Law became, in the second century after Christ, the centre of Jewish study of the Law. Galilee must at this period have contained a large and wealthy Jewish population. Traces of their splendid synagogues are still to be found at Tell Hām, Kerāzeh, Irbid, Kedes, Meirōn, Kefr Bir'im, and other places. Strangely enough, in six of these there are carved representations of animals.

¹ They confounded μ with ρ , and π with η .

² In Ju. 7:52 for $\pi\pi\phi\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ we should probably read, with the Sahidic version, $\delta\pi\pi\phi\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$, else strange ignorance is ascribed to the Jews. Prophets and other great men had come out of Galilee. See Keim, *Jesus of Nazareth*, FT 813-15.

³ Josephus asserts (*J. 1. 45*; *J. 1. 82*) that there were 204 cities and villages, the very least of which contained more than 15,000 inhabitants. We need not accept this.

⁴ Besant, quoted by GASSIN, *ITG* 430, n. 2.

GALILEE, SEA OF

The best-known localities in Jewish Galilee are in the lower part of the province. On the W. of the southern border, S. of the Wady el-Melek, is

7. Chief localities.

the village of Semūnyeh, the ancient Simonias (Jos. *J. 1. 21*), identified by the Talmud with SHIMON [7 v. 1]. The modern village of YAFĀ, SW. of Nazareth, is the Japha of Josephus (*J. 1. 206*, iii. 73). The frontier town of Xalothor Exaloth (*J. 1. 31*, *J. 1. 44*) is the modern Iksāl, cp CHUSULLATH or CHUSULATH TABOR. Another frontier town, Dabarita (Jos. *J. 1. 206*, *J. 1. 21*), is the modern Dabūryeh, at the foot of Mount Tabor on the north, the ancient DABURATH. Close to or upon Mt. Tabor was a fortress called by Polybius (v. 706) Atabyrion. S. of Tabor, on the slope of Little Hermon, is the small village of Neim, the Naim of the N.T. The plain between Tabor and Tennesaret was called (Eus. *OS* 296) Saronas, the name is echoed in that of the village Sārōnā. ESRAELON is treated elsewhere.

Let us now move westward from the shore of Tennesaret, and pause first at the ruins of Irbid, the Arbela of Josephus, famous in the history of Herod (*J. 1. 152* 4), and look up to the round rocky hill called Karn Hattin (1135 ft. above sea-level), regarded by the Latins as the Mount of the Beatitudes, and identified by the Talmud with the ZIDIM of Josh. 19:35. To the SW. is Kefr Kenna, which tradition identifies with CANA OF GALILEE. Conder's site for Cana ('Am Kānā) has the seeming advantage of being only half an hour to the N. of Nazareth; the fountain flows on though the village has disappeared. But what if 'Nazareth' is really a mistake for the Nazarene Bethlehem? Sefūryeh is no doubt Sepphoris, so famous in the Roman war; the Talmud calls it Sippori. Beit-Lahm, the ancient Bethlehem of Zebulun and en-Nāsira, or Nazareth, require to be noticed together (see NAZARETH).

In the N. of the Plain of Batōf (the Asotos of Jos.) we pause with interest at the Tell Jéfāt, upon which once stood the fortress of Jotapata, defended by Josephus (*J. 1. 7 f.*); cp JUPITRAT-EL. The border cities, Kefr Hananyah and Bersabe, are respectively Kefr 'Anān and Abū Shebā (N. of Kefr 'Anān), unless, indeed, Bersabe is the Birsabee of Theodosius (*Itica* 530 A.D.), which Guthe identifies with Khurb el-'Orēmeh, above Khān Minieh on the Sea of Galilee.

Of the doubtless ancient sites in Upper Galilee, few have a proved biblical connection—e.g., Kerāzeh (Chorazin); Safed (the Sefet of Tob. 1: in the Latin), the highest town in Galilee (2749 ft.), and, as some have fancied, the 'city that is set on a hill' of Mt. 5:14; Meirōn, where many old Jewish teachers are buried; el-Jish, the Gischala of Josephus, and the Gūš Hahāl of the Talmud; and, to the NW., Kefr-Bir'im, already referred to. See also GALILEE, SEA OF; ESRAELON; JERZEL-EL; TABOR.

Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud* (68); Guérin, *Galilée* (80); *Survey of Western Palestine; Memoirs*, vol. i., 'Galilee' (81); Merrill, *Galilee in the Time of Christ* (91); Macgregor, *The Rob Roy on the Jordan* (60); GASSIN, *ITG* 20; Guthe, art. 'Galilaea' in *PAE*, Bd. vi. (99); also Art. 'Galilee' in *Kino's Bib. Cycl.* by J. L. Porter, from which a few portions of the present article have been adapted. T. K. C.

Literature. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud* (68); Guérin, *Galilée* (80); *Survey of Western Palestine; Memoirs*, vol. i., 'Galilee' (81); Merrill, *Galilee in the Time of Christ* (91); Macgregor, *The Rob Roy on the Jordan* (60); GASSIN, *ITG* 20; Guthe, art. 'Galilaea' in *PAE*, Bd. vi. (99); also Art. 'Galilee' in *Kino's Bib. Cycl.* by J. L. Porter, from which a few portions of the present article have been adapted. T. K. C.

GALILEE, SEA OF (ἡ ΘΑΛΑΚΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑΣ [Ti. WH]), a Hebraistic expression [see GEOGRAPHY, § 4] for the fine sweet-water lake through which the Jordan flows on the E. of Galilee.

It occurs five times (Mt. 4:18 15:29 Mk. 1:16 7:31 Jn. 6:1). Other names are (1) 'sea of Tiberias' (ἡ θ. τῆς Τιβεριάδος [Ti. WH], Jn. 21:1); (2) 'sea of Galilee' (ἡ θ. τῆς Γαλιλαίας [Ti. WH] Jn. 6:1).

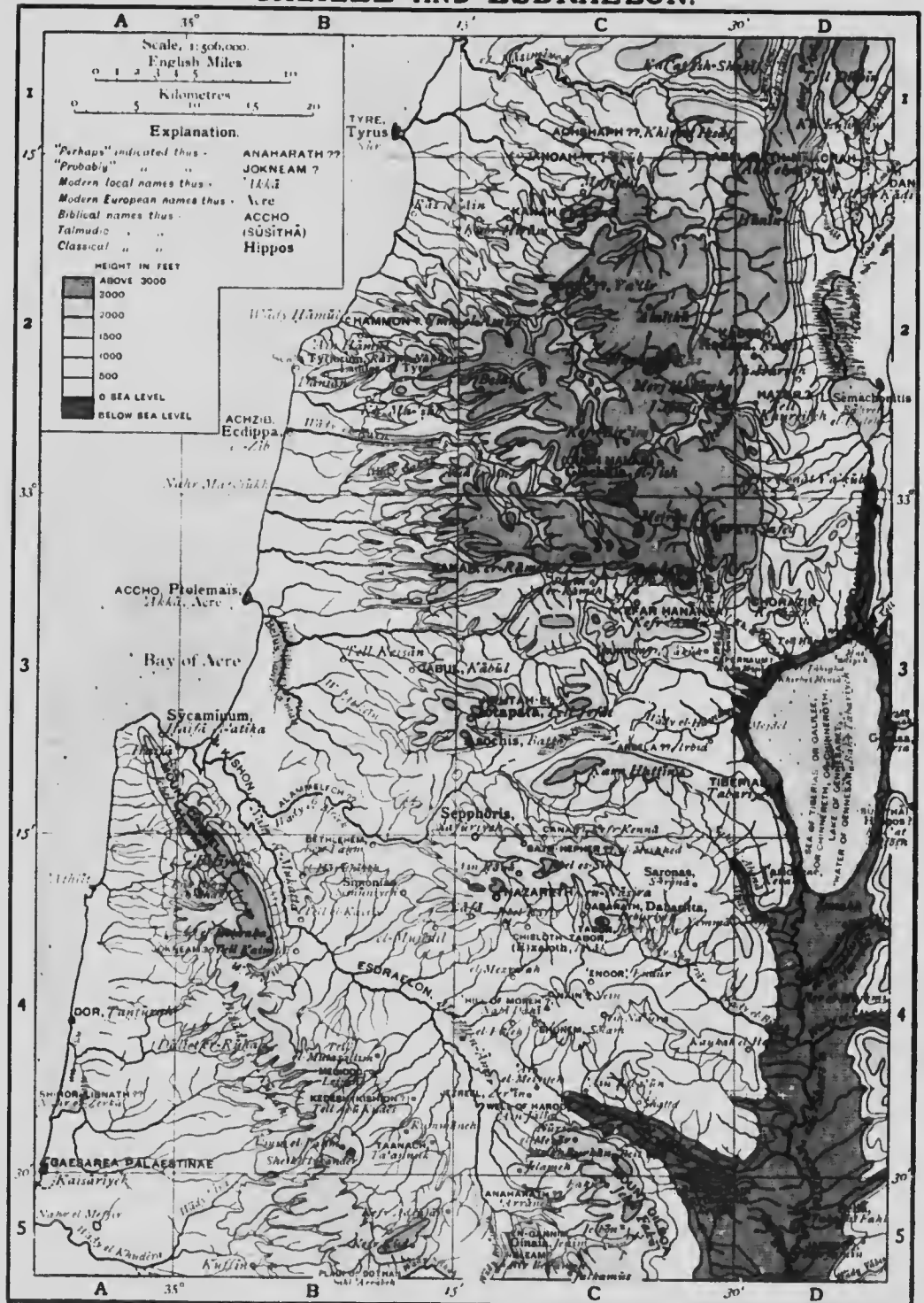
1. Names. Tiberias (ἡ θ. τῆς Γαλιλαίας [Ti. WH] Jn. 6:1), where 'of Tiberias' seems to be a scribal correction, intended to supersede 'of Galilee,' and pointing forward to v. 23 where 'Tiberias' is mentioned; (3) 'lake of Tennesaret' (ἡ λίμνη Τεννυσαρ [Ti. WH], Lk. 5:1); (4) 'the

¹ B. d. e. Syr. Hcl. (Tregelles) prefix εἰς τὰ ὅρη, which is also a correction, but one that does not suit, the eastern shore being meant.

INDEX TO NAMES

[illegible]

GALILEE AND ESDRAELON.



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GALILEE, SEA OF

sea' (הַיָּם הַגָּלִילִי), Jn. 6:11-25; (5) 'the lake' (הַיָּם), Lk. 5:2-8:22, 33. To these must be added (6) 'sea of Chinnereth' (הַיָּם הַכִּנְרֵת), and (7) 'sea of Chinneroth' (הַיָּם הַכִּנְרֹת), see CHINNERETH, CHINNEROTH; also (8) 'the water of Gennesar'—i.e., (RV) 'of Gennesareth', 1 Macc. 11:67. See GENNESAR. For Talmudic notices the reader will consult Neub. *Geogr.* 25, and Kohut, 'Lakes of the Holy Land,' *JQR* 4:691 (92).

The extreme length of this lake is 13 m.; its greatest width is little less than 7 m. It is an irregular oval in shape. Its surface is 681 ft. below the level of the Mediterranean. Its greatest depth has been exaggerated by McGregor and Lortet.

2. Physical characteristics.

As Barrois (1894) states, it varies from 130 ft. to 148 ft., according to the season, the greatest depth occurring along the course of the Jordan, through the meridional axis of the sheet. The surface temperature varies considerably. Down to 30 ft. it is on an average about 68° or 69°, and at 50 ft. 62° or 64°. Between 65 ft. and 130 ft., however, there is a uniform temperature of 59°. This is much higher than in the Swiss lakes at the same depth, but the lake of Tiberias lies at a much lower elevation, under a much hotter sun, and is fed from the sides and the bottom by several hot springs (see *PEFQ*, 94, pp. 200-220).

The scenery of the lake disappoints some travellers; but arriving from the S. where the landscapes are by no means always pleasing, one feels at a relief to catch a first view of its pale blue waters and the steep but bare and by no means bold mountains which so nearly surround it.¹ It is unjust to speak of it as dreary. It is only under certain aspects that it presents a painful monotony of gray; the evening hues are delightful, and round it there is a broad beach of white pebbles with small shells. The Jordan enters at the extreme northern end and issues 'plunging and swirling' at the southern. Here there are wide openings, which permit a view of the valley, and suggest interesting excursions.

The favourable physical conditions of Gennesaret (*el-Ghazir*) have been referred to elsewhere (see GENNESARET). Here it suffices to add that the harvest on the shore is nearly a month earlier than on the neighbouring highlands of Galilee and Bashan. Frost is entirely unknown. The trees, plants, and vegetables are those usually found in Egypt—e.g., the palm, the *Zizyphus lotus*, and the indigo plant.

¹ Though the whole basin of the lake, and, indeed, the Jordan valley, is of volcanic origin, as evidenced by the thermal springs and the frequent earthquakes, yet the main formation of the surrounding wall of mountains is limestone. A large number of black stones and boulders of basaltic tuff are scattered along the slopes and upland plains, and dykes of basalt here and there burst through the limestone strata in the neighbourhood of Tiberias and along the northern shore.²

In the OT the lake is only mentioned in descriptions of boundaries. It receives ample compensation in the NT, for its well-peopled, pleasant shores attracted the preacher of the kingdom of God.

3. NT references.

Four of its fisher-folk became his first disciples, with whom he took up his temporary abode in the 'village of consolation' (Capernaum)—he who was emphatically *menadhem* (i.e., Comforter, i. Jewish title of the Messiah). The local colouring of the Gospel narratives which have the lake and its shores for their scene, is wonderfully true. The sudden storms—the multitude of fish—the 'desert place' near Bethsaida where there was 'much grass'—all this is in accordance with facts. The hot, tropical air of the Ghôr is often filled by the cold winds from Lebanon which rush through the ravines of the Perazim hills (Thomson). So much for the storms. The fish are famous, both for variety and for abundance (see *First*, § 1). Josephus (*RH* iii. 107) remarks—and Hasselquist corroborates this—that some of them are found also in the Nile.³ To Bethsaida the fish of the lake perhaps gave its name, and Taricheæ was mainly devoted to the curing of fish. The desert but grassy place intended

GALILEE, SEA OF

in the narratives of the first feeding of the people (see especially Mk. 6:39) is surely the rich but swampy plain of el-Betha in the NE., at the N. end of which are the ruins of BETHSAIDA (q.v.). Nor can we doubt that towards the S. of the lake there were also 'desert (solitary) places,' even if they were only on high hill tops.

This consideration is important with reference to the two narratives of the feeding of the multitude. That the same tradition may receive different

4. Feeding of the multitude.

forms, so that two distinct events appear (but wrongly appear) to be reported, is clear from the lives of the patriarchs. It is the application of the comparative method, not any wish to rationalise, that prompts many good critics to identify the two narratives referred to.¹ If this be done, we are placed in a position to rectify some very natural mistakes in the present form of the traditions. We shall see that the scene of the most original narrative of the feeding was probably not in the NE., but more towards the S. Jesus had gone hither to be as far as possible from Antipas;² and yet, even in this remote spot, he could not hide himself from eager followers. How did he deal with them? There was probably a gap in the oral tradition, and the early Christians did not shrink from filling it up by ascribing to him who was a prophet, and more than a prophet, a deed such as Elisha was said to have performed of old. How well they expanded the scanty suggestion of 2 K. 4:42-44!³ How much more spiritually suggestive are the evangelical narratives!

The view presented here is different doubtless from that commonly received; but it seems to remove not a few very real difficulties. Nor is it only geography and exegesis that owe something to a keener textual criticism. We are thus helped one stage further towards the perception that the central importance of the Gospel narratives does not consist in their freedom from the inevitable errors of much-edited popular traditions.

Let us now compare the various Gospel statements as to the scene of the reported event, assuming (as we may and must) that there is a duplication of the original story.

Mt. 14:13, 'When Jesus heard of it, he withdrew from thence in a boat to a desert place apart.' No name of a place is given before v. 24, where we read, '... they came to the land, unto Gennesaret.' Mt. 15:29, 'And Jesus ... came nigh unto the Sea of Galilee; and he went up into a mountain, and sat there'; v. 39, 'And he sent away the multitudes, and entered into the boat, and came into the borders of (RV) Magadan.'

Mk. 6:31, 'Come ye yourselves into a desert place'; v. 45, 'And straightway he constrained his disciples to enter into the boat, and to go before him into the other side to Bethsaida, while he himself sendeth the multitude away'; v. 53, 'And ... they came to the land, unto Gennesaret.' Mk. 8:4, 'Where shall we be able to fill these men with bread here in a desert place?' v. 69, 'And straightway he ... came into the parts of Dalmanutha.'

Lk. 9:10, 'And he took them, and withdrew apart to a city called Bethsaida'; v. 12, 'for we are here in a desert place.' The reading in v. 10 is uncertain (cp Blass's edition of Lk.). RV follows P⁷⁵, T¹, W¹. Certainly the reading of the received text (followed by AV) is the work of a corrector. It does not, however, follow that that of B and D, etc. (D has *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ*) is the right one. We must leave the question open. There is nothing else in the text of Lk. to indicate exactly where the scene of the narrative is to be placed.

Jn. 6:1, 'Jesus went away to the other side of the sea of Galilee'; v. 3, 'And Jesus went up into the mountain'; v. 10, 'Now there was much grass in the place'; v. 17, 'And they entered into a boat, and were going over the sea into Capernaum'; v. 21, 'Howbeit there came boats from Tiberias, etc'; v. 24, '... and came to Capernaum, seeking Jesus.'

The greatest difficulty here is in Mk. 6:45 (*ὑποδήσαντες τὸ πέραν πρὸς θηθσαιδαν*). Are there two Bethsais?

or shall we suppose (C¹AS, *ITG* 458; see BETHSAIDA, § 2) that 'going across' does not mean crossing to the W. shore, but only taking the short journey *northward* to Bethsaida? The present writer thinks both views unprob-

¹ Cp Harper, *In Scripture Lands*, 123; H. v. Soden, *Kaiserbriefe*, 598, p. 157.

² Porter, *Kilias Bib. Cycl.*

³ Cp Neub. *Geogr.* 25.

¹ Cp Keim, *Jesus von Naz.* 2:520 f.

² Cp Keim, *Id.*

³ Note the barley loaves, and cp Jn. 6:9.

GALILEE, SEA OF

able, and instead of adopting the reading of old MSS of the Itala (followed in AV^{ms}: 'over against Bethsaida') would suppose that there is a scribe's error, and that for 'Bethsaida' (Βηθσαιδα) we should read 'Tiberias' (Τιβεριαδα).

A similar change is certainly necessary in the case of Magdala (Rec. Text) or Magadan (Fiegl, Ti., WH) in Mt. 15:39, and Dalmanutha in Mt. 8:10. These names have been discussed over and over again (see DALMANUTHA), and the latest solutions are hardly more natural than the earliest. The name in the original tradition must have been one which would account equally well for all these forms, and it should be one of which we are not obliged to say with Bruce (speaking of Magadan in the *Expositor's Bible*) 'place wholly unknown.' It seems to have been Migdal-nunia¹ (מגדל נונים, 'the tower of fish'), which was 1 R. m. from Tiberias, probably to the S. of that city.²

It will be seen that just as Bethsaida and Capernaum go together in one form of the tradition, so some unknown place on the E. coast (the neighbourhood of Gamala would suit) and Migdal-nunia go together in another.³ We may perhaps find traces of this latter view of the localities in Mk. 6:45 (reading Τιβεριαδα) and also in Jn. 6:23, where the ships are brought by the evangelist from Tiberias, because the spot where he places the feeding was obliquely opposite Tiberias.⁴ 'The land where they were going' (21:21) was not Capernaum (a mistake surely of the redactor of the Fourth Gospel), but Tiberias.

Nothing has been said here as yet of the calming of the storm. Here again the spiritual suggestiveness of the narrative makes it an inalienable treasure. We cannot, however, pin our faith to the literal accuracy of the beautiful story, any more than to that of Ps.

77:19 [20], 'Thy way was in the sea and thy path in the great waters,' and of Ps. 107:23-30; see especially the suggestive words with which the latter passage concludes, '—So he bringeth them into the haven where they would be.' Such symbolic language is characteristic of faith in all earnestly-held religions, and the symbol soon fixes itself in narrative. These are no doubt held to be facts; but the facts are valued chiefly as vehicles of spiritual ideas, and never examined into with the strictness of historic investigation.

We referred above to a little-known Migdal, as almost certainly the Magdala of the received text of Mt. 15:39.

The ordinary view identifying it with Mejdal, that miserable village with which the plain of el-Huwei begins, has to be abandoned. The Talmud mentions several Migdals in this neighbourhood; Mejdal was one of these—possibly that from which Mary Magdalene seems to have derived her name, i. e. arctely the MIGDAL-EL (q.v.) of Joshua.

Other places on the W. shore are referred to in special articles (see, e.g., CAPERNAUM, CHORAZIN).

Let us now turn to the S. end of the lake, where stands the ruin of Kerak, at the point where the Jordan issues. Here we should probably place Taricheæ, which, according to Pliny (*NH* 5:15), in his day gave its name to the whole lake.⁵ Its site indeed is not undisputed, being sometimes placed at Mejdal and though the theory of Gratz—Taricheæ=Migdal-nunia=Mejdal—is unacceptable,⁶ the simpler theory which has commanded the assent of Wilson (*PEEFQ.* 77:

¹ Dalma=Magdala; nunia=nunia. It is implied that the substratum of the narrative is Hebrew or Aramaic. Renan (*Le de Jésus* 19, 146) thinks that 'Magadan' comes from Dalmanutha. This does not help much.

² See Neub. *Gloss.* 217; Buhl, 226; but cp Græ. *MGNF.* 80, p. 434; who makes the distance 4 m. (we return to this later).

³ It would not do, therefore, to suggest that 'Bethsaida' (place of fish?) might be a second name of Migdal-nunia.

⁴ Slightly differently Furrer, *Bestimmung der bibl. Geographie*, 24 (7-8).

⁵ Gratz, however, suspects the text to be inaccurate.

⁶ *MGNF.* 80, pp. 434-435.

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p. 10 ff.; Furrer. *ZDPV* 256 f. 12 194 f. 13 194 ff.), and Socin (Baed. *Pal.* 290) cannot be lightly rejected. Upon the whole, however, the arguments of Schürer (*Gesch.* I 513) appear to be provisionally decisive in favour of Kerak; Conder, Guthe, and Buhl also incline in this direction. One would like to be able to speak more positively. Taricheæ was famous in the first Roman war; it was a centre of Galilean patriotism. Jesus may perhaps have been there; it is a little strange that it should nowhere be mentioned in the Gospels.¹

Turning round the lake from Kerak, we pause first at Kal'at el-Hosn, most probably the ancient Hippos (the Talmudic Susithā). The name of Gamala (mentioned above; famous in the Roman war)² seems to be preserved in that of the village of Jamli; Kersā is probably the ancient Gerasa (see GERASENES). But what an inadequate idea these few names give of the girdle of towns which inclosed the Sea of Galilee in ancient times! As Lamartine says, 'the borders of the Lake of Gennesaret seem to have borne cities instead of harvests and forests.'³ The scene is very different now. Without the help of the imagination even the travelled student will see nothing but a sheet of water unenlivened by vessels and surrounded by treeless hills. T. K. C.

GALL. (1) גָּלְלָה, גָּלְלָה, or גָּלְלָה רֹסֶה (γολλή).⁴ Dt. 29:18 [17] 32:32 Ps. 69:21 [22], Jer. 8:14 9:15 [14] 23:15 Lam. 3:519 Am. 6:12: the same Hebrew word is in Dt. 32:33 rendered 'venom,' in Job 20:16 'poison,' and in Hos. 10:4 'hemlock.' The word primarily denotes an extremely bitter plant (Hos. 10:4) and its fruit (Dt. 29:18 [17] etc.); it is constantly coupled with מַרְרָה, *la'marah*, 'wormwood,' the two together denoting the extreme of bitterness. Though there is no evidence that the plant denoted by גָּלְלָה was poisonous, the word is metaphorically applied to the venom of serpents (Dt. 32:33 etc.), the notions of bitterness and of poison being closely conjoined in ancient thought (cp Dt. on Job 20:14).

As the etymology of the Heb. word is unknown and there is no kindred form in any other Semitic language, we have no data for discovering the particular plant intended, the proposed identifications with hemlock, colocyth, dandelion, and poppy being alike conjectural. The reference in Hos. 10:4 points to some weed growing on cultivated land (as *ὁ ἀγρῶν*); whilst in Dt. 32:32 some berry-bearing plant is indicated. The colocyth, which is otherwise probable, is a plant that grows, not on cultivated, but on barren land. Cp Foen, § 5, end.

(2) מֵרִירָה, *merirah*, Job 16:13, and (3) מֵרִירָה, *merirah*, Job 20:14 25:4 (in *ὁ γολλή*, exc. v. 25, *δαίριος* [BA], *δαίριος* [NC]), are analogous derivatives from slightly different forms of the same root (Lag. *Ubers.* 40), which denotes bitterness. They mean properly the human gall or bile; and, from the association of the ideas of bitterness and poison (see above), מֵרִירָה is also applied, like גָּלְלָה, to the venom of serpents (Job 20:14).

N. M.—W. F. T.—D.

GALLERY. (1) גָּלְלָה (KL), *attuk*, Ezek. 41:15, 41:16, *attuk*, Ezek. 41:15 (KL) 16 42:5 (*απολοισι, υποφανοισι, περιστρωτοι*). The sense seems correct. With regard to the third rendering, observe that in 42:5 the 'galleries' have no pillars. Cp Ass. *mitku, miteku*, 'passage, road,' from *ṣakku*, 'to pass on' (Del. *Ass. HVB.* 2, 17). An architectural application of this word, however, is not mentioned. See Talmud.

(2) עֲרֵב, *ardaf*, in plur., Cant. 7:5 [6] 'The king is held in the galleries'; RV corrects, 'in the tresses thereof.' Neither 'gallery' nor 'tresses' is philologically defensible (see Bu. *ad loc.*). עֲרֵב elsewhere means 'troughs'; here it seems to be

¹ See GNS *HG* 451 ff.

² See Jos. *BJ* iv. 11. The view adopted above is that of Furrer and Buhl. Baed. *Pal.* 290, however, still adheres to the older view which identifies Gamala with Kal'at el-Hosn.

³ Quoted by GNS.

⁴ The latter spelling only in Dt. 32:32.

⁵ This, the word used in Mt. 27:34 Acts 2:14, is the usual rendering of *γολλή*; but we find *θυμια* in Dt. 32:33 Job 20:14. Am. 6:12, *πικρῶς* in Jer. 23:15, and *ἀγρῶν* in Hos. 10:4, whilst in Lam. 3:5 *ῥῶς* is rendered *κεφαλή* through confusion with the other *ῥῶς*.

GALLEY

a corruption of $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon$, 'pomegranate trees.' Θ has $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$. $\delta\rho\omega\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $\text{Aq. } \beta\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\mu$, $\text{Symm. } \epsilon\iota\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$. Read τ , $\gamma\delta$, 'pleasant' are they as an orchard of pomegranate trees' (cp 413). So Cheyne, *JQR*, Jan. 1899; see *COLOSS.*, § 13.

(ד) *rahit*, Kt. (רַחִיט) in plur., Cant. 1:7 AVmg.; but EV 'rafters'. ♂ *φαριτωμα*, Symm. *φαριτωσις*, Quint. *στρωτήρες*. This sense is best reached by reading *רַחִיט* (Syr. *ܪܚܝܬ*, Nöld.), with Budde. Wetzstein (Del. *Hoheshted*

u. *A'ah*, 165) would read וְחַיִּים 'and our v alls' (חַיִּים = חַיִּים).

(4) **עֲמֻדָּה**, *ʿamūdā*, **עֲמֻדָּה**, *ʿamūdā*, Ezek. 40 is *ff.* A 'mg (EV 'arches,' RVmg 'colonnade'). **ע** transiterates. See **עֲמֻדָּה**.

GALLEY (גַּלְיָה), ls. 33a. See SHIP.

GALLIM (D⁶). ΓΑΛΕ[Ι]Μ [BN⁶1.].

t. A place included among the additional 'cities' of Judah in $\mathfrak{A}$'s text of Josh. 15:59a (Παλλίμ [A]); see *SBOT*. 'Joshua' (Heb.). It occurs between Karem (*Ein Karim*; see BETH-IACCEREM) and Baithir (*Buttir*; see BETHER i.); it was therefore W. of Jerusalem.

2. A hamlet to the N. of Jerusalem, mentioned with Laisheth and Anathoth, Is. 10₃₀ (γαλλεῖα [M], ταλειμ [N]). It was the home of Paltu, the husband of Michal (see BAHRICH), 1 S. 25₄₄ (ποιμνα [B], γαλλεῖα [A], -ם. [forte A*], γολιάθ [L]; γελθā [Jos.]). No plausible identification has been offered; the text is probably corrupt. Elsewhere (SBOT, Isaiah, Heb., Addenda)¹ it is proposed to read, for גַּלְלִימָה (EV 'daughter of Gallim'), גַּלְלִימָה. A place called Beth-gilgal is mentioned in Neh. 12₂₉ (RV) in connection with Gela and Amaveth, and one called Gilgal in Josh. 15₇, and Gehiath in Josh. 18₁₇. Probably the same village is meant in all the three passages (so independently G. A. Smith [GILGAL, § 6 (A)]); we cannot identify it, but we know whereabouts it must have stood. It seems to have grown up near a cronech facing the ascent of Adummim which formed a conspicuous landmark, and was probably regarded as sacred.

For Gallim in Vg. 12. 158 see EGLAIM.

T. K. C.

GALLIO (ΓΑΛΛΙΩΝ [Ti. Will]), proconsul (AV 'deputy') of Achaia probably towards the end of Paul's eighteen months' sojourn in Corinth (about 53 A.D.). His father, M.

1. **Facts from classical sources.** eighteen months' sojourn in Corinth (about 53 A.D.). His father, M. Annæus Seneca, was a rhetorician of Corduba (*Corduba*), whence he migrated to Rome and became an *eques*; his mother Helvia was also probably a native of Spain (hence *equestris et provincialis locortus* in Tac. *Ann.* 1453). L. Annaeus Seneca the philosopher, and L. Annaeus Mela, the geographer and father of the poet Lucan, were his full brothers, both younger than himself; his own name was Marcus Annaeus Novatus, and to him under this name Seneca addresses his books *De Ira*. From his father he received a careful education, and in Rome he attracted the notice of L. Junius Gallio, a rhetorician of repute (cp Tac. *Ann.* 61), who ultimately adopted him, so that his full name became apparently L. Junius Annaeus Gallio. Gallio's younger brother Seneca was in banishment in Corsica from 41 to 49 A.D., when he was recalled by Agrippina to be Nero's tutor (Tac. *Ann.* 128). There is no sufficient reason, perhaps, to suppose that Gallio shared in his brother's disgrace (but cp Ramsay, *St Paul*, 258). Towards the close of the reign of Claudius, he received the governorship of the province of Achaia.

Achaia, being a senatorial province between 27 B.C. and 15 A.D., and again from 44 A.D. onwards,² the term *proconsul* (*proconsul*) is rightly used in Acts 18:12, for the governor of such provinces bore always the title 'proconsul', but in the case of Achaia the governors were of praetorian rank only, five years at least intervening between the praetorship and the appointment to a province (Marq. Minors, *Röm. Staatsr.* 1545). We thus know only approximately the date of Gallio's praetorship; but later than his governorship, ascertained: it was presumably ship is known from Pliny (N.H. 31), who tells us that he left

¹ Up 'Geographical Gains from Textual Criticism,' *Expositor*, Sept. 1890.

² Under Nero it received 'liberty' for a time in 67 A.D. (Soet. *Nero* 24), but Vespasian soon withdrew the useless gift.

GAMALIEL

Rome *post consulatum* on a voyage for his health. This must have been a different occasion from that recorded by Seneca, who says that Gallio suffered from fever in Achaia, and went a voyage in consequence (*A.P. Rom.* 18.1 [104.1]: 'illud mihi in orat domini inter Gallios, qui cum in Achaia febrem habere coepisset, propterea nesciens advenit claudicans non corporis esse, sed loci morbum'). This allusion gives us the only corroboration that the L. Junius given in *Acts*. It has been suggested that at some time under Nero or as *consul suffectus* with A. Marcellus he was in Rome in Nero's fifth year (*Ann.* 12.1.30). We know that he was in Rome in Nero's fifth year (Dio 1.1.58.1.20 = 58 A.D.). His appeal for mercy saved his life for the moment when Seneca was driven to suicide in 65 A.D. (*Tac. Ann.* 15.7.1); but next year he also was one of Nero's victims (Dio Cass. 62.25 *Jer. Chron. Ann.*).

Tiallis's genial and lovable and thoroughly upright character is sketched for us by his brother, and is summed up in the epithet '*dulcis*' applied to him by Statius (*Stb.* 27, 32) and by Seneca himself (*Mol. Qm.* 4, pref. 1: *quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest*). Statius (*Stb.* 35) records a witicism of his, in which he spoke of Claudius, who was poisoned by his wife Messalina, as '*mucro in orbem raptus*' (in allusion to the dedication of dead emperors, and the haling of dead malefactors through the streets to the Tiber).

It has often been remarked that the narrative in Acts accords perfectly with Gallio's character as otherwise known; but the erroneous impression

2. *Reff. in Acts.* known; but the erroneous impression given by the phrase of AV in Acts 18 17 ('and Gallio cared for none of those things') has 'made his name proverbial for indifference in the Christian world' (Farar, *St. Paul*, 410). 'To speak of his "characteristic indifference," or "disdainful justice," seems beside the mark. Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.* 349 n.) points out that the Jews 'could act against the Roman Paul only by arousing official Roman action on some pretext.' It is a mistake to imagine that because Judaism was a *religio licita* Gallio could be invoked in the interests of Jewish orthodoxy (the recorded instances of official protection when Jewish privileges were attacked by municipal authorities are of quite different nature); in other words, the accusation, if exactly reproduced in v. 13, was designedly vague, and by the words 'contrary to the law' it was intended that Gallio should understand *Roman* law, which alone he was concerned to administer (so also Zahn, *Einleit.* I 190). Further, in order to gain a correct conception of the incident, all idea of *tumult* must be rejected (αἰρεσίσησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν of v. 12 merely signifies united action on the part of the 'community of Jews' at Corinth). 'It is clear that Gallio's short speech represents the conclusion of a series of inquiries' (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 258), in which the attempt of the Jews to prove that Paul's teaching put him outside the pale of Judaism, and so rendered him liable for introducing a new religion (cp the charge at Philippi, Acts 16 21, and Thessalonica, Acts 17) revealed the true grounds of their action. Gallio's refusal to accept a prosecution 'seems to show that he shared the broad and generous views of his brother about the policy of Rome in regard to the various religions of the provinces' (Ramsay, *ib.* 259).

W. J. W.

GALLOWS (T). Esth. 5:14 etc.; AVmg. and RVmg 'tree.' See HANGING, i.

GAMAEΛ (ΓΑΜΑΔΑ [Λ]), 1 Esd. 8:29 = Ezra 8:2,
DANIEL [ז.ד., 3].

GAMALIEL (גַּמְלִיֵּאל); 'El is a reward'; § 28; cp GAMUL, and Palm. גַּמְלִיֵּאל, ΓΑΜΑΛΙΗΛ [B.M. and T. W. H.].

1 b Pedahzur, a chief of Manasse (Nu. 1 to 2 to
7 54 50 10 23 [P] 1).

2. Gamaliel or Rabbi Gamaliel the elder, who, according to Jewish tradition, was the son of Simeon and the grandson of the famous Hillel,¹ is twice mentioned in the N.T. Of his biography little is known beyond the facts that early in the first century, he lived and taught in Jerusalem, where Saul of Tarsus is said to have been for some time his pupil (Acts 22:3); that

¹ Against this, however, see Schön, *Mus* 163.

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he was a student of Greek literature; and that he was a member of the Sanhedrin, which body he successfully counselled to moderation in their treatment of the followers of Jesus (*ib.* 534 ff.).

It would be extremely interesting to have some outside confirmation of the two notices in the NT. That Paul himself makes no reference in his epistles to his teacher, appears strange. Looking back on his past history the apostle describes himself (*Phil.* 3 f.) in a way that we should hardly have expected in a pupil of Gamaliel, if the 'rabban' is to be judged by the notice in *Acts* 5 34 ff. Zahn (*Einf.* 13548 50 ff.) warns us not to exaggerate the Hellenistic influences of Paul's home. His Pharisaism was an inheritance from his fathers (*cp. Acts* 23, RV 'a son of Pharisees'); but in this case why did he choose out Gamaliel? The problem seems insoluble.

According to Wendt, *Acts* 5 38 ff. may be based on some traditional saying of Gamaliel, which the author of *Acts* (who may have heard that Gamaliel's advice determined the action of the Sanhedrin) applied to the present case. Certainly provisional conjectures of this sort may be admitted. Any close connection, however, between Paul and Gamaliel is not without its difficulty.

There is a late and otherwise improbable Christian tradition to the effect that Gamaliel ultimately became a Christian, and received baptism at the hands of Peter and John; the tradition located the tomb of 'Saint Gamaliel' at Pisa; his tradition, however, is almost conclusively refuted by the fact that he is spoken of in the records of Judaism as having been the first of the seven 'rabbans' (see RABBI). Such an honorific title would scarcely have been bestowed upon a Christian Jew.

The Talmudists speak of him as having been the president of the Sanhedrin during the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. This, however, is certainly unhistorical, as may be seen from the NT and Josephus, where it is invariably the high priest who presides over the council. It should be added that the name Gamaliel is of frequent occurrence in the history of later Judaism. A grandson of the elder Gamaliel, who bore the same name, was the master and friend of Aquila, the 'Onkelos' of the Babylonian Talmud.

See Schürer, *Gal.* 2 299 f.; Derenb. *Pal.* 239246; Grätz, *Gesch.* 3 349 ff.; Ew. *Hist.* 7 193 f.

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GAMMADIM, AV **Gammadims** (גַּמְדִּים), but some MSS נִמְרִים; γαλακες [BAQ]—i.e., נִמְרִים, with which Pesh. agrees; γαλα και μηδοι [Syriac Syriac]—i.e., נִמְרִים קִיִּים [Aq.], γαλακοι [Aq.], τετελεσμενοι [Aq.]—i.e., נִמְרִים; γαμαδαιμ [Theod.], קַפּוֹדִיָּא 'Cappadocians' [Tg.]; γαμαδ [Vg., deriving from נִמְרִים, Judg. 316; see CURT]. In describing the political and commercial relations of Tyre, Ezekiel (2711) says that 'the sons of Arvad were on [Tyre's] walls, and the Gammadim on [its] towers.' Plainly a proper name is required, and since 'Cappadocians' (L. garde) and 'Cimmerians' (Halévy) do not accord well with the Phœnicians of Arvad, it is evidently wrong to emend נִמְרִים into גַּמְדִּים, with Lagarde and Halévy. Bearing in mind the numerous corruptions in the text of Ezek. 27, we need not hesitate to read גַּמְדִּים 'the Simyrites' (for people of Simyra), called in E.V. 'the Zemarites' (so Co. *Ezek.*, *ad loc.*; W. *AT* 180). גַּמְדִּים might easily be corrupted either into גַּמְדִּים (G) or into גַּמְדִּים (M, etc.). 'The Arvadite' and 'the Zemarite' are mentioned together in Gen 1013. Thus we once more get evidence of the close relation between Gen. 10 and Ezek. 27.

That a name so unfamiliar in later times as Kamadu (the Egyptian form of Kumidi (*Am. Jah.* 87 75; and elsewhere) should be referred to (אֲמִי) is improbable, though it is not unnatural that some scholars (who needlessly) think Cornili's conjecture 'valent' should think of identifying the two names. In *Am. Jah.* 87, Kumidi and Šumura² are even brought into some degree of connection: Rib Addi states there that the fall of Šumura makes it hardly possible to hold Kumidi for the king. Guthe, with the assent of E. Meyer and Petrie, recognises the same Kumidi in the mod. K. mid el-Laz, 20 m. SE. of Bealut, 10 m. WNW of Damascus. This is certainly 'an excellent position to command the upper Lajjun basin, so that

¹ *Ann. Gen. Keene* 184; Photius, cod. 171, p. 199.

² WMM, E. Meyer.

³ Šumura should be the later Simyra. Ass. Simyra, though Winkler (*NH* 545) doubts this. Cp. Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt* 183.

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the identification of Kumidi has a geographical value apart from the doubtful combination proposed by Müller. Cp WMM, *At. u. Eur.* 193; E. Meyer, 'Glossen' in *Egyptica*, 72; Lag. *Mittheilungen*, 1211; *OSB*, 367. T. K. C.

GAMUL (גַּמּוּל), 'benefited.' § 56; γαμογλ [13], 'OYH [A], KA. [L]], representative of the twenty-second (50 MT and 50¹) or the twenty-first (50²) of the courses of priests (1 Ch. 24 17).

GAR (so Aldine ed.), RV GAS (γας [HA], om. L.), a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NEITH-NIM) in the great post-exilic list (*Ezra* n., § 9, § 8 c), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5 34 after 'Pochereth-hazzelexaim of || Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59.

GARDEN (גַּרְדֵּן) *gan*, Ass. *gannatu*, Arab. *jannatun*, Syr. *gann'ithi*.

The Sem. word is derived from the root גַּן *ganan*, 'cover,' 'protect,' the garden being secluded from the surrounding uncultivated country and the incursions of strangers, and concealed by overshadowing trees from observation (*cp. Helan* iv. 115, *ωπερσπυαδισι παρὰ δεισοι*). In the Persian and the Greek period Hebrew also used גַּרְדֵּן *garde* (*παρὰ δεισοι*), park or garden of larger extent than *gannos* (or *g*), see Neh. 2 8 Cani. 413 Eccles. 25. In Assyrian *ken* (pl. *-ati*) means a plantation of trees.

'Gardens' of the sort just described came in very early times to be specially attached to temples and also to the residences of wealthy persons. An illustration

1. **Egypt.** of the former will be found figured in Lepsius' *Denkmäler* (395), reproduced from the wall-painting in the tomb of Mery rē, high priest of King Chuenaten of the eighteenth dynasty (*circa* 1400 B.C.; discovered at Tell el-Amarna). This figure represents the temple of the sun with the surrounding buildings. The space that intervenes between the buildings is planted with trees, and in every case the base of the trunk is enclosed in a round ridge of earth hollow in the centre in order to retain the water. Apparently there are also water tanks for irrigation. All features, however, are not quite clear. From the same tomb we obtain other graphic details. A small house, the private residence of the priest, is depicted, and in one corner we have a glimpse of the garden portrayed in the conventional forms of old-world artists in which perspective is disregarded. Among the trees we can recognise the fig, the pomegranate, and the palm, whilst an arbour covered by a trailing grape-bearing vine is clearly visible.

The Theban tombs frequently represent gardens of considerable size divided into separate enclosures for vines, dates, and sycamores respectively. The interesting illustration given in Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1377, Erman, *Life in Anc. Eg.* 195, represents a large garden of rectangular shape surrounded by a wall. A canal of water flows in front. Between it and the wall there is a row of trees.

We quote from Erman's description:—

The house is concealed 'in the furthest corner of the garden; no sound from the stirring life on the canal could penetrate its seclusion. . . . There is no entrance except in front where a broad flight of steps leads down from the large porter's lodge to two small doors which open upon the canal. Through the chief entrance . . . we pass out of a small door directly into the vineyard which is seen in the centre of the plan. The luxuriant vines . . . are trained on trellis-work built up with stone; through these vine walks the path leads straight up to the house. If we pass, however, through either of the side doors, we come to a part of the garden resembling a small park; here there is a fish-pond surrounded with palms and shrubs. . . . Two doors lead out of this garden; one into the palm-garden which occupies a narrow strip on either side of the piece of ground; the other door leads into the hinder portion of the garden. Whether we enter the right or left side we now come again to a 'cool tank' . . . A pretty little arbour stands at the head of the pond; here the master would sit in the evening and watch the water-birds at their play in the water amongst the lotus and papyrus plants. Finally at the back surrounded by a double row of palms and high trees lies the house itself. . . .

Egyptian sovereigns took great interest in horticulture. Rameses III. (1200 B.C.), according to the Harris papyrus (183 f.), made 'great vineyards, walks shaded by all kinds of fruit trees laden with their fruit, a sacred way splendid with flowers from all countries.' Queen Hat-sepsut (Hatasu), living about 1500 B.C., imported

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thirty-one incense trees from their habitats by the Red Sea.

In a footnote to Sir G. Wilkinson's work (137ⁿ) we have a long list of trees which was discovered in the tomb of an officer of Thotmes I. In this catalogue we find date-palms, sycomores, acacias, quinces, tamarisks, willows, and figs.

In Babylonia and Assyria the features of garden cultivation are very similar and there also monarchs interested themselves in the art. Among ancient Babylonian documents we read of a garden similar to that just mentioned. This belonged to Merodach-baladan and contained the names of seventy-two trees, shrubs, and plants. This inscription, called the 'garden tablet,' is entitled at the close *ginnati la Marduk-aplu-iddin barri*, 'Gardens of King Merodach-baladan.'

Assyrian kings, as well as Babylonian, took a pride in planting gardens with choice and rare trees, brought from other lands. Tiglath-pileser I (1100 B.C.) evinces this fondness for horticulture.

In his prism inscription (col. 7:17-27) he says: 'Cedar-trees, *urkarium* and *allakium* trees I took away from the lands which I had conquered; trees which no one among my predecessors [i.e. former kings, my fathers] had planted, I planted them in the parks (*kiritti*). Valuable garden fruit which was not to be found in my own country I brought away, and caused the plantations of Assyria to bear these fruits.'

Four centuries later Sennacherib, in describing his 'palace without rival,' announces that he planted a great park 'resembling the Amanus land (mountain),' in which were 'all kinds of fragrant plants, fruit-trees, and the produce of the mountains and of Chaldea.'

Amid some obscure details we learn that a canal was dug at *Aspu* from the river Husur, and that a pond was made. Vines and other fruit-trees as well as *ardu* trees, cypresses, and palms were planted. Birds and other wild animals were placed among them.² A bas-relief representing a river and gardens watered by a canal, discovered by Layard at Kuyunjik, perhaps furnishes a rough illustration.

Esarhaddon also (in two prism-inscriptions), after describing the erection of a palace of hewn stone and cedar, passes on to describe (col. 6:14 ff.) the adjoining park thus: 'A lofty plantation like the Iamanu mountain, overgrown with all kinds of sweet-smelling bushes, I placed by its side' (*AN 2138*).

From the deeds of Babylonian purchase and sale published by Peiser we may infer that a plantation of date-palms (*kiru gilmari*), sometimes bordering on a canal (*kirru*), formed a not infrequent accompaniment of a Babylonian private dwelling (Peiser, *Keils. u. Astenische*, Sargonstein, col. 4:23-25; 12:1).

From the Babylonians the Persians acquired the art of horticulture and carried it to considerable perfection.

3. Persia. Thence the skill in planting, as well as the name for a cultivated park (*paridaza*), spread to the Hebrews (עֲרֵבָה) and also to the Greeks (παράδεισος; see PARADISE).

It is from Greek writers that we mainly derive our information respecting these parks. Thus Xenophon employs the word *paradeisos* in describing the large park attached to the palace of Cyrus at Kelenae in Phrygia through which the river Meander flowed, and which was stocked with wild animals of the chase.

¹ *AN 2141*: *urru* is rendered as *Po'el of Eden*.

² See Meissner and Ros. *Babylisch-Hebräischer Sanherib*, 14:16 and notes, p. 39f. Everett in *ZA*, Nov. 1888, gives another view.

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Its extent may be surmised from the fact that Cyrus here reviewed his contingent of 12,000 Greeks (*Anab.* 1:27 ff.).

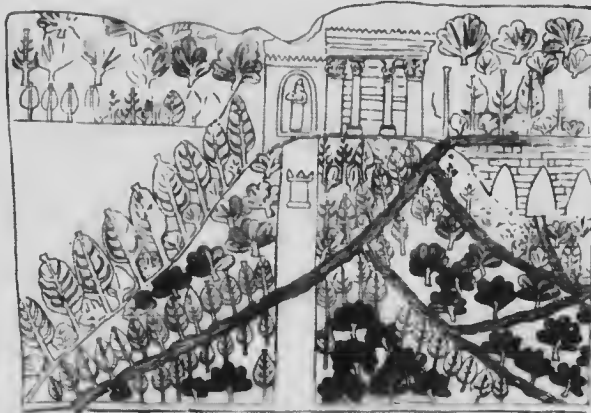
A biblical hint as to the size of these parks is conveyed in Esth. 1:5 where we are told that the Persian king gave a feast to all the inhabitants of Shushan in the precincts of the royal park attached to the palace. From *Hellen.* iv. 1:15 we learn that Pharnabazus also had his enclosed parks at Baskyleum, where animals for the chase were kept (cp *Cyrop.* i. 3:14). From Neh. 2:8 we acquire the additional detail that the keeper of the royal parks was an important court official by whom building materials were granted.

It is surely possible that Canaanite civilization presented features in the matter of garden cultivation analogous to those of the ancient empires of the Nile and of the Euphrates and Tigris.

4. Canaan. Phoenician inscriptions, however, yield us no information on the subject, whilst the biblical evidence is exceedingly scanty.¹

Under the circumstances mentioned above (§ 4) the features presented by the Paradise-narrative (Gen. 2:8-17) are of special interest and value. The main portion of this account is acknowledged to belong to the earlier stratum of 1 (1₁). It is pointed out elsewhere

5. The Paradise narrative.



River and Garden. After Layard.

soil and had then been remoulded.

Even when 12:10-14 are removed from the section, there remain traits in the narrative that remind us of Assyria and Babylonia (see again PARADISE). The expression 'all kinds of trees agreeable to sight and good for food' (2:9) recalls the phraseology of Esarhaddon's above-quoted inscription *Kala rikki u ru burru* 'all kinds of fragrant spices and shrubs' (cp Khorsab. 143); and if we adopt the Assyriological explanation of *ru* as not 'mist' but 'stream of water' (cp Esarh. col. vi. 19 f.), the counterpart of the Babylonian irrigation canal is restored to us and the picture is fairly complete. It is clear too from Nu 246 (12) — see Balaam, § 5) that garden-plantations were familiar features in Palestinian scenery in pre-exilic times.

On the text of this difficult passage see Dillmann also Cheyne, *Exp. T.* 10:401 (June '90), who critically corrects (*QAR* Jer. 1900) the text more fully; cp CHAM; PARADISE.

What are the precise facts underlying the tradition of Solomon's botanic lore (1 K. 4:33 [5:1]), cannot be determined; but Phoenician influences would help to

¹ The text of Gen. 13:10 is disputed, but Hall may be correct in reading *עֵצֵי*, 'Egypt,' and *עֵצֵי אֲנָן*. If so, a familiarity with Egyptian gardens is presupposed in the narrator. [See, however, MIZRAIM, § 2 A 2:138.]

² Budd, to whose critical sagacity this observation is due, assigns the addition to the time of Ahar (*Exposit.* 5:15).

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account for the great king's interest in plants. Later kings, at any rate, had their plantations. Ahab, who had a passion for building, coveted Naboth's vineyard in order to secure a suitable plantation as an adjunct to his palace (1 K. 21 a). In Heb. גַּן הַיָּרֵד, *gan hayyarak*, furnishes, however, a very vague conception of its character.¹

Gardens were naturally chosen as burial-places. Trees having a sacred character are often conjoined

7. Gardens as burial-places.

buried in the 'garden of Uzza' (see **MANASSEH**, **UZZA** ii). In the time of Jesus, family burying-places were frequently in gardens (Jn. 19.41).

Through 'the king's garden' the Jewish soldiers escaped, when Jerusalem was captured by the armies

8. Other ref. :
earlier.

not a single descriptive trait presented in the biblical record. We must therefore supply this lack by the legitimate inferences which may be drawn from the general features of Hebrew civilization presented in OT literature. In the first place it is evident that in the eighth and the following century Israel had advanced civilization. Am. 3:15 clearly shows that it was a common custom for the wealthy Hebrew citizen to have a winter and a summer mansion.² These were adorned with cedar woodwork and inlaid ivory (cp Is. 39: f. [8 f.]). That gardens possessing orchards and shrubs, a graceful shade were attached, may be accepted as certain (cp Am. 5:11). These would contain the well-known Palestinian fruit trees, the vine, fig, and pomegranate. The ideal of a happy life to sit under the shade of one's own vine and fig tree³ (1 K. 4: 25 [53], 2 K. 18:1 Mic. 4, cp Is. 1:6), as well as the general features of the Paradise narrative, enable us to supply these main traits. Probably in pre-exilic Israel fruit-trees predominated. Nowhere do we read of fragrant plants or trees.

By Hos. 4.13 Is. 1.29 and 17.10 we are reminded that Hebrew sanctuaries had their plantations in sacred enclosures in which stood the terebinth, the oak, and the figs (see POPULAR), together with the sacred pole representing the deity Asherah (see ASHERAH). Some different kind of sacred plantation is referred to in Is. 17.10 as 'plants of pleasure.' The view that they were connected with the worship of Adonis (see RYMER) is not improbable. Robertson Smith (*Prop.*¹ 273, 425) thinks that pots of quickly withering flowers are referred to.² The women who wept for Tammuz (Ezek. 8.14) may have covered the bier of their god with such pots or baskets. See, further, ADONIS.

Among the consequences of the Babylonian exile we

¹ The combination of this phrase with Egyptian D. 11.10 gives the impression of good irrigation and elaborate cultivation (cp Gen. 13.10). On the other hand, the expression in Prov. 15.17 מִן הַיֵּשׁוּבִים 'daily portion [so Toy]; Che. 'meal' [of vegetables]' (μετα λαχανικων) suggests the idea of a homely meal to which the exceptional and festive meal of animal diet is placed in contrast. The view that the phrase is a reminiscence of the Garden of Eden therefore must have fallen far short of a *topos*. But is a disparaging epithet here purposely applied, and can we detect the influence of Judaic and Deuteronomistic redaction (designated by Kittel)? See 'Ahal' in *Hasidim* 25. *DD*, ad fin.

² See House, § 4, and cf. *king* n°2 in the Bar-Bekub inscription from Zenjirli.

³ [In Ps. 17:11 the swift destruction of the 'gardens' is not presented in MT so vividly as we should expect. The trouble is with the second part of the verse, the text of which Lier, ('Isaiah,' *NROT*, Heb. 105) has critically emended, so that the whole verse runs thus:

(Even) though as soon as thou planted them, thou fenced them

And thy bringest thy sheaves to blossom,
Thy grape-gathering shall perish in the day of sudden terror,
And thy young plants at the crash of ruin.]

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9. **Later.** may venture to place the improvement of Jewish horticulture. As we pass into the literature of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the two

the Persian and the Greek period, the portrayals of gardens become more vivid and detailed. See especially the picture of the 'garden barred and bolted,' with its 'well of living waters,' and its fruit-trees and fragrant plants in Cant. 4:12-16 6:2, and the description in Eccles. 2:4-6 (see CANTICLES, § 15; BATH-RABBIT). The comparison of the righteous to a well-watered garden (Is. 58:11) suggests that the writer was well acquainted with Babylonian canal irrigation. This resembles the imagery of Ps. 1:3, and similar language appears in Ecclesiasticus, where wisdom is compared to various trees (24:13 ff.), as the cedar, palm, rose, olive, cinnamon, and so forth, and lastly to a garden canal' (v. 30 f.). The Book of Enoch, too, yields some illustrations of our subject. In 32:3, (Charles) we read, 'And I came into the garden of righteousness, and saw beyond those trees many large trees growing there, including the tree of wisdom of which Adam and Eve ate, and which was like the carob tree.' (see HUSKS). So in 61:12, we have the 'garden of life,'

We may infer from these descriptions that rich men in the Persian and Greek periods delighted in their gardens (cp Susan, 4, 15). In the time of Josephus, Jerusalem was crowded with gardens and hedges outside its walls in the Tihon valley (?) which debouches into the Kidron (*R/V*, 2a). In the midst of these Titus nearly lost his life. Probably the garden of GETHSEMANE (*v. 2*) was not remote from this spot.

Barich 6.70 [60] (Ep. of Jereny) gives us an additional feature of magic superstition noticed by the Hellenistic Jewish writer. Gardens (including parks as well as the homely cucumber field) were provided not only with keepers (cp. $\Pi\Upsilon\Upsilon$), but also with $\pi\rho\omicron\lambda\sigma\alpha\kappa\delta\nu\alpha$ 'scare-crows' to ward off evil spirits and probably birds and beasts as well.

GARDEN HOUSE גִּבְתֵּי הַבַּיִת, 2 K. 9²⁷. See BETH-HAGGAN.

GAREB (גָּרֵב, 'leprous,' § 66), the ITHRITE, one of David's heroes. G's readings are:
 2 S. 23:38: γαρεβ ὁ ἰσθηραῖος [B], γαρεθ ὁ ισθηριτης [A], γαρεβ
 ὁ ἰσθημ [L]; in 1 Ch. 11:40: γαρεβοβα ἰσθηρι: [B], γαρεβοε ι. [K],
 γαρεθ. ἰσθηρι [A], γ. ὁ ἰσθηρ [L].

GAREB, THE HILL (גָּרֵבָּתָא; ΒΟΥΝΩΝ ΓΑΡΒΗ [ΒΡΑQ]), is named only in Jer. 31^{30f} as a landmark indicating the future great expansion of Jerusalem; see GOMAT. Possibly it is the hill described in Josh. 15⁵ at the N. limit of the Plain of Rephaim (Ruhb, 95). In this case, G-R may be transposed from G-R-R—i.e., Gibbo[im], a synonym of REPHAIM (q.v., i.).

GARIZIM (ΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ [VA]). 2 Macc. 5:23; RV
GERIZIM.

GARLAND. RV rendering of **גִּילְגָּל**, *gēr*, ls. 61310; see **TURBAN**. EV rendering of **στεινμα**, Acts 1113; see **CHAPLER**.

GARLIC (עֲדָשׁ; σκόρδα [BAF], ποδά [L]. Nu. 11:51 bears the same name in Heb., Syr. and Ar., and its identity with *Allium sativum*, L., or some kindred species is thus assured. Pliny's statement (xix, 632), "allium cepasque inter deos in iurejurato habet Aegyptus" (cp. *Juv. Sat.* 15), points at least to such plants being common in ancient Egypt, though, according to W. Wilson (335), "there is no direct evidence from the monuments of their having been sacred."² It is not indigenous in W. Asia, but is a native of Zungaria, from which it must have been carried westward in prehistoric times.

GARMENT. EV's rendering of (a) some *general* terms

¹ Cf. also 40:27, where the fear of the Lord is compared to a garden of blessing.

² De Candolle (*Orig.* 71) suggests that it was not represented because it was considered impure by the priests.

GARMITE

for dress—viz., *ḡarm*, Gen. 38:12 *ḡarm*, *ḡarm*, Job 30:18; *ḡarm*, *ḡarm*, Is. 61:3; *ḡarm*, *ḡarm*, Ps. 73:6 (DRESS, § 1, 3); *ḡarm*, Lev. 6:10; *ḡarm*, Mt. 22:11 (DRESS, § 1); and also (6) of certain special articles of dress, *ḡarm*, *ḡarm*, Gen. 23:23; Josh. 7:21 (RV 'mantle'); *ḡarm*, *ḡarm*, Gen. 9:21; *ḡarm*, *ḡarm*, 1 K. 11:29; *ḡarm*, *ḡarm*, Esth. 8:15 (RV 'robe'); *ḡarm*, Mt. 9:16; *ḡarm*, Mk. 16:5 (RV 'robe'); *ḡarm*, 1 K. 24:4 (RV 'apparel'), for all of which see, further, MANTLE. For *ḡarm*, *ḡarm*, 2 S. 13:18 etc., *ḡarm*, Jude 23, *ḡarm*, Rev. 1:13, see FUR. Cp. further, DRESS.

GARMITE (גַּרְמִית), the gentile name applied to KETHUM in 1 Ch. 19, perhaps miswritten for Calebite (כַּלְבִּי); cp GARM, *ḡ*.

ḡ's text in v. 19 evidently differed much from MT, though it is not easy to restore that text exactly, owing to the transcriptional errors (אֲרָמִי [H], ḡ ḡאַרְמִי [A], ḡ ḡאַרְמִי [L], *amri* [Pesh.]).

T. K. C.

GARRISON is used to render *ḡarr* (גַּרְר), once *ḡarr* *ḡarr*, 1 S. 14:12 in EV of 1 S. 13:23 14:12 2 S. 23:14. For *ḡarr* (גַּרְר) in 1 S. 10:4 13:1 (see SAGI, § 2 n.), 2 S. 8:14 2 Ch. 17:2 (EV 'garrison'), a preferable translation is 'officer' (or the like) in spite of 1 Ch. 11:16 (where || 2 S. 23:14 has *ḡarr*). *ḡarr* *ḡarr* Judg. 9:5 (RV 'garrison') is probably an intentional alteration of *ḡarr* 'pillar' (EV), which rendering in RV of Ezek. 26:11 (עֶזְרָא) is to be preferred to AV's 'strong garrisons' (cp RV mg. 'oleisks'); see PHILAR, MASSER, In 2 Cor. 11:32 AV *ḡarr* is rendered 'kept . . . with a garrison' for which RV prefers 'guarded' (cp Phil. 4:7). Cp. generally, FORTRESS.

GAS (גַּס [BA]), 1 Est. 5:34 RV, AV GAR.

GASHMU (גַּשְׁמוּ), Neh. 6:6. See GESHUM.

GATAM (גַּתָּם), *ḡatam* (ADEL), one of the 'sons' of Eliphaz in Gen. 36:11 1 Ch. 1:36 (גַּתָּם [BA]); in Gen. 36:16 (*ḡatam* [AL]) called a clan (read *ḡatam*).

GATE (שַׁעַר, *ḡar*; גַּת, also גַּתָּא [BAFL]; cp Bib. Aram. *ḡat* Dan. 2:49 3:20), used collectively of the whole structure, including posts (מַעֲזֵזוֹת, *māzūzōt*), and doors (דֶּלֶת, *dēlet*), as well as the open space before it (פֶּתַח, *pētaḥ*; גַּתָּא, cp Josh. 20:4). The doors themselves (the dual, Dt. 3:5 etc.), suggests that there were two seem not to have been hinged to the posts but to have revolved upon pins in sockets. When closed they were kept secure by 'bolts' or 'bars' (בָּרִית, *brith*), made of metal (1 K. 1:13), but often of some destructible material (see Am. 1:5 Nah. 3:13). For the denom. *ḡar*, *ḡar*, 'gate-keeper,' see PORTER.

One of the exploits of Samson (Judg. 16:1-3) may be mentioned here. When lodging at Gaza the hero rose in the middle of the night and went to the gate of the city. There he 'laid hold of the doors of the city-gate and the two gate-posts, and pulled them up, together with the bar, and carried off the doors and the whole framework to the top of the hill facing Hebron' (say 45 m.). The origin of the story can here only be glanced at. We may have in it a mere practical joke in keeping with Samson's jovial character. But a connection with some early mythical phrase, misunderstood by later generations, is not excluded. The descent of Heracles to the gates of the nether world has been compared by Steinthal.²

The sanctity of gates is well known (cp THRESHOLD, § 2); the gates of Babylon had their special names, and temples beside them. This partly explains why justice was administered 'in the gate' (2 S. 15:2 Dt. 21:19 etc.), and this perhaps is how 'your gates' came to be equivalent to 'your cities' (Dt. 12:12 etc.; cp Ps. 87:2, 'the gates of Zion' = 'the dwellings of Jacob'). The 'gates' were also symbolical of the might of the city—gates of bronze such as could not easily be broken. Hence we read of the 'gates of Hades' (Mt. 16:18)—i.e., the power of Hades (traditionally described as a city).

In N F *ḡar* is translated 'gate,' Acts 3:2 AV; but cp Door. The usual terms are *ḡar* (1 K. 7:12) cp the 'gate Beautiful,' Acts 3:10, and *ḡar*, the latter of a palace (1 K. 16:20), house (Acts 10:12), or porch (Mt. 26:71; cp COURT, PORCH).

¹ Possibly, however, (as Che. suggests), 'Hebron' should be Sharnen (see GAZA, SHARNEN).

² Goldziher, *Hebrew Mythology*, 491 f.

GATH

Compare, further, CITY, § 2 (6), DOOR, FORTRESS, § 2, 5; JERUSALEM, TEMPLE.

GATH (גַּת), 'wine-press'; *ḡat* (BAAL); Jos. *ḡat*; Vg. *ḡath*, one of the five royal or princely cities of the Philistines (Josh. 13:3 1 S. 6:17). The ethnic form is *ḡath* (גַּת); ḡ *ḡath* (BAAL).

1. References. *ḡath* (BAAL); see 2 S. 6:10 f. 15:13 etc.; whether *ḡath* in Ps. 8 (title) means 'Gittite,' is disputed (see GITTITE). It is not assigned in Josh. to any of the Israelish tribes, and in Josh. 11:22 (D) [ḡ] om. It is mentioned as inhabited by ANAKIM. The Philistine champion, Goliath, came from Gath (1 S. 17:4 etc.), and David took refuge with Achish, king of Gath (1 S. 21:10 [11] 27:1; see DAVID, § 5).² According to 1 Ch. 18:1 David 'took Gath and her towns out of the hand of the Philistines'; this statement, however, may be based on a conjectural restoration of a defective text (see METHEG-AMMI). At any rate, a Gittite named Ittai was the leader of 600 men in the service of David (2 S. 15:18, emended text; see TREAT, *ḡ*), and on one occasion had equal rank with Joab and Abishai (18:2). Rehobaiim is said to have fortified Gath (2 Ch. 11:8); but Uzziah, according to 2 Ch. 26:6, found Gath still a Philistine city, and when warring against the Philistines 'broke down the wall of Gath.' About fifty years earlier the Syrian king Hazael is said to have taken Gath as a preliminary to the siege of Jerusalem (2 K. 12:17). In Am. 6:1 a passage later than the time of Amos; see AMOS, § 6 b) reference seems to be made to another disaster that befell Gath—a disaster similar to, and nearly contemporaneous with, that which befell Calneh in 738 and Hamath in 720. The presumption, therefore, is, that Gath, as well as Ashdod, was taken by Sargon in 711. This is indeed attested as a historical fact by Sargon himself, who says, 'Ashdudu, Ginitu, Ashdudinnu' I besieged, I conquered' (Khorsabad inscr., 104 f.). That Ginitu (= Gath) is here mentioned between Ashdod and the port of Ashdod (?) is probably no mere error of a scribe, but indicates that Gath then formed part of the Ashdodite territory (see ASHDOD). This may perhaps explain the fact that Amos (16:8), Zeph. (2:4), Jer. (2:47 5), and H. Zech. (9:5 f.) make no mention of Gath among the Philistine cities; it had fallen to a secondary position.

We also find Gath mentioned in a fragmentary context in 2 S. 21:20 22 (David's war with the Philistines). This derives plausibility from the fact that Goliath was certainly a Gittite. *ḡath* and Pesh. (Gat) also read 'Gath' for 'Gob' in v. 18 (ḡ *ḡath*), and Gratz would read 'Gath' for 'Gob' in v. 19 (see GOR).

'Gath' is referred to also in 1 S. 17:32 (cp *ḡath*; see H. P. Smith), and in the elegy of David (2 S. 1:20), a reminiscence of which has produced the doubtless incorrect reading in Mic. 1:10, *ḡath*, 'Tell it not in Gath.' *ḡath* agrees in reading 'in Gath,' and introduces a reference in the next clause to *ḡath* (Sw. *ḡath*, 'the Anakim.' Ellhorst and Winkler (*17' Enters*, 185) would read *ḡath* 'in Gilgal rejoice not'; Cheyne, for the sake of geographical consistency, *ḡath*, 'in Gilgal rejoice not' (*JQR* 10:57 f. 198).

'Gath of Philistia' (as Am. 6:2 calls it) is very probably referred to (as Kethu) in the Palestinian list of Thotmes III., nos. 63, 70, 93 (*KP* 543 f.), and (as Ginitu and Gintu) in the Amarna tablets (1838 a; 1856). Am. Tab. 1838 a will be referred to again (see GLZER, § 1); it states that the warriors of Gazri (Gezer), Gintu (Gath), and Kilti (Keilah) have joined together to attack the land of Rubutu and of Urusalm (Jerusalem). The sites of Gazri, Kilti, and Urusalm are known; those of Gintu and Rubutu have to be investigated. Gintu ought to be between Gazri and Urusalm, and it ought to be not less important a fortress than these places.

The biblical evidence with regard to the site of Gath

¹ On these and some other passages, however, see JUDAH, § 4 f.

² Possibly, too, David took a wife from Gath (see GATHATH).

³ So W. (*Teitbuch*, 20) and Peiser (*KP* 543).

⁴ This can hardly be doubted. See WIM. *As. u. Eur.* 103 (p. 122); F. Meyer, *U. u. A. in Assyria*, 73.

GAATH

is not as decisive as could be wished. The most definite

2. **Site.** passage is 2 Ch. 116-10, where, in the list of the cities fortified by Rehoboam, Gaath occurs after Socoth and Adullam and before Mareshah and Ziph. If, however, the Chronicler means the Philistine Gaath, one cannot help thinking that he is in error (Jos. seems to call this place *gath*, or *gath*); such an error might account for the name Betogabra borne by Eleutheropolis at a later time (see ELEUTHEROPOLIS, § 1). Such a name as 'Wine-press-town,' however, may surely have been borne by more than two places in S. Palestine. Conder speaks of a large ruin called Jenneta, S. of Bêt Jibrin, which he proposes for the Kuth in the list of Tholmes III. (no. 701). From 1 S. 17:52 (RV *Gat* [g.v.]) we gather simply that Gaath lay more inland than Ekron.

The notices of Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 244:20, 127:15) are so confused that we are driven to suppose that they had no exact knowledge of the site of the Philistine city. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 122) places Gaath within the tribe of Dan, and couples it with Jamnia; the Crusaders actually identified the two places.

At present there are two sites which have been defended by geographers of repute. M. Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFQ*, July '99, p. 204) has lately revived the theory of Thomson (*EB*, 564) and Tristram (*Bible Places*) that Gaath, Eleutheropolis, and Bêt Jibrin are the same place. The most plausible argument is derived from the name Moreseth-Gaath (Mic. 1:14), which is thought to suggest that Mareshah was a suburb of Gaath. Mareshah, however, was no mere suburb; and if 'Gaath' in Mic. 1:14 is correct, we must regard it, with Wellhausen (*Alt. Proph.* ¹¹), as a vocative, and render 'Therefore must thou, O Gaath, give farewell gifts to Moreseth.' More probably, however, *ga* is a corruption of *ga* (cp Che. *IQR* 10:57 f., and see MORASTULIE).

There is only one site that seems to meet all the requirements of the case; it is worth mentioning, even if Dr. Bliss's excavations should one day prove it to be the wrong one. It is Tell es-Sâfiyeh¹ (*collis clarus*, William of Tyre), the *Blanca guarda* of the Crusaders, a tall white cliff 300 ft. above the valley of Elah, 18 m. from Ashkelon, 12 from Ashdod, and 6 from Eleutheropolis. J. L. Porter made a careful topographical study of Philistia in 1858 with the result that he convinced himself of the claims of Tell es-Sâfiyeh to be the ancient Gaath. Some of our best geographers have followed him, though others prefer to keep Tell es-Sâfiyeh for the Mizpeh of Josh. 15:38. The objection of Sir C. Warren (Hastings, *DB* 2:114 a) that the sites of other Philistine fenced cities 'do not present any natural features capable of defence,' does not seem decisive. The disappearance of Gaath from history is surely not more surprising than many other sudden blows to flourishing fortified cities.

'The site,' says Porter, 'is a most commanding one, and would form, when fortified, the key of Philistia. It is close to the mountains of Judah. The Tell is about 200 ft. high, with steep sides, now in part terraced for vineyards—*Gaath* signifies a wine-press.' On the summit are the foundations of an old castle, probably that built, or rebuilt, by the Crusaders; and all around the hill are great quantities of old building stones. On the NE. is a projecting shoulder, and the declivities below it appear to have been scarped. Here stands the modern village. Its houses are all composed of ancient materials, and around it are ruins and fragments of columns. In the sides of the hill, especially towards the S., a great number of cisterns have been excavated in the limestone rock' (Kitt's *Bibl. Cycl.* 276; cp Porter, *Handbk. for S. and P.*, 252).

Dr. Bliss's first report of his exploration of Tell es-Sâfiyeh (*PEFQ*, July '99) leaves it quite uncertain whether Gaath was, or was not, on this interesting and important site. Inscriptions, however, such as will determine the point, may be reasonably hoped for. Dr. Bliss states ('Second Report,' *PEFQ*, Oct. '99) that the boundary of the ancient city on the S., E., and W. has been determined by the discovery of a massive rampart. The town was irregular in shape, measuring about 400 yds. in maximum length and about 200 yds. in maximum breadth, and thus contained a space about six times the size of the fort on

¹ Clermont-Ganneau states that the locality figures upon the mosaic map of Medeba under the Greek name of Saphitha, a name which shows that it was still flourishing during the Byzantine period (*PEFQ*, Oct. '99, p. 359).

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Tell Zakariyâ (Azekah?). The city walls are 17 ft. thick; they are built without mortar, like those at Tell Zakariyâ, but are twice as thick and twice as high; they are preserved in places to a height of 33 ft., and show a system of buttresses regularly spaced. They rest not on the rock, but on some 6 ft. to 10 ft. of debris, which is characterised by very early pre-Israelitish pottery. As their massive foundations must have been sunk in a considerable quantity of soil, we gather that they were not erected much before Jewish times. The gate has still to be found. At the NE. of the Tell, at a depth of from 18 to 20 ft., has been discovered what appears to be a primitive sanctuary, with three standing stones, or menhirs, surrounded by a rude enclosure (cp *WRS. Rel. Sem.* 200 f.); it is shown by the pottery to belong to what Dr. Bliss calls the later pre-Israelite period. It is unnecessary to give details of minor discoveries. It is much to be regretted that the position of the village and the cemetery prevents a complete examination of the site of Tell es-Sâfiyeh, which must certainly have been occupied by a fortress long before the appearance of the Israelites and the Philistines.

T. K. C.

GAATH-HEPHER (גַּאֲת־הֶפְרַיִם; ΓΕΘΑΧΟΒΗΡ [B], ΓΕΘ-ΟΦΡΑ [L]; cp ΠΕΦΗΡ), a place on the border of Zebulun, where the prophet Jonah was born (2 K. 14:25, ΓΕΘ ΑΧΟΒΗΡ [V], mistakenly called ΓΙΤΤΑΙ-ΠΕΦΗΡ in AV of Josh. 19:11 (RV, Gath-hepher; ΓΕΒΕΡΕ [H], ΓΑΙΘΑ [A], ΓΕΘΑΕ ΦΕΡ [L]); Jerome (*Proem.* in *Jon.*) says that the tomb of Jonah was shown in his day at the small village (*haur grandis viculus*) of Geth. 2 R. m. from Sepphoris on the road to Tiberias. In Talm. Jer. (*Shab.* 61) the place is called Hepher¹; a disciple of the school of Sepphoris could live at Hepher, because the two places were not 12 m. apart. Benjamin of Tudela (12th cent.) states that the tomb of Jonah lay on a mountain near Sepphoris. These data seem to point to the village of el-Meshhed, about 3 m. NE. from Nazareth and 2 E. by S. from Sepphoris, where a tomb of Jonah is shown; the place lies between Yâfâ (Japhia) and Rummîneh (Kinnun), as Gath-hepher did, according to Josh. 19:12 f.

T. K. C.

GAATH-RIMMON (גַּאֲת־רִמּוֹן). 1. A Danite town (Josh. 19:45, ΓΕΘΡΕΜΜΩΝ [BAL]), assigned to the Levites (Josh. 21:24, ΓΕΘΡΕΜΜΩΝ [B]). On the apparent misstatement of 1 Ch. 6:54 [60] (ΓΕΘΡΑΜΩΝ [H]) see DAN, § 8. Gath-rimmon must have lain a little to the E. of Joppa. In *OS* 246:59 it is placed between Diospolis and Eleutheropolis; but this is too far S. A ΓΕΘΘΑ (Gath), however, is mentioned (*OS* 246:73) as situated between Antipatris and Jamnia, and as otherwise called ΓΙΘΘΑ. Knobel suggests that this may be the GITTAIM of the OT; and our Gath-rimmon. There is a city called Gith-rimmon in *Am. Tab.* 164:45.

2. A miswritten name in text of Josh. 21:25 (ΓΕΘΘΑ [B], ΓΑΙΘΑ [A], but ΓΕΘΡΕΜΜΩΝ [L]). Gath-rimmon occurs in *r.* 24. The true reading must be either Beth-shean (ΓΕΘ-ΒΕΘ), which is supported by *Θ*¹ (גֶּזֶר) and *Θ*² (גֶּזֶר), or, less probably, Belem (1 Ch. 6:55[70]—i.e., *BELEM* [q.v.]). Billmann prefers the latter; but we want a compound name corresponding to Gath-rimmon. ΓΕΘ-ΒΕΘ can easily have become ΓΕΘ-ΒΕΘ. Beth-shean and Belem are both mentioned in Josh. 17:11.

T. K. C.

GAULANITIS. See GOLAN.

GAULS (οἱ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΙ [VA]). 1 Macc. 8:2 2 Macc. 8:20 RV; RV¹⁹⁰⁸ in 2 Macc. and AV GALATIANS. See GALATIA, § 32.

GAUZE, in Is. 40:22, RV¹⁹⁰⁸ rendering of גַּזְזִי *gazzî*; EV CERTAIN. The Hebrew word is doubtful; *Θ* γαυζα, suggesting גַּזְזִי (Klo., Che. *SBOT*), whilst Aq., Symm., Theod. have γαυζα (גַּזְזִי).

GAZA, or **AZZAH** [g.v.] (גַּזָּא; ΓΑΖΑ [BAL]; ASS. *Ja-zi-ti*, *Ja-zi-zu-tu*, *Ja-(az)-za-ut-tu*; Eg. *Ga-ḏu-tu* [WMM *Ac. u. Fur.* 159]; Gentile

1. OT גַּזָּא, or ΓΑΖΑΙΟC [BAL]. Josh. 13:3 references. AV *Gazathites*, RV *Gasites*. The most southern (2 K. 18:8) of the five chief cities of Philistia (1 S. 6:17; cp Zeph. 2:4 Zech. 9:5), mentioned in the lists of Rameses II. and III. (*RP*²² 6:27:41). In primitive times it was the S. limit of the AVIM [1]

¹ Neub. *Géogr. du Talm.* 201.

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(Dt. 23), and afterwards was regarded as the most southern point of Palestine (Judg. 84, cp Gen. 109), and of the province W. of the Euphrates (1 K. 424 [54] [GAL omit]).

According to Judg. 118 (yafep [A*vd]) it was conquered by the tribe of Judah; but this verse is inconsistent with r. 19, and is based on a misunderstood gloss (see Budde's note). In Josh. 15:47 (K) Gaza is assigned to Judah; but this late passage has no historical authority. The enigmatic Avva (AV Ava) in 2 K. 17:24, and IVVAH in 2 K. 18:34 19:13 18:37 13, should very possibly be Azzah = Gaza (sig for sig). See Avva.

Gaza is mentioned once again in Judges (18:13); the passage has a twofold interest, legendary (see GATE) and topographical. An error has made its way into the text, which can perhaps be corrected; this we shall reserve for the close of the article. The next reference of interest (for 1 K. 424 [54] is late and unimportant) is concerned with Hezekiah's victory over the Philistines 'as far as Gaza' (2 K. 188). This victory is probably connected with the circumstance that Hezekiah sympathised with Ashdod in its rebellion against Assyria (713-711 B.C.), whereas Gaza remained quiet. Hezekiah's success against Gaza, however, was not lasting, for in 701 Sennacherib transferred a part of the territory of Judah to his faithful vassal Sili-hel (?) of Gaza.¹ This strong city, however, had not always been so devoted to Assyria. In 734 B.C. Hanun sought, though in vain, to resist Tiglath-pileser and in 720 Sargon in his turn had to take the field against this same king. How ill Hanun fared at the battle of Raphia is well known (see SARGON).

What happened to Gaza we are not told; but if the emendation of 2 K. 18:34, etc., proposed above be accepted, Sargon carried away the idols of Gaza, or, at any rate, introduced Astar as the supreme deity. (The local deity of Gaza was called Marna, 'Lord' or 'our Lord'. So much at any rate would be implied by the words, 'Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad—of Sepharvaim and of Azrah (Gaza)?' Regardful of its commerce, Gaza seems from this time forward to have been punctual in its payment of tribute. Nabonaid says that all his vassals as far south as Gaza contributed to the building of the temple at Harran (555 B.C.).

In the prophets there are three references to Gaza. Of these, Am. 1:6 f. is the only one that is undoubtedly genuine. Gaza is there threatened with punishment for delivering up Hebrew slaves to Edom, a country with which it naturally had close trade relations. Zeph. 2:4-6 is without a historical point of contact, and may therefore be a late insertion, framed on old models (see ZEPHANIAH n.); so also Jer. 47:1-7 (where the heading is late, only *Qum* of *G* has *Yafep*), and Zeel. 9:5 (see JEREMIAH n.; ZEPHANIAH n.). Herodotus, writing probably in the time of Nehemiah, calls the city of Gaza *αζαρία*; he says that it seemed to him not inferior to Sardis (3:5).²

In the NT there is one reference to Gaza (§ 3); but before referring to it we must briefly sketch the later history of the city. Its name means 'the strong'; and this strength is illustrated by its resistance for five months (332 B.C.) to the powerful engines employed by Alexander in besieging it (Arrian, *Alex.* 2:26 f.; Q. Curt. iv. 67); Strabo (as quoted next col., n. 5) states that it was destroyed at this time, and that it 'remained deserted' until his day. If, however, Strabo wrote this, he committed an error, for Gaza was a strong place in the wars of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, and is mentioned as such in the story of Jonathan the Maccabee (1 Macc. 11:61 f.).³

It was razed to the ground by the fierce Alexander Jannaeus after a year's siege (*Ant.* xii. 134). Gabinius, governor of Syria, rebuilt it (*Ant.* xv. 53); Augustus gave it to Herod (*Ant.* xv. 73), after whose death it was annexed to the province of Syria (*Ant.* xvii. 114). In 65 A.D. it was destroyed by the Jews (*BJ* ii. 181), but soon recovered. Melito (nemp. Claudius) calls it 'signis urbis et munita admodum', Eusebius (*OS* 242

¹ Taylor Cylinder, 325; cp Wb. 1:7 1:220 f.

² On the Kadys of Herod. 2. See JONATHAN, § 2.

³ In 1 Macc. 13:43, too, the Macc. call it 'GAZA'. See, however, GAZARA.

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62) says that it 'even now remains, a notable city of Palestine.' The most southern fortress of the Crusaders, however, was not Gaza, but Daroma, — i.e., *Dar el-Halab*, S. of Gaza, near the Egyptian frontier.⁴ See further, GASIM. *IG* 187-189.

We now turn to the much disputed passage, Acts 8:26. As Philip was starting to meet the Ethiopian eunuch,

3. Acts 8:26 an angel said to him, 'Arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem into Gaza: the same is desert' (so RV) — *αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἐρημος*. Many commentators (e.g., Holtzmann and Blass) suppose one of the roads from Jerusalem to Gaza to be meant. This view is best supported by Robinson (*BA* 264 f.).

The most frequented at the present day, although the longest, is the way by Ramleh. Anciently, there appear to have been two more direct roads; one down the great Wady es-Sarar by Beth-shemesh, and then passing near Tell es-Safiyeh; the other to Gaza through a more southern tract. Both these roads exist at the present day, and the latter now actually passes through the desert; that is, through a tract of country without villages, inhabited only by nomadic Arabs.

It is not, however, the most natural interpretation of *αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἐρημος* that these remarks presuppose. If the phrase were *ἡ ἐστὶν ἐρημος*, Robinson's view would be very much more plausible. We could not, indeed, illustrate by Arrian's words (*bk. 8, p. 111*) referring to the time of Alexander, *ἐρημος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς διὰ τὴν ἐρήμιν* (quoted by Wetstein), because the narrator expressly says that there was water to be found on the road,⁵ so that the eunuch could be baptized.

The word 'this' (*αὐτὴ*), however, must surely mean Gaza,⁶ not the road to Gaza, and then the difficulty arises that Gaza in the time of Philip was (as we have seen) a large and flourishing city. Hugs's explanation that the words *αὐτὴ κ.τ.λ.* refer to the destruction of Gaza by the Jews in 65 A.D., mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* ii. 181), is forced; what object would the notice serve? It has often been held (e.g., by Erasmus) that after Old Gaza had been destroyed, the new city was built on another site. G. A. Smith (*IG* 187) defends this with much plausibility. He thinks that the road to Egypt passed by the deserted Gaza, not by the new city, which was nearer the sea (but does not this involve an unnatural use of *αὐτὴ*?). And even if old Gaza were not absolutely deserted in Philip's time — even if the fine position had drawn people back, yet 'the name *ἐρημος* might stick to it.' Evidently this is not quite satisfactory. If Gaza were characterised at all, some other epithet than *ἐρημος* would have been used, at least if the notice *αὐτὴ κ.τ.λ.* comes from the writer of Acts. But does it really come from that writer?

From Gaza's time to our own the words have repeatedly been viewed as a gloss, and it can hardly be denied that the clearness of the narrative gains by their omission. Schüedde⁷ suggests that they may have a purely literary origin, and be the marginal note of a man who knew, perhaps from Strabo,⁸ that Gaza had been destroyed, and wondered that the road to a deserted city should be mentioned.

The only alternative to treating the words as a gloss seems to be to suppose a lacuna in the text, and to read *αὐτὴ ἐστὶν πλῆθος τῆς ἐρημίας*, 'the same is near the desert' (whence the Ethiopian eunuch comes).

From its position as the last town on the road to Egypt Gaza was bound to be a place of importance (cp GASIM *IG* 184). Even now

4. Site, etc. it has tolerable bazaars, resorted to by native travellers.

¹ Conder, *PEFQ*, 1875, p. 160.

² Robinson (*BA* 264) suggests that the water in the Wady el-Hesay may be intended. There is no such water in the second part of the road by Bet Jibrin, which from its directness comes first into consideration. In the time of Eus. the spring connected with the story was on the road to Hebron. Since 1823 A.D. a well in the Valley of Roses near 'Am Kariin has been pointed out by tradition.

³ So Wetstein, who thinks that the narrator remarks the coincidence that the prefect of the treasury (*ταμίης*) was on the road to Gaza. He also quotes ancient authors who state that Gaza was so named from its riches.

⁴ Theol. Z. aus der Schweiz, 98, p. 50 f.

⁵ Strabo xvi. 2, οὐδὲν ποτὶ γένοιτο, αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἐρημος δ' ὁδὸς ἀναβαίνουσα καὶ μενοῦσα ἐρημος. The correctness of the last three words, however, is disputed. Jos. (*BJ* ii. 181) remarks that when Gabinius rebuilt Gaza, it had been 'long time deserted'.

GAZA

The modern town (i. e. *gazza*) consists of four quarters, resembling so many large villages. Of these, one stands on the flat top of a hill, whilst the others are on the plain below.¹ The hill, within which no doubt are the ruins of successive cities, is crowned by the great mosque which was originally a Christian church, built by the Crusaders out of ancient materials. The town has no walls; but the sites of gates remain, and one of them (see below) is actually shown as that of the gate famous in the story of Samson (GATE). Broad, yellow sandhills separate Gaza from the sea; the sand is steadily encroaching on the cultivated ground. However, between the sand and a long ridge of low hills parallel to the coast the fertile soil produces abundance of the choicest fruit and vegetables. A large and magnificent olive grove, said to be of great antiquity, stretches to the northward; orchards of fruit and palm trees encompass the suburbs.²

The exact site of ancient Gaza is doubtful. It is certain, however, that the town stood on a hill in the time of Alexander, and this hill may have been that on which the main part of the modern Gaza stands.

'Broad mounds,' says Conder, 'surround this eminence, and appear in the middle of the buildings.' The ruins among the sandhills seem to be those of the ancient Majumas or port. 'A beautiful garden of lemons, surrounded by a mound, seems to mark the site of this second town; near it is a ruined jetty on the seashore.'³

Samson's gate, referred to above, is on the SE., and, riding farther for a mile, we come to the hill of el-Muntar, which commands a wide view over the whole plain away to the distant mountains that encircle Hebron. It is the highest point in the ridge of hills on the E., and is pointed out as the hill (גִּזְרִי) to which Samson carried the gate. Porter and Conder accept this as the 'real site.' Gautier, too (Suez, 128), thinks that el-Muntar must be the mound which the biblical narrator had in view. But how should the giant have got tired so soon? and how can 'before Hebron' mean 'looking towards the distant Hebron mountains'? 'Hebron,' however, is an improbable reading. The Danite champion would naturally keep to the SW. of Palestine. Probably the true reading in Judg. 16:3 is 'before Sharuhen,' not 'before Hebron.' On the site of Sharuhen, or Sharhūn, see SHARUHEN.

Besides the works referred to, see Reland, *Pal. 788 ff.*; Guérin, *Judee*; Stark, *Gaza* (52); Gardner, *Index* 2:178 ff.; Gautier, *Souvenirs*, 116 ff. (2d ed. 98, pp. 114-134); Gatt in ZDPV 10:149 (88), (rv of Gaza). K. C.

GAZA, RV AZZAU (אֲזָאוּ), 1 Ch. 7:28; so in most printed Bibles. There is much variation; אֲזָאוּ (cp EPIKATA § 13) and אֲזָאוּ; אֲזָאוּ and אֲזָאוּ are also supported. RV^{ms} (following L¹, B¹) gives AYVAH (אֲזָאוּ; אֲזָאוּ [B], אֲזָאוּ [A], [אז] אֲזָאוּ [L]). The Philistine Gaza cannot be meant. The text may be corrupt.

GAZARA (so RV always), **GAZERA** (ΓΑΖΑΡΑ[Ν] [ANV]); one of the three chief fortresses of Judaea in the early Maccabean story. Judas the Maccabee pursued Gorgias as far as Gazera (1 Macc. 4:15 γαζερων [A], γαζ. [NV]). Bac-hides, the adversary of Jonathan, fortified it against the Jews (9:52; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1:1), and among the exploits of his great successor Simon, the conquest of this stronghold takes a leading place (1 Macc. 13:43-48; cp 14:7 [γαζερων, ANV], 33 f. [γαζερων, R^o], 15:22-35 [γαζερων, A]).

A different account of this event is given in 2 Macc. 10:32-38. The writer, who is opposed to Simon because he assumed the high-priestly dignity, transfers this achievement to his hero Judas, whose behaviour is so described as to contrast with the conduct ascribed to Simon in the authentic historical record of 1 Macc. (see Koster, *Ph.* 1898, p. 510 f.; MACCABEES, SECOND, § 2 f.). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 47:2; *J. H.* i. 22), as might be expected, follows the account given in 1 Macc., nor can we attach any historical importance to the strongly biased statement of 2 Macc.

On obtaining possession of Gazara Simon installed his son John there as commander-in-chief of the Jewish

¹ Porter in Kütas *Bibl. Cycl.*, i. p. 'GAZA.'

² Robinson; Porter.

³ *PAFQ.* 75, p. 161.

⁴ We are indebted to Josephus for the right reading in 7:47, which is required by 7:43 (cp 7:48) and by subsequent references to *gazara*. The MSS and versions, however, read 'Gaza' (γαζα [ANV]); so AV, but not RV. Cp Schürer, *Gal.* (2d ed.) 191, p. 172.

GAZEZ

forces (see MACCABEES I. § 7). Gazara or *GAZARA* is of course the same place as *GAZERA* (q. v., § 1). There is no occasion to seek for a second Gazara in order to avoid a discrepancy between 1 Macc. and 2 Macc.

GAZELLE, the better rendering of גִּזְרִי (גִּזְרִי, fem. גִּזְרִי, גִּזְרִי; *gazelle* [RAFL], adopted by RV in Dt. 12:15, 20:14, 32:14; 1 K. 4:23 [53] (1 Sg., *gazelle*; see HANT), and by RV^{ms} in Is. 13:14 (*gazelle*, 2) Prov. 6:5 etc. for AV *ROK* (q. v.).

The gazelle—the word is derived through the Ar. *gazāl*—was known to Assyrians, Aramians and Arabians alike under the cognate forms *gablu*, *gabyl*, and *gabyl* respectively. It is still common in all the country S. of Lebanon, and extends into N. Africa, and Asia Minor.

The modern representative *Gazella dorcas* is commonly known in Arabia as the *hady* (cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* Index, 20; stands two feet in height at the shoulder, and its horns, which are lyrate, attain a length of 13 inches. In the broad plains it is white in colour, but in the volcanic districts dark gray, closely approaching the colour of basalt (*Ar. Des.* 1:328-395). For other species see ANTILOPE.

The gazelle has always been remarkable for its graceful appearance¹ and its extraordinary speed (cp 2 S. 2:18; 1 Ch. 12:8). It is usually found in small herds, and is hunted at the present day by the Arabs with dogs and falcons. The 'chased gazelle' was a frequent sight not only in Palestine (Is. 13:14 Prov. 6:5), but also in Assyria, and Egypt (see illustration in Riehm's *HBB* 1:669).

The flesh of the gazelle was eaten by the Hebrews (1 K. 4:23 [53] Dt. 14:5); but the animal was not accepted as a sacrifice (Dt. 12:15, 20:14; even among the Arabs a gazelle is regarded as an inferior substitute for a sheep (We. *Heid.* 115). Whatever be the origin of this usage, it can scarcely be due, at all events, to the belief that so common an animal would be an unworthy sacrifice.

Abundant analogy suggests that an animal that may be eaten, but not sacrificed, possessed, at an early period, a sacred character, and also was associated closely with some deity.² Now in Arabia there were herds of sacred gazelles at Tabala and Mecca, even in the time of Islam (We. *Heid.* 106, cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 406), and it was told of the clan (tribe) of S. Arabia that when they come across a dead gazelle they wash and bury it, and the whole tribe mourn over it for seven days (*Rel. Sem.* 444). The latter practice implies either that the members of the tribe considered themselves of one kin with it, or that it was to them a deity (cp the weeping for *Antelope* [q. v.]).³ The gazelle of Mecca were probably connected with the cult of el-'Uzza, who is usually identified with Aphrodite (Venus, Ashoret), and Robertson Smith points out that among the Sabaeans the antelope was connected with the worship of 'Athtar (see ANTHROTH, § 3), and has been found figured upon coins from the Phoenician Laodicea⁴ along with the star and the dove, symbols of Ashoret (Arim. 194 f.). Was the gazelle sacred to Ashoret?

Personal names derived from the gazelle are found in the Ar. clan-name *Zabyān*, the S. Judean *ZIBAH* (cp also *ZIBAH*), and the later *DORCAS* and *TABITHA*. See further *GUA*.

A. E. S. S. A. C.

GAZER (גִּזְרִי), 2 S. 5:25 AV. RV *GAZER*.

GAZEZ (גִּזְרִי) is twice mentioned in 1 Ch. 2:46, as a son of Caleb b. Jeph. A by his concubine Ephah, and as the son of Caleb's son Heban; 1 Ch. 2:46 (6 γαζερ [BA], 6 γαζερ, but in 4th 6 γαζερ [L, 112] (Pesh.). Pesh., omitting all mention of Moza and the first Gazez, presents the simple genealogical series, Caleb, Heban, and Gazez. Houbigant supposes the second Gazez to be an error for JAUDAI (p. 47).

¹ 1 Ch. 2:46; 1 Ch. 12:8, however, RV follows AV.

² Hence used as a simile in describing female charms by the Arab poet up to the present day; cp Cant. 2:9 etc., and see Hommel, *Sagethiere*, 271, who notes Indian analogies. ³ 2 S. 1:19, for which the interpretation the 'gazelle' has been suggested, should perhaps be pointed ⁴ 2 S. 1:19; see, however, H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*

⁵ To whom (according to analogy) it was probably sacrificed on exceptional occasions.

⁶ The two views, however, are not unrelated.

⁷ The annual stag-sacrifice at Laodicea illustrated n. 3 above.

⁸ We., *De gent. et fam. Jud.*, 26, would point 112. The readings γαζερ, γαζερ are due to scribes' errors; but cp 2 S. 1:19, 2nd reading γαζερ.

GAZZAM

GAZZAM (גזז); **GAZAM** (גזם), family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II, 59; EZRA 2:42 (גזזים) [BA] = Neh. 7:51 (גזזים) [BA]) = 1 Esd. 5:31 (גזזים) [B], 7:1A, GAZZAM [EV]).

GEBA, or (thrice in AV) **GABA**.

1. (גב) **GAZAA** (HML.), a town of Benjamin, mentioned certainly in Josh. 18:24, 21:17 (גזאא [H], גזע [V], גזע [L.], 1 S. 13:16 (גזע [H]; A om.), 14:5 (גזע [H, A om.]), 2 K. 23:8 (גזע [H]), 1 Ch. 6:41 (גזע [H], גזע [V], גזע [L.]), Ezra 2:46 = 1 Esd. 5:30 (AV GABIES, RV GABIE; קאבסיע [H], קא י. [A]), Neh. 7:30 (גזע [H], גזע [N]), 12:29 (גזע [N, om.]), גזע [L.], 1 S. 10:29 (not in G), Zech. 14:10 (גזע [H, om.]), גזע [N, om.], גזע [V]), and hardly less certainly in the emended texts of 1 S. 13:2 (גזע [H, A om.]), 15 (A om.), 14 (G), BITHNOY; A om.), 16 (גזע [H]), and perhaps also in 1 K. 15:22 (see below). On the confusion between Geba and Gibeon see GIBEAU, § 1.

During the Philistine domination there was a triumphal 'pillar' (see SAUL) at Geba (1 S. 13:1; τῷ θοῦνῳ [H]; A om.), the primitive sanctity of which place is shown by its second title (according to a probable interpretation of 1 S. 10:5 (τὸν θοῦνῳ); see GIBEAU, § 2 [3]), 'Gibeon of God'. The pillar was probably dedicated to the god of the Philistines. It was from Geba that JONATHAN started on the daring enterprise described in 1 S. 14; the expressions of v. 5 prove that Geba was on the S. and Michmash on the N. of a ravine; the ravine is the wild glen of Suweinit; and Geba must consequently be the modern *Jeba'*. Under ASA (7:17) Geba was fortified with the stones and timber with which Baasha had begun the fortification of Ramah (1 K. 15:22 = 2 Ch. 16:6). So at least the present text states. It is a question, however, whether either Gibeon (Huhl, *Pal.* 171) or Gibeon may not rather be meant.

In 1 K. 15:22 (τῷ θοῦνῳ [H]; A om.) certainly favours Gibeon; Geba, Gibeon, and Gibeon are easily confounded. Nor can we in any case be quite sure that Geba from this period forward marked the N. limit of the southern kingdom; Zech. 14:10 ('from Geba to Rimmon') and 2 K. 23:8 (in its present form) not being of pre-exilic origin. It may also be noted that in 1 S. 10:28-32, which describes the route of a northern invader, the writer takes an equal interest in the fate of Aiath (AI), Geba, and Jerusalem. It may plausibly be inferred that AI was near the border of Judah when this passage was written, and we know that Josiah claimed sovereign authority over Bethel, NW. of Ai-Jeba' is about 5½ m. N. from Jerusalem; it stands on the top of a rocky ridge, commanding an extensive view, especially towards Der Diwan (near AI) and el-Tayyibeh. The large hewn stones that appear in the foundations and walls of the houses are evidently ancient.

2. (גב) **GAZAA** (H), **GAZAA** (N), **GAZAA** (A), a place in N. Palestine, between which and Scythopolis Hobab is said to have encamped (Judith 3:1). According to Grove (Smith's *DB* 1059) it is the modern *Jeba'*, in a strong position, 3 m. N. of Samaria on the road to Jenin (En-gannim); but this is not near enough to Scythopolis; the place was N. of Dothan (see v. 9). It is perhaps rather ENGANNIM (q.v., 2), the *Tivata* of Josephus, which is on the boundary between the mountains of Samaria and the plain of Esdraelon. Cp. however, Huhl, 210.

T. K. C.

GEBAL (גבל), 'mountain-height,' probably a false vocalisation for *gabal*; cp. Ass. *gabli*, *gabla*, the Hyblus of the Greeks, and, according to ancient legends, one of the oldest places of the habitable globe, still survives in the small maritime village *Jebel*, S. of el-Batrin (Botrys) and about 4 m. N. of *Nahr Ibrahim* (the river Adonis). It is rich in archaeological remains, dating from the early times of Egyptian suzerainty; cp. Renan, *Mus. de Phén.* 153 ff.; Baed. *Pal.* 396, and

1 S. Stenning in Hastings' *DB* 2:164.

2 G. e. (Smith's *DB* 1058a) argues from the reference to the bivouac (גב) at Geba that this place is mentioned 'as the northern boundary' of Judah. This seems rather arbitrary.

3 At the time of its capture by the Crusaders it was known as *Gabel*.

GEBAL

on its religious associations esp. Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 172 ff.

Like all Phoenicians the men of Gebal were renowned sailors, and were skilled in shipbuilding (cp. Ezek. 27:9, *βυβλαιοὶ* [H, om.], *βυ.* [H, om.], *γὰρ βυβλαιοὶ* [H, om.]), a reputation of many centuries' standing. The Egyptian *Aḥḥi* (ḥ = 1, ḥ = 2, ḥ = 3) is already a well-known seaport (see WMM *Leu. Lur.* 188 ff.). Gebal is frequently mentioned in the Amarna tablets (*Gabal*, *Gubla*) and in the later cuneiform inscriptions. The names of some of its kings have been preserved. These are Tā-kā-ru-b-ṣ in the Egyptian Pap. Golenischeff (*Is. u. Lur.* 395 f.), cp. Punic Scharbas (both = ḥḥ-ḥḥ); Sī-bi-ti-bi-ḥ (*ḥḥ-ḥḥ-ḥḥ*) temp. Tiglath-pileser III.; Mī-ki-a-ḥ-ḥ (*ḥḥ-ḥḥ-ḥḥ*) temp. Esarhaddon; and U-ru-mi-ki (*ḥḥ-ḥḥ-ḥḥ*) ancestor of ḥḥ (below), temp. Sennacherib.

Apart from the passage in Ezekiel (above) further reference to Gebal in the OT is obscure. Were the *Gebalites*, as RV supposes, employed by Solomon as stone-masons in the building of the temple, 1 K. 5:18 [32] (ḥḥ-ḥḥ) or rather 237, cp. above? The specific mention of Gebal after the 'builders of Hiram' is strange and unnatural. AV's rendering 'stone-squarers' is equally unreliable, and the suggested emendation ḥḥ-ḥḥ, 'and they bordered them' (Thén., Klo., Benz., cp. Ges. *Puhl.* and *BDH*, z.v.), finds scanty support. Again, in Josh. 13:5, the land of the *Giblites* (RV *Gebalites*; *ḥḥ-ḥḥ-ḥḥ* [H], *ḥḥ-ḥḥ-ḥḥ* [V], *ḥḥ-ḥḥ-ḥḥ* [A], *ḥḥ-ḥḥ-ḥḥ* [B]) is mentioned by 12 as one of the confines of the land unconquered by Israel. Th. (cp. also Bennett, *SBOT*) has already pointed out that the present MT is corrupt, and reads ḥḥ-ḥḥ (ḥḥ). It seems probable, however, that ḥḥ-ḥḥ has corruptly arisen from the following ḥḥ-ḥḥ; we have no reason to suppose that Gebal was the name of a district in D's time. The difficulty is evaded in a different manner by Bu., Steuernagel, who read ḥḥ-ḥḥ.

Gebal, famous as the birthplace of Philo, was formerly the centre of the Tanmiz cult. Already in the Egyptian period it was under the patronage of Hathor-Astarte, with whom we may compare the *ḥḥ-ḥḥ* in *Gubla* of frequent occurrence in Am. Tab., and the ḥḥ-ḥḥ upon the well-known Phoenician inscription of Yehaw-melek, king of Byblos (*CIS* I, no. 1). There may be an allusion to the 'Lady of Gebal' in Is. 10:4, where, according to the emended text (see Lag. *Academy*, 15th Dec. 1870), the (northern) Israelites are taunted with their futile attempts to propitiate Phoenician, Egyptian, and Assyrian (Babylonian) deities. The words are:

Belus has sunk down, Osiris is broken,
And under the slam they fall.

The first line of the couplet seems to have taken the place of some effaced words; it represents, therefore, the thoughts of a writer later than Isaiah (cp. Am. 5:26). By Belus (the female counterpart of Bel) he means the goddess of Gebal, whose cultus was fused with that of the Egyptian Isis (see Che. 'Isis', *SBOT*, ad loc.).

S. A. C.

GEBAL (גבל). Among the enemies of Israel enumerated in Ps. 83:7 [8] (*גבאל* [B], *גבאל* [N, om.]), *גבאל* [A, om.]) we find the name of Gebal. This has long ago been identified with *Jabal*, the term used by Arabic writers, and even by the Arabs of the present day, to designate the northern part of Mount Seir, the ancient home of the Edomites. The Arabic name *Jabal*, which means simply 'mountains,' 'mountain country,' probably came into use at the time when the Arabic-speaking Nabateans took possession of the country in question, while the Edomites settled in southern Judaea.

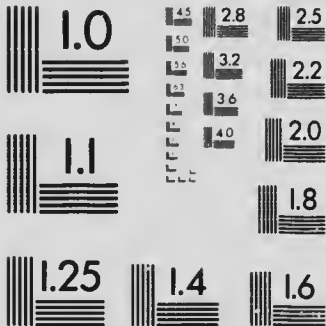
1 ḥḥ-ḥḥ elsewhere 'to set bounds for' (with people, etc., as obj.). A connection with ḥḥ-ḥḥ does not help us. No stress can be placed upon the rendering of ḥḥ (*גבאל* [B], *גבאל* [A], *גבאל* [A]). It is probable that B and L have simply adopted the reading from its similarity to the MT ḥḥ-ḥḥ; for examples see Th. ad c. 5: 54, and We. *TBS* to n. 38/1.

2 A psalm of the Maccabean period.



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GEBER

In Jos. (*Int.* 1.2 and in 2.1) the country is called γαβαλίτις, a form with a peculiar vocalisation; but the same writer employs γαβαλίτις as the *nomen gentile* (*Int.* 18.9.1). Eus. (*OS*) several times mentions γαβαλίτις (so apparently Steph. Byz. Jos. *Int.* in 2.1) as well as γαβαλίτις and γαβαλίτις. The name is likewise found often in the Targums, somewhat rarely in the Pesh., to represent the Heb. גִּבְעִי (S118).

GEBER גִּבְעִי, 'a man,' see NAMES, § 64. and on vocalisation, § 61.

1. The son of Geber or, better, BEN-GEUR (so AV10g. and RV) was prefect of Argob under Solomon (1 K. 4.12; υἱὸς γαβερ [BA], υἱ. γαβερ [L], γαβερ [Jos. *Int.* viii. 2.3]). See RAMOTH-GILEAD (2).

2. Geber b. Uri, prefect of the land of Gad (so BSA; MT wrongly 'Gilead'), which is described further as 'the country of Sihon' (2 K. 10.11), υἱὸς ἀδα [B], υἱ. ἀδα [L], γαβερ υἱ. ἀδα [A]. 'Uri' is hardly right. Kto. suggests 'Uriah' (2 S. 23.39); but B suggests 'Ido' (1 Ch. 6.21 [5], ἀδα [B]; a Zohariah b. Iddo held another prefecture beyond Jordan (2.14). HIRSHAI (p. 5) ἀδα is less probable. The close of the verse contains a great error. The Hebrew (with which contrast EV) has 'one prefect who was in the land—an imperfect and quite unintelligible clause. Ewald and Tg. read 'in the land of Judah'; but this leaves the most faulty part of the clause untouched—viz., that which precedes 'who' (עֶשֶׂה). Kto., who has done so much for this obscure section, reads 'and one (chief) prefect was over all the prefects who were in the land'; he also supplies the name of this chief prefect from 2.5, where we read, 'And Azariah b. Nathan was over the prefects.'

T. K. C.

GEGBIM גִּבְעִי. גִּבְעִי [BSAQ], a place near Jerusalem, mentioned between Madmenah (?) and Nob (?), Is. 10.14. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 248.2 130.5) identify it with Geba, 5 R. m. N. of Gophna, probably the mod. *Jibā*, and Conder (Hastings' *Dib* 217.6) approves this; but neither Jibā nor el-Jib (usually held to be GIBBON [p. 2, § 4]), with which Hitzig (cp *PEFQ* (75) 183) identifies Gebim, is in the right district. No such place as Gebim is known elsewhere, and several names in Is. 10.28-32 are probably, or even certainly, corrupt.

This name in particular ('the cisterns') is in itself improbable. It is proposed (*SBOI*, 'Isa' Addenda) to read גִּבְעִי—i.e., Bahurin; this place seems to have been not far from Jerusalem on the old road to Jericho. The emendation suits the mention of Anathoth in 2.30 and of the Mt. of Olives (if this is really referred to; see Noh) in 2.32.

T. K. C.

GECKO גִּבְעִי. Lev. 11.30† RV, AV FERRET [p. 1].

GEDALIAH גְּדַלְיָה, and גְּדַלְיָה in 1.4.5; 'Yahwē is great,' § 38; found also on tombs near Nippur, time of Darius [Hilprecht]; {o} ΓΟΔΟΛΙΑΣ [BSAQ].

1. b. Ahikam b. Shaphan, a Jewish governor of Judah (under Nebuchadnezzar), who resided at Mizpah. A man of upright character, trusted alike by Jews and by Chaldeans, he was cruelly murdered, as a nominee of the hated Babylonians, together with the Chaldeans who were about him. One of the traders of the Jewish guerilla bands (Johanan b. Kareah) heard of the plot against the governor's life, and warned him; but in vain. He was treacherously slain by ISHMAEL [p. 2, 2], who, with ten companions, had been entertained by the governor. Johanan pursued the murderer, but was only able to deliver the Jewish captives whom Ishmael had carried off (2 K. 25.22 Jer. 40 [5 47] 5-41 [5 48] 16; in Jer. 40.3 γαλαδῖαν [Q108.3]. 41.1 f. גְּדַלְיָה γολῖαν [N*]). See AMMON, § 5 (end); ISHMAEL, 2; ISRAEL, § 43; JEREMIAH.

2. b. Pashhur, a chief belonging to Jerusalem, temp. Jeremiah, Jer. 38.1 (γολῖας [N*]).

3. b. Hezekiah, an ancestor of Zephaniah (Zeph. 1.1).

4. b. Gedathun, 1 Ch. 25.3 (τοῦρα [B] u γαλαθία [B]).

5. One of the b'ne BISHA [p. 2, n. 5], Ezra 10.18 (γαθαλαία [B], γαλαθία [B], δαῖας [L]—1 Esd. 9.13, JOADANUS (αἰδανός [B], αἰδανός [A], αἰδέας [L], a corruption of γαθαλαίας; see the form in B1).

GEDDUR ΓΕΔΔΟΥΡ [A]. 1 Esd. 5.30=Ezra 2.47, GEDDUL, 1; or GAHAR.

1. For its use in Samaritan cp Gen. 33.14 16.36 f.; in the Targ. see Levy, *NH* 112. In Syr. cp Payne Smith, *Thes.* 642, and 1 Esd. 1 Ch. 4.2 2 Ch. 20.1 25.11 14 and Eccles. 50.26 (Pesh.).

2. The words, 'and of Oz, king of Bashan,' are obviously an incorrect interpolation (see 2.13).

GEDOR

GEDEON ΓΕΔΕΩΝ [A], ΓΕΔΩΩΝ [N], om. B, Judith 8.1, also Heb. 11.32 (ΓΕΔΕΩΝ [Ti. WH]); RV GEDRON [p. 7].

GEDER גִּדְרָה—i.e., 'wall' or 'fortified place'; cp GEDERIM, one of the thirty-one royal Canaanite cities in the list of Joshua's conquests, mentioned with Gezer, Debir, Arad, and Libnah; Josh. 12.13 (ΔΕΒΙ [B], ΓΑΔΕΡ [A], and Eus. *OS* 241.27). BAAL-HANAN, 2, the Gederite (1 Ch. 27.28, גִּדְרָה γεδωρείτης [B], γεδωρ [A], γεδωρείτης [L]), may have been a native of this place. See also BETH-GADER. It should be noted that in 1 Ch. 25.1 Beth-gader seems, according to one view of 2.35, to stand in close relation to Kirjath-sepher.

GEDERAH גִּדְרָה—i.e., 'the enclosed [fortified] place,' cp Geder, ΓΑΔΕΙΡΑ [*OS* 245.27]. One of the towns in the lowland of Judah mentioned with Adullam, Socoh, Azekah, and Shaaraim (Josh. 15.35 γαδρα [BA], -ap. [L]). Its position agrees fairly with that of the *Kh. Jedirah* (see GEDEROTH); but more probably (see KIDRON, § 1) Gederah in Josh. 15.36=κεδρω of 1 Mace. 15.39=mod. *Katra*. The gentile Gederathite (1 Ch. 12.4; גִּדְרָתִי γαδαθαθίτις [B], γαδαρα [N], γαδερωθί [AL]), applied to JOZABAB, [p. 2, 1], may be derived from this place, or may refer to the Judahite GEDOR [p. 2, 1].

2. Gederah (גִּדְרָה) is mentioned with NATAIN (נָתַן) in a singular account of a guild of brothers of the FINE SHILLAH [p. 2, 1]; 1 Ch. 12.1 RV, AV, however, translates '(among) plants (and) hedges' (γεδωρῶν); cp RV 10.8, (αἰδαιμ και γαδρα [B], ara και γαδρα [A], era και γαδερῶν [L]). See SMITH, 1.

GEDEROTH גִּדְרֹת, Josh. 15.41, or גִּדְרָה, 2 Ch. 28.18; ΓΑΔΗΡΩΘ [AL], one of the third group (which includes Lachish, Eglon, and Lachmann) of lowland cities of Judah; Josh. 15.41 (ΓΕΔΩΡ [B]). It is mentioned also in 2 Ch. 28.18 (ΓΑΔΗΡΩ [B]) along with Beth-shemesh, Aijalon, and Socoh as having been taken from Ahaz by the Philistines. This collocation suggests that there may have been two cities of the same name, one lying more to the E. than the other. The more westerly is probably the κεδρων [ANV] of 1 Mace. 15.39.41 16.9 (CEDRON, RV KIDRON, καιδρων [A] in 15.39; γεδρων [N^a c. b], κεδρω [VA], κεδρων [N*], in 15.41), and the γεδρωῖς [Gedrus] of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 127.32 245.39), defined by them as a very large village 10 R.m. from Lydda on the road to Eleutheropolis (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 188). This corresponds fairly well with the modern 'Katra 3½ m. S. by W. from 'Akir' (Ekron), or 'Ghedera about 4 m. SE. of Jabneh'; but the site seems to be too much in Philistine territory. The more easterly one may possibly be the Khirbet Jedirah (see *PEF* map, sheet 14) situated in close proximity to 'Ain-Shems (Beth-shemesh) and Yalō (Aijalon).

In Jer. 41.17 for Geruth-chimham we should probably read Gidroth-chimham (see CHIMHAM).

GEDEROTHAIM גִּדְרֹתַי, 'place of enclosures,' see NAMES, § 107, a place in the Shephelah of Judah, Josh. 15.36†, in which passage GEDEROTH has καὶ αἱ ἐπαλῆες αὐτῆς, possibly through misunderstanding a mark of abbreviation in the Heb. (גִּדְרָה).

Nöhl, (*Untersuch.* 101) omits Gederothaim, as due to a corrupt repetition of Gederah; similarly Mühlau in Riehm's *HHB* 2.

GEDOR גִּדְרָה—i.e., 'enclosure'; ΓΕΔΩΡ [BA1.]).

1. A city in the hill country of Judah; Josh. 15.58 (γεδωρ [B]), 1 Ch. 12.7 (γεδωρ [NL]), the modern *Jedra*, a small ruin, 2890 feet above sea-level, 6½ m. N. from Hebron, somewhat westward of the road to Bethlehem, with which also should perhaps be identified the BETH-GADER [p. 2, 1] of 1 Ch. 25.1.

In 1 Ch. 4.17 f. Gedor, Socoh, and Zanoah are represented as second cousins of Eshtemoa; they were grandchildren of MATHAN by his Jewish wife whilst Eshtemoa was his grandchild through his Egyptian (or wife). In 1 Ch. 4.4 Gedor is brought into genealogical relationship with Bethlehem; in 1 Ch. 8.31 (δουρ [B], γεδουρ [A], γεδωρ [L]) 9.37 (εδουρ [B], γεδουρ [A], γεδωρ [L]) with Gibeon.

GE-HARASHIM

2. For Gedor (גִּדְדֹר) in 1 Ch. 11 we ought to read with G. GERAR (גִּרְאָר) [BAL.], *Gerar*, *Gerar*. See *SEH*, 1.

GE HARASHIM (גִּי הָרָשִׁים) 1 Ch. 11 RV, and **Gehaharashim** (גִּי הָרָשִׁים) Neh 11:35 RV. See *CHARASHIM*.

GEHAZI (גִּיזִי) — valley of vision? cp Is. 22:5; גִּיזִי [BAL.], *Gehazi*; or perhaps rather **Gihoni** (גִּיחִי), see *Vision, Valley of* § 761, the confidential servant (גִּיחִי) of Elisha. He is introduced twice in the story of the Shunammite woman (2 K. 4:1-25:10); first as suggesting that the birth of a son would be the most acceptable return for her hospitality (vv. 13-15, however, seem to interrupt the text, and may come from another source; see A. I. 392), and secondly as running before Elisha to lay the prophet's staff on the dead child's face. He is mentioned again at the close of the story of Naaman as fraudulently obtaining from the restored leper two talents of silver and two 'changes of raiment,' i.e., sets of costly or holiday garments, and as being smitten with the leprosy of Naaman (2 K. 5:26-27). See *LEPROSY*. Another narrative (8:4 f.), evidently out of chronological order (see especially Kie. *Und.* i. b., § 25, n. 12 f.), represents Gehazi as engaged in familiar converse with a king of Israel who is questioning him on the great deeds of Elisha (see *ELISHA*, § 2).

W. F. A.

GEHENNA (גֵּהֶנְנָא [Ti. WB]); also גֵּהֶנְנָא, but incorrectly, the word being derived from Aram. גֵּהֶנְנָא. On the original Hebrew expression, and on the position and history of the locality so designated, see *HINNOM*; and on eschatological developments, see *ESCHATOLOGY*, §§ 15 ff., 63 (3) 79 (3) 81 (3, 3).

GILILOTH, — i.e., stone-circles (Josh. 18:17; גִּלְלִיאוֹת [B.], גִּלְלִיאוֹת [A.], גִּלְלִיאוֹת [L.]). See *GILGAL*, § 6 (d), and *GALLIM*, 2.

GEMALLI (גִּמְלִי), father of AMMIEL, 1. Nu. 13:12 (גִּמְלִי [B.], גִּמְלִי [A.], G. M. [F]).

GEMARIAH (גִּמְרִיָּה), גִּמְרִיָּה, 'God accomplishes,' § 31; גִּמְרִיָּה [B.], גִּמְרִיָּה [A.], G. M. [F].

1. The son of SHAPHAN and father of Michaiah, mentioned in connection with the reading of Jeremiah's prophecy by Baruch (Jer. 36:10 f., 12, 23).

2. b. Hilkiyah; he was sent by Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar and bore a letter of Jeremiah to the captive Jews (Jer. 29:3).

GENEALOGIES. The word 'genealogy' is frequently found in the ordinary sense of an enumeration of ancestors and descendants in the natural order of succession, in the EV of Chron. — Ezra-Neh., where גֵּנְלוֹת (deriv. uncertain) 'genealogy' (Neh. 7:5), and its denominative 'to reckon by genealogy,' are used to express the book and the act of registration respectively. The Hithpael of גֵּנְלָה is once found with the meaning 'to declare one's pedigree' in Nu. 1:1 [P], and the derivative *genealogy* (גֵּנְלוֹת) 'generations,' is of frequent occurrence, especially in P in *Genesis* (p. 7, § 2), to denote genealogies properly so called. This is the sense in which the English word is used in RV of Heb. 7:3 (ἀγενεαλογητός). 6 (μὴ γενεαλογούμενος).

To form a correct estimate of the nature and worth of OT genealogies we must remember that the terms of relationship are used in a wider sense among the Semites than with us. When two or more clans have a traditional sentiment of unity and regard each other as brothers (cp *GOVERNMENT*, § 9, end), this may be a survival from a time when the groups formed but one; on the other hand, a historical tradition of a common ancestor does not always necessarily follow, since,

1. & renders γενεαλογεῖσθαι (1 Ch. 5:1), ἡ καταλογίζεσθαι (2 Ch. 31:1 [B]), καταλογίζεσθαι (six times), καταλογίζεσθαι (2 Ch. 31:1 [A]), ἀριθμῶσθαι (four times); βιβλίον τῆς συνοδίας [B.], β. τ. γενεαλογίας [L.] for βιβλίον τῆς συνοδίας (Neh. 7:5). In Ezra 2:62 βιβλίον τῆς συνοδίας is simply transliterated as μεθυσσά (B.); but of γενεαλογεῖσθαι in 1. Chron. — Ezra-Neh.: viz. — βιβλίον τῆς συνοδίας (Bab. Bathra, 154a), βιβλίον τῆς συνοδίας (Pes. 62).

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according to Semitic custom, any covenant relation makes men brothers.¹

Other terms, 'father,' 'mother,' 'son,' and 'daughter,' are used in an equally wide sense (see Kie. *Und.*, § 2, et. 1). It is a common Semitic idiom to call a land or town the father or mother of its inhabitants or of its various divisions; thus Mizraim begets Ludim, etc. (Gen. 10:1), Salmata (Gen. 10:1) is the father of Beth-lehem (Judg. 1:27; cp *DAVID*), and the members of any guild or clan are frequently referred to as 'sons' or 'daughters' of it. Observe also such names as 'Calced' (Calced) and 'Jephthah' (Judg. 11:1) based on the name of the father (see Moore, *Scripture*, 11:1).

Hence the scheme by which statistical information and geographical data are repeated in the form of a narrative, or an ethnology, becomes perfectly intelligible (cp Gen. 10:22-24, 25-31, and see below). It is always possible to put into the form of a genealogy the composition and relative history of any people or place at any given time, and obviously, therefore, lists which have originated at different times (when clan or tribal divisions may have varied) will be found to contain formal contradictions.²

The early conception of the formation and division of clans and tribes in the Semitic world is most clearly seen in the genealogical schemes of the **2. Theory of Genealogists.** Arabs.³ It was commonly assumed by them that all groups were patriarchal tribes formed by subdivision of an original stock on the system of kinship through male-descent, and that each tribe bore the name or cognomen of the common ancestor.

After a while, it was supposed, a tribe would break up into two or more divisions, each embracing the descendants of one of the sons of the great ancestor and each taking its name from him. Successive divisions and subdivisions would take place until at length there would be a number of divisions, clans, sept, etc., all of which traced themselves back to a common ancestor (see *GOVERNMENT*, § 2). In Arabia, there were, in fact, two ultimate stocks, the Yemenite (*Kalban*) or S. Arabian (cp *JOHAN*), and the Hamitic (*Chalban*), subdivided into *Nizar*, *Mudal* or N. Arabian, and every individual who possessed a *nisha*, or gentile, was able to trace his genealogy back to one of these.

Similarly in Israel every man by virtue of his being a member of a clan or tribe was able to point to Jacob, the father of all the tribes, as his great ancestor.⁴ Now this theory—for it is nothing more—is based upon the mode of reckoning descent in the male line, which, as is becoming ever more generally recognised, is an aftergrowth and has superseded the more primitive method of matrarchy; see *GOVERNMENT*, §§ 2-4, *KINSHIP*, § 3 f.

1. The great majority of OT genealogies of individuals are found only in post-exilic writings. Whereas

2. Rise of genealogical zeal. scarcely any genealogical statistics at all, Chronicles and the writings belonging to its age are full of them. We find no trace in the earliest times of any special class (similar, e.g., to that found among some tribes in India and elsewhere) whose business it was to keep a knowledge of the facts of relationship. Genealogies of individuals are the exception, and those which are found rarely reach back more than one or two generations.⁵

3. This Amos (1:9) speaks of Tyre (but see *MIZRAIM*, § 2b) and Israel as allied by a 'covenant of brothers' (עֲבֹדָת אֶחָיו).

4. As a corollary to this the taking of a wife is sometimes used genealogically to signify that a clan (personified as a man) has settled upon a certain district (personified as a woman); see *ABRAHAM*, 1, and cp *CALED*, § 3 f. See also *DAVID*, § 3 f., *FAITH*, 8.

5. For artificial examples see Spengler, *Das Leben u. d. Lehre d. Mohammed*, iii. cxv; G. A. B. Wright, *Was Israel ever in Egypt?* 33 f.

6. This may explain, e.g., why SHAFAN (p. 7, iii) is a son of Cuth in Gen. 10:7, but a son of Joktan (p. 2, 2). See also *EMMA*, 17.

7. On Arabian genealogies see Spengler, *op. cit.* iii. cxv-lxxv, and, more especially, Kolb's Smith's luminous exposition in *Kinship*, chap. 1.

8. Whether the names Jacob-Israel may represent a fusion of two separate stocks cannot be discussed here; see *FAITH*, 8.

9. Contrast, for example, the brief Joshua b. Nuri (Josh. 11) with the lengthy ancestry ascribed to Bezalel (Ex. 35:30 [L]). The exceptions will be found to be due chiefly to the presence of a woman in the

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The same remark holds good, also, in the case of the older Arabian genealogies. Meyer (*Antst.* 103) observes that an analysis of the Ar. genealogies in Wustenfeld's tables shows that those of the contemporaries of Mohammad hardly ever go back beyond the grandfather, often not even beyond the father.

A consanguinity is mentioned in 2 S. 21, but the chapter is not an early one, and even civic lists are only alluded to in comparatively late passages (cp. Dt. 23.2-8 [40] Jer. 22 to Lv. 32.12 [1] Ps. 106 [1] 69.25 [24] 87. Mal. 3.19 Ezek. 13.9 Dan. 12.1 L. 4 [see LSALVIIT II, § 5], etc.).

There is no reason for doubting, however, that a distribution of communities into clans and families goes back to an early age (cp. § 4.7, below), and see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2), but such a division of Israel as is spoken of in Josh. 7.16 ff. and 1 S. 10.21 can scarcely refer to pre-Davidic times; the unity of Israel, there represented, is in itself a sign of a later view. In Josh. 13.6, Achai is usually designated 'b. Zerah' simply (see Bennett, *SBDI*), and Zerah is better known as a post-exilic Judahite clan.¹

It may be added that genealogies were not common among the Egyptians of the Old Empire. It is always the individual, seldom the race or family, who is dealt with. A genealogy of seven generations, cited at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, and another reaching back to the grandfather, in the following dynasty, are therefore exceptional. Complete genealogical trees only appear during the latest epoch of Egyptian history, in the times of the Ethiopian kings, the Psammeichi and the Persians. There is no trace of surnames, not even of vague appellatives, until we reach the decadence of the Egyptian kingdom (Erman, *Life in Anc. Eg.* 152).

2. Genealogical zeal among the Jews seems to have first arisen during the Exile. They feared lest the continuity of the race should be broken; they desired to be written in the register (252) of the 'house of Israel' (cp. Ezek. 13.9); and hence it happened as one of the results of their religious isolation that the man who could claim descent from the exiles in Babylon was considered to be a member of the community rather than the native of Judea.² This importance attached to genealogical pretension and to the proof of the absence of foreign admixture is one of the chief evidences of the legal spirit manifested among the Jews after the Exile, which could hardly have appeared before the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the case of the priests a special impetus was afforded by the newly established desire to distinguish between the priests, the sons of Zadok, and the Levites—a feeling which appears in Ezekiel as a novelty. The growth of the care bestowed upon priestly genealogies is well known (see below, § 7 [iv]), and an early example of the result is seen in Ezra 2.59 ff., a passage belonging perhaps to a register of the restored Israel (see EZRA II., § 9) where certain families, both *secular* (the b'ne Delaiah, Nekoda, Tobiah) and *priestly* (the b'ne Habaniah, Hakkoz, Barzillai), were unable to produce their genealogies, in consequence of which the latter were deemed 'polluted' and dismissed from the priesthood.³

3. To Arabia again we may turn for an instructive example of the rise of a love for genealogies (see WRS *Kin.* 6 ff.). In the reign of the caliph Umar I. a system of registers was drawn up to prove the right of each claimant, who was entitled through kinship with the prophet or through participation in his early struggles, to the spoil taken from the 'infidels,' and to ensure its just distribution among the 'true believers.' A great impetus was thus given to genealogical research, and from that time onwards the genealogists became an important class. Much oral tradition existed, and doubtless material was to be found in the official records; but as these sources were fragmentary and limited in range, conjecture had to be resorted to.⁴ The genealogists made the pedigree of Mohammad (obviously a most trustworthy one) the back-bone of all their work, and grouped the northern Arabs in such a way that every great ancestor or tribe was a brother or cousin of some ancestor of Mohammad. To make the number of ancestors tally with the lapse of time presumed to intervene, 'diminutive' names (e.g., Kais, Amir, Zaid,

¹ Note that שְׁרָיָה 'to name,' שָׁרָה 'to write' or 'enrol,' are late usages. שְׁרָיָה (Nu. 11.26b), it is true, occurs in a context which may be ascribed to a late LXX source, but the word is part of a gloss (see EDAD AND MEDAD).

² We. *Prot.* ET. 404.

³ The passage is later than Ezra; the names of the priestly families occur elsewhere in the book, cp. Meyer, *Antst.* 179.

⁴ But the shortness of memory among the Arabs is well known—indeed in the time of Mohammad they had no trustworthy tradition of any of the great nations which flourished after the time of Christ (cp. Nold. *Amalekiter*, 25 ff.; WRS *J. Phil.* 985).

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'Abdallah) were introduced.¹ In dealing with the older material, place-names were transformed into ancestors or ancestresses, and sometimes even tribal designations were taken and treated as the names of ancestors.² It was to the advantage of a weak community to dis- over some bond of connection with a stronger neighbour, whilst a powerful chief was equally desirous of including as wide a kinship as possible. Moreover, it was the scheme of the genealogist to treat the political combinations of his time as the expression of ancient bonds in kinship (for an example see SPARTA). The inevitable result was much genealogical fiction; not only were the names of his own time thrown back by the genealogist into the past, but also those which had become traditionally famous were inserted in the ancestry of his contemporaries, and the more honourable the individual the more reputable and famous became his ancestry. In fine, 'the system of the genealogists and the method by which traditional data are worked into the system are totally unworthy of credit' (*Kin.* 11).

The OT genealogies begin with the creation of mankind. A man and a woman stand at the head³ (see

4. Genealogies ADAM AND EVE), and a series of seven names carries mankind down to Lamech in Genesis.

(Gen. 4.1-24 [1]). This list, like the old *γενεαλογίαι* of the Greeks,⁴ is doubtless the remains of a historical connection once woven out of primitive stories, and deals with the introduction of civilisation (see CAINITES; HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2).

A parallel genealogy based on it is given by P in chap. 5; it is a dry uninteresting list, and the primitive simplicity of the legend is lumbered with a complicated system of chronology (CAINITES, § 12, SEHITHES). P's genealogies in Genesis are based throughout upon a specific scheme (GENESIS, § 2), in marked contrast with those in JE—where they are merely the string connecting the narratives—they form in fact the principal feature of his history.

For Gen. 10, which in the form of a genealogy gives a conspectus of the surrounding nations, and shows the supposed relation of the Hebrews to the other peoples of the habitable globe, see GEOGRAPHY, § 11 f. P now confines himself to Shem, the 'father' of the Hebrews, and brings us down by a list of seven names to Terah, Abraham's father (chap. 11).⁵ Here again there is much dispute as to the nature of the names occurring in the list, although it is probable that they are ethnographical.⁶ From Abraham onwards a number of old genealogies are presented by J. Jacob and Esau are brothers, the former intentionally represented as the younger (see ESAU). Moab and Ben-Ammi (Ammon) are sons of Lot (cp. the Edomite name LOTAN), and the relationship presumed between Israel (Jacob), Edom (Esau), Moab and Ammon points to their belief in having had at some time a common history. The close relationship with Aram which finds expression in Gen. 28 ff. expresses a feeling which could hardly have arisen before David's time.

The assumption that certain tribes were of Aramaean origin may perhaps explain that phase of the early Hebrew tradition which brings the patriarch Jacob into connection with Aram and marries him to an Aramaean stock. When tribes of different origin unite, their early tribal traditions (*Urgeschichte*) become fused, with the result that they possess a tradition in common.

Other genealogies express relations between Ishmael

¹ These were got by doubling known names or using personal names of no tribal significance' (*Kin.* 10); cp. the Ger-donite genealogies, § 7 (iii, b) below.

² The Ar. *Khawāra* ('separated ones') were so called because they broke off from the *Asd* in the great Yemenite dispersion. The genealogists, however, made *Khawāra* the name of their ancestor (see WRS *Kin.* 17). The member of the dog-tribe 'bani *Kilāh*' were similarly made to descend from an ancestor 'Kilāh'. The genealogical notions of Anak and Arba were not less curiously derived; see ANAKIM.

³ This is a later conception, for, on the analogy of other peoples, the Hebrews would have traced themselves back to gods or demigods; and, indeed, traces of this are found in the early writings; cp. Gen. 6.1. For Arabian examples see *Kin.* 17 f.

⁴ Of such a kind, probably, are the 'genealogies' referred to in Tit. 3.6 1 Tim. 1.4; the combination 'myths and genealogies' is significant.

⁵ The triple division of the b'ne Terah finds an analogy in the three Levitical heads, and the three guilds of singers.

⁶ The list includes the mythical ancestor of all Hebrews—viz., 'Eber' (see EBER, 1). Similarly the Berbers (lit. 'barbarians') in cited an ancestor Berr whom they, influenced by Mohammedan lore, connected with Noah. (Another genealogy represents their ancestor as 'Berber,' a descendant of Canaan b. Ham b. Noah.)

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and Isaac (half-brothers), and tribes — the great spice-bearing region in S. Arabia are traced from Abraham through a wife who bears the significant name Keturah ('incense'); Gen. 25:1-6 (1).

A later genealogy makes Ishmael the father of certain Arabian tribes which, at the time of its compilation, occupied the Syrian desert (Gen. 25:13 P). Ishmael, in post-exilic and Rabbinical times, became the common designation for the Arabs generally, and these, in turn, were wont to trace their ancestry back to *Nahit* (Nebaioth), or *Kahhan* (Jokhan), sons of Ishmael; cp. above, § 2.

Jacob, the younger son of Isaac, is understood to be the father of the twelve tribes, the chief of whom were descended from his wives, RACHEL and LEAH (pp. 71).

5. Tribal genealogies. LEAH (pp. 71). That four of the tribes are sons of concubines might show that they were looked upon as of less importance, and as not belonging to Israel in the same sense as the others (see DANIEL; GOVERNMENT, § 13).

It is only in the later writings that the twelve tribes are represented as co-existent and enjoying unbroken continuity. Moreover, the number twelve is certainly artificial, and was obtained, either by the omission of Levi or by reckoning the two 'sons' of Joseph as one.

Further, it may be questioned whether 'Judah' with its S. Palestinian elements (see CATHY; ISRAEL) was ever a tribe previous to the time of David, and whether the priestly tribe of Levi does not owe its enumeration among the 'twelve' to the desire to place its members on the same genealogical footing with the rest. See, further, JUDAH, LEVI, and cp. TEMES.

The subdivisions of the tribes are enumerated in Gen. 46:8-27 Ex. 6:14-26 Nu. 26:5-51 [all P], and at greater length in 1 Ch. 2 ff. For an estimation of their contents and value, see the separate articles.³

It must suffice here to observe that a study of the names which are found in these tribal lists often affords suggestive hints concerning the relations of the tribes to one another. The truth of the old folk-legend which spoke of Israel and Edom as brothers is fully borne out by the significant number of names common to Edom and Judah (and Benjamin).⁴ The tribe of Simeon, though unknown in historical times, seems, nevertheless, to have dwelt on the extreme SW. of Judah, and hence it is not surprising to find names in the Simeonite list which have affinities with Edom (see BULHAU, I, SHAU⁵), Judah (ZERAI, HAMUEL), Ishmael (MIRSAM, MISHMA) and Jerahmeel (ISUI). See also below, § 7 [v.].

It has been stated above (§ 3 [1]) that the great majority of genealogies are found only in P and kindred literature (Ch.-Ezra-Neh.), and it remains now to consider their genuineness and value.

6. The Chronicler's genealogies. It is only just to suppose that the Chronicler had older lists to work upon; but the Oriental genealogist was no incorruptible judge, and not only would he be sure to have spurious evidence placed before him — a *novus homo* desires a noble pedigree — but his lists when fragmentary would have to be supplemented and completed.⁶ Faithful to the spirit of his age he idealizes and magnifies the past, and in many of his genealogies we are able to see that he employed the same methods as did his Arabian brother centuries later.

¹ It is noticeable how many of the descendants of Terah who became famous and strong were the younger sons. See J. Jacobs, 'Junior Right in Genesis' (*Studies in Biblical Archaeology*).

² Cp. the number of the b'ne Nahor (Gen. 22:20 ff.), the b'ne Ishmael (Gen. 25:12 ff.), the families of Gad and Asher (Nu. 26:15 ff., 44 ff.) and of Ephraim and Manasseh (ib., 28-37). For non-Semitic analogies see Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, 223 ff.

³ The tribes with their subdivisions amount to seventy; this number, too, is most probably artificial.

⁴ Common to (a) Edom and Judah are Husham (cp. Hushah), Iram (cp. Irai), Jether (cp. Iliran) and see JETHUR, Korah, Onan (cp. Onan), Shobal and Zerah; (b) Edom and Benjamin, Ashbel (cp. Ashbea), Iri (cp. Iri, IRAU), Joush, Manahath, Shepho (cp. Shephupham and SHEPHIM), Onam (cp. Oni), Bela, Jobab.

⁵ The nature of the book of Iddo the Seer, 2 Ch. 12:15, is unknown. קרית, as Hi. suggests, may have been accidentally transposed from 11:16; cp. Be. *ad loc.* The Chronicler's ancient records of 1 Ch. 4:22b are equally obscure, although in point of age they may have been only exilic.

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Thus over sixteen of the twenty-four 'heads' ordained by David (1 Ch. 24) are names of post-exilic priests and Levites, and it is only reasonable to suspect that the Chronicler desires to show that the honourable families of his own day lived, or were founded, centuries previously under David.

A list in Neh. 11:3 mentions 'Meshillemoth b. Immer.' But the name Meshillemoth is essentially the same as Meshullam, and when the writer of 1 Ch. 9:12 found in his copies *b'ne* forms (60), at least, we are entitled to assume that he accordingly wrote down 'Meshullam b. Meshillemoth' (so 60) for Meshillemoth; see MESHULLAM, 2) b. Immer (for another similar instance cp. below, § 7 [iv.] end).

Of a different character are the lists in 1 Ch. 24:1-24:7, 24:40, where it is evident that we are dealing no longer with individuals but with clan- or place-names; cp. Gray, *ITAN* 230 f. In 1 Ch. 2, for example, one can distinguish pre-exilic from post-exilic sources, and it is possible to see expressed in genealogical form the fact which is known from other sources, that Caleb, whose seat in pre-exilic times lay in the Negeb of Judah, migrated north, and after the Exile appears in the district around Jerusalem (see Wellh. *De tent.*; CHRONICLES, § 10; and cp. CATHY, § 2 f.).

The structure and nature of the names themselves may sometimes prove helpful in considering the antiquity of a list, and the fact that the majority of the names in the list 1 Ch. 4:34-44 are those of the Chronicler's own time and 'are at least not genuine survivals' makes it probable that the list is largely an invention (Gray, *op. cit.* 26 f.). It is not difficult to observe the methods of the genealogist in compiling a sectarian list, and a good example is seen in the post-exilic genealogy of David which is wholly wanting in the earlier writings (see DAVID, § 1 a. n. d.). It is the object of the author of Esdras (Ezra, § 1, end) to make Mordecai a Benjamite, and so, when he fashion's a genealogical list, he includes among the ancestors of Mordecai such well-known Benjamites as Kish and Shimei (see SHIMON, 1, 10), whilst the second Targum actually adds Machir and Mephibosheth.¹

(i.) *Method.* Fuller details regarding the intricate genealogies of the Levites and priests must be sought for in the minor leographical articles;

7. Levitical and Priestly genealogies. here it must suffice to indicate the lines upon which the Hebrew (post-exilic) genealogist seems to have worked, and to try to discover the various views to which he intended his lists to give expression.

To start with the belief that these genealogies are wholly trustworthy or that they proceeded from one hand² would quickly involve us in a hopeless maze. Contrast, for example, the ancestry which 1 Ch. 6 gives of the three contemporaries Asaph (seven members, 1 Ch. 6:30-35) Ebi, Ebiham (twelve), and Ebiham (nearly twenty),³ and observe that Ebiham's immediate ancestors reappear in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29:12). Libi and Shimei are both Gershonite and Merarite divisions; Jahath and Shimei are varying sons and grandsons of Gershon. Amasai and Mahath, like Mashi and Mahli, are sometimes brothers, at other times father and son. Instances of similar inconsistencies might easily be multiplied.

In order to gain some idea of the origin of the Levitical genealogies we may start with the working theory that they are the result of later genealogizing skill, which has endeavoured to bring together into some sort of family relationship clans and divisions formerly quite distinct (cp. § 2 above). Thus we find that one of the simplest lists of the Levitical families enumerates merely the clans of Joshua, Bam (or Binnam), Hodaviab (Judah, Hodiab), and Kadmiel (cp. Ezra 2:40 [see HODAVIAH, 4] 39 Neh. 9:4).⁴ Another equally simple but more interesting scheme in Nu. 26:58⁵ enumerates five *midphoth* of the Levites — *יְהוֹנָדָב*, *יְהוֹנָדָב* (CATHY, 1, 10), *יְהוֹנָדָב*, *יְהוֹנָדָב*, *יְהוֹנָדָב*. Again, when 1 Ch. 15:7 divides the Levites among the families of Gershon, Kohath (i.e. Kohath), Merari, Elizaphan, Hebron, and Uzziel, it is apparent that we are a step nearer the famous triple division — the three

¹ Cp. Salamei b. Salasalai (i.e., Shelumiel b. Zurishaddai, the Simeonites, Nu. 16) in Judit's genealogy (81).

² A study of the name-lists alone supports the recognized view that P, in its present form, is composite. Similarly the genealogical and other lists of the Chronicler in Ch.-Ezra-Neh. are not from the same hand. On the whole, it is probable that some of the finest specimens of genealogical zeal survive in the genealogies of the high priests, and the three singers (1 Ch. 6).

³ Note further the inconsistency in the number of generations from Judah to David, from Levi to Zadok, and from Levi to Heman (see Wright, *How Israel*, etc. 76 f.).

⁴ The names remind us of priestly families. This older division seems to have died out — with the doubtful exceptions of Hashabiah b. Kadmiel, a Levite in 1 Ch. 27:17 (reading קדמיאל for MT קדמיאל), and the b'ne Bunni (Neh. 11:15 1 Ch. 9:14-15).

⁵ The verse is hardly from the same source as 27: 57, 59 f.

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genitrix names have been introduced, but are on an equality with the rest. At a later stage I built up a 'Levite' either to Jerubbaal or to Merari, to the latter of which Malhi and Merari were consistently reckoned, the latter was ascribed to Jerubbaal.²

(ii) *Singers and Porters*. Together with these developments we have to notice the gradual 'Leviticizing' of divisions and classes formerly distinct. Are the singers and porters (or doorkeepers),

(a) The familiar triple division of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (or Jeduthun), assigned to Gershon, Kohath, and Merari respectively (1 Ch. 6.9), is preceded by an earlier list in Neh. 11.15, where the singers are Mattaniah b. Maai, Bakbukiah b. Bakbukiah, and Asaph b. Deschiah b. Shimeon. A Levitical line has probably supplied the names of an earlier list, to associate them with Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (cp. 5.15).

(b) Now the singers of 'bene Asaph' were primarily kept distinct from the porters, and both classes were separated from the Levites (Ezra 2.41; Neh. 7.44; see WRS, *OT* 1922:204); see ASAPH, 3. The next step was the inclusion of the guild of porters in the name 'Korah'. Although it must be observed that Korah is not yet a Levite. He is absent from the list of Levites in 1 Ch. 23, and in the earlier phase of P's account of the rebellion in Num. 16 Korah is actually not yet a Levite (cp. Kue. *Hev.* 331 f., and see Kue. *OT* 1922:204). Next we find that both Asaph and Korah are Levitical divisions. There are, therefore, Levites of Asaph (2 Ch. 29.13, cp. 29.14), and Levites of the Korathites (2 Ch. 29.16). Still another stage finds Asaph incorporated in Korah under the eponym of Abiasaph or Ebiasaph (see ASAPH, 3. ABIASAPH), and finally Korah is assigned to Kehath observe that in 2 Ch. 29.16 Korah and Kehath are still distinct—and, strangely enough, Asaph is removed from Korah b. Kehath and assigned to Gershon.

(c) Traces of these changes are seen in the survival of the eponym Abiasaph (see ASAPH, 3), which is reckoned as a 'son' of Korah, and in the fortunes of certain names belonging to these classes. In 2 Ch. 29.13 Mattaniah and Zecharia are of the 'bene Asaph' (cp. Zaccar and Nethaniah, sons of Asaph in 1 Ch. 23.2), in 2 Ch. 29.14 they reappear in the genealogy of Jeduthun as 'Asaphite Levites'. Comparing 1 Ch. 9.12 (Mattaniah and Zecharia) with 2 Ch. 29.14 (Mattaniah and Zecharia) traced through Asaph to Korah, and finally Zecharia and Meshullam (Meshullam) turn up as Kehathites in 2 Ch. 31.12.

(d) According to the later genealogies the singers and porters Ethan (or Jeduthun), Hishai, and Obadiah (or Jeduthun) Merari. Quite consistently, therefore, the names Hishai and Jeduthun appear as sons of Merari (Ezra 8.15), or sons of Jeduthun (1 Ch. 23.4), and the former is a Merarite (1 Ch. 9.14), and a member of Ethan's genealogy (1 Ch. 6.43 f.). Of the two sons of the Merarite Jeduthun, Uzziel and Shemai (2 Ch. 29.14), the latter is a descendant of Jeduthun (1 Ch. 9.15; Neh. 11.17; Shammai), a son of Obadiah (1 Ch. 23.4), and a Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 9.14), and both names perhaps go to build up the genealogy of the Merarite Asaph in the forms Shimea b. Uzzi (1 Ch. 6.20 f., 14 f.). Similarly Hilkiah and Shimri, 'sons' of the Merarite Hishai (1 Ch. 26.10 f.), may perhaps correspond to the Shemer and Hilkiah in the genealogy of the Merarite Ethan (1 Ch. 6.43 f., 130 f.). See also Hark.

Not only was Asaph removed from Korah to Gershon, but it is probable that Ethan was once ascribed to Gershon, and, curiously enough, from 1 Ch. 15.7-17 we should expect to find that Heman, too, was Gershonite. This is apparently due to the fact that the three heads of the 'singers' were, at one stage, treated

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as Levitical divisions (cp. Neh. 11.15, 16), and in the process of incorporating the Levites among the three 'sons' of Levi, the positions of the heads of the singers were not at first definitely settled.

(iii) *Levites and Porters*. The Chronicler's method of building up genealogies from names traditionally current will account for the remarkable inconsistencies and striking resemblances which the most superficial consultation reveals.

(a) Some of the Merarite names in 1 Ch. 6 have already been noted above (6.14). Of the others, Malhi and Ami (6.43) have purely Levitical associations (cp. Neh. 11.15). Malhi and Maai are usually brother clans, and the former is also the head of a Merarite genealogy ending with ASAPH (1 Ch. 6.42, 14 f.). It is, moreover, a feature of considerable significance that this Merarite line has little in common with that in 1 Ch. 23.15-21, 23.25-26, which probably represents an earlier stage in the genealogical scheme.³

(b) The Gershonite genealogies in 1 Ch. 6 divided (a) to Jerubbaal (or Jeduthun), and (b) to Asaph, the intermediate names of 2 probably 'Levitical' names (Maseiah 1 f. which Maseiah is a corruption of Heraihi, Madihi, Madihi are sufficiently common). The name מַסְעִיָּהוּ מַסְעִיָּהוּ seems to be related in some way to the Gershonite מַסְעִיָּהוּ מַסְעִיָּהוּ and מַסְעִיָּהוּ מַסְעִיָּהוּ (1 Ch. 23.25).

(c) The largest and most important branch of post-exilic Levites are the 'bene Kehath', the most prominent branches of which are Amram to which Moses (the father of the subdivision Gershon) and Aaron belong, and Korah b. Izhar b. Kehath. Korah is associated with the porters (see above), and his three 'sons' Assir, Abiasaph, and Elkanah (Ex. 6.22 etc.) are here descendants in a regular line (1 Ch. 6.31-33). The ancestry of the Korathite Heman is rendered particularly complicated by repetitions.⁴ The names in 2 Ch. 29.12 ff. again proved an invaluable quarry for the genealogist, and from them he borrowed Mahath b. Amasai, and Joel b. Azariah. The list comprises, appropriately enough, names borrowed from the genealogy of Samuel, who, as the genealogist knew, was a doorkeeper (1 S. 3.15).⁵

(iv) *High priests' genealogy*.—The high priests from Aaron to the captivity are traced through Amram to Kehath (1 Ch. 6.3-15 [5.29-31], cp. 49-53).

The list is substantially the same as the genealogy of Ezra in Ezra 7.1 (1 Esd. 8.2), which recuts, with some changes, in 2 Esd. 17. That in 1 Ch. 6 starts with (1) Aaron, Eleazar, and Phinehas, names common to both, and derived from P. (4) Ahisai (Ahizer, Jos. *Ant.* v. 1.5), no longer extant. The following five names are new (5-9): Bukki, Uzzi, Zerabiah, Meraboth, and Amariah (in Jos. *Ant.* vi. 1.3; Bukki, Jeduthun, Meraboth, Amariah). Nos. 10-12: Ahitub, Zadok, and Ahimaez are derived from 1 and 2 S. (see Ah. 1.1, 1.1, Ahimaez 1.1). Of nos. 13-15 (Azariah, Johanan, Azariah) it must be to the first that the misplaced note 6.106 (6.106) refers; it is related to 1 K. 1.26 (also a gloss). Nos. 16-18 (Jehoiada, Azariah, and finally nos. 19-22 (Shallum, Hilkiah, Azariah, Scariah) carry us down to Jehozadak. An allowance of forty years for each generation gives us nearly 960 years, agreeing approximately with the received post-exilic chronology. The thirteenth name will coincide with the rebuilding of the temple and the twenty-third with the captivity; cp. the similar artificiality in Ch. 8.1-10.15 ii., § 1.

The unhistorical nature of this list of high priests needs no demonstration. The inclusion of Zadok is as remarkable as the ignoring of the famous line from Eli to Abiathar (1 S.), due, perhaps, to the later exaltation of the Zadokites (see ZADOK 1).⁶ We find no men-

¹ Malhi appears to be distinct from Merari in Ezra 8.1 f.
² Observe that Elizaphan is a 'son' of Uzziel, the Kehathite, in No. 3.35 (P).

³ Obvies the second name; perhaps the earliest division was a twofold one.

⁴ Strictly speaking, the guilds of the porters (Obadiah, Jeduthun, Hishai, etc.) are assigned to Korah and Merari; cp. 1 Ch. 23.1-3. They seem to be separated from the Levites proper in 2 Ch. 29.17 (in 2 Ch. 29.17 read מַסְעִיָּהוּ מַסְעִיָּהוּ). Note that when the Asaphite Kore (in 1) is made a Levite in 2 Ch. 31.14 he appears as the son of Heman (ending מַסְעִיָּהוּ מַסְעִיָּהוּ). Asaph, Korah, and Heman are (in the final stage) consistently assigned to Kehath.

⁵ But 'Israelite,' adds Kuenen; on this, however, see below, vi., col. 1993.

⁶ Cp. also Mattaniah and מַסְעִיָּהוּ Levites of the 'bene Asaph' (1 Ch. 29.15).

⁷ See FRYAS, 3, and cp. Jeduthun, Shime'i, and Libni, names common to Gershon and Merari; Shime'i, also, is the name of a son of Jeduthun (= Ethan); see SUMMERS, 12.

¹ 2 Ch. 23.15-17 enumerates Levites of Kehath, Gershon, Merari, Elizaphan (see § 7.1 f.), Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun.

² Note, e.g., the mention of Moses, 23.14 f.

³ Perhaps we may connect the Gershonite מַסְעִיָּהוּ (1 Ch. 15.7) with Joel (מַסְעִיָּהוּ for מַסְעִיָּהוּ) b. Elisaph in Num. 3.24.

⁴ In 1 Ch. 6.22 (7) his 'father' is called Amminadab; but see 1 Esd. 8.13.

⁵ Elkanah to Elkanah, 6.14 35 f. (19.202) = 25 (10) f. Joel to Elisaph 306 370 = 23 (17) f.

⁶ Hence, also, we see the appropriateness (and probable origin) of the choice of the names Elkanah and Berebiah (in 1 Ch. 6.6) Levites only; in 2 Ch. 15.23 doorkeepers, the latter of which is borne by the father of Asaph.

⁷ See, for other lists, Jos. *Ant.* 8.8, and the Jewish *Seder Olam*.

⁸ Perhaps rather Abi-shehna 'father of Joshua'; cp. JESHTA.

⁹ Jos. *Ant.* 10.10 speaks of 11 names.

¹⁰ When, for example, Abiathar is assigned a lower order in 1 Ch. 24.20 this is perhaps a later genealogical fashioning to

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Gen. of Jehonah, Zeph., 1 ch. 10, 11, nos. 15-18 find no support in the best old books, nor can we trace in the Hebrew Amos, 1 ch. 12 ch. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 8

[illegible]

The key to the origin of the high priests' genealogy is perhaps found in *Num. 11:1*, where nos. 20, 26, 18, 16, and 17 are the names of the high priests, and nos. 19, 21, and 17 are the names of the priest *Sarnah*, the grandfather of *Ishuah* (cp. *1 Ch. 6:44* [54 a, *Para. 32*) in the ascending line. It is interesting to find that in *1 Ch. 9:11* has *Azariah* for *Sarnah*, and that the genealogist has been content to incorporate *š rš* names in the list of high priests (no. 21 *Ch.*), an exact parallel to which procedure is seen in *1 Ch. 9:12* (see above, § 6). The intervening names from *Aaron* downwards would be easily supplied (as the start had been made observe the duplicates). A place had to be found for *Zabab*, and this in *1 Ch. 21:1* (cp. § 6) the most important care of the genealogist was to introduce priestly names famous in his own time or traditionally renowned.

(A) *Origin of Levitical names.* When it is recognised that the Levitical genealogies have passed through several stages before reaching their present form, it is obvious that in discussing the origin of the Levites too much stress must not be laid upon the names of the three great heads. As representing Levitical divisions they have no great claim to antiquity. Gershon is derived directly from Gērshon l, Moses, and it is not impossible that Merari (מֵרָרִי, an ethnic) has originated from Miriam (מִרְיָם, cp מִרְיָאוֹת), This leads us to the 'Mosaic' origin of Levitical names, the most famous example of which is Mushi 'the Mosute' (see also ELIEZER, GĒRSHOM, GĒRSHON, MUSHI). That names in the families of Moses and Aaron

(1) That names in the family of Moses were derived from Levi (Ch. 23:14) is a perversion in the interests of a post-exilic age; note that Shelumai b. Gershom b. Moses (Ch. 33:1) is no other than Shimeai, an Amramite (Ch. 23:1-2); and that Shelumai b. Eliezer (Ch. 26:25f.) becomes chief of the Levitical tribe of Zebulun (33:1-2). It is curious, also, to find in the genealogy of the Levites Gershom, properly the son of Moses, the names SHIMEI (11), JARATH (2), ZUMMAM (22), and ZERAH (2), corresponding to SHUMAIH (1), NAHATH (1), MIZAH (7/2), and ZERAH (2), sons of the Edomite Reuel (Gen. 30:13), the traditional name of Moses' father-in-law.

Suggestive of S. Palestinian origin are, moreover, the names KORAH (*q.r.*, i. e. JESHA and, in Nu. 26:58, MAHI (*ep. MAHAVAHI*), where, moreover, the ethnics Hebron and Labni remind us of the S. Palestinian Hebron and Labnah. The 'Hebronite' Jekameam (יְכָמֵאם) perhaps derives his name from יָמָם (see JAKMEAM), the Merarite Eder and Jeremoth (יֶרְמוֹת) from Eder (Josh. 15:21) and יָמֻת (see JAMUTH), and the Kehathite Shamur from the locality in Josh. 15:45. Jahmuel b. Mahh b. Merari is, in itself, a significant hint for the origin of some of the Levitical clans⁴; for other con-

¹ Arna and Marimoth, Azici and Anarim, etc.

1. Arna and Marinhoth, Azici and Anarias, correspond to 7 f. respectively.

³ The Aaronite Eleazar is later than the Moses of the Pentateuch.

3. The Aramite Eleazar is later than the Mosate Eliezer just as Shubriel is probably a modification of the Calebite Shobal (see SHUBAL).

⁴ Undue stress, perhaps, should not be laid upon the circumstance that Mihail and Olad are names common to Jeremiah and Merari (the latter through Obadiah). Mihail (see MICHAEL) perhaps occurs also in the family of Kish (also a Merarite name, see KISH, 2). With the Jerahmeelite Zaza we may probably connect the Gershonite Zizai (1 Ch. 23 11).

GENEALOGIES OF JESUS

[illegible]

From the above example I take the S. 4. So I HAVE₁ (from the S. of F. 4) may be that they were the F. 4, i.e. came from a particular river or ocean. This makes it probable that term F. 4, i.e. this river S. 4. So I HAVE₁ (F. 4) was a characterisation applied to special rivers of the south in Kadesh-simma (I have 1. §§ 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821

The care spent over genealogies by no means diminished in later times (1 Mac. 2, Bar. 1, Jer. 14, and in the time of Josephus (e. g. *Ant.* 17, see also *Ant.* 1) all the priests were able to adduce evidence to show the purity of their descent by means of public documents which he refers to as *ἐπιγραφὴ γενεῶν*. According to the Talmud (*Abod. 50a*) there were men who spent their time wholly in making and studying genealogies which were based upon those in Ch. *Ezra* Neh. 3. But when Elizabeth is called a daughter of Aton (Lk. 15), Anna Asherite (*Abd. 2, 4*), or Paul a Benjamite (Rom. 11, 1), and Hillel the Babylonian is traced back to David (even the *Chaspeyani* in Domitian's time claimed a direct descent from David), we cannot suppose that every link in the long chain of ancestors was known. Yet how great was the importance attached to the registry of birth and ancestry is proved by the genealogies prefixed to the gospels of Matthew and Luke in which Christ's origin is traced back to Abraham and Adam respectively (see article below).

See Springer, *Das Leben u. d. Lehre d. Mohammed*; WRS
Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia (especially chap. I).
Wellh. *de antiquis arab. Arabibus*.

9. Literature. art. 'Genealogy' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 14 (1997), 103-11. W. Wellh, *De virtutibus, etc.*, Göttinge, 1912, 22 ff. (1913), 103-11. art. 'Genealogy' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 14 (1997), 103-11. *DB* (a useful collection of articles) in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 14 (1997), 103-11. and Merzine 'Genealogies' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 14 (1997), 103-11. their complicated character, and see S. A. C. (1990) (illustrates fell into twenty-four subdivisions corresponding to the twelve Levites in *Gen. 24:20-26*). For general principles see P. Lehmann, *Staatliche Genealogien*, 1912, and see, art. 9. 'Examples of fabricated Jewish genealogies' and the genealogical knowledge in the time of Jesus, see Dahn, *Worte vom Tode Christi*, 22 ff. S. A. C.

GENEALOGIES OF JESUS IN MATTHEW AND LUKE. While Mk. and In. manifest no interest

LUKE. While Mk. and Jn. manifest no interest in the pedigree of Jesus (*βίβλος γενεάς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* [Th. Wt])—In 7:27 representing the tenet of Messianic doctrine current among the Jews (cp Weber, *Syst. d. altsyn. Theol.* 339 ff.) that the origin of the Messiah is a secret—the two fuller gospels produce formal genealogical tables.

The first point of interest was to prove that Jesus was

¹ The name may survive in the Assyrian land of Sa-mi-u[a] on the road S. to Musri (Wi. *Journ.*, (n.), 8).

³ Of the Simeonite names which are reported (Ch. 4 24 *l*²), several are elsewhere borne by Levites: Repliah, Seraiah, and Shallum are also Judahite, and one (see Hore) distinctly suggests a S. Palestinian origin.

⁴ Thus, e.g., there were worshippers of Yahwē at Zephath in the time of Elijah (1 K. 17:9; Mt. Zarephath, see ZEPHATHAYIM).

where it is said that the commentaries on *ṭ Ch. 8* 37, 9-44 (from *Azel* to *Azel*) amounted to 600 camel-loads. For the *Meḡilāth* *Ṭiphestin*, see Dalm. *Worte Jesu*, 4.

GENEALOGIES OF JESUS

descended from David. For whilst this question is only

once touched upon in Jn. (7:42) and only thrice in Mk. (10:41, 42, 43), the Davidic sonship appears in Mt. and Lk. (not to speak of the passages parallel to those cited from Mk.) as a matter of fundamental importance in the preliminary history (esp. Lk. 1:7-35, 2:1-11; Mt. 1:1-16), and in the story of the Magni Mt. 2, the designation of the 'new born king of the Jews', as it is also emphasized further, in a manner analogous to the cases in Mk. (in Mt. 9:12, 12:21, 15:22). The genealogies, however, reach back even beyond David; in Mt. to Abraham, in Lk. to Adam. This tracing of the line back to Adam (Lk.) may be connected with the conception of the Messiah as a second Adam, for which reason the patriarchal head of the new mankind is brought into relation to that of the old. On the same analogy, since there is no interest, anywhere else in the NT, in regarding Christ as the son of Abraham, the tracing back of the line at least as far as to him might be due to a wish to bring into mutual relation the father of the people of promise and the father of the people of fulfilment.

That the pedigree in Mt. is in a special degree specifically Jewish in its character, appears from its delight in playing with numbers—three series each of twice seven names—and from the succession downwards from David being traced through the line of Jewish kings. The pedigree adopted by Lk. at least does not emphasize numerical features (11 x 7), follows a different branch of David's family, and does not pause at Abraham any more than at David. We may perhaps distinguish it as the Hellenistic, and Mt.'s as the Palestinian, attempt to connect Jesus the Messiah with sacred history by a genealogy. That the one came into the hands of the first evangelist, the other into the hands of the third, may be accidental.

The two genealogies are beyond doubt mutually independent scholarly attempts. That adopted by Mt.

2. Mt.'s list. Gen. 1:18—Ruth 1:18-22 1 Ch. 2:10-14, the heading, the phrase 'Book of the Generation' (*βιβλίον γενεσέων*), being taken from Gen. 5:1. The table contains thrice fourteen names, fourteen from Abraham to David, fourteen from David to Jechoniah, fourteen from Jechoniah to Jesus.

The reckoning, however, is not quite accurate. For the first series (77: 2-6) needs both Abraham and David, and the third (77: 12-16) both Jechoniah and Christ, to make up the number fourteen, and yet the second series (77: 6-11) must count either David or Jechoniah over again, without which it contains but thirteen names (see, further, below, 6).

(a) The series from Abraham to David (77: 2-6) is taken from 1 Ch. 2:1-14; only, in addition to the case of Tamar (RV *Tamar*) the wife of Judah (77: 3), mention is twice made of the mother, viz. in the case of Rachab (RV *Rahab* 77: 5) the mother, and of Ruth (77: 5) the wife, of Booz (RV *Boaz*)—the latter based on Ruth 4:13, the former without any support from the OT and indeed in the face of chronological impossibility.

Rabbinic scholars also interested themselves in these women. On Tamar and Ruth compare Weber, *Alttestam. Theol.* 341. Rahab they transformed into an inn-keeper (Hos. *And.* v. 12-17) and traced to her eight prophets (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* 182; Mennichen, *N. T. u. Talm.* 40). She was an object of interest also to the early Christians, as Heb. 11:31 and James 2:25 show. Perhaps they interpreted 'harlot' allegorically as 'heathen'; the fact that Ruth was a Moabite, and Rahab a heathen, would then explain the interest of Christians in their mention in the pedigree of the Messiah.

(b) In the second series (77: 6-11) the list of kings is reduced to fourteen.

As compared with 1 Ch. 3:17 Joash (*Joas*), Amaziah (*Amazias*) and Azariah (*Azarias*) are omitted between Ozias (RV *Uzziah*, *Ozias*) and Jotham (RV *Jotham*, *Jotham* 77: 9), as 'Jehoiakim (*Jonathas*)' between Josias (RV *Josiah*, *Josias*) and Jechonias (RV *Jechoniah*, *Jechonias* 77: 11). Zedekiah (*Zedekias*) may be represented by 'brethren' (*adelphos* 77: 11) inasmuch as, according to 1 Ch. 3:15 2 Ch. 36:10 he is mentioned as brother—sole brother it is true—of Jechoniah (*Jechonias*) father-in-law in Jer. 51:1 and 2 K. 24:17. Perhaps Jehoiakim (*Jonathas*) dropped out later, so that the second series also originally contained fourteen names.

(c) For the third series (77: 12-16) there is no authority in the OT, which mentions (1 Ch. 3:17 1 Esdr. 5:5 Neh. 12:1 Hag. 1:1) only Salathiel (RV *Shealtiel*, *Salathiel* 77: 12) and Zerobabel (RV *Zerubbabel*, *Zerubbabel* 77: 12-13), and we have no hint of the origin of the names. For the rest, the names from David to Jechoniah are to be distributed over a period of about 460 years; those from Jechoniah to Christ over one of about 250 years.

The genealogy given by Lk. (3:23-38) begins with

GENEALOGIES OF JESUS

Christ and leads upwards, using the simple formula, usually employed in the OT in giving names, of adding the father's name in the genitive.

The series from David to Adam (77: 12-38) follows the lists of 1 Ch. 1:1-23:27 2:1-14 and Ruth 4:1-22. However, in the line from Abraham to Adam (77: 38-39) the name Calan (*Calan* 77: 38) is used a second time (77: 39) (12:17) between Saka (RV *Shelah*, *Saka* 77: 38) and Arphaxad (*Arphaxad* 77: 39); while in the line from David to Abraham (77: 32-34) *Arphaxad* (B etc.) omitted in RV; Adam in RV 38 and *Arphaxad* (RV *Arphaxad*; AV has *Arphaxad*) have been inserted (77: 39) in place of *Arphaxad* between Amnadaab (*Amnadaab*) and Esrom (*Esrom*). Neither change finds any support in the OT. Arphaxad (*Arphaxad*) might indeed be an ancient variant for Aram (*Aram*). In this case, what we have is the insertion of new names at some place that seemed suitable before and at another after Abraham—additions which, like the omissions of Mt., may be explained by the love for round numbers. For there are now (77: 12-38) from Adam to David (inclusive) 15 (77: 38-39) names, or (if we look more closely) from Adam to Abraham (77: 38-39) 14, and from Isaac to David (77: 39-40) 2, 7 (77: 39-40) 14, as in Mt. Between Christ and David (77: 32-34), however, Lk. gives us a list nowhere to be found in the OT. Instead of the line of kings he gives us that of David's son NATHAN (77: 32) (*Nathan*; 1 Ch. 3:1). It is all the more remarkable that the list coincides with that of Mt. in the names Salathiel (RV *Shealtiel*; *Salathiel*) and Zerobabel (RV *Zerubbabel*, *Zerubbabel* 77: 27) and in no more. From Nathan (*Nathan* 1 Ch. 3:1) to Salathiel (77: 27) we have again 14 names, and so from Zerobabel to Christ (Mt. giving in each case fourteen, or, rather, from Zerobabel only twelve). The father of Salathiel, however, is called Jechonias (RV *Jechonias*; *Jechonias* 77: 12) in Mt., Neri (*Neri* 77: 27) in Lk.; while the son of Zerobabel is Abiud (*Abiud* 77: 13) in the former and Rhesa (*Rhesa* 77: 27) in the latter. The intention, however, is in both cases unmistakably the same, in spite of the divergence of the genealogies, to find a place in a list for the two famous names. The agreement on the other hand of Mt. and Lk. in the name of Joseph's grandfather, Matthai (*Matthai* 77: 24) and Matthat (*Matthat* 77: 24) respectively, may well be accidental, since the father and son of the latter bear quite different names in the two lists.

Lk.'s plan of following, not the royal line, but a lateral branch of David's house, may have been due to the reflection that the Messiah could not come of the line rejected in Jechoniah (Jer. 22:28-30 36:30). The conjecture that one of the genealogies follows the line of Mary is excluded by the fact that both end in Joseph, as well as by the Hebrew custom of attending only to the *genus patris*. Moreover it is Joseph, not Mary, that Lk. declares to be of Davidic descent (1:27 24). The two genealogies are independent attempts to establish the ancestry of Jesus as Messiah and thus to connect him with the sacred past. The round numbers figuring in both of them show how little they aimed at simply reproducing documents. The complete divergence makes it more probable that the pedigree did not admit of documentary establishment. All that was postulated was descent from Zerubbabel, David, and Abraham. The mode of supplying the intervening links was a matter of indifference. Proof of the physical descent of Jesus from David was doubtless not to be found. Nor in Jesus' days was there need for such; for the Messiah was in any case *de jure* David's son—i.e., heir and legitimate successor; and if any one ever had occasion to turn this ideal into a natural sonship, this was done by deducing the latter from the former. If Jesus was the Messiah, he was David's son, and no documentary proof of the fact was needed. For there is no trace anywhere of any one's having deduced the Messiahship of Jesus from his being son of David, or having sought to oppose the former claim by questioning the latter.

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The conjecture that one of the genealogies follows the line of Mary is excluded by the fact that both end in Joseph, as well as by the Hebrew custom of attending only to the *genus patris*. Moreover it is Joseph, not Mary, that Lk. declares to be of Davidic descent (1:27 24). The two genealogies are independent attempts to establish the ancestry of Jesus as Messiah and thus to connect him with the sacred past. The round numbers figuring in both of them show how little they aimed at simply reproducing documents. The complete divergence makes it more probable that the pedigree did not admit of documentary establishment. All that was postulated was descent from Zerubbabel, David, and Abraham. The mode of supplying the intervening links was a matter of indifference. Proof of the physical descent of Jesus from David was doubtless not to be found. Nor in Jesus' days was there need for such; for the Messiah was in any case *de jure* David's son—i.e., heir and legitimate successor; and if any one ever had occasion to turn this ideal into a natural sonship, this was done by deducing the latter from the former. If Jesus was the Messiah, he was David's son, and no documentary proof of the fact was needed. For there is no trace anywhere of any one's having deduced the Messiahship of Jesus from his being son of David, or having sought to oppose the former claim by questioning the latter.

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name Zerubbabel. Thus the original order of the names will have been, Zerubbabel-Rhesa, Judan, Judah. The title of Zerubbabel, however, was not, as far as we know, *Rhesa*. He was 'governor of Judah', not merely one of the 'chiefs' of the community, but in supreme authority; in Hag. 1:12 the King renders מִשְׁכָּן 'governor (of)' by מֶלֶךְ. We must not, of course, follow Herzfeld (*Orientalis*, N. 29 ff.) in his inferences from the Breviarium of the pseudo-Plinius (who has *proph. et reg. f. c.*). It is, then, a disarrangement of names. It is to be supposed, it is better to identify Rhesa with Assur [2:11], and to suppose the original order to have been thus: 'the son of Judan, the son of Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Assur, the son of Neri'. 'Assur his son' is a Euboean reading in 1 Ch. 3:17 and may have been first adopted in the genealogy reproduced in our text of 1 K. 1:1-3. מֶלֶךְ might, by accidental transposition of letters, easily become מֶלֶךְ or מֶלֶךְ; or, since the error began in a Greek document, ασιρ might become ασιρ (ασιρ). Note that μελαχι (Melchi) may be a fragment of μελαχί (1 Ch. 3:17), ασιρ (Assur) (Coptic: ασιρ), and even perhaps ασιρ (ασιρ) of ασιρ (Assur) though see P. 1000. W. C. Allen (*J. T. P.*, 11:11-12) has argued that the writer of Mt. compiled the genealogy in chap. 1 with the help of 1 Ch. 3:17; it is clear at any rate that the second genealogy is partly derived from this source. (1 K. 1:1-3) H. v. S., §§ 1-4; T. K. C., § 5.

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Name (§ 1).	J and E in Gen. 12:50 (§ 5).
Narrative:	Age of J and E (§ 6).
Of P (§ 2 f.).	J in Gen. 1:1 (§ 7).
Of JE (§ 4).	Special sources (§ 8).
	Bibliography (§ 9).

Genesis is to modern apprehension the first book of a comprehensive Hebrew history from the creation of the world to the destruction of

1. Name and contents.

Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Gen. 2 K.). more particularly of its former half, which ends with the conquest and settlement of Canaan (Gen.-Josh.). To the Jews who made the division, however, Genesis was the first part of a smaller whole, ending with the death of Moses (Gen.-Dt.), which, from its predominating character, they called the law (Torah), and which they divided into five books (Pentateuch).¹ The first book, whose opening chapters describe the creation of the world, bears in the Greek Bible the title Γένεσις κόσμου,² commonly abbreviated Γένεσις,³ which is derived from Gen. 24 (Γένεσις). In Hebrew it is usually cited by its first words בְּרֵאשִׁית ('In the beginning').⁴

The Book of Genesis consists of two parts: first, The Primeval History of Mankind (1:1-11:26); including the creation of the world, the origin of evil, the beginnings of civilization, the great flood, the confusion of tongues and dispersion of peoples; and exhibiting in the form of genealogies the relation of the races of men to one another, and the place of the Semites, and particularly of the Hebrews, among them; and second, The History of the Forefathers of the Israelitish People, beginning with the migration of the 'Ishmaelites' (11:27-32), and ending with the burial of Jacob at Hebron and the death of Joseph in Egypt (50). The periods of this history are represented by three generations: Abraham (12:1-25:18), Isaac (25:19-35:29), and Jacob (35:30-50). In each of these periods the son through whom the line descends becomes the central figure in the story before the death of his father; the other branches of the family are briefly catalogued and dismissed (the sons of Keturah, 25:1-4; Ishmael, 25:12-14; Esau, 26; cp also Moab and Ammon, 19:30-38; the descendants of Nahor, 22:20-24). The goal of the history is kept constantly in view by a series of promises of numerous posterity and of possession of the land of Canaan, made first to Abraham and repeated, like terms to Isaac and Jacob.⁵ A similar method appears in 1:11-27. Closer examination shows a somewhat more artificial scheme marked by the recurrence of the formula, 'This is the genealogy of N. N.', by which the book appears to be divided into ten sections: viz.—1:1-6:8 6:9-29 10:1-11:26 11:27-25:18 25:19-35:29 35:30-41:37-50. It is a fortunate circumstance that the author of the

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Pentateuch has so faithfully preserved the representation

2. Sources: P. works from which he borrows. This renders critical analysis possible, and enables us to recover, at least in part, the older histories from which our Pentateuch was compiled.⁶ These older works are primarily two, one of which is commonly called, from its predominating interest in the religious and especially the sacerdotal institutions of Israel, The Priestly History and Law book (P); the other, from its affinity with the literature of the flourishing period of prophecy, is sometimes named The Prophetic History (J).⁷ The former is marked by such peculiarities of matter, style, and diction that the parts of Genesis which are derived from P are easily separated from JE, and consequently in this part of the analysis there is substantial unanimity among critics.⁸ It is not always so easy to distinguish from P the additions and changes which were made by the author, or rather compiler, of our Hexateuch (R_p), or by later editors; since both R_p and the scribes who followed him belonged to the school of priestly scribes, and in thought and expression show close affinity to P. In Genesis, however, the additions are of small extent,⁹ and the changes only such as the union of two distinct and not always contemporaneous sources rendered necessary.¹⁰ For the present purpose, therefore, the priestly stratum may be treated as a whole.

To it are assigned:¹¹ Gen. 1:1-2:4 5:1-22 30:32 35:22 76:11 13:14 17:1 18:1-21 (22:4 23:6 in part R_p), 24:8 24:24 26:5 13:14 17:1 28:29 10:1-7 20:22 f. 31 f. 11:10-27 31 f. 12:4 f. 13:6 11:10 12:1 (14:7) 16:12 17:1 17:19 20 21:14 21:5 23:25 27:11 12:17 19 f. 24:26 24 f. 27:46 28:1-9 29:24 29:29 30:22 31:16 33:14 34:1-3 40:1-13 13 14 15:17 20:24 25 27 29—late midrashic addition) 35:5 (R_p) 9:15 22:6-29 30:5-8 40:43 (1:5 9:39 R_p in part after other sources) 37:1 22:41 35:45 47 (R_p) 40:6 f. (8:27 R_p or later) 47:56 6:7 7:1 27:1 28:4 29:3-6 (7 R_p) 19:14 28:33 50:12 f.

The reconstruction of P discloses no serious gaps;¹² and the redactor's partiality for this source makes it antecedently probable that he preserved it substantially intact. It thus appears that P's Genesis—if we may use the name thus—was much shorter than the history of the same period in JE.¹³ The groundwork of P is a series of interconnected genealogies—viz., Adam (5:1-28 30-32), Noah (6:9 f.), Noah's sons (10:1-7 20 22 f. 31 f.), Shem (11:10-26), Terah (11:27 31 f.), Ishmael (25:12-17), Isaac (25:19 f. 26 f.), Esau (36), Jacob (35 22:26-37 21).¹⁴ These are constructed upon a uniform plan: each bears the title, 'This is the genealogy of N. N.'; each begins with a brief recapitulation connecting it with the preceding table;¹⁵ the method is the same throughout. The genealogies are made the basis of a systematic chronology;¹⁶ and short historical notices are appended to them, as in the case of

¹ Cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 3.

² This name must not be taken to imply that JE was written by prophets, nor that it has in the proper sense a prophetic character; still less must 'prophetic' be understood to connote antagonism to the priesthood. 'Popular History' would perhaps be a better designation.

³ See Nöld, *Untersuch.*, 1889, pp. 1-144. For a comparison of the analyses of different critics, see Bacon, *Hebraica* 4:216-243, 5:7-17, or the tables appended to Hildinger's *Einl.* Typographical presentations of the sources will be found in the works of Kautsch and Socin, Bacon, Frapp, Addis, Ball and Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, the titles of which are given in § 9. For the history of the analysis see HENKEL, § 1 D.

⁴ They are found especially in 14:34 35:46.

⁵ On the procedure of R_p in Genesis, see Kue. *Heb.*, § 16, n. 12; Co. *Einl.*, 30:14 75 ff.

⁶ The asterisk indicates contamination.

⁷ See below, § 8.

⁸ For such a reconstruction see Bacon, *Genesis*, 315 ff.; Frapp, 151 ff., or Addis, 2:193 ff.

⁹ By a rough estimate, P in Genesis is about one-third as long as J, and three-fifths as long as E. In Gen. 12:50 P is only one-fifth as long as J, though the latter has been much abridged by R_p.

¹⁰ Here the title only remains in place.

¹¹ Similar recapitulations in the following books; see Exodus, § 10, 2.

¹² See CHRONOLOGY, § 4.

¹ Cp CANON, §§ 6, 23 ff.

² Title in cod. A.

³ Philo, *de Abrahamo*, § 1. See Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, xx. f.

⁴ Bagg, *Origin in Eus. HE* 6:25; *Reverent*, Jer. *Prod. gal.*

⁵ These promises or covenants are found in both the principal strata of the narrative: 17:1-8 28:1-4 35:9-12 48:1 f. (P); 12:1-3 13:14-17 15:5 17:16 18:18 f.; 22:15-18 26:2-5 24 27:27-29 28:13-15 48:10 (chiefly J and R_p).

⁶ The formula, anachronistically applied to the creation of heaven and earth (μογαν), has been transposed to the end of the section (2:4a) at the beginning of which it originally stood.

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Abraham (12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

3. P contrasted with J and E.

The unconscious analogisms of the older writers, in whose pictures of the past their own present is always recognisable, are scintillously avoided, in their place we find a calculated archaism. The chief sources of P in the patriarchal history were obviously the same older narratives which, united with P, have been preserved to us—viz., J and E, nor is it demonstrable that in these chapters any other sources were employed.² In the primeval history the dependence of P upon J is evident, but the problem is rendered difficult by the lack of homogeneity in J itself (see § 7). The marked differences between P and J in the story of the flood are most naturally explained by the hypothesis of recurrence to the Babylonian original, perhaps in a variant form. It has been conjectured, not without plausibility, that Gen. 1 is based upon a Yahwistic cosmogony which it supplanted; but the relation of this assumed original to the main stock of J is obscure. In any case *our* J was not P's sole source in Gen. 1.³

From its very nature P's compend lacks the living interest of J's fuller narrative. From a literary point of view also there is a vast distance between the freedom, ease, and poetic charm of the older writers and the stiff and constrained style of P, who always seems to be labouring not to be misunderstood.⁴ Theologically, on the other hand, P stands on a higher plane than his predecessors. The unity of God is assumed without controversy; God is absolute and supramundane; creation is a transcendent act for which a specific term is necessary; history is in an eminent sense the work of God, the execution of a divine plan; revelation is without sensible mediation—throphanies, angels, dreams have disappeared; its successive stages, marked by the names of God—Elohim, El-Shaddai, Yahwe—correspond to three stages in the history of religion, the covenants with Noah, Abraham, and Israel. The religious institutions of Israel had their origin at Sinai; sacrifices were not offered in the patriarchal age. Anthropomorphisms are avoided, or reduced to those harmless figures without which men can hardly speak of a personal God at all; anthropopathisms are still more scrupulously shunned. The mythical elements

¹ See Wellhausen, *Proleg.*, 331-336—*Hist. Isr.*, 377 ff. (24).
² Even for Gen. 23 it is perhaps unnecessary to assume a special source. Gen. 14 was not contained in P; see § 8.
³ On these points see Holzinger, *Einl.*, § 45.
⁴ See *Hexateuch*, § 10, where these points are more fully discussed. On the style of P see Nold, *Unters.*, 1-2 ff.; Holzinger, *Einl.*, 349 ff.; Dr. *Introd.*, 109 ff.

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in the primeval history are almost completely eliminated or neutralised. The chapters in the lives of the forefathers which give offence to a more refined morality are passed over in silence. The colourfulness of P's narrative is in part due to the expurgation. Alike in the lofty theology, the historical pragmatism, and the moral depiction, the reflection of a later age is manifest.⁵

The removal of P leaves a continuous and almost concrete history, extending, like that of P, from the creation of the world to the death of

4. Sources: JE. Joseph² in which we recognise the second chief source used by the author of our Genesis (He). This narrative has a distinctly popular character, resembling the older parts of the books of Judges and Samuel. The stories are such as we may suppose to have been gathered from living tradition, and they are told with the spirit and freedom of the best folk tales. Compared with P, this source as a whole represents a less advanced stage of religious development. Certain differences in this respect which may be observed in particular stories, as well as some diversities of conception and expression, might be attributed to the diverse origin of the stories or to divergence in oral tradition. The numerous and striking doublets in the patriarchal history, however, and especially the way in which they are combined, prove that the material of E was not drawn immediately from popular tradition, that the author had before him at least two older written histories of this period.⁴ One of these histories (E) from the beginning uses the name Yahwe; the other (J), like P, throughout Genesis employs only *Elohim* or *ha'elohim*.

A peculiarity which for a time deceived the critics, and led them to attribute the euhistic stories of the patriarchs to P, with which they have otherwise no affinity.⁴ In all other respects E is much more nearly akin to J; the resemblance in matter, form, and spirit is indeed so close that, where for any reason the criterion of the divine names fails us, it is often impossible to determine with confidence from which of the two sources, J or E, certain parts of the composite narrative are derived. The difficulty of the analysis is enhanced by the fact that the author of the older history (E) united his parallel sources more intimately, and in general treated his material more freely than did the author of our Genesis (R_{JE}).⁵ In the analysis of JE there is therefore a wider margin of uncertainty, and much greater diversity of opinion among critics.

The narrative of E begins abruptly in Gen. 20, plunging into the midst of the story of Abraham;⁶ the beginning has not been preserved.⁷ In 20-22 E is the principal source (J in Gen. 1-19, 24-26, 7-7 combined with P, 31-22, 24-24; R_{JE} 26-18, 21-34, 22-148-150). In 21-22 the removal of the parts assigned above to P (§ 2) leaves the narrative of J unimpaired.⁸ At the beginning of 20 (Gen.) R_{JE} has enlarged upon the original text of J which may be recognised in 20a-22, 22a-6 (s. R_{JE}); 15-18 are also by R_{JE}; the remainder is from J. In 27-35 J is the main source; but the duplication at more than one point and certain peculiarities of expression show that the (loosely parallel) narrative of E has also been laid under contribution; to the latter we may with some probability ascribe the verses which represent Jacob as deceiving his father by wearing kid skin on his neck and hands.⁹

¹ See We. *Proleg.*, chap. 8. *Hist. Isr.*, chap. 81-84; Sta. *Gen.*, 214 ff.; Holzinger, *Einl.*, 375 ff.; Dr. *Introd.*, 122 ff.
² Exhibited in Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, 1 (97).

³ This may be most clearly seen in Gen. 20-22. Cp. *Hist. Isr.*, 377 ff. (24).

⁴ See *Hexateuch*, § 2, 6 ff. 12.

⁵ Those critics who, like Dr., suppose that E and J separately were united with P by R are led in their analysis to ascribe to J a great deal which belongs to R_{JE}, and thus to form an erroneous notion of the character of J.

⁶ E seems to have been used, however, by R_{JE} in the first verses of E.

⁷ It is a conjecture as to the reason, see Kue. *Heb.*, § 2, n. 8. On the question whether E originally had a primeval history parallel to Gen. 1-11, see below, § 7.

⁸ Some transposition has probably taken place in 24-26.

⁹ An exact analysis is impossible; by more or less probable conjecture we may assign to E 18-48, 11-13, 16-18, 19-21-23, 25-26, 27-28, 29-30, 31-32.

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[illegible][illegible]

2 N. T., however, from the earliest stratum.
 3 These passages, like *1 Sam* are believed by some critics to be secondary to *1 Sam*.
 4 The brother-pairs, Esau and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, *perhaps* belonged originally to the southern and the northern tradition respectively. The real relation of Jacob to Israel is not clear; see *1 Cor*, § 16.
 5 *We Do It*, 4, 1221; *Holy Land*, 100.
 6 See, however, *W. et al.* III, 6. See *Holy L. al.* §§ 20, 22, Ct.
 7 *Schr.*, *Kuss*, in a modified form also *Kue*.

The religious element in the stories is constant and all-pervasive. The forefathers are favourites of Yahweh, who guides them in all their migrations, and is with them everywhere to protect and bless them. He appears to them in person, and holds converse with them as a man with his friends; they answer him with pious reverence, but with the freedom of intimacy.⁴ Yahweh is the living God of simple faith and childlike imagination; reflection has not yet begun to find his immediate intervention in the ordinary affairs of men inconsistent with his exalted Godhead. The morality of the patriarchs naturally reflects in the main the moral standards of the author's age; in this, as in religion, the forefathers are idealised by popular legend, and are not consciously created ideal figures. A didactic aim, a disposition to underscore the lesson of the story, nowhere appears. The 'fine vein of ethical and religious reflection' which has sometimes been attributed to J is the result in part of an erroneous analysis; in part it comes of ascribing to the author the very modern reflections of his interpreters. Of the influence of the prophetic movement of the eighth century there is no trace in those parts of J which on other grounds we have reason to regard as original; and the work represents the soil in which the new prophecy had its roots, not the first fruits of that prophecy.

² See especially Holzinger, *Einh.*, §§ 13-17, 24-26; Kittel, *Einw.*, 1-83.

⁴ See, e.g., Gill, 18.

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successive redactors and to renege ultimately the work of the three successive redactors and to restore the primitive text of J. For a synopsis of his argument and results, see Hölzinger. In accordance with his theory of the relation of the sources, Billmeyer describes the flood stratum in Gen 1-11 as J; the passages which conflict with this part of the narrative were found by J in one of his sources (presumably E) and re-cast by him.

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fountain'), which is 25 minutes NW. of el-Mejdel. The basin, enclosed by a round wall, and alive with small fish, is concealed by thickets; but the water wells out in a full stream. The spring which evokes the enthusiasm of Josephus is no doubt the 'Am et Tabigat.

The Greek name mentioned in the texts of the Pilgrims was Hepiaperon; there are in fact seven springs, mostly hot, which today supply motive power 1.5 mile. An aqueduct taken in the rock brought the water southward to the plain. This is one reason why Tell Hum can hardly be the ancient Capernaum. Josephus (see above) is positive as to the name, and there was certainly no provision for guiding the water towards Tell Hum. 'Am et Tabigat, near which is Khan Minyeh (the most probable site for Capernaum), is distinguished for the sweetness of its water, which bursts forth impetuously and hurries to the lake. Close at hand are other springs; hence, in Burckhardt's time, the pastures of Minyeh were proverbial for their richness. The largest volume of water, however, is that supplied by the Wady er-Rababiyeh, which is scattered over the plain in all directions by small canals and watercourses (Robt. RR 3.2.3). On the sites of biblical localities, and on the gospel references, see GUTHRIE, *SEA OF GALILEE*, 1906.

GENNEUS RV Gennæus (ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΥ [V] ΝΕΟΥ [A])

in Syr. ܓܢܢܐܝܘܬܐ, apparently the father of ANTONIOS, § 2 (M. 12.2), who is thus distinguished from the other two men of that name mentioned in 2 M. 12.3, 5.4.21.

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1. Terms. *Goyim* is translated in AV often, and in RV less frequently (see Preface), 'Gentiles' or 'heathen' (in G commonly *ethn.* in Vg. *gentes*), whilst *goy* (used of Israel—e.g., Ex. 15.13; Is. 12.6 Dn.), is rendered 'people' *laos*, *populus*. In Rom. 2.9 f., AV inconsistently renders Γέντις 'Gentile,' thus effacing the later antithesis between Jew and Greek (see HETTERISM, § 2).

In the Apocrypha and NT the same distinction is preserved side by side with the new one just referred to. In Lk. 2.32 *ethn.* and *laos* σου *israēl* are contrasted.

From another point of view the contrast between Israelites and non-Israelites is expressed by the term גוֹיִם *ethn.*, 'wicked'—גוֹיִם *ethn.* 'nations' (e.g., Ps. 95.10). Other general terms used synonymously with *goyim* are: גוֹיִם *ethn.*, *laos*, 20.24.26; Ps. 33.10, and often; גוֹיִם *ethn.*, Ps. 117.1; *ethn.*, *laos*, Ps. 2.1. All these terms, *populus*, *laos*, גוֹיִם *ethn.*, 'man,' Jer. 32.30; Zech. 9.1, and גוֹיִם *ethn.*, 'sons of men,' Ps. 53.21.11 (Smend, *AT Kelgesch.* 33.3); גוֹיִם *ethn.*, 'man,' Ps. 50.1.12 (We., in Smend, 38.3). Similarly, in NT, κόσμος is used of the world, excluding and opposed to the Church.

The individual foreigner is גוֹיִם *ethn.*, *nokhr*, EV 'stranger,' 'foreigner'; גוֹיִם *ethn.*, *nokhr*, RV 'strangers'; גוֹיִם *ethn.*, 'stranger'; or, if he becomes a resident alien, גוֹיִם *ethn.*, 'stranger,' 'sojourner'; גוֹיִם *ethn.*, 'stranger,' 'sojourner.' In the later books of OT (2 Ch. 30.25; Bertholet, *Stellung d. Isr.* 178) and in later Heb., גוֹיִם *ethn.*, 'Proselyte.' Cp STRANGER, PROSELYTE.

During its nomad life, Israel was scarcely a well-defined whole, clearly marked off from all non-Israelite peoples; its constituent elements were still somewhat variable. Some of the tribes or clans which afterwards constituted Israel may have been, at times, connected with non-Israelites as closely as with Israel, if not more closely. Israel, at this stage, figures as a loosely connected group of tribes or clans, similar in character to the other groups which made up the wandering population of the Arabian and Syrian deserts. Genesis (J, followed later by P) suggests that the first stage of the religious differentiation of Israel is the consciousness on the part of these Arab and Syrian nomads of a religious and ethical status distinct from that of the more civilised Chaldeans. In response to a divine call Abraham and Lot migrate westward.

In our present text only P narrates the migration of Terah and therefore of Nahor the ancestor of Laban, but that of Nahor seems implied in 1. Gen. 24; cp E. 31.31 'the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor.' This group, Abraham, Lot, Nahor,

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stands for Israel, the Ishmaelite, Keturahite, and other Arabs (Gen. 22.20-24), Ammon, Moab and Edom, and Aram. So, in Gen. 2.2, Yahweh is the God of Shem. Also Lot, i.e., Moab and Ammon—is the subject of Yahweh's special care; Ishmael and Edom are blessed of Yahweh, and Laban speaks of Jacob as 'Blessed of Yahweh,' Gen. 24.30.

As these ideas of tribal kinship are not likely to have arisen after the settlement in Palestine, we may probably regard them as handed down by tradition from the nomad period. Thus apparently the Israelite tribes in their nomad state regarded themselves as part of a complex of tribes of a similar religious status, in a measure superior to or, at any rate, distinct from that of other peoples. At the same time each tribe and group of tribes would have its own *sacra*, whose sanctity, however, could not differ in kind from those of other tribes. Thus, on the one hand, the idea of the *goyim* or non-Israelite peoples as contrasted in religious status with Israel was for the present impossible—(a) because Israel was not yet a nation clearly marked off from kindred clans, (b) because Israel was unconscious of any difference in kind between its own and other religions. On the other hand, the elements of the distinction between Israel and the *goyim* were present (c) in the special relation of Israel and its kindred tribes to Yahweh, and (d) in the possession by each tribe or group of tribes of its own special *sacra*.

The settlement in Canaan and the stirring incidents that preceded it, united Israel by a common history, cut off the nation from the nomad tribes, and fixed and defined not only its national scope, constitution, and life, but also its special relation to Yahweh.

The necessary wars of the early period, and especially the strong united monarchy of Saul, David, and Solomon contributed to strengthen the newborn self-consciousness of Israel. The settlement in Canaan, however, as has been shown elsewhere, also brought into play an exactly opposite tendency (see ISRAEL, § 8 f., GOVERNMENT, § 11 f.).

In the early periods of the settlement in Canaan, Israel had no sense of any marked contrast, religious or otherwise, between itself and the Canaanites, so that down to the appearance of Elijah it shows little trace of any religious particularism. It is true, it made special claims for its national God, but only in the same sense as the neighbouring peoples. It does not seem to have risen to the consciousness that Yahweh was absolutely unique, and had universal and exclusive claims to obedience. Other gods also are thought of as real, with legitimate claims over their own peoples. An exile from the land of Yahweh must serve other gods (1 S. 26.16). Probably Am. 7.17; Hos. 9.3 f. represent traditional ideas in speaking of foreign lands as unclean—i.e., not admitting of the worship of Yahweh. Chemosh is able to bestow an inheritance on the Ammonites (Judg. 11.24; Smend, 111 f.).

The attitude of Israel towards foreigners is largely conditioned by the chronic hostility common to half-civilised nations in primitive times. War is sacred, and Yahweh the national champion; hence the enemies of Israel are also the enemies of Yahweh, and their destruction (see BAS, § 2 f.) is a religious act well-pleasing to him. On the other hand, hospitality to strangers is a sacred duty, and the resident alien (גוֹיִם) is carefully protected and provided for. Moreover, Israel had friends and allies as well as enemies. The patriarchal narratives of JE were doubtless current during this period. The close kinship claimed with Moab, Edom, Ammon, Aram, and the Arabs suggests friendship and even a certain community of religious feeling between Israel and many of its neighbours (see above); compare the alliances with Tyre and Hamath. Moreover, according to J, the human race is of one divinely-created stock descended through Noah from Adam. Neither the character of Israel itself nor its relations to its neighbours suggest that the term foreigner connoted any religious ideas peculiar to Israel. On the other hand, the population of the Hebrew state was very heterogeneous. In addition to the surviving Canaanites, according to Ex. 12.38 Nu. 11.4 (JE), Israel included foreign elements before the settlement; and the many refer-

¹ Cp H. von Soden, *Religionsgeschichte*, 5.100 (12).

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ences to resident aliens (גֵּרִים) suggest that there were in Israel considerable numbers of other foreigners.¹ As has been well pointed out, the religious status of foreigners in Israel did not differ essentially from their status elsewhere. The relations of Israel to resident aliens are political and social rather than spiritual.² This does not of course apply to the permanent non-Israelite population, Canaanites, etc. As we have seen, the interaction of religious influences between the latter and Israel is a most important feature in the development of the Hebrew attitude towards non-Israelites and their religion. During this period the tendency was towards assimilation and syncretism.

In tracing the development of the doctrine of the *goyim*, it is convenient to treat the prophets and Judaism as two consecutive stages; but no

4. The Prophets and last chronological line can be drawn between them: they overlap for a considerable period. It is not merely that there were germs of Judaism in the prophets, and that the writings, and, in some measure, the ideas and spirit of the prophets survived even to the Christian era; the great movement which began with Amos and Hosea continued at least till 2 Isaiah; whilst Judaism begins formally in Deuteronomy, and Ezekiel belongs far more to the Judaistic than to the prophetic stage of Jewish theology.

i. *Particularism*.—Jewish particularism had its root in the reaction against the syncretistic tendencies of the previous period. Elijah, Elisha, and their successors felt that Baal-worship, or any confusion of Yahwé with Baal or Moloch, or any assimilation of his worship to theirs, corrupted the national life and dissolved that close union of Yahwé with Israel which was essential to the very existence of the nation. The struggle was continued, in varying forms, till the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. In a measure the prophets started from the conception of national gods to whom the nation should be loyal (Jer. 211). e.g., Israel to Yahwé; but their application of the principle was novel. National gods expected a profusion of sacrifices from their peoples; but if they were duly honoured they did not grudge any tribute offered by their worshippers to other gods. The prophets and JE, however, claimed for Yahwé Israel's exclusive homage (Ex. 203).

This protest against Yahwé being confounded or associated with 'other gods' involved an assertion of his unique character and authority. When the prophetic revelation declared the absolute morality of Yahwé, it implied alike his uniqueness (Kaiser-Martin, *OT Theol.* 142) and his supremacy. 'Other gods,' who neither professed morality themselves nor exacted it from their worshippers, were obviously inferior and abominable (פְּסִילִים; Dt. 725 f. 2715 Is. 4419). Yahwé's supremacy over the nations is implied in the prophetic oracles concerning foreign nations, in his use of Assyria and Chaldea as instruments to chastise Israel, and this uniqueness and supremacy are most fully stated in 2 Isaiah; cp also the use of the general term *Elôhim* for the God of Israel in E. While stress is chiefly laid on the incomparable superiority of Yahwé, the necessary deductions as to 'other gods' are drawn with increasing clearness. A certain reality is still ascribed to them, and their worship by other nations seems regarded as legitimate; Dt. 4 to has been interpreted to mean that Yahwé assigned the host of heaven as objects of worship to all the nations under the whole heaven (cp Jer. 211), and, according to Smend (132, 200), Jer. 28 2313 Is. 3022 317 recognise a certain reality in heathen gods. Still, they are אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, 'no gods' (Is. 28 etc., Hab. 218 Ezek. 3013), אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, 'not gods' (Jer. 211); in Dt. 725 their images are banned (פְּסִילִים); so in 1 K. 18 Yahwé is shown to be 'the God' (אֱלֹהֵינוּ) by the discomfiture of Baal (cp 2 K. 513 191504 Is. 4121 f.). In Is. 4420 and the dependent passage, Jer. 1019 (post-exilic addition), the foreign gods are identified with their idols and overwhelmed with contempt as stocks and stones. In Ezek. 3013 the 'no gods' are to perish; cp the Aramaic gloss, Jer. 1019.

This exaltation of Yahwé, in all its varying aspects, established a religious contrast between Israel and other nations. (a) Baal-worship and the corruptions of the high places had arisen from intercourse with foreigners,

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hence the religious polemic tended to social separatism. (b) The inferiority of foreign gods implied the religious inferiority of foreigners. (c) The foreign invaders did not recognise that they were instruments of Yahwé; they went beyond their commission in oppressing Israel, and did not acknowledge Yahwé's supremacy. Hence they excited the righteous indignation of their victims; they set themselves in opposition to Yahwé, and *goyim* came to represent a world at enmity with him, and therefore doomed to destruction (Jer. 1035; Schultz, *OT Theol.* 2373 ff., 1.17). (d) The exaltation of Yahwé, the God of Israel (Dt. 717-18), implied the exaltation of Israel. Israel is the wife of Yahwé (Hos. 23 Jer. 22 Ezek. 16 18 545 f.), united with him by a special covenant (Hos. 213 [24] Jer. 1116, etc.). Judah (and especially Jerusalem) is exalted as the special dwelling of Yahwé; Am. 12 Mic. 413 Is. 224 (the authorship and date of these passages is matter of controversy).

The growing tendency to particularism is clear in the literature. The prophets consistently denounce foreign alliances.

Especially in the relations of Abraham 'the Prophet' to Abimelech, Gen. 20 212231, foreshadows the spiritual pre-eminence of Israel (Bertholet, 24). According to Smend (137) the conception of the anti-religious character of the Gentiles is first found in Hos. 810 111. Dt. 710 displays fierce hostility to the Canaanites of Western Palestine, probably as types of foreign races. All intermarriage with them is forbidden. In Dt. 23 114 the Ammonites and Moabites are excluded from the congregation of Israel to the tenth generation. So in Hab. 113 Israel is righteous (צַדִּיק) and the Chaldeans wicked (רָשָׁע), Lam. 110 says of the *goyim* who sacked Jerusalem 'whom thou didst forbid to enter thy congregation.'

ii. *Universalism*.—Nevertheless, the prophetic exaltation of Yahwé tended not only to particularism but also to universalism. It was, indeed, natural that the supremacy of Yahwé over the nations should be thought of as manifesting itself in their chastisement; thus many of the oracles of the nations seem to contemplate their utter ruin, especially Jer. 2518-33 463. Naturally, too, in Is. 60, etc., Israel shares Yahwé's political supremacy. Still, as time went on, it was obvious that although many calamities befell the *goyim*, and great empires like Assyria disappeared, yet the *goyim* as a whole remained. The fact that their extinction was not, at any rate, the immediate purpose of Yahwé is recognised and explained in two ways: (a) Some passages speak of the restoration or renewed prosperity of at least a remnant of certain nations—e.g., Jer. 46263 (Egypt) 48471 (Moab) 4961 (Ammon) 49301 (Lam.) Ezek. 29 23 ff.1 (Egypt). (b) Other passages contemplate a double judgment of the *goyim*, one in the immediate future from which they may recover, and another later, which will involve their complete and final overthrow. In Ezek. 38 f., after the overthrow of Chabrah, which was to be the prelude to the restoration of the Jews, Gog and Magog are induced to attack Judah that they may be totally destroyed (cp Is. 2122 6618 f. Zeph. 3 8 ff.; Smend, 381 f.). Again, however much Israel might be interested in its own political supremacy, politics were closely connected with religion. Thus Yahwé's supremacy implied religious claims upon the *goyim*, his supremacy was not complete unless they acknowledged and obeyed him; but he was the God of Israel, and such obedience implied the religious supremacy of Israel.

So in Is. 2242 Mic. 413 all nations are to come to Zion to learn the true religion; in Is. 191232 Egypt and Assyria are to be united with Israel as Yahwé's people; in Is. 2317 f. the merchandise of Tyre is to be consecrated to Yahwé (interpretation doubtful); in Jer. 1214 f. the neighbours of Israel are to be restored if they will learn the ways of Yahwé (cp 317 f. 216 to 27). These ideas of the comprehension of *goyim* amongst the worshippers of Yahwé, and of the mission of Israel to reveal him, reach their climax in the passages in which 2 Isaiah sets forth the servant of Yahwé, i.e., Israel, as 'a light to the Gen-

¹ The *goyim*, however, are sometimes Israelites, living in a strange clan or tribe. Cp JERUSALEM.

² Bertholet, 76, slightly paraphrased.

¹ According to Kau., Co., Jer. 4630-39 are by Jeremiah, but 4847 is a gloss (not in B). All these passages are somewhat doubtful. Cp Jeremiah ii.

² Date and authorship doubtful.

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titles' and 'my salvation unto the ends of the earth' (40:6; cp 51:4). So in 42:5 Yahwé's care is for all mankind; in 45:22 Yahwé appeals to all the ends of the earth to turn to him; in 44:5-45:14 *cf.* 55:4 *f.* the restoration of Israel leads the *gōyim* to recognise Yahwé as the one God; cp 1 K. 8:41-43.

Similarly, Dt. shows a kindly feeling towards some of the kindred nations; in 2:1-11 it was Yahwé who gave Isaac and Moab their inheritance, and the children of Esau are the brethren of Israel; in 23:7-8 Edomites and Egyptians are commended to the kindly consideration of Israel. Yahwé is not wholly taken up with Israel, he cares in like manner for Philistines and Syrians (Am. 9:7). Nebuchadrezzar is his servant (Jer. 25:9) and Cyrus his anointed (Is. 45:1).

Moreover Dt. extends to the resident alien a share in the religious duties and privileges of the Israelite (16:10-17; participation in feasts). The provision of sabbath rest for the *ger* in Ex. 20:10-23:12 is often regarded as due to R₁ (Bertholet, 102).

Whenever OT consciously deals with the doctrine of man it recognises a religious relation of man as man with Yahwé; hence the *gōyim* are the objects of the justice of Yahwé and may perish under his chastisements, but they may also honour and obey him and receive his favours.

We have seen that the prophetic revelation, in exalting Yahwé above other gods, initiated two apparently contrary tendencies towards (i.) Jewish particularism, (ii.) universalism in religion; with a tendency to identify the *gōyim* more closely with Israel. We have now to trace the further development of these tendencies.

It should be noted, however, first of all, that the prophetic exaltation of Yahwé by no means developed, as we might have expected it to do, into an abstract monotheism. It is not upon the imaginary character of other gods that Judaism dwells, but upon their subordination to the only God worthy of the name (Ps. 18:31 [32]). The constant reference to the sacred objects of heathenism as 'abominations,' 'filth,' etc., suggests of itself that a kind of reality, a kind of sanctity (שֹׁדֵד) attaches to them (Smend, 206, n. 1); they continue to belong to the class of superhuman beings, either as angels or as demons. This, however, does but intensify the earnestness of Jewish opposition to heathenism. Hence the old question as to the position of the *gōyim* came to be viewed in a new light. If the Jews were to be absolutely separate from the *gōyim*, they had to decide whether to exclude the *gōyim* altogether or to include them in Israel. They adopted the latter course. The *gōyim*, who had shared the captivity, shared also the antagonism of the Jews to the Chaldeans; the differences between Jews and *gōyim* were forgotten in the infinitely greater differences between both and their oppressors (Bertholet, 110). Thus, for Ezek. 47:22 and P (Ex. 12:49, etc.), the religious status of the *gōyim* is practically identical with that of the Jews. Two important non-Israelite bodies were at last formally incorporated into the Jewish community by being genealogically connected with Israelite tribes, the Kenites with Judah, 1 Ch. 2:55-4:13, the temple-servants with the Levites, 1 Ch. 6:31-48 [10:23] 9:14-34. See KENITE, NEPHTHIM.

i. *Jewish particularism.*—The shame and misery of the exile and of much of the post-exilic period fostered and deepened Jewish hatred of foreigners. Their consciousness of spiritual pre-eminence prompted them to claim political distinction. Yahwé gives Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba as a ransom for Israel (Is. 43:3). They were constantly exasperated by the contrast between their claims and their achievements. The old prophetic condemnation of Israel as corrupt, and the consequent sentence of ruin, lay in the background. The psalter—which, at any rate in its present form, mainly expresses the sentiments of post-exilic Judaism—dwells with much iteration on the contrast between Israel, sinful indeed, but yet the righteous people of Yahwé, and the *gōyim*, who are wicked (עֲוֵרִים) and God's enemies (Ps. 82 [3] 68:2-74:4-23 83:3 [4] 89:51 [52]). Israel still looked for deliverance through the ruin of the *gōyim* (Hag. 2:21 *f.* Zech. 1:8-21 [2:1-4] 14 Dan. 12:1 Ps. 2; cp ARMAGEDDON, Rev. 16:12-16 19:11-21). The intensity of Jewish feeling towards foreigners is specially shown by Pss. 7:35-69 109 and the Book of Esther. Moreover, the legislation from Dt., through Ezek., the Law of Holiness, and the various Priestly Laws, to the Mishna and the Talmud, all tended to make the Jews a race apart. Not only were foreigners excluded from the temple and intermarriage with them strictly forbidden, but the manifold regulations as to ceremonial

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cleanness produced mutual dislike and contempt between Jew and Gentile. They prevented any mitigation of race antipathy by social intercourse; and made every distinction between Jew and Gentile a mark of religious superiority, a token that Israel is *kādōš* (EV 'holy'; see CLEAN, § 1), as becomes the people of Yahwé.

Even the two rites of the eucharist and baptism have been most fruitful sources of bitterness and schism in Christendom. The countless rites of Judaism worked similar results still more effectually. Theological contrasts intensified the mutual alienation. Prophets might see mankind at the feet of the God of Israel; but there were no signs of any realisation of such visions. Meanwhile these same prophets had put an end to the old indifference to and tolerance of the worship of other gods by foreigners. The fierce and scornful denunciation of these gods obviously involved the condemnation of their worshippers (Is. 41:24 44:9 47:9 52:1-11; Smend, 371). As far as foreigners understood the Jewish faith, this assumption of superiority would be intensely irritating, scorn would beget scorn, and mutual alienation and hostility would rapidly increase.

Thus the Exile would naturally incline loyal and zealous Jews to particularism; and exiles who returned with Ezra and Nehemiah or at an earlier period would be specially loyal and zealous. Palestine, as they found it on their return, was wholly at variance with all their religious ideals. Indeed the very existence of revealed religion was in jeopardy. The population left behind in Palestine after Samaria and Jerusalem had fallen was probably as heterogeneous in race as that of the old Hebrew states. Samaria, moreover, had been partially repopulated by foreigners who, in a fashion, worshipped Yahwé and became amalgamated with the remnant of the Israelites, thus introducing a new link between Israel and the *gōyim*. During the Exile relations were established between these Samaritans, the remnant of the Jews, and the neighbouring tribes. Thus the Jews in post-exilic Palestine tended to become a mixed community, with an eclectic faith, in which Yahwé, though the highest in rank, would have been indistinguishable in character from the foreign gods. The Jews, indeed, would have been a mere section of a loose aggregate of peoples in Palestine (Ezra 4:1 *f.*). In spite of Ezra 4:3, 'We have nothing in common, that ye should join us in building a temple for our God,'¹ in which Zerubbabel repudiates all connection with the Samaritans, it is clear that both among the nobles and among the people Ezra found many Jews who lived in the closest intercourse with their Samaritan and Gentile neighbours. The connection had been cemented by frequent intermarriage. Ezra and Nehemiah specially attacked this latter practice, and after a long and desperate struggle succeeded in dissolving many, if not all, of these alliances, and in rendering such marriages illegal in the future (Ezra 9 *f.* Neh. 10:30-13. see EZRA 1. § 5 *f.*). Thus they prevented the Jews from being merged in the neighbouring tribes, and made them a people by themselves, cut off from the *gōyim* as by a physical barrier. By the establishment of a Samaritan religious community, with a temple of its own, Nehemiah's enemies confessed themselves defeated. They no longer hoped to force themselves into the temple at Jerusalem and the Jewish fellowship. Henceforward the orthodox doctrine respecting the *gōyim* was that of P; they were unclean persons, whose presence would pollute the sacred land, people, and temple, and who were therefore to be kept aloof from these as much as possible. Ezra 6:21 speaks of those who 'separated themselves from the uncleanness of the *gōyim* of the country.' P's denunciations of the abominations (תִּשְׁמֵנִים) of the Canaanites and of all association with them are a standard to determine the behaviour of the Jews towards other foreigners (Lev. 18:24-30 20:23 Nu. 33:50-56; cp Is. 35:8 52:1 Ps. 10:16 78:55 79:1).

ii. *Universalism in Religion.*—The tendency to

¹ In view of Koster's theory of the post-exilic period, it has been doubted whether these words are correctly ascribed to Zerubbabel (Bertholet, 128); but at any rate it seems certain that they were the watchword of a Judaistic party before the advent of Ezra.

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particularism, however, did not extinguish the universalist aspect of the prophetic teaching; partly no doubt because the writings of the prophets were read and their authority acknowledged. The actual political opponents of Ezra and Nehemiah seem to have been worldly and half-heavenly; yet earnest, spiritual men, who may have given a general support to the reforms, protested against pushing particularism to extremes; Ruth (on the date see RUTH, BOOK OF) favours mixed marriages, and Jonah is a strong protest against hatred towards the *goyim*.

Other universalist passages were probably written without any thought of their relation to current particularism; they were ideal rather than practical. The catholic spirit of the prophets, which (as we have seen, § 4 ii.) especially manifests itself in 2 Isaiah, reappears in Is. 19:23 (on the date, see ISAIAS II, § 9 (10)), Zech. 14:16 etc. This tendency shows itself even in the strictly Judaistic literature. P (Gen. 1:1-7) recognises the divine origin and sanctity of man as man; Zech. 2:11 (15:19) Mal. 1:11 Toh. 13:11 speak of many nations submitting themselves to God. Moreover the form of the Wisdom literature is cosmopolitan; the contrast is not between Jew and Gentile, but between wise and foolish.

Finally, particularism and universalism blended in proselytising. Mankind might all enjoy the divine favour, and yet this favour might still be strictly limited to Jews, by the simple condition that mankind must become Jews, must receive circumcision, the physical token of Judaism, and adopt its social and religious customs. Even in this attempted combination the old antagonism broke out afresh. The school of Hillel (cp Mt. 23:15) were zealous in proselytising and sought to make admission to Judaism easy; the school of Shammai were strongly opposed to proselytes; and relics of the conflict are still to be read in the Talmud (Bertholet 319 ff.). On the other hand, Jewish particularism was constantly endangered by the influence of HELLENISM (q.v.) and by political relations with foreign powers.

The Jews prayed and offered sacrifices for their suzerains (Jer. 29:7 Ezra 6:9 f. 7:15-23 1 Macc. 7:33 Bar. 1:11 Jos. B/ii. 17:2) and for friendly nations (1 Macc. 12:11; Spartans); Pss. 45 and 72 have been supposed to be written in honour of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The Maccabees and the Herods had very close and often very friendly relations with foreign powers, Greek, Roman, Arab,

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Syrian, and Parthian. These relations often led foreigners to adopt Judaism and circumcision; but they also exercised a strong influence upon the Jews. The DISPERSION (q.v.) of the Jews had a similar twofold effect.

Thus from B.C. 200 we constantly meet with a strong Hellenising party in Palestine, and a similar tendency asserted itself elsewhere. It was checked in Palestine by the success of the Maccabean revolt and the zeal of the Pharisees. Christianity, by drawing to itself the universalist elements, secured the victory over particularism in Judaism. Judaistic Christians, indeed, attempted to secure that Gentiles should not be admitted to the Church, unless they became Jews; but Paul finally delivered Christianity from Jewish exclusiveness by enforcing the principle that in Christ 'there is neither Jew nor Greek.' Here we touch the fringe of a new and great subject—HELLENISM (q.v.). Cp GALATIANS, § 12 f.

Oehler, *OT Theol.* (ET), 1:108-242 2:398-495; Schultz, *OT Theol.* (ET) 2:373-392; Smend, *AT Rel.gesch.* 111-119, 130-139 147-150, 348-423; Kayser, *AT Theol.* (ed. Mari) and (ed. called *Gesch. d. israel. Rel.*), §§ 23, 35, 45; Dh. *AT Theol.* 15:52, 354-402; Cheyne, *OPs.* 291-297, 305-307; cp 118 f. 131, 145 f. 169 f.; Henzinger, *H.A.* and Nowack, *H.A.* 1:77. 'Heiden'; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (96).

W. H. B.

GENUBATH (גִּנּוּבָת) גִּנּוּבָת [BM.], son of Hadad the Edomite (1 K. 11:20). The text is in much disorder (see HADAD I, 3; MIZRAIM, § 2 b). We shall best restore v. 19 f. as follows, assuming that Hadad had fled to Mizrim (the N. Arabian Musri), the king of which land, or of the larger realm to which it belonged, was called Pir'u—'And he gave him as a wife the sister of his (own) wife, and she bore him his son Genubath and reared him (גִּנּוּבָתוֹ, Kto.) in the midst of Pir'u's house. And Genubath was in the house of Pir'u in the midst of Pir'u's sons.' Probably Genu-bath, like his father, became a fierce enemy of Israel. His name (Genubath?) may mean 'foreigner'; cp Ar. *januba*, 'peregrinus fuit' (cp, however, NAMES, §§ 63, 78). Speculations based on Egyptian (*PSA* 10:372 ff.) are misplaced. See *JQR* 11:551 ff. ('99). T. K. C.

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MAPS¹

Geographical horizon of Israel at various periods (after col. 169b).	Map no. 1. Pre-monarchic.	Map no. 3. In 8th cent.	Map of the world according to Strabo (col. 169i).
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The object of this article is not to discuss the identification of places. That can in general be done better under the several place-names,² and is here a means, not an end. The object is to investigate the nature of the geographical conceptions of the Hebrews and the extent of their geographical information. The last three centuries (200 B.C. - 100 A.D.) of the period covered by the scheme of this *Encyclopædia* are treated more briefly, because, as the Hebrews became more and more a part of the Hellenistic or the Roman world, they came to share more and more fully the general geographical

ideas and information of a world that lies beyond the immediate scope of the work; see Strabo's map (below, col. 169i).

Among the ancient Hebrews there is little evidence of interest in geography as a scientific study. Their view of the earth as a whole seems to have been

1. Early notions. for the most part unreflecting and dependent on their common experience of natural phenomena.

Chief among these were the apparent rising and setting of the heavenly bodies (especially the sun), and the horizon-line enclosing the visible earth.

The sun 'goes on' (רָאָה, Judg. 5:31 Gen. 19:23 [J] Is. 13:10; מָצָא is sun-rise, Ps. 137:6) in the morning, and at night 'goes in' (מָצָא, Gen. 15:12 17 [J] 28:11 [E], and often; מָצָא is sun-set, Ps. 104:19 - *West*, Dt. 11:30 Jos. 14). Reflection upon this appears in the very late passage Eccles. 1:5.

The earth is a stationary mass; its trembling is a sign of supernatural power (Judg. 5:4 Is. 24:21).

That its surface is relatively flat and circumscribed, seems to follow from the expression (poetical and comparatively late; but

¹ The outline maps (after col. 169b) are tentative and suggestive merely. Nothing is indicated as known at any period for which there does not appear to be documentary evidence; on the other hand, the argument from silence is not to be pressed with reference to details, and the actual line dividing the known from the unknown must have been vague and fluctuating. The maps are intended only as hints to aid the reader in forming some general idea of the expansion of Israel's horizon.

² On the further question of the correctness of the traditional reading of some place-names, see NAMES, § 88.

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this may only arise from the fragmentary character of our sources) **רֶמֶס**, 'ends of the earth' (Dt. 33:17-18; 2 to Mic. 5:11; Jer. 16:19; Ps. 28; cp WIND), as well as from the story of the flood (Gen. 7:1).

In the earliest times the question of support for this earth, left to be solid and firm, was not raised.

There is water beneath it (Ex. 20:4 [E]; Gen. 49:25; bold poem in J, when e Dt. 33:11; see *Dr. ad loc.*; cp Gen. 7:11 [P]); but not in Ps. 242 (probably post-exilic, see Obs., *loc. cit.* [P]; 236) does the conception of Adhwe's founding the earth upon the seas appear. This may be nothing more than poetic imagery; and the same remark will apply to the thought of its resting on pillars (poet. and late; 1 S. 2:8; Ps. 104:5; Job 38:4; Is. 48:13, etc.). A still bolder conception is that of Job 26:7: 'Who hangeth [the] earth upon nothingness' (רֶמֶס; Che. **רֶמֶס**).

The rising and setting of the heavenly bodies gave the Hebrews, like other peoples, the standard of direction. They took their stand facing the sunrise.

What we call the East they called the *Front* (רֶמֶס, Gen. 2:12-13 [J], and often) or *place of dawn* (רֶמֶס; *ἀνατολή*). So our West was for them the *Behind* (רֶמֶס, Is. 9:12 [J], cp Zech. 14:8; Joel 2:20), but usually (from their situation in Palestine) the direction of the sea (רֶמֶס, Gen. 12:13; 13:14; 28:14 [J], and often). The North they called the *Left* (רֶמֶס, Gen. 14:15; Job 23:9; Josh. 19:25) but usually the *Hidden*, or *Dark* (רֶמֶס)—probably (if this be the true interpretation)¹ because in N. latitudes the N. is farthest from the course of the sun. The South was the *Right* (רֶמֶס, 1 S. 23:24 [J], etc.; רֶמֶס, Zech. 6:6; 9:14; Job 39:26; Ex. 26:13 [P]; chiefly in P, Ezek., and late poet.), but also (most probably) the *Shining* (רֶמֶס, also poet. and late; Dt. 33:23; Job 37:17; Eccles. 1:6; 11:3, and often Ezek. [v. RDB 204 f.]), and also the *Dry, Barren* (רֶמֶס, Gen. 12:9 [J], and often; see Dt. on Gen. 12:9; 22:7 is, however, usually a specific name—the *South Country*, the southern part of Judah and the adjoining region to the south) (cp NEGER, § 10 (FOUR QUARTERS OF)).

How far did the knowledge of the Hebrews extend in these several directions? The extreme limits, as far as our canonical books testify—and their information was doubtless often fragmentary and vague—were these: On the E. to Media, Elam, Persia, with an allusion to India (רֶמֶס; see INDIA) in Esth. 1:1; 8:9 (OPHUR and SINIM are doubtful); on the N. to a range of (peoples and) countries extending from Northern Armenia (Magog, Ashkenaz, Ararat, Togarmah) across Asia Minor (Gomer, Tubal, Mesheki); on the W. past Cyprus (Kittim), Ionia (Javan), Crete (Kaphthor), Carthage (or Sicily [Elisba]), to Tartessus (Tarshish) in Spain; on the S. to Ethiopia (Cush), and Southern Arabia (Sheba, Hadramaut).

It is possible that Hebrew knowledge extended still farther; the Greek historians learned of regions farther N. (Thracians, Kimmerians, Herod. 4:11 f., Strabo, vii. 2, Frag. 47); the Phoenicians, if the Greeks can be believed, sailed farther W. and NW., and, commissioned by the Egyptians, circumnavigated Africa (on the same authority, Herod. 4:42; it was under Necho, 610-594 B.C.; cp E. Meyer, *GA I* § 411; Wiedemann, *JG* 627; Junker, *Umschiffung Afrikas durch die Phönizier*, 1863); the Assyrians pushed farther to the NE. Something of this knowledge may have come to the Hebrews in Palestine, and doubtless did to the Jews of the Dispersion, before our last canonical OT book was written. Here, however, we can only conjecture. We are without definite testimony.

Within these limits certain great physical features are noted, such as seas and rivers, and (less often) mountain ranges and deserts.

4. Seas. i. Of seas the Mediterranean naturally takes the first place; it is the sea.

רֶמֶס, 'the sea' (Nu. 13:29 [E]), and very often in all periods (see *West*, above); so also plur. רֶמֶס, Jud. 5:17 and (prob.) Dan. 11:45 (Meinh., Rev.); more fully 'the great sea of the son-set', Josh. 14:24 (both D); so in Assyrian *tiānū ra rabū sa subū kanī*, Schr. *Namen der Meere*, 171 ff., and simple 'the great sea' (Nu. 31:6 f.; Josh. 15:12; 47 [all P or R]; cp Josh. 9:1).

¹ Barth conjectures a relationship with Ar. *rahī* = east wind, the meaning being, 'the wind changed'. This seems very doubtful, but cp EARTH (FOUR QUARTERS), § 1.

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Ezek. 47:10; 15:1 f.; 48:28); 'great and wide-stretching sea' (Ps. 104:25) is rather a description than a name; also 'the hinder (or western) sea', Dt. 11:24; 34:2 (perhaps with pelagic expanse) Zech. 14:8; Joel 2:20 (in these by contrast with the 'front [or eastern] sea').

Particular parts of the Mediterranean were known as 'the sea of the Philistines' (Ex. 23:31 [E]) and 'the sea of Joppa' (2 Ch. 2:16 [15] Ezra 3:7).

ii. The RLD SEA [v. v.] is *yām Sūph* (רֶמֶס), referring usually to the western arm between Sinai and Egypt (Ex. 10:19 [1] 13:13 [E], and often).

'Sea of Sūph' also may be simply 'the sea,' when the reference is clear from the context (Ex. 11:10; 20 [E], and often); also 'sea of Egypt' Is. 11:15. In 1 K. 9:26 רֶמֶס denotes the gulf of Akaba; cp the parallel expression 'cloth on the shore of the sea in the land of Edom' (2 Ch. 8:17).

iii. Of local importance and often mentioned is the 'Salt Sea'—i.e., the Dead Sea.

רֶמֶס (Gen. 14:3; Josh. 3:10 [J], etc.), called also 'sea of the Arābāh' (רֶמֶס, Josh. 3:10; Dt. 3:17; 2 K. 14:25, etc.); 'the front (= eastern) sea,' רֶמֶס, Ezek. 47:18; Zech. 14:8; Joel 2:20 (see *hinder sea*, above, § 2, begin.); and simply רֶמֶס (Is. 16:2; Jer. 48:32).

iv. More rarely we hear of the 'Sea of Chinnereth' or 'of Chinnerōth' (= Lake Gennesaret, Sea of Galilee), רֶמֶס, Nu. 34:11; Josh. 13:27 [both P], and רֶמֶס, Josh. 12:3 [D]; simply רֶמֶס, Dt. 33:23 (see CHINNERETH, GENNESAR).

These seas are thus known under slightly varying names in all OT times.

The OT knows nothing of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and nothing of the smaller but nearer lakes of Van and Urmiyeh. Its acquaintance with Magog and the early history of Gomer, as well as with NE. Assyria and E. Armenia, is therefore imperfect, or else its interest in these great sheets of water is not sufficient to secure mention of them. It is possible that the Persian Gulf is to be recognised in the phrase 'desert of the Sea' (רֶמֶס), Is. 21:1 (so Dt.; but the text is doubtful; see Che. *SBOT*).

The phrase 'from sea to sea' occurs three or four times (רֶמֶס, Am. 8:12; Zech. 9:10; Ps. 72:8; cp רֶמֶס, Mic. 7:12) marking the limits of the region from which the Jewish exiles will return (in Mic. 7:12 read 'from sea to sea'), and of the dominion of the great future king of Israel (Zech. 9:10; Ps. 72:8). In Am. 8:12, however, if the passage be genuine, the two seas intended will be the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. It is true this seems an improbable designation of the boundaries of the northern kingdom. Hence (and for other reasons; see AMOS, § 14) Am. 8:12 may be a later insertion.

The general term sea (or seas), as a comprehensive name for the watery portion of the earth's surface, is a late idea. The contrasted idea is that of *dry land*, which, in the cosmogony of P, is thought of as having emerged to view by the process of collecting within certain limits the waters that originally covered the entire earth (see Gen. 1:9 f.; 2:1 ff.; Job 38:16; Ps. 69:35; 89:10; 146:6; Prov. 8:29; Eccles. 1:7, etc.).

5. Rivers. Rivers played an important part in the history of OT times.

Of foreign rivers the most important are the Euphrates and the Nile.

i. The Euphrates is often simply 'the river.'

רֶמֶס, Euphrates (Gen. 2:14 [J]), רֶמֶס (Gen. 15:18 [J] Dt. 17:11; 24; Josh. 14 [D], etc.), 'the River,' רֶמֶס (Gen. 31:21; Ex. 23:31; Nu. 23:8; Josh. 24:2 f.; 14 f. [all E]; 2 S. 10:16; Is. 7:20; 1 K. 4:24 [5:4] 14:15; Jer. 2:18, etc.); less often, redundantly, 'the river, the river Euphrates' (Dt. 11:24), and 'the great river, the river Euphrates' (Gen. 15:18; Dt. 17:11; Josh. 14:1); it is called רֶמֶס because of its vastness and might (Jer. 31:30; [Graf, not Gie.], and according to Del. also Is. 21:1).

The people believed that across the Euphrates lay their early home (Josh. 24:2 f.; 14 f. [E]). On the question of the earliest historical seats of the Israelites, see ISRAEL, § 1 ff.; EXODUS I, § 1 ff.; HEBREW, § 1. ARAM-NAHARAIM (Gen. 24:10, etc. [J]) contains certainly a reference to the Euphrates; it became the ideal boundary of their land on the NW (Gen. 15:18 [E] Dt. 17:11; 24; Josh. 14 [all D]), a boundary which,

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according to Israel's tradition, Solomon for a time realised (1 K. 4:21 [51] 4:24 *his* [54]); not only did the crossing of it make an epoch in the individual life (Jacob, Gen. 31:21 [E]), but the Euphrates formed also a real boundary between the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms and the territory to the W. Just as, on the one hand, we find Assyrian kings noting with care the fact of a passage of the Euphrates (see, e.g., COT on 1 K. 20:1) as a departure from their own soil, so on the other, the challenging Egyptian army under Necho went thither against Assyria (2 K. 23:29), and of Nebuchadrezzar's conquest it is said that 'the king of Babylon had taken, from the 'river of Egypt' [see EGYPT, RIVER OF] unto the River Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt' (2 K. 24:7); and so we have the promise of the return of scattered Hebrews 'from Egypt even to the River' (Mic. 7:12). The Euphrates became in poetical usage one of the boundaries of the known world, in the phrase 'from the River unto the ends of the earth' (Ps. 72:8 = Zech. 9:10).

ii. THE NILE is known as נַיִל, a word of Egyptian origin meaning *stream* (see EGYPT, § 6), but usually employed in the OT with the art. as a proper name.

So in Gen. 41:1 f. 318 Ex. 122 Am. 8:8, and often; in Am. 8:8 9:5 it occurs also as נַיִל מִצְרַיִם ('Nile, stream of Egypt'), and in Is. 19:5 Nah. 3:8 *his* even as נַיִל; cp Is. 27:1 and נַיִל, Ezek. 32:2.

Although the Nile was historically less important (to the Hebrews) than the Euphrates, the references to it show a more intimate and particular acquaintance.

It was bordered by reeds or sedge (נֶחֱרֵץ, Gen. 41:218 [see FLAG, 2]; נֶחֱרֵץ, Ex. 23:5 [see FLAG, 1]; cp נֶחֱרֵץ [see REED, 1] and נֶחֱרֵץ, Is. 19:6) and by meadows (נֶחֱרֵץ, Is. 19:7 [see REED, 2]); it was divided into arms, branches, or canals, נֶחֱרֵץ (Is. 7:19), נֶחֱרֵץ (Is. 19:6), 'Nile-streams of Egypt' (cp SINOR OF EGYPT); it was used for bathing (Ex. 2:5); its water, for drinking (Ex. 7:18 21:24); it had fish (Ex. 7:21 Is. 19:8, cp Ezek. 29:4), and frogs (Ex. 8:3 [7:28] 8:9 11 [5:7])—all in JE passages of Hex.; it had its periods of rising and falling (Am. 8:8 9:5); it occasioned abundant crops—hence the phrase 'the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile' (Is. 23:3, but on the text see SBOY 'Isaiah'); the drying up of the Nile was therefore the worst calamity for Egypt, Is. 19:5 f. (נֶחֱרֵץ, 'river,' is applied to the Nile only in Is. 19:5). On the 'rivers of Cush' (Is. 18:1 Zeph. 3:10) see CUSH, § 1.

iii. The Tigris (HIDDEKEL), being mentioned in only two books, can be treated more briefly.

Gen. 24:1 [J] mentions the Tigris as one of the Eden rivers. The description (which is probably later than the mention of the name) is as follows: 'This is the one that flows in front of Assyria.' Dan. 10:4 is the only other passage which refers by name to the Tigris; it is noteworthy that the Tigris is here styled 'the great river' (elsewhere the Euphrates); in Dan. 12:5 *his*, 6 f. it is called נַיִל—another indubitable sign of late date.

This scanty reference to so important a stream cannot fail to surprise us. Even more strange is it, however, that the nearer river Orontes is entirely ignored. Nor do we hear the names of Araxes and Kyros; the Oxus and the Indus are as little known as the Ganges, the Danube, or the Tiber. The most easterly stream mentioned is the Elamite river ULAI (q.v.), and that not until the second century B.C. (Dan. 8:2).

iv. Within a narrower area the water-courses or 'wādys' (נַחַל = Ital. *fiumara*) attracted attention, being especially characteristic of Canaan and the adjacent territory, and conditioning its development. As the Euphrates was the ideal limit of Israelitish domain on the NE., so a ravine (and its stream) served the same purpose on the SW. This is the *Wādī el-Arish*, the natural frontier of Palestine towards Egypt (see EGYPT, ii.), described by Esarhaddon (Del. *Par.* 311) as 'the wādī of Egypt where there was no river.'

The term *nahal mat Musur* ('wādī of Egypt') exactly represents נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, and we have a right to be surprised to find the phrase נַחַל מִצְרַיִם in Gen. 15:10 [E?]. The subject is treated elsewhere (EGYPT, RIVER OF); but the present writer may express his opinion that נַחַל is an error of the text (observe

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נַחַל almost immediately afterwards) for נַיִל. True, נַיִל has ἀπό τοῦ ποταμοῦ for the usual χειμαρρῶν, or, as in Josh. 15:4, φάραγος; but it has ποταμοῦ also in 1 K. 8:65.

Few but the most familiar mountains or mountain ranges are brought before us. Outside of Palestine

6. **Mountains.** the most famous mountain is that connected by tradition with Moses (see SINAI), NE. from which lay Mount SEIR (strictly, the mountain region of Seir). See also HOREB, PISGAH, ARARAT, § 3. That Mt. Taurus should be ignored is surprising, for this was the barrier between Syria and Asia Minor. Nor is anything said of Mt. Zagros, NW. of Media; or of the Elamitic and Susian mountains. The Caucasus would be beyond the Israelitish horizon.

Of deserts (מִדְבָּר) as an important feature of the earth's surface the Hebrews were well aware (see DESERT).

7. **Deserts.** (see DESERT).

i. There were among them (see EXODUS i. § 2 f.) early recollections of the sparsely populated region—offering pasturage yet often desolate and wild, and not the natural home of a settled people—stretching from their own southern border farther southward to Elath and to Sinai, forming the western boundary of Edom, and extending SW. to the confines of Egypt. This is the 'wilderness' or desert referred to in Gen. 14:6, with which compare Gen. 21:21 (E, 'Ishmael dwelt in the wilderness of Paran'), Nu. 12:16 (E, a station in the wanderings), 10:12 (P, distinguished from, and bordering on, the 'wilderness of Sinai'), 13:3 (whence explorers were sent out), 26 (both P; the addition of Kadesh in v. 26 seems to be from R). It was, according to the representation of P. and D, in the desert of Paran that Israel spent most of the forty years of its wandering (see WANDERINGS). It is called the desert of Edom (מִדְבָּר עֵדוֹם) in 2 K. 38. Abutting on the desert of Paran (מִדְבָּר פָּרָן) on the N. seems to have been 'the desert of Beer-sheba' (Gen. 21:14 [E]). In P the more comprehensive name of the desert N. of Paran was the 'desert of Sin' (מִדְבָּר שֵׁן; see ZIN); it was the southern limit of the land explored by the spies (Nu. 13:21, cp 34:3), and in it lay Kadesh (20:1 27:14 *his*, 33:36 Dt. 32:51; see on the other hand Nu. 13:26, above). S. of the desert of Paran lay the desert of Sinai (s. 2 above), mentioned by name in Ex. 19:1 f. Lev. 7:38 Nu. 11:19 and eight times more in P, commanded by the Sinai group of mountains; NW. of that, toward Egypt, lay the desert of Sin (not Sîn), מִדְבָּר שֵׁן, Ex. 16:1 (between Elim and Sinai) 17:1 Nu. 33:11 f. (all P). The portion of the desert immediately bordering on Egypt is in the older tradition connected with Shur (Ex. 15:22 [JE]), and in the later with that of Etham (Nu. 33:8; cp Ex. 13:20 both P). Nearly the same seems to be meant by 'the wilderness of the Red Sea' (Ex. 13:18 [E]) and 'the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea' (Dt. 1:40 2:1). The simple term 'the wilderness' is applied, now to the whole 'desert of the wandering' (Ex. 23:31 [E], etc.), now to a particular part (e.g., Ex. 16:2 f. and often), subject to the ordinary principles of clearness.

ii. Of the great Arabian Desert we hear comparatively little and that little relates to its western edge. 'The desert which is before Moab, on the sunrise side,' it is called in Nu. 21:11 [JE].

In Judg. 11:22 the wilderness (מִדְבָּר) is the (eastern) limit of Israelitish territory E. of the Jordan; 'like a steppe-dweller' (מִדְבָּרִי) in the desert, Jer. 3:2, is a simile of lying in wait; Jer. 25:24 speaks of 'all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the border tribes that dwell in the desert' (Gie., Co. amend text by excision; cp 25:26; but the reference to the desert remains). From the desert comes the east wind (Hos. 13:15 Jer. 4:11, cp Job 39:15). The 'Sabaeans' of Ezek. 23:42 must, however, be given up, and perhaps the whole reference in that verse to 'the wilderness' or 'desert' (which without the Sabaeans loses its value for our present purpose). Some familiarity with this desert is indicated also by the allusion to the ostriches in Lant. 4:2 Job 39:13 f.

The 'wilderness of Damascus,' 1 K. 19:15, is the upper part of the same desert (if text and transl. are right; see KING, BOOK OF, § 8; HAZAEL)—i.e., the Syrian Desert. This is

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denoted also by the descriptive phrase '(Tadmor) in the wilderness' (2 Ch. 8.4), after which 1 K. 9.18 Kr has been shaped; the original TAMAR (7.7) of 1 K. 9.18 does not allow such an inference. The verses just cited (it may be observed in passing) show that cities might flourish in the midst of 'desert'. See also the other late passages, Josh. 15.11 f. 20.8 (all P) 1 Ch. 6.74 (6.1), not to mention Is. 42.11. (On smaller deserts in the W. Jordan territory cp PALESTINE.)

Even this imperfect survey shows that the Hebrews had no great interest in geography as such. The various characteristics of the earth's surface were not noticed or thought of by them except as they came into some direct relation with their own life. The poetic imagination no doubt often laid hold of natural phenomena, and has left us some vivid pictures. From the nature of the case, however, these are general, not specific. The spirit of exact scientific observation does not appear. Such reports as may have reached Israel of the nature of the countries in which the more distant nations dwelt seem to have made little impression. Outside of their own experience they were more concerned with persons and peoples than with soil and mountain-peak and stream, with desert and sea.

Among the first countries with which we should expect to find the Hebrews making (or renewing) acquaintance would be Egypt and Ethiopia.

9. Egypt.

The latter country (the African Cush) seems to have come within their ken in the eighth century

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knowledge of the country E. of the Euphrates from fragmentary tradition to definite acquaintance.

Direct contact with Babylonia began after the fall of the N. kingdom with the famous embassy of MERODACH-BALADAN to Hezekiah. Contact with Assyria naturally began earlier. In the historical books the name appears first in 2 K. 15.19-20, which tells that Tiglath-pileser (111.) = Pul, devastated (B.C. 734) the same northern districts that Benhadad had ravaged 175 years earlier (Hos. 1.6, 2.13, 10.14, 12.1, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.1, 19.1, 20.1, 21.1, 22.1, 23.1, 24.1, 25.1, 26.1, 27.1, 28.1, 29.1, 30.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, 34.1, 35.1, 36.1, 37.1, 38.1, 39.1, 40.1, 41.1, 42.1, 43.1, 44.1, 45.1, 46.1, 47.1, 48.1, 49.1, 50.1, 51.1, 52.1, 53.1, 54.1, 55.1, 56.1, 57.1, 58.1, 59.1, 60.1, 61.1, 62.1, 63.1, 64.1, 65.1, 66.1, 67.1, 68.1, 69.1, 70.1, 71.1, 72.1, 73.1, 74.1, 75.1, 76.1, 77.1, 78.1, 79.1, 80.1, 81.1, 82.1, 83.1, 84.1, 85.1, 86.1, 87.1, 88.1, 89.1, 90.1, 91.1, 92.1, 93.1, 94.1, 95.1, 96.1, 97.1, 98.1, 99.1, 100.1). But Israel had already learned to know Assyria in the previous century under ARAM and JEHU (cp 2 K. 10.32). Amos does not name it (but see AMOS, col. 149, foot); yet he certainly refers to it (6.14), and the expectation of the coming of the Assyrians underlies his book. Hosea names it often (5.13, 7.11, 8.9, 9.3, 10.6, 11.5, 11, 12.1, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.1, 19.1, 20.1, 21.1, 22.1, 23.1, 24.1, 25.1, 26.1, 27.1, 28.1, 29.1, 30.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, 34.1, 35.1, 36.1, 37.1, 38.1, 39.1, 40.1, 41.1, 42.1, 43.1, 44.1, 45.1, 46.1, 47.1, 48.1, 49.1, 50.1, 51.1, 52.1, 53.1, 54.1, 55.1, 56.1, 57.1, 58.1, 59.1, 60.1, 61.1, 62.1, 63.1, 64.1, 65.1, 66.1, 67.1, 68.1, 69.1, 70.1, 71.1, 72.1, 73.1, 74.1, 75.1, 76.1, 77.1, 78.1, 79.1, 80.1, 81.1, 82.1, 83.1, 84.1, 85.1, 86.1, 87.1, 88.1, 89.1, 90.1, 91.1, 92.1, 93.1, 94.1, 95.1, 96.1, 97.1, 98.1, 99.1, 100.1). It is even possible that Shalmaneser IV. (2 K. 17.3) is referred to in Hos. 10.14 as Shalman (see BETH-ARBEL). We find Assyria in Micah (5.5 [4] f., cp 7.12), and abundantly in Isaiah (7.18, 20.1 etc.). Nahum's prophecy is devoted to an announcement of its overthrow (cp Zeph. 2.13); 2 K. 17.6 gives the account of Samaria's fall before it, and the deportation of the inhabitants to various places in the Assyrian empire.

It need hardly be said that the Hebrews, so far as we know, made no attempt to construct a map of the world.

11a. No maps. If they had done so, it would doubtless have appeared to us grotesque enough. Even the comparatively sober geographical data of Eratosthenes (3rd cent. B.C.) and Strabo (near the beginning of the Christian era; see the accompanying reproduction), who combined all the information they could procure, with painful laboriousness, yield maps quite recognisable, it is true, but much distorted.

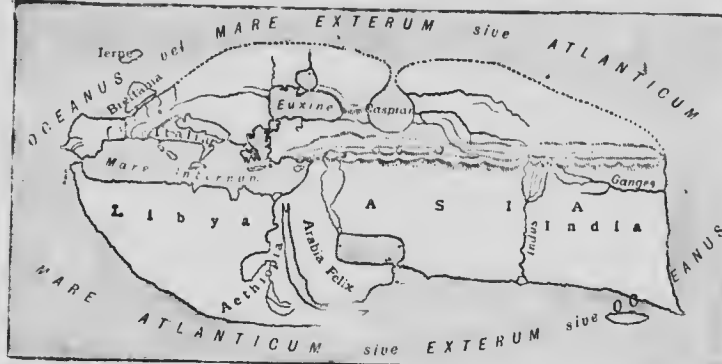
Hebrew cartographers of

the seventh or the fifth century B.C. would have produced much more astonishing maps, we may be sure. Attempts have been made to construct maps of the world as known to the Hebrews, or at least of the central portion of it, on the basis of the description of Eden and its rivers in Gen. 2.¹ These attempts are interesting in a high degree; but the data are not sufficient in amount or in certainty to make them secure. The utmost we can say is that one or two of them are quite possible. At best they can claim to give only the view of one writer, at a single period.

The four maps given here (after col. 1606) have a much more modest aim. They are meant simply to indicate the actual regions on the earth's surface as now known, which were embraced by Hebrew knowledge at different periods. For purposes of comparison, at least, these may perhaps be quite as useful as an attempt to construct such as the Hebrews themselves would have drawn.

Little interest as the Hebrews had in geography in the abstract, they could not remain impervious to the influences which were enlarging their knowledge of the world, nor wholly escape the impulse to systematize that knowledge. The most convincing evidence of this appears in the lists which tabulate it in some detail. These lists were arranged on a genealogical scheme, representing assumed racial connection, or contiguity or

¹ See especially Haupt *SBOT*, 'Isa.' note on 18.1; *PAOS*, Mar. '94, p. ciii; *Über Land u. Meer*, 1894-5, no. 15 (with map). Cp also WMM *Asien u. Europa* 252 f.



Strabo's Map of the World. After C. Müller.

(Am. 9.7, and especially Is. 18.1 f. Zeph. 3.10¹ Is. 20.3-5 [but cp ISAIAH, BOOK OF, § 9, beg.] 2 K. 19.9), when the 25th—Ethiopian—dynasty was making itself felt in Palestine.² An increased familiarity with Egypt is attested by the writings of the prophets.

Isaiah (30.4) refers to ZOAN and HANES, Hosea (9.6; cp Jer. 2.16 etc.) to Moph or Noph—i.e., Memphis—and Nahum (3.8), with great particularity, to the Egyptian Thebes (No-AMON, 7.7), Ass. *Ni-l*, cp Egypt *nt* 'city'. Steindorff *B.A.S.* 1596 f.; for later references to No = N. Amon, see Jer. 46.25, Ezek. 30.14-15). Such remoter neighbours of Egypt as Put (22.2; see on Gen. 10.6 below, § 22) also, and Lubim (22.7) Libyans—if it be not the same as Lehabim (22.7) Gen. 10.13 [see below, § 15(4)] occur for the first time in Nah. (3.9).

It was, singularly enough, the Babylonian conquest of Judah that made many Jews better acquainted with Egypt. The fear caused by the

10. **Babylonia and Assyria.** The murder of GEDALIAH led a large remnant of the people to flee into Egypt (Jer. 41.17 f. 43.1-7), and then began the familiarity with Egyptian cities exhibited by Ezekiel. Of course, this was but a small part of the geographical debt which the Hebrews owed to the Babylonians and (we may now add) the Assyrians. Contact with these nations did more than anything else to change their geographical

¹ These words at least in this disputed verse may be original.
² In Nu. 12.1 2 S. 18.21 f., etc., it is only a question of isolated individuals (see CUSH, 2 f.; CUSH, 3).

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historical association (see Dr. *Gen.* 168); see *GENEALOGIES* i., § 1 f. They were compiled by the same hands that undertook the story of the national life.

The motives underlying the lists can be only conjectured. An interest in geography pure and simple was hardly one of these motives, although the geographical order is here and there discernible in the arrangement of names. The names are usually those of peoples, and it would be more exact to call the lists ethnographical. They appear to represent the circle of peoples (arranged with some regard to locality) which at the time fixed the attention of the authors. Their purpose is not the same as that of the Assyrian catalogues of tributaries, or the more formal Egyptian lists of foreign cities and tribes. In those we have chiefly the parade of conquest. The Hebrew lists show a much more impersonal, or at least more dispassionate, interest. They include peoples with whom the Hebrews had no practical concern, and their own conquerors are named with perfect calmness. All indications point to an intellectual purpose. The impulse to write history was already at work, and with it the desire of providing a setting for the history, which should present what was known of other peoples, and indicate their organic relations.

The first consecutive list of this kind appears not earlier than the end of the ninth century. Israel was firmly established in its own land,—had a fixed point of observation. David had made it compact and powerful. The commerce and foreign relations of Solomon had led the thoughts of the people outside their own land. The Phoenicians were followed, in thought, as they traversed the Mediterranean, and their reports were heard in Jerusalem as well as in Samaria. The national self-consciousness was beginning to assert itself—even although the political life was divided—so as to develop the historical instinct, and lead to the recognition of other peoples as historical units, like themselves. Finally, a great new power was looming up on the eastern horizon. All these circumstances contributed to the formation and systematic arrangement of historico-geographical ideas.

The document which embodies such an arrangement is the genealogical table of the descendants of Noah's three sons in *Gen.* 10. This is really a list of the peoples which, at the time of the writers, seemed of consequence. The chapter is not homogeneous. It is formed by the union of two distinct lists of different dates. The older (J) was probably compiled about 800 B.C.; the younger (P) perhaps 350 years later.

There is great unanimity among critics in assigning to *P* 17: 1-7, 20, 22 f., 31 f., and practical unanimity also as to *J* 17: 8-19, 21, 25-33; the (slight) divergences relate to the different layers of *J*, and to the work of the Redactor, to whom 17: 24 is assigned by almost all. Neither list is preserved in its original form.

The lists of *J* and *P* afford the framework for a geographical scheme. When we attempt to combine

these with the other data, however, for the purpose of tracing the growth of geographical knowledge among the Hebrews, we are met by difficulties which can be surmounted only in part; our results must often be provisional.

The nature of our sources is such that it is impossible to be always sure at which point in the history a given geographical fact first appeared. The documents have passed through so many hands, that conceptions of different dates may easily be present. Conversely, geographical ideas may have existed long without finding expression in the surviving literature.

Especially difficulty attaches to a clear representation of the geographical horizon in the early period.

Very early documents are few, and the later accounts of early matters have to be received with discrimination. Each particular statement must be carefully weighed, and the probabilities considered. Direct Egyptian and Canaanite influence on early geographical knowledge in Israel is an unknown quantity. We cannot jump to the conclusion that the Amarna tablets, important as they are, represent knowledge which was, or speedily became, the common property of the Hebrew invaders a century or two later. By degrees, no doubt, much geography known to the Canaanites would be appropriated by the new-comers, but how much, and how long it took, we are wholly without means of deciding. Uncertainty meets us, also, as to the amount of genuine geographical material in the traditions of early nomadic wanderings. We are quite in the dark as to Hebrew contact with the Hittites and the Arameans between the conquest and David's time.

In these circumstances it has seemed wisest, both in the following descriptions and in the accompanying maps, to deal somewhat rigidly with the materials, and to require a maximum

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of evidence for the facts presented. A careful student will be able to expand the area of certainty, as evidence may seem to justify.

It would appear that to the generations following the Hebrew settlements in Canaan the outside world was of little consequence. The unanimity of traditions pointing to Egypt compels us to regard acquaintance with that country as among their earliest possessions. There is no reason to think that they had any but the vaguest ideas of Africa to the W. and S. of Egypt. The same is true of the lower shores of the Red Sea and the interior of Arabia. The roving Amalekites on their southern border, the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, to the S.E. and E., were of course in full view. Midian, on the eastern side of the eastern branch of the Red Sea, was closely associated with their early wanderings, and was looked upon as Israel's half-brother (*Gen.* 25: 2 f.), and the story of Gideon preserves an account of a desperate conflict with a branch of the same people—predatory Bedouin, like the Amalekites, during the time of the Judges (see *MIDIAN*). There were traditions of an early Aramæan home, and even, as there seems no good reason to doubt, of a still earlier one in Babylonia;¹ local traces of Babylonian influence in Canaan may have revived and contained these traditions; but they can hardly have been outlined with geographical clearness. As to the northern boundary of Hebrew knowledge in this period our sources are very scanty. The one great literary monument of these troubled years, the Song of Deborah, composed in the N., and dealing with events in the N., does not carry us beyond the immediate vicinity of the plain of Megiddo. Hazor is mentioned in *Judg.* 4—a good source of the second order—as also in *Josh.* 11 (JE), and *Judg.* 13: 33 (cp *Josh.* 11: 8) carry us northward on the coast as far as Sidon. Hints at wider knowledge of northern geography are afforded only by late documents. Reminiscences of Egyptian campaigns may no doubt have preserved on the soil the names of northerly regions; but from the Hebrew documents themselves we cannot derive, for this period, any acquaintance with territory northward of a line joining Sidon, Lebanon, and Hermon.

On the W. the sea was the limit. There is no evidence that in this period the Hebrew mind ventured across it. If the first intercourse with Phœnicia brought knowledge of Phœnician traffic, no trace of this knowledge has been left in the records of the early time.

A much more extended area and a more detailed acquaintance with Babylonia and with Aramæan localities must be recognized for this period if we could suppose that *Gen.* 14 represents knowledge in the possession of the Hebrews at this time, whether due to their own ancient tradition, or to local history appropriated by them after the conquest. The question of the existence in this noteworthy chapter of good historical material cannot be discussed here (see *GENESIS*, § 8 a). It is quite possible to answer the question in the affirmative, and at the same time to maintain, as the evidence requires us to do, that the chapter cannot be used as a source of information for the geographical knowledge of the time of the Judges. Cp *Lehmann, Altor. Chron.* p. 84 ('98).

The advent of the Philistines, the alliances and conquests of David, and the alliances and luxury of Solomon widened the Hebrew horizon, and filled in spaces which were nearly or quite vacant.

David's wars (see *DAVID*, § 8) with Hadadezer and his allies must have afforded some definite acquaintance with the Aramæan country as far as the Euphrates. Maacah, Geshur, Zobah, Hamath, and Damascus now grew familiar. Mesopotamia became a neighbour. David's friendship with Hiram of Tyre must have led to knowledge of lands beyond the sea, and the Philistines brought with them to the shores of Canaan the news of Caphtor as their early island home; Caphtor is with

¹ Ur Kasdim in *J* (*Gen.* 11: 28-31) cannot be discussed here (see *Ur* [3]). The present writer believes that fewer difficulties are occasioned by regarding it as original with *J*, and as representing old tradition, than by denying either of these things.

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probability identified by most scholars with Crete (see PHILISTINES; but cp CAPHTOR, CHERETHITES).¹

As the Philistines were new-comers, some report of their origin would naturally spread at once; hence, although the name of Caphtor does not appear till the eighth century, it is probable that it was known under David and Solomon.

Solomon's reign enlarged the Hebrew world still more. That there were variant traditions of the extent of his kingdom appears from 1 K. 5:4 compared with 5:5 (EV 42425) and with 11:24; we cannot even tell whether the Euphrates was sufficiently known in Solomon's time to justify the mention of Tiphshah (Thapsacus) in the late passage 1 K. 5:4 [424]. The mention of 'Tadmor' (i.e., Palmyra) in 2 Ch. 8:4 is at any rate valueless for the time of Solomon (see TAMAR). On the other hand, the probable emendation of 1 K. 10:28 f. which finds there a mention of the northern lands *Musri* and *Kue* as the source of the Hebrew supply of horses (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [a], CHARIOT, § 5, col. 726, n. 1), brings us to the very foot of the Taurus mountains, S. of which the Syrian *Musri* lay, and even through the mountain-passes of the Amanus into Cilicia, to which *Kue* belonged (see CILICIA, § 2).

A still more notable extension of geographical knowledge took place toward the S. If the story of the visit from the queen of Sheba stood by itself it might not be enough to assure us of the actual acquaintance of Solomon's time with Southern Arabia. But the impulse given to exploration and commerce by Solomon's luxury led to the fitting out of ships on the gulf of Akaba, which sailed away southward on long cruises, bringing them into close contact with the Arabian shores. Besides the various tropical products (not all quite certain; see APES, GOLD, IVORY, OPHUR, PEACOCKS), with which they contributed to the splendour and the entertainment of the court, they brought reports of distant lands, and whether or not OPHUR (q.v.) was in Arabia, it is certain that at least Arabian territory bordering on the Red Sea must have been observed and described. The same is true of the African shore of the Red Sea; how much further S. and E. the new knowledge stretched we cannot tell, and the voyagers themselves may have been as ignorant of the real geographical relations of Ophir as Columbus and his sailors were in regard to the West Indies; but it is quite certain that a large extent of the earth's surface, before unknown, just from that time onward have been taken in: the more or less definite conceptions of the educated Hebrews.

It is probable that those conceptions now embraced at least one remote point in the W. Phœnician voyages, colonies, and settlements were already opening markets in many quarters to the trade of the cities from which they set out. It is likely that the Phœnicians had planted themselves before the tenth century on the coast of Sp: 1, at Tartessus.² Since Phœnician seamen went with Solomon's ships, and these ships are called 'ships of Tarshish'—i.e., large sea-going vessels, such as were fit to go to Tarshish (1 K. 10:22, cp Is. 2:16)—there is a presumption in favour of some Hebrew knowledge of Tarshish in Solomon's time (although 1 K. 10 was written much later), and TARSHISH ([i.] q.v.) is admittedly Tartessus.

Solomon's fleets were not successfully imitated by his successors; but a new agent now appears. After these

12c. In 8th cent. B.C. fleets the strongest influence in enlarging the Hebrew view of the world was the westward extension of Assyrian power.

That power took a fresh start under Ashur-nasir-pal (825-860 B.C., see ASSYRIA, § 31), who marched to the Mediterranean, and

¹ The question of the identification of Caphtor is connected with that of the origin of the Philistines, who are derived thence in Am. 9:7 Jer. 47:4, and probably Dt. 2:23. For recent evidence that the Philistines came from Crete, see A. J. Evans, *Cretan Pictographs* (95), 99 ff.

² Strabo, 1.32 [46] says that the Phœnicians had sailed beyond the Pillars of Hercules soon after the Trojan war. Cp iii. 2:12 ff. where he speaks of Tartessus, and cites Homer's mention of it.

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received tribute from the Mediterranean cities. Of direct contact with Israel we do not hear; but the silence of the Hebrew records cannot prevent us from saying that, with the intimacy between Phœnicia and the house of Omri, then on the Israelitish throne, Israel must have learned lessons in Assyrian geography from Ashur-nasir-pal. We cannot of course tell how far even the names of territories overrun by him on the remote Assyrian borders—Kunnuh, the Muski, the Nairi-lands, the regions of the Upper and the Lower Zab, and the rest—became known in Palestine; but Eastern Mesopotamia, the Tigris and its cities, must have begun to take a place in Hebrew thought.

Shalmaneser II. (860-825 B.C.), whom Ahaz's men faced, under Benhadad, in 854, and who received tribute from Jehu, must have continued the geographical teaching begun by his father. Rammân-nirari III. (812-783 B.C.) brought it apparently still closer home, for not only Phœnicia and Israel, but also Philistia and Edom recognised his sovereignty by tribute, and since probably the former, and certainly the latter, in its mountain fastnesses, would hardly do so without previous personal contact, we must suppose, either that two streams of Assyrian invasion enclosed Judah on the E. and on the W., or, if Edom was reached by the western route, that the southern border of Judah was skirted. In any case, by the middle of the eighth century, at which time, certainly, J's geographical survey was complete, the kingdom of Judah, in which J wrote, had facilities nearly as ample as those of Israel for knowing the main features of Assyrian geography. Judæan embassies were, it is true, not yet passing to and fro, carrying tribute, and bringing back new impressions and the stories of strange lands, but the knowledge gained in this way by their neighbours would in the course of time naturally become theirs.

Shalmaneser II. and his successors had come into close relations with Babylonia, and ancestral tradition would lead the Hebrews to an especial interest and even inquisitiveness regarding it, which would result in some familiarity with local names, while by no means yielding precise and full knowledge, or dispelling the mystery overhanging that ancient Semitic home.

The first part of J's list that is preserved to us looks toward the E. It begins abruptly with a summarized statement regarding an individual monarch

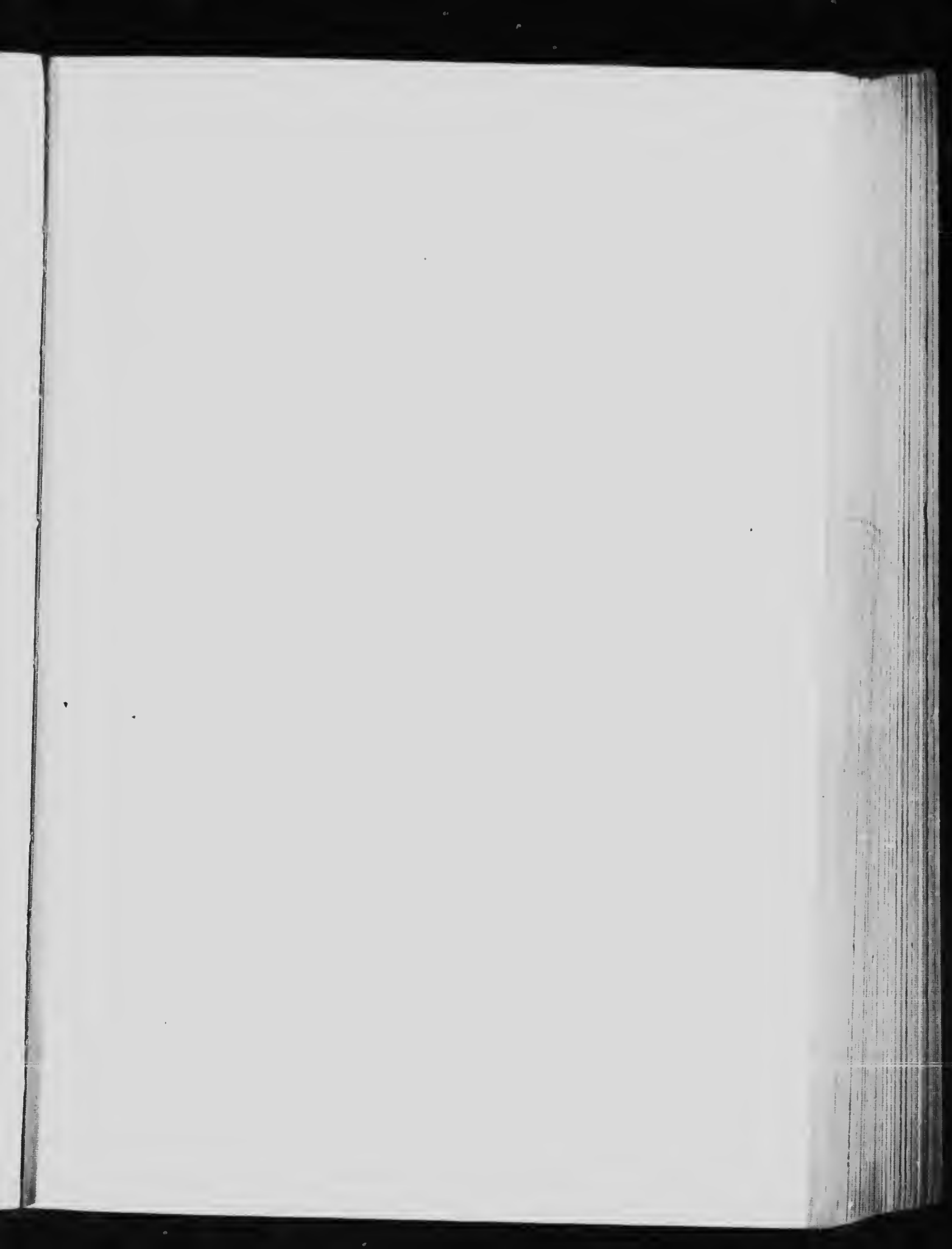
13a. J's of Babylonia.—NIMROD [q.v.], son of CUSH. The sites of BABYLON and ERECH are well known; those of ACCAD and CALNEH (1) are not yet identified. Shinar (שִׁנְרָא) most probably represents the Babylonian *Šumer*, or its dialectic variation *Sungir*.¹ Whether the term 'land of Shinar' in Gen. 10:10 includes all Babylonia, from the sea northward, we cannot however say. Another tradition preserved by J makes a plain (שִׁנְרָא) 'in the land of Shinar' the scene of the building of Babel, and of the sudden dispersion of the race (Gen. 11:1—see BABEL). The only contribution made by this passage to the vexed question as to the geographical limits of *Šumer* consists in the requirement that it shall contain both Babylon and Erech. Familiarity with the name is indicated especially by the expression 'a goodly mantle of Shinar' (Josh. 7:21 [JE]; see RV^{mg}); 'land of Shinar' occurs also in Zech. 5:11 Dan. 1:2, and Shinar, Is. 11:11.

If J located his Eden (Gen. 2) in Babylonia, his geographical information concerning the region must be regarded as still vague. The Euphrates and the Tigris approach each other there, and were doubtless connected by canals; but as to the rest, the description is unrecognisable. This, however, would not of itself disprove the theory that he had that locality in mind. Without entering into the vexed question of CUSH (q.v.), mentioned in Gen. 2:13 10:8, we may note here that Ashur-nasir-pal and Shalmaneser II. both encountered the Kassites, and it is by no means impossible that in the mind of J there was already confusion between the Kassites and the Arabian and African Kus. The embassy of Merodach-baladan to Hezekiah (2 K. 20), at the end of the eighth century, although it seems to presuppose some mutual acquaintance, was plainly a novelty, and is quite consistent with much mutual ignorance, as well.

The assignment of the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom to Babylonia, and the stress laid on the

13b. J's Assyria. subsequent founding of Assyrian cities, points to an ultimate Assyrian source for at least 27:10-12. Aššūr, EV 'Asshur' (אַשּׁוּר), is undoubtedly here, as in 2:14 and elsewhere, the country of Assyria (see especially 'land of Assyria,' parallel with 'land of Nimrod' Mic. 5:6 [5]), not the old capital Ašur on the W. bank of the Tigris (at Kal'at-Sherkat about 45 m. below Nimrud; see ASSYRIA, § 5).

¹ Paul Haupt, 'Ueber ein Dialekt der Sumerischen Sprache,' *GGN*, 1880, no. 17; *Akkadische Sprache*, 1883; 'Akkadische u. Sumerische Keilschrifttexte'—*122. Bibliothek*, Pt. 1 (38 ff.), *Del. Par.* 198; *Schr. COT* on Gen. 11:1; Tiele, *BAG*, 74 ff.



HEBREW GEOGRAPHY AT FOUR DIFFERENT PERIODS.

I. HEBREW GEOGRAPHY IN THE TIME OF THE JUDGES.



II. HEBREW GEOGRAPHY IN THE 10th. CENTURY B.C.



III. HEBREW GEOGRAPHY IN THE 8th. CENTURY B.C.



IV. HEBREW GEOGRAPHY IN THE 5th. CENTURY B.C.

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The Assyrian kingdom, like the Babylonian, is represented by four cities (see NINEVEH, CALAT, REMOTOTUR, RESSES), for the words, 'that is the great city,' in Gen. 10:12, which imply the view that these several cities made up the one great Nineveh (cp. Jon. 1:3-4:11, where the city is of enormous size), are probably a gloss. It is also who mentions the Tigris (see above, § 5, m.).

Western Mesopotamia becomes familiar. Not only do we find the city of Nabor and ARAM-NAHARAIM (q.v.),¹ but also other references to this region as of early interest in Hebrew migrations (Gen. 24:10; cp. 22:23 ff. 28:10, etc., J), but the exiles of Samaria are planted by the Habor (Chaboras), the river of Gozan (2 K. 17:6), and Gozan, Haran, Reseph, (1st.) Admi and Telassar all figure in the conquests of Assyria (2 K. 19:12), and all show knowledge of the same region, by the close of the eighth century.

The northern border of Assyria is still obscure. At the NE corner of the Mediterranean, whilst on land we do not get across the Amanus, in the sea the island of Cyprus (Kittim) comes into view. It is not in J's list; but it meets us in Nu. 24:24 (Jt.), as well as in Is. 23.

It is doubtful whether Nu. 24:24 belongs to an early stratum of Jt., and, without claiming Kittim where it first occurs in the much disputed 'oracle of Tyre' (Is. 23:16), we may admit Kittim in v. 12 as belonging to the poem, and may not unreasonably ascribe it to the hand of Isaiah. It is true that this would of itself take us back no further than 725 B.C.; but the reference to Kittim is made in such a way as to imply previous acquaintance.

From Assyria in the NE, J's list passes to Egypt in the SW. In the same group are eight other peoples, marking as many territorial distinctions (Gen. 10:13 ff. = 1 Ch. 1:11 ff.).

1. First are the LUDIM, who are quite distinct from the LUD (q.v.) of Gen. 10:22 (P) = 1 Ch. 1:17, and must be sought in Africa. More we cannot say, and our present ignorance extends to several other names in the same group. The very next one is an example.

2. Of ANANIM (only here, and in 1 Ch. 1:11) we know nothing geographically, and the name is not even certain textually.²

3. KASLUHIM, EV CASLUHIM,³ is just as obscure. See PHILISTINES.

4. LEHAIM perhaps = Libani, לִבְנִי, Libyans.

5. BAL, however, has λαβειν, or λαβειν 1 Ch. [A], whilst לִבְנִי is אֲבִיעֵם (see Nah. 3:9 [BMAQ] 2 Ch. 12:3 [BAL], 16:8 [BAL]; and לִבְנִי, Dan. 11:43 [Baer]; read also לִבְנִי, לִבְנִי for Heb. לִבְנִי (AV CHUB, RV CUB), Ezek. 30:5; אֲבִיעֵם אֲבִיעֵם (Co. WMM 13, n. 100, 110).

The passages do not help to fix the boundaries of Libya.

6. Naphtulim is in doubt.

Possibilities are: (1) Napat (in Cush), a view of Tuch and de Goeje; see also Di.; (2) Na-ptah, '(people) of Ptah'—i.e., inhabitants of Memphis (where the god Ptah had his chief seat), and Middle Egypt generally (Kn. ad loc., Ebers); and (3) the origination of נַפְתָּלִים out of נַפְתָּלִים—i.e., נַפְתָּלִים, 'northern land' (cp. [6], so Erman, ZATW 10:118 f.).

7. Pathrusim (פְּתָרִים) is the gentile from Pathrus (פְּתָרִים)—i.e., in Egyptian, 'land of the S.'; in cuneiform, Paturisi, which is referred to in Jer. 44:1 as a region distinct from Migdol, Tahpanhes, and Noph, in Jer. 44:15 (Graf, Gie.) and in Is. 11:11 (Βασιλίας [BMAQ]) as distinct from Mizraim or Egypt, and in Ezek. 30:14 among the Egyptian towns and districts (Noph, Zoan, No, Sin, etc.) on which judgment shall fall. In Ezek. 29:14 it is called the land of the 'origin' (RVMS) of the Egyptians (a good historical tradition).

8. On Caphtorim and (8) the Philistines see § 126.

From Egypt J's list passes northward along the coast,

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and mentions Canaan and his sons. Verse 13 names

16. J's two of these—viz., Sidon and Heth. **Canaan, etc.** The Hittites, or sons of Heth, are treated elsewhere (see HITTITES). Suffice it to notice that for J they are simply an aboriginal Canaanite people, by the side of the Phoenicians.

The following verses present several difficulties. They contain gentile nouns, which is peculiar,—not in itself, for already in 1:14 the genealogical scheme has become a transparent fiction, but because of the disagreement in form with Sidon and Heth.

In part the verses suggest the familiar list of Canaanite peoples which Israel is to dispossess, as contained in the account of the Exodus and march to Canaan furnished by J and 11 (e.g., Ex. 3:17-18; 11:21-22); but in part they are different. The PHIZZITES (q.v.) are wholly lacking. The Canaanites do not appear; Canaan is here, not one among the particular peoples, but the comprehensive term naming all the rest. Heth is an unusual form, and is set apart from the rest of the list. There are here also five names (v. 17 f.) which do not occur in the lists elsewhere, and differ from the four preceding (except the Jebusites of Jerusalem), in being plainly geographical.

1. 'The Arkue' is a gentile derived from the city name Arka (Ass. Arka, COI; mod. Tell Arka, Hirkhandi, Iraq, 162; Rod. JK 3 App. 183), northward from Tripolis at the NW foot of Lebanon. See ARKUE.

2. 'The Sinite' is of doubtful derivation. Del. Par. 282 proposes to read שִׁיטִי and to connect with the city Sinita (Sinita) 'on the shore of the sea' mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. with Arka (and Sinita) 3 R. 146. Strabo (Str. 2:18) mentions a town Sinita, Jerome (Jerome, ad loc.) a civitas Sinita in this region, and Breydenbach (Reise, 183) a village Sinita about 24 m. from Nahr Arka. See SINITA.

3. On 'the Arvadite' see ARVAD.

4. 'The Zemarite' is from the city Zimra (Zimra) mentioned repeatedly by Tiglath-pileser III. and his successors, 745 B.C. (Schr. COI on Gen. 10:18, Del. Par. 281 f.), and long before in the Amarna letters, as Zimra (Beauld, op. cit. 188; otherwise Winckler, op. cit. 407); it was known to the Greeks as Σιμωρα (see ref. in Di.). It is perhaps the Zimra, between Raad and Tripolis (Bad. Pal. 407; see other ref. in Buhl. Ges. Lev., xiv.). Cornill restores זִמְרִי in Ezek. 27:11 (see GAMMADIM).

5. Finally, 'the Hamathite' from the well-known city of HAMATH (q.v.) on the Orontes.

All these are places in the extreme N., and can be, in most cases, with certainty identified.

This increases our surprise at finding them combined (v. 16 f.) with the 'Jebusite and the GIRGASHITE (q.v.) and the HIVITE' (q.v.), which are either in the S. or are geographically vague.

'The Amorite' is a name which requires separate treatment. We may understand it to be used here in the same sense which it bears elsewhere in the stereotyped lists of Canaanite peoples, and assume that v. 16, as well as 'the Hivite' in v. 17, is not a part of J's original table (see AMORITES).

The account of the sons of Canaan in J comes to an end with two more general remarks: v. 18 'and afterward (i.e., after Canaan had begotten these sons in the course of time, by degrees) were the families of the Canaanite spread abroad'; v. 19 in its turn, gives the boundary of the Canaanites.

It is evident from a comparison of v. 18 and 19 that in both cases the Canaanites are the inhabitants of Canaan (Phoenician colonies, e.g., are not included). v. 18, must therefore mean, 'spread out so as to occupy the land of Canaan.' Verses 15-18, however, contain names (i.e., in v. 16 f.) which certainly cover substantially the Canaanite territory; v. 18 is not intelligible if the whole space over which they spread is already occupied by them. The characteristic names of the present list are, however, all in the N., and it seems highly probable that the others (Jebusite, Amorite, Gergashite, Hivite) are not original, but inserted by a scribe who missed the familiar forms.

If the above criticism be sound, what J tells us is that the original seat of the Canaanites was in the N. (= Phoenicia and Hamath), and that they spread from that region over Canaan.

This obliges us to take a further step.

Verse 19 cannot give the boundary of these original northern Canaanites. It does not even include them, for it goes no farther N. than Sidon, and all the other names under consideration (Heth, Arka, Sin, Arvad, Simir, and Hamath) are to the northward of Sidon. Moreover it passes down at least as far as Gaza (reading גִּזְרִי, 'towards Gerar'); but Gaza is near the southern border of the Philistine territory, which must therefore be included in the Canaanite border; but evidently the Philistines are, for J, not Canaanites (v. 14).

It appears, then, that not only the five names in v. 16-17, but also the border-tracing v. 19, are later additions. If this is the case, however, the 15:21 spread abroad of v. 18 is no longer

¹ For a different view see HAURAN.

² In Gen. אֲבִיעֵם [A], אֲבִיעֵם [E], אֲבִיעֵם [L]; in Ch. אֲבִיעֵם [A], אֲבִיעֵם [L]; B om.

³ In Gen. אֲבִיעֵם [A], אֲבִיעֵם [L], אֲבִיעֵם [E]; in Ch. אֲבִיעֵם [A], אֲבִיעֵם [L]; B om.

⁴ אֲבִיעֵם [A], אֲבִיעֵם [E]; in Ch. אֲבִיעֵם [A], אֲבִיעֵם [L]; B om.

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to be explained by v. 19, and may well refer to the planting of Phœnician colonies, which is more in accord with the meaning of *ph* (*ex*), Gen. 11:31 Zeph. 3:10 Is. 23:1 Ezek. 11:17 and often).

The next geographical reference in J is in v. 26.

Verses 21-25 sharply connect the Eberites with Shem, the eldest son of Noah, and fix the time of the division of the peoples.

Verses 26-30 name the sons of Joktan (see JOKTAN), and give their locality. The names, as far as identified,

17. J's sons of Joktan.

prove to be Arabian (see special articles). The interior of the Arabian peninsula, whose coast had been skirted by Solomon's fleets, was gradually disclosing itself. Hadramaut (HAZARMAVUT, Gen. 10:26 = 1 Ch. 1:20) appears for the first and only time in the OT, side by side with Sheba (see § 3). The more settled Arabian communities are coming into view. Amalek and Midian, the wilder Bedawin of the desert, have disappeared.¹

Verses 30 gives the limits of the territory of these descendants of Joktan:—'from *שפ* towards *הה* the mountain of the East.'

The change of Mesha to Massa (*מס*), a branch of the Ishmaelites, is plausible. Massa would then mark the northern limit of the tribes of Yokjan. See MESHA.

Sephar, the opposite limit (*שפ*), must be sought in the S. if *שפ* is in the N. It is usually identified (but with doubtful warrant) with the ancient Hittite capital Tarsus, perhaps (Gies and Hohl) the seaport of Hadramaut (near Mirbat) now called *Yfar* or *Yfar* (see SEPHAR).

The mountain of the East is too general an expression to give precision to undefined geographical terms (cp GOLD, § 11).

The list of J ends here. It was doubtless once fuller than it is now; R has contented himself with a selection.

The only sons of Shem to whom J devotes space, besides Eber and Peleg, are Joktan and his Arabian descendants. We miss, e.g., all reference to Aram, which J would not ignore.

J has contributed only part of the materials to Gen. 10. We have now to consider the contribution of P.

The longer the relations with Phœnicia and with Assyria continued, and the closer they became, the

18. Geographical knowledge in the 5th cent. B.C.

greater their effect on the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews. The fall of the Northern Kingdom and the settlement of foreigners in that territory meant less to them geographically than it would have done if there had been northern writers to make use of new knowledge that the colonists brought.

The exile of Judah took place under very different conditions, and, after the Babylonian power had passed to the Persians, the religious and literary activity at Jerusalem not only manifests a vivid acquaintance with distant countries before known only by reports at second hand, but also shows that there were men who had learned from their own observation, as well as from the heterogeneous character of the armies which had conquered them—men who knew something of the remotest campaigns of their foreign sovereigns, and who had a growing familiarity with the traffic of the world.

Accordingly the circumference of P's map is greater than that of J. He follows a different order; but, to aid in comparison, it will be simpler to rearrange his material, and begin, as in the case of J, with the East.

We have particularly a wealth of eastern, north-eastern, and northern details. Babylonia is of course

19. P's Eastern and Northern Geography.

familiar (see below); Elam (Gen. 10:22) and Susiana are now well known,—Nehemiah was at home in Susa (SHUSAN, Neh. 1:1).—Media (MADAI) appears often (Is. 13:17 Gen. 10:2 etc.), and had indeed probably been known for centuries (2 K. 17:6); it is the Assyrian Madai (Rammān-nirari [812-783 B.C.]—Esarhaddon [681-668]), E. of Assyria, NE. of Babylonia; its capital, EKBATANA (ACHMETHA) is mentioned in

¹ We find Midian still in the later writers of Is. 60:6 and Hab. 3:7, where they are simply poetic representatives of distant peoples. In 1 K. 12 the text is doubtful (Then, cp Benzinger). As for Amalek, if credence can be placed in 1 Ch. 4:25, the last remnant of it was destroyed in the time of Hezekiah. In Ps. 83:8 the mention of it is in a poetic figure, either to designate present foes by the title of an ancient foe, or to describe the character of the present ones (cp Rasthgen).

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Esra 6:2. Persia appears first in Ezek. 27:10 38:5 (see however, PARAS), and then abundantly in Esra.

Persia is not explicitly connected with Cyrus before the time of the Chronicler (when it is superabundantly joined with his name; 2 Ch. 36:22, Esra 1:1, 2:3, 4:3). The contemporary mention of him in Is. 44:28 45:1 does not, it is true, reveal any knowledge of Anzan, or Susiana, as his early dominion; but neither does it displace such knowledge by the indirect substitution of Persia, which afterwards grew so familiar.

P's list as preserved does not mention Babylon. It was needless. Familiarity with Babylonia is of course a marked feature of the exile and post-exile literature.

Besides the frequent mention of the Chaldeans from the time of their appearance before Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 22:25 21:45 etc.) we have frequent mention of the land of the Chaldeans.

Specific mention in Jer. 24:25 25:12 (om. G, H, Gie., etc.), also 50:12 25:45 51:45 Ezek. 13:12 13; reference, in Jer. 50:10 51:24 35 Ezek. 11:24 16:29 29:15, Dan. 9:1 (in Is. 23:1 the text is corrupt).

For the Hebrews the land of Chaldaea is the land of which Babylon was the chief city. Of an earlier Chaldean home in S. Babylonia they show no knowledge.¹ It was only after Babylon became the Chaldean capital that the Chaldeans attained importance for Israel (Judah; cp Merodach-baladan, 2 K. 20).

Chaldaea is identified with Babylon in Ezek. 12:1 3:16, cp Jer. 50:1; see also Jer. 21:4 etc. In Ezek. 23:15 we have explicitly 'sons of Babylon, whose home (lit. kindred-land) is Chaldaea.' The mention of both Chaldaea(n) and Babylon is by far most frequent in Jeremiah (Chaldaea 40 times; Babylon 169; the land of Chaldaea, especially Jer. 50:6); the expression 'land of Babel' (Babylon) is peculiar to Jer. 50:20 51:29; 'the kingdom of the Kasdim' in Dan. 9:1 is the kingdom of Darius.

There is a reference to Southern Babylonia in the (land) MERATHAIM (rather Merathim) of Jer. 50:21, if this is equivalent to the Ass. (*mul*) *marrati*, 'sea-land'—i.e., land on the shore of the Persian Gulf (so Del., Schr.). In what part of Babylonia *merathim* (Jer. 50:21 Ezek. 23:23) is to be sought is unknown, the cuneiform *Pukudu* does not help us. The general situation of SUSA and KOA seems to have been determined (E. of lower Tigris).

1. The absorption of Assyria into the Babylonian Empire has not prevented P and his contemporaries

20. P's Northern Geography.

from maintaining an acquaintance with more northern countries. Eastern Armenia (ARARAT, 1) had been introduced to the Hebrews through the account of Senacherib's murder (2 K. 19:37), was known—perhaps in a wider sense—to the author of Jer. 51:27 before the Persian conquest of Babylon, and was incorporated into P's version of the flood (Gen. 8:4). It has been observed (§ 4), and it is not a little surprising, that neither here nor anywhere do we find biblical mention of the Armenian lakes, Van and Urumiyeh. If Arpachshad (Gen. 10:22 24; see ARPAKSHAD) contains the name of Arrapachitis, then P's knowledge actually penetrated into the region between these lakes, and yet he does not name them. MINNI and ASHKENAZ (§ 2) are also in Armenia, and RUPHATH and TOGARMAH at least in Western Armenia, whilst P knows GOMER [1] (the Gimiral of the Assyrian inscriptions appear in Cappadocia from the time of Esarhaddon); see Gen. 10:2f. It is plain therefore that, when P's list was made out, the Taurus and the Amanus, although still unmentioned (see above, § 6), have ceased to be an absolute barrier.

The fifth son of Japheth is Tubal, the Assyrian Tabali, and the sixth Meshech, the Assyrian Muski (Gen. 10:2 = 1 Ch. 1:5), almost always named together; only in Is. 60:19 does Tubal appear without Meshech (as a distant nation; but G reads *Moos* for Heb. *משכ*, see Du., Che. *SBOT*, Marti), and in Ps. 120:5 Meshech without Tubal (|| or opp. Kedar). Since Bochart they have been identified with the Moschi (*μοσχοι*) and Tibareni. Schrader (*KFG*, *l.c.*) shows that as late as Esarhaddon the Tabali bordered on Cilicia, and that the Muski were just NE. from them. They push up from the south like a wedge, between Cappadocia and Armenia. Since they appear in the second row

¹ Except such as is indicated by the name Ur Kasdim, which J has used, and which P repeats (Gen. 14:31 15:7, cp Neh. 9:7). It is not certain, however, that P had a definite idea of the site of Ur. Still less does it appear that he associated the Chaldeans specifically with S. Babylonia.

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of P's northern peoples, it is now clear that P knew them before they were driven farther N. See LURAI.

Phas (Gen. 10:2-1 Ch. 13) is the seventh son of Japhet; not identified with certainty; on a possible connection with the ancient Phoenicia, see LURAI.

On the difficult name 'Magog' (Gen. 10:2) see LURAI. We can only infer that P set 'Magog' in the N. The traditional identification of him with the Scythians (Jos. Jer.), though without definite evidence, is plausible. The Scythians came down, as fierce northern raiders, late in the seventh century (Zeph. Jer.), and little would be known with precision about a region so distant, as that from which they came.

2. Before passing entirely away from the N and E, we must notice P's account of the Arameans.

Gen. 10:21 gives four sons of Aram who in 1 Ch. 1:17 appear as sons of Shem. Gether is unidentified.

For Uz, the connection with Nahor (Gen. 22:21) would lead us to look beyond the Euphrates and the relation to Aram (Gen. 10:21) would make no difficulty.

The exegetical details of Job will be treated elsewhere. There is no objection to locating Uz somewhere on the N. side of the Arabian desert, where indeed Ptolemy (v. 19:2) speaks of a people called the *Aurari* who lived W. of the Euphrates. We also find Uz connected with Edom (Gen. 36:21 P, and Lam. 4:21 [om. B]). So, too, P's addition to the book of Job refers to him as 'dwelling in the Austrialand on the borders of Idumea and Arabia.'

On Jer. 25:20 see Uz. Del. (*Par.* 259) claims to have found the name Uz, under the form, *mat Uza*, on an inscription of Shalmaneser II. (Obelisk, L. 154); if correct, Uz must have been near the Orontes, but Winck. (*AKL* 1:14) reads *Kunthuzza* as a man's name. Hel. (*AKL* 2:27) thinks of the extreme N. of the Syrian desert, in the region of Palmyra; but Lam. 4:21 opposes this. All these data cannot be made to refer to one single region; but Robertson Smith's suggestion that Uz denotes all the scattered tribes—or rather the various tribes who worshipped the same god, 'Aul' (190), a god well known to heathen Arabia—is not favoured by the connection of Uz with Aram, or with a home E. of the Euphrates, although this is not conclusive.

MAST (q.v.), which occurs only here, is connected by Di. (after Ges. *Theo.*) with Mons Masius, now *Jur. Madi*, northward from Nisibis—the mountain range separating Armenia from Mesopotamia (Strabo xl. 142; Ptol. v. 18:2), which may well have been peopled by Arameans. Accepting this conjecture, we might proceed to identify Mast, the remaining son of Shem, with the district *Maṣṣā* (from *Ass. Maṣṣu*, 'sand'), mentioned by *Aur. nāṣir-pal* in connection with *Mons Masius* (Del. *Par.* 259). This, however, is uncertain.

In the time of P light has been pouring over the W. also. It is possible, notwithstanding the present order

21. **P's Western Geography.** of the names, that Lud, fourth son of Shem (Gen. 10:22), is to be identified with Lydia, which Cyrus's conquest had made familiar. Identification with the African Lud (Ludim, 1:13) is out of the question; and to connect Lud with the Egyptian *Rēnu* (*Ruten*) of Northern Syria (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 143 ff.) is opposed by phonetic laws (Erman in *COT*, ad loc.). The connection of Lud with Shem is no insuperable obstacle to its identification with Lydia. See LUD.

The next name (in geographical order) is quite certain. The fourth son of Japhet is Javan = the Ionian. In Dan. 8:21 11:2 10:20, and probably in Zech. 9:13 (if the text is correct), the reference is to the Macedonian power. In Ezek. 27:13 Is. 60:19 the original reference to Ionians is more prominent. See JAVAN.

Four descendants are assigned to Javan (Gen. 10:4). Of these, Tarshish and Kittim, as we have seen, early became familiar to the Hebrews; ELISATH (q.v.), which occurs elsewhere only in the phrase *אֶלְיָסָתִּים*, 'coast-lands of Elishah' (Ezek. 27:7), may perhaps be Carthage; on the fourth descendant see DODANIM. The intervening spaces offer room for the unnamed islands and coast-lands (27:7) which Gen. 10:5 so abundantly referred to in the later literature.

¹ *ἐν μέν γὰρ κατοικούν τῇ Ἀσσίᾳ (τρίτην τοῖς ὀπίοις τῆς Ἰδομαίας καὶ Ἀραβίας. Cp. also Job 82:2, where G adds after 'Elihu' . . . of the kindred of Ram' . . . τῆς αὐτοκρίτης χώρας.*

² So Jos. (*Ant.* i. 64) says that Uz (ὠυρὸς) was the founder of Trachonitis and Damascus (cp. Jer. *Quaest.* Gen. 10:23); but whence had he the tradition?

³ See WRS *Kinship*, 261; *ESD* 43; We. *Heid.* 146; and on the other side Nöld. *ZDMG* 40:183. Notice too that G's adjectival form *αὐτοκρίτης* points also to a pronunciation *Assu* = *Assu*, there being no distinction in Heb. between the two Arabic consonants *f* and *d*.

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The arm 'M (C²M) is only here in P; but it is characteristic of the late literature, and has a consistent, although general, geographical use. The singular 'M appears in Is. 20:3 used of the Palestinian coast (including Judah) and so in 23:2 of the Phoenician coast, and in Jer. 47:4 of the coastland of Canaan (2:10 8:1); in Jer. 25:22 we read of 'the kings of the coastland which is beyond the sea (with kings of Tyre and Sidon). In the wider application, however, it is elsewhere pl., and is sometimes more, sometimes less, defined. It always, as far as can be determined, refers to coasts of the Mediterranean. It is otherwise quite indefinite (of coast-lands, whether of islands or continents, often with idea of distance) Jer. 31:35 Ezek. 20:13 Is. 27:13 Is. 39:1 Is. 41:5 42:4 to 42:49 51:5 50:9 60:9 62:10 67:1 Dan. 11:18 fully עַל הַיָּם Is. 11:1 23:13 Jer. 10:1; עַל הַיָּם occurs Zeph. 2:11 as in Gen. 10:5; less often the pl. is used of particular coasts: of Kittim Jer. 2 to Ezek. 27:6, and of Hittah Ezek. 27:7; once it means 'islands,' Is. 40:5, and once (if the text is right; see 32:2 f.) 'Isa.' Heb. 20) 'habitable ground,' Is. 42:15. The earliest indefinite use of the pl. is Jer. 8:1 to Zeph. 2:11; all the others as in Is. (second and third) Ezek. Ezek. Dan. and late Psalms, unless Is. 11:1 is an exception, which, however, in view of the usage, is most unlikely. See further, ISL.

In v. 6 P goes on to the sons of Ham. These are Kush, Misraim, Phut, and Canaan. The first two are 22. **P's Sons** unquestionably African. Kush here is of Ham.

(*αἰθιοπία*)—i.e., the country S. of Egypt (see ETHIOPIA). Misraim (see MISRAIM) has no doubt substantially the same meaning as in J (8:15); Phut occurs as early as Nahum (8:9).

Also in Jer. 46:9, with Kôš and Lûdim; read perhaps Lûdim), Ezek. 30:5 with Kôš and Lûdim, probably also Lûb; see Co.; in both these last as part of the Egyptian army: 27:10 with Pâras (see, however, PÂRAS) and Lûd, as in the Tyrian army; 38:5 with Pâras (see, however, PÂRAS) and Kôš as belonging to the hordes of Gog, and in Is. 60:10 (Tarshish, Pul [rd. P²], φούρ, BQ²ne l. Lûd, Tubal, Javan). In Jer. 46:9 and Ezek. 27:10 38:5 G reads *Apiter*; see Jos. in Nah. 8:9 τῆς φούρης καὶ Ἀπὶτε represents C²PHI C²PE.

On the whole S points to identification with the Libyans, or a part of them adjoining Egypt on the W.

For another view see PUT. WMM *As. u. Eur.* 114 ff. argues strongly on phonetic grounds for *Phut* on the African shore of the Red Sea; but he minimizes and explains away the evidence of S. He also advances the order of names in an inscription of Darius (v. Spiegel, *APK* 54 l. 30): *Putiya, Kuliya, Mariya* i., *Phut*, on the Red Sea coast (beginning from the E.), inland, etc.; but as *Yavana* = *Javan* precedes, the order to W. is by no means certain. The whole matter is involved and difficult.

Most of the sons of Misraim has not been preserved; knowledge of Egypt, however, although perhaps not covering greater distances than in the eighth century, was certainly more intimate, from *Tahpanhes* on the frontier (Jer. 43:7 ff. etc., Ezek. 30:18) to *Thebes*, far up the Nile (No; Nah. 38 Ezek. 30:14 ff.; see these vv. also for other Egyptian cities). Ezekiel (23:10) takes us as far S. as Aswân ('from Migdol to Syene' [read *Seudn* = Aswân]), to say nothing of Cush (see § 23).

If we reserve Kush, the only non-African son of Ham, according to P's list (as far as preserved to us), is Canaan. This represents the pre-Israelitish population of the land which bears the same name (see CANAAN).

Passing over SEBA and HAVILAU (q.v.), we pause at the difficult tribal name Sabtâh (Gen. 10:7).

23. **P's Sons** 107, where 21 could have *מִצְרַיִם* 1 Ch. of Cush. 19).

Tuch and Knobel propose *caṣṣaba* or Sabota (see ref. in Di.), an ancient Arabian commercial city, Sab. *ḥaṣṣa* (but *ḥaṣṣa*), whilst Glaser (*Viertelj.* 2:252 f.) thinks of *caṣṣaba* (Ptol. vi. 1:30), near the (W.) shore of the Persian Gulf.

Sabtaca (Gen. 10:7) is unknown. See SARTACA.

We have left Ra'math (Gen. 10:7 *רַמַּת* 1 Ch. 19), with his two sons. Of these sons, Sheba has been considered already (§§ 3, 17). For the other see DEBAN.

The descendants of Ra'math being Arabian, it is not surprising that the same is true of Ra'mah.

The name occurs elsewhere only in Ezek. 27:22 among the traders of Tyre (with Sheba). The *g* in G's form (see RAAMAH) agrees with S. *ḥaṣṣa*. It is plausible to connect with the *ḥaṣṣavira* (St. *As. u. Eur.* 142), between the *muṣai* and the *ḥaṣṣavira*, fo. Sab. *ḥaṣṣa* is near *Māṣā* (q.v.; SW Arabia). See further RAAMAH.

In this connection it is interesting to notice the

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increase in other exile and post-exile writers of names of tribes living in the N. Arabian and Syrian desert. ISHMAEL (*g. r.*) is known to J. who specifies the limits of the Ishmaelite roving (Gen. 25:18); but he is better known to P. It is partly that the desert tribes encroached on former Israelish territory, and so became known, partly that the tribes dwelling nearer Babylonia became acquaintances of the Hebrews by way of Babylon, and partly that the movements of peoples and individuals were becoming, from various causes, more frequent and extended, and general information more widely diffused. The population of the desert between Palestine and Babylonia became more definitely known to the Hebrews as the Jewish community was preparing to take on its later form. Of precise geographical yield there is here, however, very little. The list of Ishmael's twelve sons (Gen. 25:13 ff. [P] = 1 Ch. 1:29 ff.) well illustrates the facts (see especially Di. and ref.).

Such names as Kedar (Jer. 2:10 Ezek. 27:21 Is. 21:16 f. etc.) and Nebaioth (Is. 60:7 etc.; see on these, ISHMAEL, §§ 2, 4) now begin to appear, and the prophets have already begun to use the name *Arabian* with a definite significance (Jer. 25:24 Ezek. 27:21, see ARABIA, § 1).

At the end of Gen. 10:7 the list of P is interrupted by that of J. In 10:20 P reappears in a closing formula (as it does also in 10:31 f.). 10:22 f. deal with the sons of Shem (see above). With 10:23 P's list ends abruptly.

It remains only to consider a few later notices. The trading habits of the Jews, developed in and after the exile, not only resulted in the planting of Jewish colonies at various foreign centres, such as Alexandria, which naturally became sources of geographical knowledge, but also doubtless led them in the track of the conquering Macedonians (cp Dispersion, § 11 f.). We are therefore not surprised to find, in a late book, a mention of INDIA (Esth. 1:18), which marks one of the youngest geographical notes of the OT and the farthest eastern point reached by biblical geography. If the land of Sinim in Is. 49:12 were China, the limit would be much farther eastward; but this interpretation can no longer be maintained (see SINIM). It will be observed that even Strabo knows nothing to the E. of India.

It is noteworthy that down to the time of this late reference, even after the long Hebrew contact with Babylonia and the adjacent countries to the E., there is no sign of acquaintance with the remoter Orient; nor is there even yet any clear token of familiarity with overland trade-routes to countries as distant as India. This is quite in keeping with the silence of our Assyrian and Babylonian sources on the same subjects, and points to the conclusion that such trade-routes were opened much later, or were much more insignificant, and perhaps shorter, than some have been inclined to suppose.

The geography of the Apocryphal books shows the transition from the older Hebrew geography to that of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.

25. Apocrypha. We find much of the older geography continued and enlarged. Babylon is the familiar scene in Baruch, the Song of the Three Children, Susannah, Bel and the Dragon, as Media (Ecbatana, Rages) is in Tobit. The river HYDASPES (*g. r.*) appears as a novelty in Judith 16 and the city of Persepolis in 2 Macc. 9:2. Idumaea, 1 Macc. 4:29 6:1 6:31 etc., is named often, Egypt occasionally (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 11:13). In the distance are the SCYTHIANS (2 Macc. 4:47), as an example of a barbarous people. Arabia in a wide sense is frequent (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 11:16). The names of Syria (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 11:60) COELESYRIA (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 10:69, 2 Macc. 3:5), and Ptolemais (1 Macc. 5:15 22 etc.) now appear: also the harbour of Tripolis (διὰ τοῦ κατὰ Τρίπολιν λιμένος; 2 Macc. 14:1), Antioch (1 Macc. 4:35, etc.), and Daphne near it (2 Macc. 4:33).

As we move farther W. there is still more novelty. In the sea we have of course Cyprus (2 Macc. 10:13 12:2) and the Cyprians (4:35) and Crete (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 10:67),

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on land we have Cilicia (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 11:14 Judith 17:12) and Tarsus (2 Macc. 4:30); Asia as a kingdom (1 Macc. 8:6 11:13 etc.); the Galatians (8:2; RV 'Gauls'). Crossing the Aegean we have 'Alexander the Macedonian' (1 Macc. 1:1), and besides [ἡ] γῆ χερρτείου (cp τὸν περὶ ἀλιτίων βασιλέα 8:5), in the same verse (and elsewhere) τὴν ἐλλάδα; the Spartans (σπαρτιάται) appear, especially in 1 Macc. 12:5 f. 20 f. We encounter an 'old man of Athens' in 2 Macc. 6:1; but this is doubtful (see GERON). Especially noteworthy is 1 Macc. 15:23, which contains a list of countries, including Sampsames, Samos, Rhodes, Gortyna, Cnidus, Cyrene, to which letters were sent from Rome (v. 15). The new power of Rome (1 Macc. 1:10 etc.) is often mentioned, and, farthest W. of all, the land of Spain (1 Macc. 8:3).

The meagreness of reference in these books to territory E. of Media and Persia indicates in part a lack of geographical interest and in part the ignorance of the authors. The Book of Tobit, whose scene is laid in Media, shows little trace of real acquaintance even with that country. The mention of India in the additional chapters of Esther (13:1 16:1) is a mere repetition of that in the Hebrew Esther, and that of 1 Macc. 8:8 is an obvious textual error.

F. B.

A survey of NT geography would take us into regions that have hitherto hardly come within view; but such a survey is not necessary for the purposes of this article (see above, introduction). A large part of it would almost resolve itself into a study of the missionary journeys of Paul (see PAUL, GALATIA). It is enough to refer to the wide range of his journeys in Asia Minor, Greece, and the Greek islands and lastly his journey from Jerusalem to Rome, journeys that are familiar from deservedly popular works, the latest of which is Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller* (a valuable contribution).

We might almost say that to study the NT geography is to study the geography of the Roman province of Asia. In fact not only the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul but also the Apocalypse of John (chaps. 1-3) send us mentally on a tour of investigation in Asia. It must not be forgotten, however, that whilst Rome could be introduced into the OT only by the Rabbinic device of taking 'Edom' as a symbol for 'Rome' (cp EDOM, § 10), 'Rome' itself stands written plainly again and again in the second part of the NT. Once the great missionary looks even beyond Rome—not merely to Tarshish, but to Spain (Rom. 15:24 28). Thus the realised and unrealised travelling purposes of Paul embrace a large section of the Roman empire. Against his will he even visited the island of Malta, where Punic was spoken. The soil of Africa he never touched, though in a remarkable catalogue of countries of the Jewish Dispersion (Acts 2:9 f.) the 'parts of Libya about Cyrene' are mentioned, and one would almost have expected to read in the sequel that Africa as well as Asia had been visited by Christian missionaries.

The passage, which, as Blass remarks, is in the style of prophecy, runs thus:—'Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judaea (?) and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians, we do hear them speaking in our tongues the mighty works of God.' 'Judaea,' however, is plainly a scribe's error. Jerome would read 'Syria'; Tertullian 'Armenia'; elsewhere (see INDIA) 'Ionia' is proposed. There is special interest in the mention of the Jews from Parthia (see PARTHIANS).

F. B. (§§ 1-25).

GEON (ΓΗΩΝ [BNA]), Ecclus. 24:27 AV, RV GHION, 3 (*g. r.*).

GEPHYRUN (Γεφυρὸν [A] on. V. Syr.), apparently the name of a city, called also Caspin (see CASPIUM), which was taken by Judas (2 Macc. 12:13 RV); but the relation between the two names is obscure. The former name might plausibly be identified with the *Gephyrus* of Polybius (see EPIRON i, 2), if the

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distance between the proposed sites of Caspin and Ephron were not too great to permit this.

Very possibly **G** is corrupt (so RVmg.). Some read *πόλιν γεφύρας* (so cod. 55; cp *ἵερὸν πόντιον*), or *γεφύραιον* (Grot. 20.), where *γεφ.* might have the sense of 'dams' or 'mounds.' AV translates, 'to make a bridge' (*γεφύραιον*).

GERA (גֵּרָא), a compound of גֵּרָא § 68; cp Phoen. גֵּרָא; **GERA** [B.M.], a prominent Benjamite division to which belonged **ENID** (Judg. 3:15), and **SIMMEI**, 1 (2 S. 16:5 19:16 [17], 1 K. 2:8). This and the name **BECHER** [q.v.] are the only Benjamite divisions mentioned in the historical books.

Gera is mentioned in late genealogical lists in Gen. 46:21 (GAD), adds that he was the father of ARU and 1 Ch. 8:15 (YEREA [B r. 5]) etc. (on the complications see H. W. Hogg, *JQR* 11:102-114 [1901], and cp BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. β). It is omitted in Nu. 20:38-40. Marq. (*Fund.* 22) discovers the gentilic גֵּרָאִי in 2 S. 23:36 (MT 'Bani the Gadite'; גֵּרָאִי; but see HAGRI.

GERAH (גֵּרָח), prop. 'grain,' Ass. *girā*, see Muss-Arnolt; *ὀβολος* [BAFL], *obolus* (Vg.), *mitā*, *zūzā* (Pesh.), Ex. 30:13 Lev. 27:25 Nu. 5:47 15:16 Ez. 45:12f. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

GERAR (גֵּרָר, **GERARA** [ADEL]), a place (and a district?) in the extreme SW. of Palestine or, perhaps more strictly (unless a second place of the same name be meant), in N. Arabia—mentioned by J in Gen. 10:19 26:16 17:20 26, by E (?) in Gen. 20:1f. (in v. 2 γα γαράρων [E]), and by the Chronicler in 2 Ch. 14:13 ([12]f. γεράρ [BA]).

Since the time of Rowlands, it has been generally identified with the ruins called *Umm el-Jerār*, about 5 m. S. of Gaza, in a deep and broad torrent-bed called *Jurf el-Jerār* (the upper part of the *Wādī Ghazza*). This identification suits 2 Ch. 14, where, after defeating Zerah near Maresah (*Merash*, near *Beit Jibrin*), Asa pursues his toes as far as Gerar; also Gen. 10:19, where 'towards Gerar' is given as an alternative geographical point to 'unto Gaza' (even if the latter should be a gloss, it is probably correct), and 26:1, where Abimelech, who resides in Gerar, is called 'king of the Philistines' (Philistia cannot have reached much farther S. than the 'strong' city of Gaza). It is inconsistent, however, with Gen. 26:21f., where **SITNAH** and **REIMOTH** [q.v.] are localised in the valley of Gerar, and with Gen. 20:1 where 'and he sojourned in Gerar' is an alternative geographical statement to 'and dwelt between KADESH (i.) and SHUR' [q.v.]. The passages just mentioned absolutely require a more southerly situation for Gerar than that proposed by Rowlands and adopted by Robinson, Socin (*Baed.* 143), and Mühlau (Riehm's *HWB*). For these passages at any rate the site fixed upon by Trumbull (*Kadesh Barnea*, 63f. 255) and Guthe (*ZDPV* 8:215) seems indispensable. SW. of *Ain Kadis* is the *Wādī Jerār*, a lateral valley of the *W. el-Sherāf*, which issues into the *W. el-Artāh*; the name, as Robinson who describes it remarks, nearly corresponds to the Gerar of the OT.

In short, it is probable that there were two Gerars, and that J, who was equally unaware of this and of the true situation of Rehoboth and the other wells, confounded them, and consequently made Abimelech a 'king of the Philistines,' which the lord of Rehoboth and Sitnah cannot have been.

This view of the locality intended in the original form of the tradition, of which we have J's recast in Gen. 26, is confirmed by the version of the same folk-story given by J in his life of Abraham (Gen. 12:10-20), where the scene of the story is laid in Mizraim. That J understood the Mizraim of this tradition to be the land of Egypt, is obvious. There is indeed no special Egyptian colouring, but the mention of Pharaoh is enough to prove this reference. Elsewhere, however, it has been shown (see **MIZRAIM**, § 24) that some of the early traditions may have been misunderstood by J, through his ignorance of the early application of the term Mizraim (or Misor) to a region bordering on Edom, and adjoining the 'Wādī of Mizraim' in N. Arabia (see **EGYPT, BOOK OF**). This region probably included the territory between Kadesh and Shur, and also the wells Rehoboth and Sitnah. Winckler (*AF* 1:32) suggests that גֵּרָר, יִזְרָאֵל, 'And he sojourned in Gerar,' in Gen. 20:1 may be an editorial addition, designed to harmonise

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the following narrative (E) with that in Gen. 20 (J). This is very probably correct; otherwise we must insert 'also,' and attach the words in question to v. 2 (so Strack), a most undesirable expedient. The modern name *Gerar* means 'pots'; but this is no guide to the sense of the Hebrew Gerar (cp the modern name of **BEERSHEBA**).

Of the two Gerars only the first is known to tradition. It is, however, not the K-ru-ru of the famous list of Thotmes III., which was hardly near Gaza (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 159). Josephus apparently knows of Gerara as a Palestinian city (*Ant.* 1:121). Eusebius mentions it as 25 R. n. S. of Eleutheropolis, and as capital of Gerarica (*OS* 240:28; cp 299:74 77:80). It seems to be mentioned in the Talmud (*Neub. Glog.* 65). Sozomen (*Hist.* 6:32) says that there was there a large monastery. Cp **GERRHENIANS**.

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The original tradition of the casting out of the legion of demons it was, most probably, stated that Jesus was met by a demoniac, or by two demoniacs, in the 'country of the Gerasenes.' The story occurs in three forms, and according to both AV and RV, the three evangelists differ as to the scene. In Mt. 8:28 AV gives 'Gergesenes,' RV 'Gadarenes'; in Mk. 5:1 and Lk. 8:26 AV gives 'Gadarenes,' RV 'Gerasenes.' It is not very easy to say in each case which is the best reading.

In Mt., Ti., Treg., WH., and Weiss adopt γαδάρων; in Mk., Ti. and WH agree in preferring γερσσηνών; in Lk., WH adopts γερσσηνών, but Ti. γερσσηνών (so R.).

'Gergesenes' may, however, be confidently rejected. It has arisen out of 'Gerasenes,' and supplies an example of the tendency of the scribes to repeat the initial *g* in *gad* or *gar* at the beginning of the next syllable (see **GIRGASHITE**). It was equally the habit of the scribes to substitute a well-known for an uncommon name. 'Gerasenes' therefore is to be preferred to 'Gadarenes,' if we can only find a Gerasa which was on the E. coast of the Sea of Galilee; to identify this Gerasa with *Jerar* (see **GILEAD**, § 6) is out of the question. To start with, we have some reason to expect that there was such a place, because Origen (*In Ex. Joann.* 6:24) states that there was an 'ancient city' called Gergesa near the Lake of Tiberias, and hard by it a precipice, with which the descent of the swine into the lake was traditionally connected. So also Eusebius (*OS* 248:14).

Under 'Gergesa, where the Lord healed the demoniacs,' he says, καὶ νῦν δεικνύται ἐν τῷ ὄρει κώμη παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος εἰς τὴν καὶ οἱ χοῖροι κατεκρημνίσθησαν· κείτῃ καὶ ἀνωτέρω. Further, in an earlier place (242:68), where γερσσηνός is treated of, it is defined as ἐκείνη τοῦ Ἰορδάνου παρακείμενῃ πόλιν τῷ Γαλαζᾷ ἢ ἑλαβε φυλὴ Μαρασση. He adds that 'it is said to be Gerasa, a notable town of Arabia. And some say that it is Gadara. And the Gospel makes mention of the Gerasenes'; and under *Gesurim*, 244:24, we read that 'Gergasi is in Basanitis, from which the children of Israel were unable to expel the Geshurites' (cp 127:18 under 'Gesom').

The probability is that Origen and Eusebius had really heard of a place on the Sea of Galilee called Gersa, and now that it has been shown that 'on the left bank of the Wādī Semak, and at the point where the hills end and the plain stretches out towards the lake,' are ruins called Kersa, and that about a mile south of this the hills approach within forty feet of the lake, terminating in 'a steep, even slope,' we can hardly doubt that here is the lost Gerasa. The site, says Sir C. W. Wilson,¹ is enclosed by a wall three feet thick. On the shore of the lake are a few ruined buildings, to which the same name is given by the Bedouin. Thomson (*LB* 375), who first of all indicated these ruins, states (in harmony with Wilson) that though it was but a small place the walls can be traced all round, and there seem to have been considerable suburbs.

Thomson further states that there are ancient tombs in the high grounds about the ruins of Kersa (cp

¹ *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 368 (71). Cp Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, 179.

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Macgregor, *Rob Roy on the Jordan*, 423). About Gadara on the Hieromax, caves are also abundant, and the territory of the city seems to have extended to the lake. GADARA (q.v.), however, is at least six miles from the lake, and though this is maintained by Keim, was certainly not intended in the original tradition. The possibility that Kersa is Gerasa is not taken into account by G. A. Smith (*HG* 458 f.), who identifies it with Gergesa, and considers 'Gergesenes' to be 'the reading supported by the documents.'

For a statement of the documentary evidence see WH *App.* 11; from which we can hardly avoid the inference that Γαδαραίων is probably correct in Mt., Γερασσηνών in Mk. and Lk. The decision, however, is not historically of great moment; γερασσηνών is virtually supported by the MSS which present γεργασσηνών, for the reason given above, and should be preferred. With the statements of Eusebius in *OS*, cp the parallel passages in Jerome (viz. 130 is 125 27). The most important variation is at the close of the latter passage, which reads 'quidam autem ipsam esse Gadaram aestimant, sed et evangelium meminit Gergesenorum.' The authority of Eus. and Jer. for calling it Manassite appears to be merely the general statement in Josh. 13 29-31.

GERGESITES (οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι [BNA]), Judith 5:16 AV, RV GURGASHITES (q.v.).

GERIZIM, MOUNT (הַר גֵּרִיזִים [Sam. writes the two words as one, הַרְגִּרִיזִים; 'mountain of the GIRZITES' (q.v.); less probably from גִּרְזַל = גִּרְזַל, 'to cut in two'; the vocalization of a certainly primitive name has but slight authority; ΓΑΡ(Ε)ΖΙΣΤΕΙΝ [BAFL], but ΓΑΖΙΠΕΙΝ [A in Dt. 11:29 Judg. 9:7], and ΓΑΡΙΖ(Ε)ΜΟΝ [VA] in 2 Mac. 5:23, EV GARIZIM), the mountain (now called *Jebel et-Tur*) on the southern side of the valley or fissure in which Shechem lies, facing Ebal which is on the north. The height of Gerizim (properly Gerizzim) is 2849 ft.; that of Ebal 228 ft. more. The former is composed almost entirely of nummulitic limestone; in its rocky slopes are large caverns which were probably once quarries. The ascent at the present day cannot be called difficult, and the splendid view from the summit amply rewards the climb. One feels that if the union of N. and S. Israel could only have been accomplished, the sacred mountains Gerizim and Ebal, with the beautiful city nestling between them, might have been thought by Israel's leaders to have superior claims to Mt. Zion and Jerusalem.

A remarkable description is given of the situation of Gerizim in a passage hitherto much misunderstood. Moses has set before the Israelites a blessing and a curse, and directs them, when they have been brought into the land of promise, to 'put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curse upon Mount Ebal, on the other side Jordan, beyond Jericho, towards the entrance into Shechem, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the House of the Tower beside the sacred trees [tree f] of Moreh' (Dt. 11:29 f.).¹

The terrible state of corruption into which this passage early fell, led Eusebius (*OS* 2, 243 89) to state that according to the Scripture Gerizim and Ebal were 'near Golgotha', which is Galgala' (Γολγθαλ, ἡ καὶ Γαλγθαλ, ταύτης εἶναι πλησίον ἢ γραφῇ διδάσκει τὸ Γαριζεῖν καὶ τοῦ Εἰβάλ ὄρους), and an acute proposal has been made to identify the 'Gilgal' of the received text with the ruins called Julejil, SW. of the valley of Shechem (see GILGAL, § 5). This, however, does not suit the phrase 'over against (ἐναντίον) Gilgal,' and on grounds of principle it is undesirable to attempt identifications until the passage containing a place-name has been thoroughly scrutinised from the point of view of textual criticism. Julejil may represent an ancient Gilgal or cromlech; but this does not show that it is referred to in Dt. 11:30. On the other hand, the text, as emended, gives a thoroughly accurate picture.

The 'entrance into Shechem' is completely correct. 1 Cp Gen. 12:6. We read אֵלֶּיךָ בְּהָאָרָץ לְבָרְכֶךָ for אֵלֶּיךָ בְּהָאָרָץ לְבָרְכֶךָ. See *Crit. Bib.* All that can be done to make MT intelligible has been done, especially by Dillmann; but few will call the result very satisfactory. C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1:324 f.) has realized the doubtfulness of the text; but his suggestions that a highway through the land of the Canaanites is spoken of, that Shechem is deliberately omitted, and that 'the Gilgal' was a circumvallation of Gerizim are hardly felicitous.

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GERIZIM, MOUNT

manded by these two grand mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, as indeed the description in another striking passage (Josh. 8:33) also presupposes. 'Near the eastern end, the vale is not more than 60 rods wide' (Thomson), and from the highest gardens in the W. corner of Nablus we turn at once to the path which skirts the rocky slopes of Gerizim. At no great distance is a platform of rock, with a projecting triangular crag, about 10 ft. in diameter, from which, as from a pulpit, Jotham could easily have shouted his parable in the ears of the people below¹ (Judg. 9:7), 'running away' afterwards (cp EV's naive rendering of רָצַח v. 21) before Abimelech could take him. Nor is this, probably, the only portion of the story of Abimelech which refers to Gerizim. When that tyrant heard that all the people of the tower of Shechem were gathered together, we are told, he took his men to a mountain close by to get wood to set their refuge on fire. With axes he and his men cut down branches of trees and carried out his stern plan (Judg. 9:47-49). The mountain referred to can only be Ebal or Gerizim, and the corruption of Gerizim into ZALMON (q.v., i.) or Hermon (E^{bal}) is easy.

Dean Stanley's attempt to provide Gerizim with other historical associations (the meeting of Abram and Melchizedek and the sacrifice of Isaac) can hardly be called a success. The Samaritan traditions are of no historical value and have no sound biblical basis. One of them even represents Jacob as having had his great vision (Gen. 28:11 f.) on the summit of Gerizim (on the ruins called *Luz*² (the *Luz* of *OS* 2:274 5 135 131 see Rob. BR). See SAMARITANS.

There are still two biblical passages in one of which possibly or probably and in the other beyond any doubt

Mt. Gerizim is referred to—viz., Is. 66:1 3. Other references. Jn. 4:20 f. Certainly if Is. 66:1-4 is post-exilic (and it is difficult to maintain any longer an exilic date), we can hardly find any other concrete object for the passage than that first assigned by Duhm—viz., the intention of the Samaritans to build a temple to Yahweh on Mt. Gerizim³ (see ISATAU ii. § 21). Still, owing to the brevity of the passage we can scarcely claim more than high probability for this conjecture.

The second passage is also somewhat enigmatical. A modern writer quoted by Wetstein⁴ remarks on v. 22, 'Christ and the woman were both agreed in the object of worship. The question she puts is only which is the true place for it. But how is that determined by the answer?' The truth is that Jesus goes beyond the question of the Samaritan woman. He asserts (or is made to assert) that neither the Jerusalem nor the Gerizim temple is a fit place for spiritual worshippers, but also denies that the Samaritans as a body worship the Father (who requires spiritual worship) at all; and he looks forward to the time when the Samaritans shall give up the cultus on Mt. Gerizim without accepting (as the author of Is. 66:1-4 had doubtless wished) the cultus on Mt. Zion.⁵ Thus Mt. Gerizim, which loomed above Jesus and the woman as they conversed by Jacob's well ('in this mountain,' v. 20), gave occasion to Jesus, according to the Fourth Gospel, to enunciate the great principle of spiritual religion. We must not, however, allow ourselves to exaggerate the blame extended by Jesus to Mt. Gerizim. Partisans of the temple at

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¹ Moore (*Judges* 246) ascribes this very plausible theory to Furrer (*Wanderungen*, 244 f.); cp also Baed. 256. But as Thomson, *LB* [60] (473) remarks, several lofty precipices literally overhang Nablus. Similarly Porter (*Kitto's Bib. Cyclop.* 'Gerizim').

² May we compare the name of the village Tallūz, a little to the N. of Ebal, sometimes identified with TURZAH (q.v., 1)?

³ Köhler, it is true, sees no necessity for any 'concrete motive' such as Gressmann suggests (the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem). The writer of *vv.* 1-4 wishes to emphasise his conviction that only a 'house of prayer' (cp 56:7) was an appropriate place of worship for Yahweh' (*The Exile's Book of Consolation*, 201 f. [39]). Is. 66:1-4 according to him is an exilic passage, but 66:5 ff. were added after the building of the temple.

⁴ Beaulacré, ap. Wetstein (Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 143 [1782]).

⁵ Cp B. Weiss, *Evangel. des Johannes*, 193 ('86).

GERON

Jerusalem were, in his eyes, not less 'sectarian' than partisans of the temple on Gerizim. See SAMARITANS.

The summit of this mountain testifies to a succession of faiths. The most prominent monument is not the most important; it consists of ruins of the castle built by

4. Ruins. Justinian in 533 A.D. to protect the Christian church erected in 475 A.D. (the foundations of which still remain). In the centre of the plateau, however, is something much more venerable—a smooth surface of rock which is the traditional site of the altar of the temple of the Samaritans, and therefore their 'Holy of Holies.' The cup hollow in it resembles those in many Syrian dolmens, and may well have been used in primeval times for libations. Conder (*Syrian Stonehenge*, 169 f.) suspects that, though this rock may once have been enclosed, there was no proper temple. Josephus, however, had no interest in exaggerating, and his words are plain—a temple like that at Jerusalem' (*Ant.* xi. 82). The drafted blocks of the walls of Justinian's castle may possibly belong to a still older structure (Baed. 256). In the foundations of the western wall there are some ten or twelve large stones beneath which tradition places the 'twelve stones' brought up from the bed of the Jordan by the Israelites (Josh. 4.20). The place where the lambs of the Samaritan passover are killed is a short way down the W. slope of the mountain, a little above the spot where the Samaritans pitch their tents seven days before the feast. For an account of the passover ceremony, see SAMARITANS.

Gerizim rejoices in a copious spring of delicious water (the *Kōs el-Ain*), which may quench the thirst of the scanty hand of Samaritans at passover time, but was naturally insufficient for the multitude gathered on the mountain and slaughtered by Herod in the time of Vespasian (see Jos. *H.* iii. 7.32).

T. K. C.

GERON, an Athenian, introduced by RV^{ms} into an account of measures taken by Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jewish religion (2 Macc. 6.1). The text has γέροντα 'Aθηναίων' [VA], which EV renders 'an old man of Athens.' The passage, 1 Macc. 1.44, speaks of messengers sent by the king. The leader of these messengers would naturally be either a civil or a military official under Antiochus.

Probably ἀθηναίων is a clerical error for ἀντιοχέα; Vet. Lat. and Vg. have 'Antiochenum,' which may of course be the conjecture of a translator, but is none the worse because it is ancient. It is a further question whether γέροντα is not itself corrupt; RV^{ms}, perhaps unintentionally, suggests this view. But Ewald's rendering, 'a senator of Antioch' (*Hist.* 5.298, n. 5), is very plausible. The name of the official was not necessary; the Ar. vers., however, gives it as Filkūs (see Grimm, *ad loc.*). For a subtle but hardly necessary critical conjecture see Koster, *Th. T.* 12.496 (78).

T. K. C.

GERRHENIANS, RV GERRENIANS, THE (εωκτων γερηνίων [A], ε. τ. γερηνίων [V]), evidently a term for the southern limit of the Syrian dominion under Antiochus Eupator (2 Macc. 13.24). The town of Gerra (γὰ γερβία, Strabo, xvi. 233; γερβίων δριον, Ptol. iv. 5.11) lay between Pelusium and Rhinocolura, but can hardly be intended here, since the coast as far N. as Rhinocolura was at this time Egyptian (cp Polyb. v. 803). The Syriac reads G-Z-R. More probably, however, we should read γερραηνίων, which agrees with the reading γερραηνίων of one MS (cod. 55). 'From Ptolemais unto the Gerarenes' (see GERAR) would represent the whole of Palestine in its widest extension from N. to S. Compare the expression in 1 Macc. 11.59 where Simon is made captain of the country 'from the LADDER OF TYRUS (about 100 stadia N. of Ptolemais) unto the borders of Egypt.'

GERSHOM (גֶּרְשֹׁם), cp גֶּרְשֹׁם in Sin. Inscriptions, and see GERSHOM, GESHAM; גֶּרְשָׁם [BNAFL in Ex. and Ch.]; in Judg. גֶּרְשָׁם [B], גֶּרְשָׁם [A], גֶּרְשָׁם [L].

1. The first-born of Moses and Zipporah (Ex. 2.22 183), from whom JONATHAN (2), the priest of the sanctuary at Dan (Judg. 18.30), claimed descent.² We also find a Levitical name Shabuel b. Gershom in 1 Ch. 23.15 f. 26.24. The popular etymology, גֶּרְשָׁם, 'a sojourner there' (Ex. *ll. cc.*), is followed by G (גֶּרְשָׁם) and

¹ For the orthography of גֶּרְשֹׁם (= גֶּרְשָׁם) see Frensdorff, *Massoret, Wörterb.* 277; the two names are essentially identical; cp Onam and Onan, Heman and Heman.

² Bennett (*Exp.* 86 [98] 75) points out a possible reference to Gershom in Judg. 17.7 גֶּרְשָׁם, as though, 'and he (was) Gershom.'

GESHUR

Jos. *Ant.* ii. 13.1 (גֶּרְשָׁם). See MOSES, and on Ex. 4.25, cp CIRCUMCISION, § 2.

2. The head of the b'ne PHINEHAS (3), a family in Ezra's caravan (see Ezra 1.5 2, 3 § 13 (1) d), Ezra 8.2 (גֶּרְשָׁם [B.V], גֶּרְשָׁם [L.D] = 1 Esd. 8.29 Gershon (Γερσοτομος [B], γερσων [A], גֶּרְשָׁם [L]).

GERSHON (גֶּרְשֹׁן), for which in Ch. regularly גֶּרְשָׁם and גֶּרְשָׁם with the exception of 1 Ch. 6.1 [5.27], גֶּרְשָׁם [A], 236 גֶּרְשָׁם [A]; גֶּרְשָׁם [BAFL], b. Levi, is mentioned only in P and Ch. He is the first-born of Levi in Gen. 46.11 (גֶּרְשָׁם [AD]), Ex. 6.16 (גֶּרְשָׁם [AF]) 1 Ch. 6.1, and makes up with Kehath and Merari the three chief subdivisions of the Levites. Although the first-born, he is overshadowed by the Kehathites (to whom Aaron belonged). His sons Libni and Shimei (Ex. 6.17 Nu. 3.18 21 1 Ch. 6.17 [2] 23.7) were known, according to the Chronicler's conception, already in David's time (1 Ch. 23.7-11).

The sons of Gershon or the **Gershonites** (גֶּרְשָׁנִים; δ γερσων[ε] [BAFL], δ γερσων[ε] [BA]) are numbered at 7500 in the wilderness (Nu. 3.22)—which has an artificial look when we recollect that the whole number of the Levites is enumerated at about three times that number, viz. 23,000 (Nu. 2.462). P describes moreover their special work at the tabernacle and also the position taken up by them on their journeyings (ib. 3.25 4.24 7.7). Far more important, however, is the notice of the cities apportioned to them (Josh. 21.27 33 γερσων [AL]; 1 Ch. 6.62 [47] 71-76 [56-61] γερσων [A]); these all lay to the N., in Manasseh beyond Jordan, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali, and if we take this in connection with the notice of Jonathan b. Gershom b. Moses in Judg. 18.30 it would appear that the priests of Dan formed a group which traced its origin back to Moses, and derived its name from his first-born.¹ In the post-exilic and priestly genealogies the place of Gershon b. Moses is taken by Gershon b. Levi; compare the similar ease of ELIEZER b. Moses and ELEAZAR b. Aaron. See GENEALOGIES i., § 7.

GERSON (גֶּרְשֹׁן [A]), 1 Esd. 8.29 = Ezra 8.2, GERSON, 2.

GERUTH CHIMHAM (גֶּרֻת כִּמְחָם), Jer. 41.17 Kr. See CHIMHAM.

GERZITES (גֶּרְזִיטִים), 1 S. 27.8 Kt., AV^{ms}; AV GEZRITES.

GESEM (גֶּסֶם [BNA]), Judith 19, RV GOSHEN.

GESHAM, or rather, as in RV, **Geshan** (גֶּשָׁן, cp perhaps גֶּשָׁן), b. JAHDAL, a Calebite (1 Ch. 2.47; גֶּשָׁן [B], גֶּשָׁם [A], גֶּשָׁם [L]).

GA's γερσων may be due to a misreading, or possibly enough points to an original גֶּרְשָׁם (so Kt. *SBOT*, see GERSHOM). It is noteworthy that in both cases the Calebite name finds evident analogies in names of N. Arabian origin.

GESHEM (גֶּשֶׁם, גֶּשָׁם [BNA], גֶּשָׁם [L], GOSHEM), called 'the Arabian,' an ally of Sanballat and Tobiah, and an opponent of Nehemiah (Neh. 2.19 6.1 f. 6). In Neh. 6.6 the name takes the form GASHIMU (גֶּשֶׁם, גֶּשָׁם [N. a. m. g.], om. BN^a; GOSHEM); the correct form is probably Gushamu, a well-known Arabian name (cp Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, s.v. גֶּשָׁם).

For the ending -u which occurs frequently in Nabatean inscriptions compare גֶּשָׁם [Kr.], Neh. 12.14 (RV Malluchi, RVmg. Melicu), JETHRO, and perhaps BOCHERU, and see Nöld. in Eut. *Nab. Inscr.* 73; *ZDMG* 41.715. See ARABIA, § 3. S. A. C.

GESHUR (גֶּשֻׁר). 1. A territory in NE. Palestine, adjoining the Israelite possessions, and reckoned as Aramaean (2 S. 15.8). According to 1 Ch. 2.23 (om. Pesh.), Geshur and other Aramaean peoples took the Havvoth-jair from the Israelites. It may often be dangerous to treat statements of this kind in 1 Ch. 1-9

¹ A portion of the Merarite branch of Levites actually bears the name of Mushi—i.e., the Mosaic. Observe that this Levitical name, in common with so many more, is remarkable for its S. Palestinian associations; see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (v.).

GETHSEMANE

2. (הַגִּזְרִית, 'the Geshurite') A district at the extreme limit of Palestine, S. of Philistia, Josh. 13a (AV **Geshuri**), 1 S. 27b (EV 'the **Geshurites**'; so RV in Josh.). The former passage (late) introduces a description of the land in the SW. towards Egypt, which in Joshua's old age still remained unconquered. reference to the northern Geshur is therefore impossible. In the latter passage the Hebrew text gives, as the names of peoples or districts attacked by David from Ziklag, 'the Geshurite, the Gizrite or Girizite (see GIRZITES), and the Amalekite.' **G**, however, gives only two names; one of the first two names in MT is doubtless a doublet. Wellhausen, Driver, and Budde give the preference to the second name in the form sanctioned by the Kre, viz. הַגִּזְרִית, 'the Gizrite,'—i.e., the Canaanites of GEZER (so RV^{mg}, see Judg. 129; 1 K 916). But Gezer lay too far N. It is better to read either 'the Girzite' or; the Geshurite,¹ and the latter is on the whole the more probable, for the Girzites probably belonged to northern or central Canaan. It was probably a chieftain of these southern Geshurites whose daughter Maacah became one of David's wives and mother of Absalom. He is called Talmi, which is also the traditional name of a Hebronite giant (Judg. 110; see HEBRON, § 1); David's close connection with S. Palestine is well known, and the list of the children born to him in Hebron in 2 S. 3-5 mentions the son of Abigail the Carmelite just before Absalom. Maacah is given as the name of a concubine of Caleb (1 Ch. 243). This theory accounts more fully than the rival view for Absalom's flight recorded in 2 S. 1337 (cp 1423 158). In the southern Geshur, close to and yet outside of Judah, the pretender would have

Eusebius tells us that in his day the faithful were diligent in prayer at the place, and Jerome says it had a church (*OS*¹² 130 24: 248 20). The Franciscans, to whom the ground now belongs—it measures about 150 ft. by 140—surrounded it with a wall in 1848, adorned it with chapels, and laid it out as a European garden with walks, fountains, and beds (the oriental garden is a plantation of . . . GARDEN).

¹ See *AJSL* 16:153-159f.

GEUEL

It contains eight old olive trees which pilgrims willingly believe to date from the time of Christ, or at least to come from trees of that date. On the other hand, it has to be remarked not only that olives are not in the habit of attaining so great an age, but also that, according to Josephus (*BJ* vi. 11 f.), all the trees about Jerusalem were cut down by the army of Titus at the time of the siege. The earliest trace of a tradition relative to the olives of Gethsemane does not go back farther than to the sixteenth century. Some hundred yards to the N. of the garden a cave (ancient cistern), transformed into a Latin sanctuary—the Grotto of the Agony—is shown; the suggestion is that here is the place spoken of by Lk. (22:41) as 'about a stone's east' from where the three apostles were. The Greeks have a garden called Gethsemane close to but distinct from that of the Latins; the Russians also have built a church in the neighbourhood. See *PEFQ*, 1887, p. 159; 1889, p. 176.

The authenticity of the site, then, is not demonstrable; but neither is it utterly improbable. In reality, however, the scene must at all events have been larger. It may have been perhaps more to the N., or more to the S., in the valley; or, more probably still, further to the E., higher up on the western slope of the Mt. of Olives, though not on the very top—a site ill adapted for a retreat (Reland, 857). If Lk. (21:37-22:39) had said ἐντὶ instead of εἰς (τὸ ὄρος), the expression would have been more conclusive against the traditional site (Eus. *OS*²) 248:20 has πρὸς τῷ ὄρει; Jer. *OS*² 130:24, *ad radices montis Oliveti*. The Emperor Hadrian caused extensive terracing to be made in the Kidron valley; by these doubtless the previous contours were considerably modified (*PEFQ*, '93, p. 80).

Robinson, *BR*³ 1234 f.; Tobler, *Die Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*, 191-229, *Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina*, 353-55; Gatt, *Beschreibung über Jerusalem*, 211 f.; 3. Literature. Furrer, *Wanderungen durch das IL*², 79-81; Keim, *Leben Jesu von Nazara*, 329-301; Guérin, *Jérusalem*, 288 f.; Petavel, 'Le Domaine de Gethsémani', *Chrétien Évangélique*, '88, pp. 219-25; 'The House of Gethsemane', *Expos.* 1891, p. 220-32; Le Camus, *Voyage aux Pays Bibliques*, 1252-56; Conder, *Bible Places*, 204.

GEUEL (גְּעוּל), 'majesty of God'; cp Gray, *HPN* 210; Sam. גְּעוּל; ΓΟΥΔΙΗΛ [B³AFL]; ΤΟΥΔΙΗΛ [B³(foot)b]; *GUEL*, b. Machi, a Gadite (Nu. 13:15f.).

GEZER (גֶּזֶר), cp two places, one of them near Aleppo, called el-Jazra [Yāḳūt, *Muḳjam al-buldān*, 271 f. 1]; most usually גַּזְרֵם [BAL], an

ancient Canaanitish city said to have been conquered by Joshua (Josh. 10:33 [גַּזְרֵם, BA] 12:12), and situated on the S. border of Ephraim (16:5, not in MT [cp v. 3]; גַּזְרָא [BA], -פֶּזֶן [L]), towards the W. (1 Ch. 7:28); a Levitical city (Josh. 21:21 [גַּזְרָא, B]; -זֶרַם, L), 1 Ch. 6:67 [52]). It remained Canaanitish (Josh. 16:10 Judg. 1:29) until 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt,' or, as has been conjectured, Pir'u, king of the N. Arabian Muṣri (see GENUBATH, HADAD i. [3], MIZRAIM, § 2 [δ]), took and burned it, and gave it as a marriage portion to his daughter, Solomon's bride (1 K. 9:16, γεζερ [A]; for B see 4:33; L 5:3); Solomon fortified it (v. 17). It is mentioned in 2 S. 5:25 (AV GAZER, γαζζηρα [BAL]) = 1 Ch. 14:16 (γαζαπα [B], -ζηρα [AL] = MT גִּזְרָה) as the limit of David's pursuit of the Philistines; obviously it was on the border of the Philistine territory. In 1 Ch. 20:4 'Gezer' is given where the text of Samuel (2 S. 21:18) gives 'Gob.' As Maspero has pointed out, it is the Qazir (W. Max Müller, *Qazir*) of Thotmes III.'s list of names of Palestinian cities (*KP*² 551); in the Amarna tablets it appears as Gazri, whose ruler Yapahi protests his fidelity to the Pharaoh (*KB* 5328 f.). On its share in the revolt against Rameses II. see EGYPT, § 58; and on the mention of it in the 'Israel inscription' see EGYPT, § 60.

As Gazara (γαζαπα) it is frequently mentioned in the

GIBBETHON

Maccabæan wars (1 Mace. 4:15 etc.); see GAZARA. In the time of John Hyrcanus it was taken by Antiochus VII. Sidetes; but at the conclusion of the war the Hasmonæans were permitted to retain it, apparently through the intervention of the Romans (see Schürer, *GJT* 1:6 f.).

By Strabo (xvi. 229) it is mentioned as γαδαπία 'which also the Jews appropriated'; but he seems to have somewhat confused it with Gadara beyond Jordan. In Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 74) the form γαδαπα also occurs for Gezer, and, in a *Notitia Episcoporum*, γαδαπὼν γαδαπῶν near Azotus is distinguished from γαδαπα between Pella and Capitolias. At a synod in Jerusalem in 536 there were two bishops, each of Gadara. In the *OS* (244:16; 127:10) it is Gazara (γαζαπα a 'villa' or κώμη) 4 m. northward from Nicopolis. (See *LDPE* 17:37-41.)

The long-lost site of Gezer was discovered in 1873 by Clermont-Ganneau, close to the village of Abū

2. Site. Skūsheh, a little to the S. of Ramlah, towards Jerusalem. It is the high and isolated point known as *Tell Jezer*, which being just 4 m. W. by N. from 'Anwās (Emmaus-Nicopolis) is no doubt the Gazara referred to in *OS*. The *Tell* is described (see *PEFQ* 2:428-440) as having terraces of rude stone, and a sort of citadel at its eastern end. There are also rock-hewn tombs, and a great reservoir near the modern European farm, and the correctness of Ganneau's identification is placed beyond dispute by his discovery of three bilingual inscriptions—one of which includes the word גִּזְרָה 'Gezer'—which are placed palaeographically between the Hasmonæan and the Herodian periods.

For the present state of the archaeological questions which have been raised, see his *Archæological researches in Palestine*, 2257; *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.* 1351-391, cp 401. Ganneau has shown that Tell Jezer is the Mont Gisart, near which in 1177 Baldwin IV. gained a victory over Saladin. See also Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.* 1899, pp. 422-427.

GEZITES, THE (גִּזְרִי), Kr., for which Kt. THE GERZITES (ΑΓΓΕΡ) in 1 S. 27:8 (ο ΓΕΖΡΑΙΟΣ [AL]), where RV more correctly has GIRZITES (q.v.); see also GIRGASHITE, nig. GIZRITES. The GESHURITES (see GESHUR, 2) and the Gizrites (?) are mentioned together. 'The Gezrites' might mean the Canaanites of GEZER (q.v.), but more probably should be deleted. See GIRZITES.

GIAH (גִּיָּה; גַּיָּה [BA], גִּיָּה [L]), supposed to be the name of a place on the road in which Joab pursued Abner (2 S. 2:24). See, however, GIBEON, § 2 (6).

GIANT, GIANTS. 1. גִּבְיָה, גִּבְיָה, *gibhā*, גִּבְיָה, *gibhā'im*, 2 S. 21:16 ff. Gen. 14:5 etc.; see RAPHIM (2), REPHAIM (i.). According to Duhm, Rephaim means (a) giants, (b) the shades (*Manes*), inasmuch as the God-defying giants were hurled into Sheōl and became the chief among the inhabitants of Sheōl. See, however, DEAD, § 3.

2. גִּבְיָה, *gibhā'im*, Gen. 14:5 Nu. 13:33 f. See NEPHILIM.

3. גִּבְיָה, *gibbōr* (gibbōr, often in G). The rendering is based on the Ar. use of *gibbōr* for 'giant' (cp Gen. 14:5); but moderns prefer the sense 'warrior'; cp David's *gibbōr* or 'warriors'.

4. גִּבְיָה, ANAKIM (q.v.), may also be explained as 'giants.'

GIBBAR (גִּבְיָה; גַּבְבָּר [B], גַּב. [AL]), a district of Judah mentioned in the great post-exilic list, Ezra 2:20 (see EZRA ii. § 9. § 8 c).

It has been proposed to read גִּבְיָה, 'Gibeon' (so Berthel-Ryssel as in Neh. 7:25, γαβαων [B³AL]), but against this see GIBEON, § 3. Guthe prefers גִּבְיָה or גִּבְיָה following 1 Esd. 5:17 (RV BAITERUS; [γιοί] βαίτηρος [BA]). See BETHER i.

GIBBETHON (גִּבְתֹּן; ΓΑΒΑΘΩΝ [BAL]), a city which, according to 1 K. 15:27 16:15 (ΓΑΒΑΘΩΝ [B]), 17, in Baasha's time and after it, belonged to the Philistines, and was apparently their frontier fortress towards Ephraim (see PHILISTINES). Possibly it is the same as Gibeon of Phinehas (see GIBEON, § 2 [2]). In Josh. it is Danite (19:44; βεγεθων [B], γαβαθων [L]) and

1 The entire inscription, which is very short, is read גִּבְתֹּן, which M. Ganneau (*Researches*, 2264) rightly renders 'boundary of Gezer,' and supposes to define the sabbatic limit.

GIBEAH

Levitical (21²³; γειθεαν [B*], γειθαίαν [B^{avil}], γαβε-
θων [A], γειθων [L]).

Conder's identification with Kibhiah, to the NE. of Lydda, reappears in *PEF*, but not in those of Fischer-Guthe or Bull. Kibhiah does not appear to be an important site. G. A. Smith (*HG* 351) favours it; but it is surely too far N. for a Philistine stronghold. All memory of Gibeathon seems to have been lost from a very early date. Eusebius and Jerome (*Oryth* 123¹⁵; 240⁵²) after enumerating several places named Giabathon, content themselves with adding: 'there is also another γαβαθων (Gabaatha) of the Philistines in the Book of Kings.'

GIBEAH. Any isolated eminence such as those which abound in the central plateau of Palestine might be called גִּבְעָה, *gib'ah*, as distinguished from *har*, 'mountain,' 'mountain range,' or 'mountain district.' The distinction cannot, however, be rigorously carried out.

We will first consider the two places called Gibeah without any descriptive qualification. It must be borne

1. Without qualification. are very liable to be confounded; for example, in Judg. 20¹⁰, and perhaps

in 2³³ (but see Budde, *ad loc.*), 'Geba' should be 'Gibeah'; in 2³¹ 'Gibeah' should probably be 'Gibeon'; in 2⁴³ 'Gibeah' should perhaps be 'Geba.' So, too, in 1 S. 13² 15 14² 16 'Gibeah' has been written in error for 'Geba'; and in 2 S. 21⁶ 'Gibeah of Saul' for 'Gibeon'; see the commentaries of Moore, Budde, and H. P. Smith. On 1 K. 15²² see GIBA, 1, and on 1 Ch. 8²⁹ (=9³⁵) see below.

1. A city of Judah, included in the same group with places to the SE. of Hebron (Josh. 15⁷; γοβαα [BAL]).

In 1 Ch. 24⁹ it is called Gibe (גִּבְעָה, γαβαλ [B], -βαα [A], γαβαα [L]), and a Calebite origin is assigned to it. It may be (see Di.) either the Gabaa (γαβαα) or the Gabaatha (γαβαθα) of Eus. and Jer. (*Oryth* 240⁵⁵; 128¹⁸). There is a Gaba, no. 114 in the name-list of Thotmes III. (*RP* 553).

2. (γαβαα [BAL]; δ βοωνός [often in GL]; ο βοωνολ [Hos. 58]). A city of Benjamin ('G. of Benjamin,' 1 S. 13² [?] γαβее [B], 15 [ont. A], 14¹⁶ γαβее [B]; cp Judg. 19¹⁴; also 'G. of the children of Benjamin,' 2 S. 23²⁹ γαβαθ [B], but GL has τοῦ βοωνοῦ). It seems to be identical with GIBEAH OF SAUL (גִּבְעָה שָׁאֵל, 1 S. 11⁴ γαβααθα [A*], γααθα [A²], βοωνόν [L]), 13² γαβее [B], 15³⁴ βοωνόν [L]), 2 S. 21⁶ (γαβαων [BA], βοωνώ [L]), 1 S. 10²⁹ (αγγαυ), but not with the GIBEATH of Josh. 18²⁸ (γαβαωθ [BL], -ααθ [A]), nor with 'Gibeah of God' (see § 2 [3]). In Hos. 58⁹ (ε τοῦ βοωνοῦ), 10⁹ (ε τῷ βοωνῷ) it is called 'the Gibeah' (הַגִּבְעָה). The reference in 1 S. 10²⁹ is important as clearly distinguishing the two places Geba and Gibeah. The title 'Gibeah of Saul' implies that this was Saul's birthplace (cp SAUL); probably the true text of 1 S. 9¹ and of 1 Ch. 8²⁹ (=9³⁵) stated distinctly that Saul's father was of Gibeah of Benjamin.¹ The gentile Gibeathite (הַגִּבְעָתִי; δ γεβαθιτης [BN], δ γαβαωνιτης [L], δ γαβα-
θιτης [A]) occurs once (1 Ch. 12³).

Gibeah was the scene of one of the most elaborate narratives of the Book of Judges; chap. 20 describes how the assembled tribes captured the guilty city of Gibeah, and destroyed the Benjamite army, except 600 men (see BENJAMIN, § 5; JUDGES ii., § 13).² In the history of Saul frequent mention is made of the royal city (references above). Two passages are specially helpful in fixing its situation. From Judg. 19¹²⁻¹⁴ it appears that Gibeah was on or near the main N. road, and S. of Ramah; and from 1 S. 10²⁻⁷ 10-13 that from Beeroth (see below, § 2 [3]) to Geba and from Geba to Saul's home was an easy journey. Both passages become intelligible if Gibeah is located, as Gross and Valentiner

¹ In 1 Sam. 9¹ read with Marq. (*Fund.* 15) סִבְעֵת גִּבְעָה (Sib'et Gib'ah), and in 1 Ch. 8²⁹ correct 'Gibeon' into 'Gibeah' (Che.). The Bichrites (see BICHRI) dwelt at Gibeah. On 'the father of Gibeon, Jehiel,' see JEHIEL, 2.

² We attempt to show that the ark was brought by some into connection with Gibeah, need hardly be considered here (see BENJAMIN, § 6).

GIBEAH

first suggested,¹ and as Robinson established, at Tell (or Tulen) el-Ful, a bare conical hill (2754 ft. above sea-level) about 4 m. N. of Jerusalem, towards er-Rām.

According to Josephus, 'Gabaath Saul' was from 20 to 30 stadia from Jerusalem on the way thither from Gophna (*Ant.* v. 24 and *Bf* v. 21 combined), which suits the proposed site. Moore, however, would have been inclined from the narrative in Judg. 19 to look for a site somewhat nearer to er-Rām.

There are several place-names compounded with Gibeah or Gibeath; 1-3 are represented as such in RV^{mg}.

1. GIBEATH HA-ARALOTH (גִּבְעַת הָאֲרָלוֹת)

2. Compound names. גִּבְעַת הָאֲרָלוֹת; βοουνός τῶν ἀρκαδοποιδῶν, 'the

hill of the foreskins,' RV^{mg} of Josh. 53 (J), between the Jordan and Jericho, connected with the report of the circumcision (cp GILGAL i., § 1). The name suggests *Aralu*, a Babylonian name for the kingdom of the dead; a popular etymology arose when *Aralu* had been forgotten (Che.). For another view see Stade, *ZATW*, '86, p. 132 ff. See also HELKATH-HAZZURIM.

2. GIBEATH OF PHINEHAS (גִּבְעַת פִּינְחָס; γαβαα [B], γαβααθ [AL], φ[ε]λ[ω]εις), a city (cp Jos. *Ant.* v. 129) in Mt. Ephraim where Aaron's son, Eleazar, was buried (Josh. 24³³). Possibly it is the same as GIBETHION.

Perhaps the Geba (γῆβα) of Eus. and Jer. (*Oryth* 248³ 130⁵), which was 5 R. m. from Gophna (Jifna) on the road to Neapolis (Nabulus), and, according to *PEF Mem.* 229, corresponds to Jibā, NW. of Jifna, and only 1 hr. from Tiberich (Tinnath-heres). It is of no importance that the tombs of Eleazar and Phinehas are shown at 'Awarta, situated in the plain of Makhna, SE. of Mt. Gerizim.

3. GIBEATH OF GOD (גִּבְעַת הָאֵל; ε τῶν βοωνόν τοῦ θεοῦ 1 S. 10⁵; but in 2. 10 a simple 'Gibeah' [GL] εἰς τὸν βοωνόν, ε τὸν βααυ βοωνόν occurs). The locality is defined as being 'where is the pillar of the Philistines' (see SAUL, § 2 n.), and, since this definition was thought necessary, it may be questioned whether Stenning (Hastings, *DB* 2170a) is right in identifying it with Gibeah of Saul. Prof. G. A. Smith (*HG* 250) considers it to be the modern Rāmallah (Ewald's Ramah), about 10 m. N. of Jerusalem. The names agree in meaning, and the situation of Rāmallah is quite consistent with regarding TABOR [g. v., ii.] in 1 S. 10³ as a corruption of Beeroth (Bireh) and with the identification of Gibeah of Saul with Tell el-Ful. Still, the mention of the 'pillar of the Philistines' is more favourable to the view that the Gibeah of God is identical with Geba (*i.e.*, *Jebā*). We may suppose that Saul went straight across the hill-country from Beeroth ('Tabor' in MT) to Geba, and thence by Ramah (1 S. 10¹³, see below) to Gibeah of Benjamin.

In 1 S. 10¹³ 'he came to the high place' should be 'he came to *hā-rammāh*'—*i.e.*, to Ramah (*er-Rām*). GL has εἰς τὸν βοωνόν, εἰς τὸν βοωνόν βααυ; cp 2. 10. Either Saul's uncle dwelt there, or something has fallen out of the text between 2. 13 and 2. 14. This is the easiest emendation.

4. THE GIBEAH OF (THE) MOREH (Judg. 7¹). See MOREH i.

5. THE GIBEAH OF (THE) HACHILAH (1 S. 23¹⁹ 26¹). See HACHILAH.

6. THE GIBEAH OF AMMAH (2 S. 24). The text is in great disorder.

Was there any 'wilderness of Gibeon'? and how was it that the pursuers got no farther than the district of Gibeon by sunset? Supposing some transposition and corruption to have taken place, an intelligible view of the situation can be produced. גִּבְעָה, 'Gibeon' may be a corruption of גִּבְעִים, 'Zeboim,' and אֲמָה, 'Ammah' of אֲדֻמִּים, 'Adumim.' In 1 S. 13¹⁸ (see H. P. Smith) we read of 'the hill which overhangs the valley of Zeboim.' The same hill may be referred to here under the name Adumim. The 'ascent of ADUMIM' [g. v.] is the ascent which leads up from Jericho to the *Tal'at ed-Dam*; some overhanging hill may, however, have borne the same name. Read, therefore, גִּבְעַת אֲדֻמִּים אֲשֶׁר עֵלֶינָּה הָרֵךְ הַזֶּה (when they were come) to the hill of Adumim which fronts the valley of Zeboim towards the desert.²

¹ *St. A. v.* 43, p. 1082; *ZDMG* 12 161 ff. (Moore, *Judges*, 414).

² It will be noticed that the ה in גִּבְעָה here becomes ה and is attached to the word which probably underlies גִּבְעָה. We, and Bu. eliminate גִּבְעָה altogether, and suppose the ה to be a dittogram; they read ה for ה, and prefix it to גִּבְעָה.

GIBEATH

7. THE GIBEATH OF GAREB (Jer. 31 39). See GAREB ii.

8, 9, 10. Conjecturally, the Gibeath of Baal-perazim (see GIBEON, § 1), Gibeath-jarim or Gibeath-jearim (see KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 1); and Gibeath-Elohim (in Is. 10 32; see NOR).

T. K. C.

GIBEATH (גִּבְעָתָה): גִּבְעָתָה [L], גִּבְעָתָה [L], Γ.-(Ι)ΑΡΕΙΑΜ [B], Josh. 18 33. Usually identified with Gibeath of Saul, but perhaps rather a fragment of Gibeath-jearim?; see KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 1.

GIBEATH-HA-ARALOTH (גִּבְעַת הָאֲרָלוֹת), Josh. 6 3 RV^{mc}. See GIBEATH, § 2 (1); CIRCUMCISION, § 2.

GIBEATHITE (גִּבְעָתִי), 1 Ch. 12 3. See GIBEATH, § 1 (2).

GIBEON (גִּבְעֹן): גִּבְעָוָה [N], BAL), a city of the Amorites (2 S. 21 2), or more definitely of the Hivites (Josh. 9 3 f.). According to a redactor it

1. **History.** was even 'greater than Ai' (Josh. 10 2); but we can estimate its importance better from the fact that it was the head of a tetrapolis or confederacy of four cities, to which Chephirah, Beeroth (not perhaps the Beeroth which is disguised under MT's 'Tabor' in 1 S. 10 3, and which is the modern Bireh, but a place to the SW. of Gibeon¹), and Kirjath-jearim also belonged (Josh. 9 17). The humorous story of the deception by which they escaped the fate of Jericho and Ai is well known. It is evidently the attempt of a later age to account at the same time for the long independence of Gibeon and for the use of the **Gibeonites** (גִּבְעֹנִים; cf. γαβωνίται [BN^oAL]; Αγαβωνίτης N^o once) for slave-service in the Solomonic temple. The story of the war of 'the five kings of the Amorites' against Gibeon in Josh. 10 1-5 is but the sequel of the story of the Gilconitish ruse, and is therefore both untraditional and unhistorical; this does not, however, necessarily involve the rejection of the at any rate traditional battle near Gibeon (Josh. 10 10-14); see BERTHLETON, § 3. We next hear of the Gibeonites in the reign of Saul, though the event referred to, as most critics have held, is not mentioned in due chronological order (cp Stenning in Hastings' DB 2 173 d). Tradition told of a three years' famine in David's time, which was regarded as a punishment for Saul's having 'slain the Gibeonites' and 'thought to destroy them' (2 S. 21 1 f.). The motive of Saul is said to have been 'zeal for the b'nè Israel'; the continued occupation of cities and villages by the Gibeonites (cp 2 S. 21 5, end) was inconvenient for the Israelites. It has been pointed out elsewhere (see NOR) that the deed referred to was not improbably the massacre described at length in 1 S. 22 17-19. We cannot, however, suppose that the priests of the sanctuary of Gibeon ('Gibeon,' not 'Nob,' must be read in 1 S. 21 1 [2] 22 9 11 19) at the time of the massacre were Israelites. They must surely have been Gibeonites, and the fact that the Gibeonite priests aided and abetted David was probably the excuse which Saul urged for decimating the Gilconite population.²

The 'pool of Gibeon' attained a melancholy notoriety through the event related in 2 S. 2 12-32 (but see HELKATH-HAZZURIM; in 2 24 G^o τοῦ ποταμοῦ). It is mentioned again in the account of the violent conduct of Ishmael b. Nethaniah after he had assassinated the Jewish governor Gedaliah (Jer. 41 1 f.). Another act of blood-guiltiness was placed by tradition at the 'great stone which is in Gibeon' (2 S. 20 8-10; G^o τοῦ ποταμοῦ); perhaps it was recorded in order to degrade the stone, which had been treated as sacred like the 'great stone' at Beth-shemesh (1 S. 6 14). The desecrating act was the murder of AMASA [2 7. 1] by Joab. A brighter memory was that of Yahwè's great deed 'in the plain (גִּבְעָה) by

¹ So Buhl, *Geog.* 173.

² Where the 'tent of Yahwè' referred to in 1 S. 17 54 (emended text; see NOR) really was, may be left uncertain.

GIBEON

Gibeon' (Is. 28 21), if the Gibeon referred to is really the well-known city of that name, and if Isaiah's words may be explained by 2 S. 5 25 (G^o), where David is said to have routed the Philistines 'from Gibeon to the approach of Gezer' (20, too, 1 Ch. 14 16, where G^o has γαβων). Gibeon, however, though more possible than Geba (see Stenning in Hastings' DB 2 171 a), is still too far from the Plain of Rephaim to be the starting-point of David's pursuit of the foe. Perhaps in all three passages we should read 'Gibeah' and suppose the hill-town of BAAL-PERAZIM [q. v.] to be meant.

We have already seen that there was an important sanctuary at Gibeon in the time of Saul—most probably a Canaanitish sanctuary. Early in the

2. **The Sanctuary.** reign of Solomon we meet with this sanctuary again, and this time it is undoubtedly Israelitish. One of the young king's first cares was to go to Gibeon to sacrifice, 'for there was the great high place' (1 K. 3 4). The antiquity of the notice is proved by the anxiety of the Chronicler to justify the action of Solomon by the assumed fact that the tent of meeting and the brazen altar were at Gibeon¹ (2 Ch. 3 3). It is certainly remarkable that the sanctuary of Gibeon should even without the ark (which was still in the 'city of David,' 1 K. 8 1) have been regarded as the right place for a newly made king to resort to for an oracle. But clearly without the spiritual aid of a great sacrificial feast Solomon could not have ventured on the solemn act of erecting a temple by which the ancient sanctuaries were to be overshadowed. Probably the sanctuary of Gibeon was chosen in preference to any other on account of its nearness to Jerusalem. Its central position made it 'the great high place,' and accordingly, Stade thinks, it is referred to as such in Dt. 33 12 (but see BENJAMIN, § 8).

There is little more to add. From Josh. 9 23 27 we infer that the Canaanites of Gibeon were made temple-slaves; cp 1 K.

3. **Other notices.** 2 21, and the phrase 'the children of Solomon's servants' (Ezra 2 58 Neh. 7 60 11 3). In 1 Ch. 8 29-32 (=9 35-38) there may be a confusion of two statements, one referring to Gibeah (where the clan of Becher dwelt), the other to Gibeon. The father (or son?) of Gibeon may have been JEDIAEL (1), who was the brother of Becher. The father (or son?) of GIBBEAEL would naturally be Becher (see 1 S. 9 1, and cp GIBBEA, § 1 12 n.). The 'sons' mentioned in 8 30 (=9 36) are Bichrites (cp KISHI, 1). In Josh. 18 25 Gibeon is assigned to the tribe of Benjamin; in Josh. 21 17 to the Levites. The men of Gibeon took part in rebuilding the wall under Nehemiah (Neh. 3 3; G^o Αγαβωνίτης, γαβωνίται), and in one form of the post-exilic list of 'the men of the people of Israel' the 'men of Gibeon' are mentioned (Neh. 7 25). Since, however, Gibeon is separated by several names from the three other members of the Gibeonite tetrapolis, and its nearest neighbours are Bethlehem and Netophah, the correctness of the reading 'Gibeon' may be doubted. Ezra 2 20 has instead 'Gibbar,' which is a little nearer to the (probably) true reading גִּבְרָה, Bether (see GIBBAR).

We can hardly hesitate to identify the ancient Gibeon with the modern village *el-Jib*. The ancient

4. **Identification.** name is no doubt strangely mutilated;² but the biblical data and the statements

of Josephus and the Onomasticon³ all point to the correctness of the theory. A mile north of Neby Samwil (see MIZPAT, 1), at the point where the road to the coast divides into two branches, rises a low, isolated hill, composed of horizontal strata of limestone, which in places form regular steps, or small terraces, from bottom to top. At other points, especially on the east, the hillside breaks down in rugged irregular precipices. Round the hill is spread out one of the richest upland plains in central Palestine—meadow-like in its smoothness and verdure, covered

¹ See CHRONICLES, § 7, n. 2. The same spirit which animated the Chronicler seems to have prompted the alteration of גִּבְעָה into גִּבְרָה in the Heb. text of 1 K. 3 4 (see Benzinger).

² Analogy forbids us to suppose that Jib has come directly from Gib'ôn (Kampffmeyer, ZDPV 15 27).

³ Jos. (BJ ii. 19 1) places Gibeon 50 stadia NW. from Jerusalem; *Ant.* vii. 11 17 less correctly gives 40 stadia; *El-Jib* is 5.6 m. W. or N. of Jerusalem, according to the road taken.

GIBLITES

near the village with vineyards and olive groves; and sending out branches, like the rays of a star-fish, among the rocky acclivities that encircle it. Upon the broad summit one sees old ruins—notably one massive building which was probably a castle, and among the ruins the houses of the miserable hamlet. At the eastern base of the hill, beneath a cliff, is a fine fountain. The source is in a large chamber hewn out of the rock. Not far below it, among venerable olive trees, are the remains of an open reservoir or tank, into which the surplus waters flow—no doubt the 'pool' or 'great waters' of Gibeon (2 S. 23 Jer. 41:12).

T. K. C.¹

GIBLITES (גִּבְלִיתִים), Josh. 13:5 + K. 5:18 (32). See GEBAL (i.).

GIDDALTI (גִּדְּלָתִי; ΓΟΔΟΛΛΑΘ [L]), a son of IEMAN [q.v.].

¹ Ch. 25:4, γοδολλαθει [B], γοδολλαθι [A], 29 γοδομαθει [B], γοδομαθι [A], ΓΕΔΕΛΘΗ [Vg.].

GIDDEL (גִּדֵּל, '[God] has reared'; § 50; ΓΕΔΔΗΛ [AL]).

¹ The eponym of a family or group of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II, § 9); EZRA 2:47 (κεδεδ [B])=Neh. 7:49 (γαδγλ [BML], σα. [A])=1 Esd. 5:30; EV GEDDUR (κεδδουρ [B], γε. [A], γαγλ [L]), or CATHUA (κουα [B], καθουα [A]).

² (σαδαι [L]) a group of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II, § 9); EZRA 2:50 (γεδγη [B])=Neh. 7:58 (γαδγη [BML], δδγη [A], σαδδαι [L])=1 Esd. 5:33, ISDAEL (ισδαηλ [BA]).

GIDEON (גִּדְּוֹן), as if from גִּדְּוֹן 'to fell,' § 66, 77; ΓΕΔΕΩΝ [BAL.]; GIDEON in Heb. 11:32 AV; the name appears also in the genealogy of Judith [8:1] son of Joash, of the Manassitic clan of Abiezer, dwelling at OPHRAI [q.v.], renowned through his success against the Midianites, otherwise called JERUBBAAL, Judg. 6:8, and referred to in Judg. 9 as the father of Abimelech, king of Shechem. The narrative is highly complicated, and traces of composite origin abound.³ The Hebrew text, too, contains many errors which must, if undetected, lead the student astray. Nowhere has criticism been more carefully and acutely applied than here; it is only in textual and historical criticism (especially in the former) that there is much still to be done. A fresh combination of textual, literary, and historical criticism, which owes much to predecessors, leads to the results given below. The degree of their probability varies considerably, owing to the large amount of success attained in the early fusion of the narratives. It is, however, scarcely open to doubt that Gideon (Gadaiel?) and Jerubbaal (Urubaal?) are two different heroes (the one belonging to W. Manasseh, the other either to Gad or to E. Manasseh) whose respective legends have been combined and expanded by successive narrators and editors.

The Gideon-story in its earlier form began with the statement that nomad invaders⁴ from the Syrian desert

were wont to spread themselves at harvest-time over the fertile country near Shechem and over the plain of Jezreel, plundering the crops. Then Yahwé appeared to Gideon⁵ at Ophrah

¹ § 4 mainly from Porter's art. 'Gideon' in Kitto's *Bib. Cyc.*
² The readings of B¹ and in 1 Esd. of B² seem to point to a name containing גִּדְּ.

³ Nothing can be clearer than the fact that 8:21 is not from the same source as 8:1-3 with its premises in the preceding narrative. Close examination shows that chaps. 6-7 are not of one piece throughout; 6:25 ff., e.g., is not the continuation of 6:11-24; the second sign, 6:35-40, is strange after the miracle 6:21; cp also 6:34 with 6:35-7:2, and on the other hand 6:35 with 7:23-8:1 (Moore). Cp JUDGES, § 8.

⁴ In Judg. 6:33-7:12 Pesh. reads בני דקם for MT בני דקם (REKEM) is most probably a corrupt fragment of ירהמל (Jerahmeel). Pesh. appears to have the right reading. 'The sons of Jerahmeel' is a variant of 'the Amalekites'; for parallels see Job 13, 1 K. 5:10 (Job, MAHOL).

⁵ Joash is the father of Jerubbaal, not of Gideon. See 6:23

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of the Abiezrites as he was beating out wheat secretly in the wine-press, and bade him go with his trusty clansmen¹ against the Midianites. At once a divine impulse seized him; he sounded the war-horn; his clansmen joined him, and with them warriors of Manasseh and Ephraim. They marched early to Mount Gilboa, and took up their position on a projecting hill of that range, 'by (above) the spring of HAKOB [q.v., 1], while the Midianites were encamped to the north of them, beneath Mount Gilboa, in the vale.' Towards daybreak, Gideon crept down with his armour-bearer Purajah (an Issacharite?)² to the hostile camp, and heard one Midianite relate to another a significant dream which he had had that night. On his return Gideon called his men to the attack. They raised the war-cry, 'For Yahwé and for Gideon,'³ and threw the Midianites into such confusion that they fled as far as the distant slopes of Abel-beth-maacah.⁴ The Israelites, however, hurried after them, and took the two princes of the Midianites,⁵ and brought their heads to Gideon. Thus Midian was subdued. And Gideon judged his people⁶ forty years. He had seventy sons, besides Abimelech, the son of his Canaanitish concubine.

The later insertions in this narrative are due partly to a desire to place the theophany above doubt, partly to a tendency of late editors to use the old narratives for edification (cp 7:2-8 with 1 S. 14:6), partly to a patriotic wish that as many tribes as possible might be shown to have had a share in Gideon's exploit (in vi. 35 'Asher' is probably a corruption of 'Issachar'), and partly to a desire to provide a link between this narrative and that in ch. 8. With regard to the last-mentioned point, it will be found that in 7:26 the description of the direction of the flight of the Midianites, the text of which had become accidentally corrupted, was manipulated in such a way as to bring Gideon across the Jordan, ready to be enriched with the exploits which properly belong to Jerubbaal. The insert. passage, 8:1-3, stands by itself. It seems to be suggested by 12:1-3 and 2 S. 19:41, and is a consequence of the insertion of 7:24, in which the Ephraimites are said to have been summoned to cut off the fugitive Midianites. It should also be mentioned that 'Jerubbaal' in chap. 9 seems to have been substituted by the editor for Gideon (Wi.).

The Jerubbaal-story may have been somewhat as follows:—

[At Jazer in the land of Gad (?) there dwelt a man of the Gadite family of Urubaal, which name he himself bore; later generations changed it to

2. Jerubbaal. Jerubbaal (?);⁶ his father's name was Joash. Now the Midianites oppressed

Israel, driving away their cattle, and plundering the fruits of the ground. And Jerubbaal, and ten of his household, went by night, and made a slaughter among the Midianites.⁷ To avenge this the Midianites came upon Jerubbaal's brethren in Beth-sur,⁸ their stronghold, and slew every one of them, whereupon they turned and went northward on their camels, plundering as they went, till they came to Karkor,⁹ S. of Hamath. Jerubbaal, however, called his clan together, three hundred warriors, burning with zeal for Yahwé, and with the desire for vengeance. They took the 'road of

¹ 20. The context of the former passage shows that originally Jerubbaal, not Gideon, was referred to.

² בְּכֹרֶת 'in this thy strength' (6:14) needs emendation; read perhaps בְּכֹרֶת (cp Gen. 14:14).

³ For פָּה (7:10) read perhaps פֶּה PUH [q.v., 1] (Gen. 46:13 etc.). Cp ISSACHAR, § 4.

⁴ חֶרֶב 'sword,' in 7:20, is an interpolation (Moore, Bu. etc.).

⁵ Read שָׁשָׁן אֶבֶן חֲחֹלָה לְעִרְמֵי יִזְרְעֵל for בִּית־סֻר (7:22). The text is disfigured by transposition and corruption. The editor thought of צִרְתָּה (צִרְתָּה), which he placed near Abimelech. This agrees with the probable position of ZARETHAN [q.v.].

⁶ On the (probably) true name of the princes (or prince?) of Midian, see OREB [i.].

⁷ Jerubbaal is possibly the same as ARELI [q.v., 1], or rather Ariel (Uriel=Urubaal?), the name of a 'son' of Gad.

⁸ C. Niebuhr rightly observes that the early fortunes of Jerubbaal must be told in the passage underlying Judg. 6:25-32, if we could only recover it. Only a few words, perhaps, were legible to the later narrator to whom 6:25-32 is due.

⁹ Read בְּתֵבֶרֶת לְעִרְמֵי (8:18). See THEBEZ, TIRZAH, 1.

¹⁰ Read בְּזֹרֶרֶת (8:10).

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Damascus,¹ to the E. of Jogbehah (*Jogbehah*), and Nobah (*Nabah*),² passing by Saleah³ (for Salhad) and Penueh, at the SE. corner of the Hauran.⁴ Faint and hungry,⁵ Jerubbaal asked for bread for his band. 'The elders' or 'princes' (see GOVERNMENT, § 16) of both places, however, feared the wrath of the Midianites and refused the request. Both places (Penueh was probably the citadel of Saleah; cp 2. 17 'tower') were threatened by Jerubbaal with punishment. And when he came to Karkor he divided his band into three parts (cp Gen. 14. 15 1 S. 11 11 Job 1 17; cp 2 S. 18 2), and gave them empty jars with torches inside, and said, Do as I do. Then each company blew a blast on the horn,⁶ and the three hundred broke the jars (with a clash), and held fast the torches. And the Midianites were panic-stricken, and Yahweh set each man's sword against his neighbour. Jerubbaal caught the two kings of Midian,⁷ and returned. On his way he punished the rulers of Saleah and Penueh,⁸ and so announced himself as king of Gilead. Then came the turn of Zebah and Zalmunna, the kings of Midian, who confessed their slaughter of Jerubbaal's brethren,⁹ and underwent their doom. On their camels' necks were necklaces of golden crescents, which were the marks of their high dignity. These the conqueror took for himself [for the people had made him their king].¹⁰ Then Jerubbaal ben Joash went [to Jazer?]¹¹, and dwelt in his own house. And he made for himself a royal sanctuary in Jazer with an altar and an ephod, the ephod which he had made with the golden rings (earrings?) taken from the fallen Midianites.

The insertion in 8. 22 f. reminds us of 1 S. 8. 7 10 12 12 f. Hos. 9. 9 10 13 10 f., that in 7. 27 expresses the view of later times that the use of the ephod was an act of infidelity to Yahweh.

The essential features of the above reconstruction are the distinction between the Gadite (or E. Manassite?) and the W. Manassite heroes (due to C. Niebuhr) and the critical emendation of the text in Judg. 8. 21. It is possible that the original Gideon-story represented the hero as accompanied only by his three hundred clansmen, though, since the scene of Gideon's encounter with the Midianites is in the Great Plain, it is only natural to suppose that on his way thither Gideon gathered in fresh volunteers; possible, too, that the enrichment of the Jerubbaal-legend by the story of the jars and torches is erroneous, and that this story really belonged to a second version of the Gideon-story. The similarity of the stories not unnaturally led to their combination.

If Jerubbaal dwelt at Jazer, the similarity of this name to Abiezer would facilitate the combination of the legends. We might also assume that Jerubbaal belonged to the Gileadite clan of Abiezer; in 1 Ch. 7. 13 Abiezer is a son of Hammolecheth, the sister of Gilead. It should also be noticed that HAMMOLECHETH,

¹ For *הַשְׁכֵּמִי בְּאֶרְמוֹן* (8. 11), which 'does not admit of any grammatical interpretation' (Moore), read *הַשְׁכֵּמִי בְּאֶרְמוֹן* = *הַשְׁכֵּמִי בְּאֶרְמוֹן* 'Damascus' is an exegetical insertion.

² 'Nobah' ought to follow 'Jogbehah.'

³ Reading *בְּכֶלֶת* for *בְּכֶלֶת* (8. 5 etc.); see SALCAH, SUP. COTH, 1.

⁴ Reading *הַרְחֵקָה* for *הַרְחֵקָה* (8. 4). *הַרְחֵקָה* is either a gloss (Moore) or a corruption of *הַרְחֵקָה*.

⁵ Reading *רַעֲבִים* (Bu., after 8) for *רַעֲבִים* (8. 4).

⁶ See C. Niebuhr. We need not suppose 300 horns! The horn takes the place of the war-cry in the corresponding part of the Gideon-story.

⁷ See ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA. The chiefs are here called 'kings,' to heighten the glory of king Jerubbaal.

⁸ For *הַשְׁכֵּמִי* (8. 16 f.) read probably *הַשְׁכֵּמִי*. There is some confusion in v. 16 (see Niebuhr).

⁹ *הַשְׁכֵּמִי* means 'thy sons, O king.' So Niebuhr; cp Kittel, *Hist.* 2. 81, n. 1.

¹⁰ It is no objection to this that Judg. 7. 5 points to an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. Jerubbaal was every inch a king while he lived, nor could the oligarchy of his seventy sons (9. 2) have lasted long.

¹¹ Something has clearly dropped out after *הַרְחֵקָה* in 8. 29.

¹² E. Manassite, according to Niebuhr.

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like Zelophehad, is probably a corruption of Salecah (Salhad), the city which is so prominent in the story of Jerubbaal.

The religious interest of these stories in their combined and expanded form was very early felt (Is. 9. 4 [1]. 10. 26). To the modern student their historical and archaeological interest must almost necessarily be greater. See, however, Elmslie's striking lecture, *Expositor*, 1892 4, 50-65.

See Stade's and Kittel's Histories of Israel; and Moore's and Budde's commentaries; W. A. O. 1. 47 51; C. Niebuhr, *Studien u. Bemerkungen zur Gesch. des alten Orients*, i. 194, 1-29; and the critical literature cited by Moore and Budde. T. K. C.

GIDEONI (גִּדְעוֹן; ΓΙΔΕΩΝ[Ε] [BAFL-]), the father of ABIDAN (q.v.). Nu. 1. 11 (ΓΕΔ [B]) 2. 27 760 (ΓΕΔ [F]). ΓΑΔΑΙΩΝΕΙ [B] 65 (ΓΕΔΕ [F]) 10. 24.

GIDOM (גִּדְמוֹן; ΓΕΔΜΟΝ [B], ΓΕΛΑΔΔ [AL], גִּדְמוֹן [Pesh.], *ultra* [? Vg.]), apparently the limit of the pursuit of Benjamin by 'Israel' (Judg. 20. 45).

Such a place-name is in the abstract possible, but there is no mention of it elsewhere; hence the guesses 'Gilead,' 'Gideon.' The text has a strong appearance of corruptness.

GIER EAGLE. 1. RV VULTURE (גִּירָה *gīrah*, and *gīrah* *gīrah* [see Dr. Dt., ad loc.]); the name is derived from the care it bestows on its young, cp Di. *Lev.*, ad loc., an unclean bird (Lev. 11. 18, ἀβύστος [BAFL-], Dt. 14. 17, πορφυρίων [BL, om. AF²]) identified as the *Neophron percnopterus*, the white scavenger, or Egyptian or Pharaoh's vulture, belonging to the Vulturidae.

The *Neophron percnopterus* feeds on offal and the vilest forms of refuse, but does good service to man as a scavenger. Its nests, of sticks and rubbish, are built on rocks, trees, or buildings, often in the suburbs of towns, and are not so inaccessible as is the case with many of its congeners. 'Whilst they are with the Arab [Arabs], says Doughty, 'they lie wheeling upon the wing all day, stooping and hovering at little height above the menzil [camp]' (*Ar. D.* 1. 393). Both in Arabia and in Palestine it is a migratory bird, returning from the S. in the spring, and is usually found in pairs. In Egypt the vulture was the sacred symbol of Nekhabet, the goddess of the South (Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 102).

2. *péres*, פֶּרֶס, Lev. 11. 13 Dt. 14. 12 RV, AV OSSIFRAGE (q.v.). A. E. S.

GIFT. For מִנְחָה, *minhah*, מִנְחָה, *lērūmah*, ἀνάθημα or ἀνάθημα (Lk. 21. 5 AV), and δῶρον, see SACRIFICE; for מַנְחָה *man'ah*, see TAXATION AND TROUBLE; for GIFTS, SPIRITUAL (χαρίσματα), see SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

GIHON (גִּיחֹן, and [1 K.] גִּיחֹן; גִּיחֹן 'to burst forth').

1. A spring near Jerusalem (1 K. 1. 33 38 45). From 2 Ch. 32. 30 33 34 it appears that it was to the E. of the city, and that Hezekiah's aqueduct diverted its waters. All our data point to the Virgin's Fountain (see EN-ROGEL, SULLOAN).

1 K. 1. 33 38 45 גִּיחֹן [BAL], 2 Ch. 32. 30 σελῶν [B], γελῶν [AL], 33 34 γιον [B], γιον [BAFL], γιον [L].

2. One of the four rivers of PARADISE (q.v.). Gen. 2. 13 (גִּיחֹן [ADP], גִּי [L]).

3. The Nile, Jer. 2. 18 *גִּיחֹן* (גִּיחֹן; Heb. גִּיחֹן, *gīrah*, Qm. 1, SUMMOR [i.]), Ecclus. 24. 27 RV, AV GEON (גִּיחֹן [BNA]), and, by crit. emend. Job 40. 23 (see JORDAN, § 2 (3)), where read 'though Gihon overflow.' This use of Gihon implies the belief of a later age that the 'Cush' of Gen. 2. 13 was the African Ethiopia.

GILALAI (גִּלְלַי), the son of a priest, a musician in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 13 g), Neh. 12. 36 (ΓΕΛΩΛΑΙ [S² 4 5 6 I.], om. BN² A).

GILBOA, MOUNT (גִּלְבֹּא; גִּלְבֹּא, 1 S. 31. 8 2 S. 16, ΓΕΒΟΥΕ [A], but 2 S. 17. 1 Ch. 10. ΓΕΛΒΟΥΕ [A], 8; OP. ΓΕΒΟΥΕ [BAL], so Jos. *Ant.* vi. 142, etc.; MONS

¹ The difficulty found by critics in Is. 10. 26 arises probably from an error in the text (see OREB AND ZEBEN).

² [It is possible that G represents the word *gēphurion* in both passages, for in Lev. 11 is this word and *κύκνος* may have been misplaced.]

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GILBOA), more rarely *GILBOA* (גִּלְבּוֹא, 1 S. 28, 2 S. 21 12); once, corruptly, MOUNTAINS IN GILBOA (גִּלְבּוֹאִים, 2 S. 12; cp 1 S. 318; גִּלְבּוֹאִים, [RV]).

The name *Gilboa*, which occurs in MT only in the life of Saul, but should most probably be restored in

1. The name. Judg. 7:3 (Gideon), and possibly in 1 K. 20:27 (Benhadad, see below § 3 [c]), has no obvious meaning. The early guesses in the *Onomasticon* (OS 3527 18033 18993) are valueless, and the modern explanation 'a bubbling fountain' (see *Ges. Lex.*¹⁶) is no better. Transposition, however, so often accounts for otherwise inexplicable words (including names) that we may conjecture the name *Gilboa*, or rather *Haggilboa* (with the article), to be a corruption (probably *deigned*) of *Gilbeath Habbal* (גִּלְבֵּת הַבַּל *2727 2722), 'hill of the Bal'; cp *KIRJAT-JEARIM*, § 1. The corruption, if designed, was of course early; ② knows only 'Gilboa,' and the same name was preserved in the time of Eusebius and Jerome (OS 2478 12914) in that of the 'large village' called *Gelbus* (*Gelbu* = *Gelbow*) in the mountains distant 6 R. m. from Scythopolis. At the present day there is a small village called *Jelbôn*, SW. of that other village, called *Fakā*, which has given its name to the mountain range presently to be described, and is very naturally supposed to represent also the old name *Gilboa*.

What then does the geographical term 'Mount *Gilboa*' designate? *Gilboa* (or *Haggilboa*, 'the *Gilboa*'), if the name has been rightly

2. Geographical meaning.

accounted for, belonged originally to one of the elevations in the *Gilboa* ridge, probably to the highest (*Sheikh Burkân*), not to the ridge itself. 'The mountain of *Gilboa*,' however, is a collective term for the entire mountain mass now known as *Jebel Fakā*, which 'may be best described as a horn-like projection from the hills bounding the plain upon the S., which first curves round towards the W. for more than three miles, and then runs towards the NW. for five miles further, straight out into the level ground like a peninsula. The greatest height is towards the E. [*Sheikh Burkân*, 1696 feet above the sea], where the curve merges in the straight line, and where the range looks down upon the valley of the Jordan and the Acropolis of Bethshan, as it starts abruptly from the plain three miles from the foot of the mountains. At the southern commencement of the curve is the village of *Jelbôn*. . . . Three miles NW. of the highest peak, where the peninsula of hills is already well out into the plain, is a second peak, some 1400 feet in height, crowned by the tolerably prosperous-looking village of *el-Mezâr*. Still farther to the NW. are two much lower peaks, between which lies the miserable village of *Nûris*. NW. again from these peaks, for two miles or a little less, the range falls down into a broken and irregular tableland, narrowing and becoming lower as it goes down into the plain, and bounded by steep, but nowhere inaccessible, stony slopes. The ridge ends in three fingers, as they may be called—the two southern ones mere narrow spurs, the northern, which is the true termination of the ridge, somewhat above a mile in breadth. Across this blunt end of the whole peninsula runs the valley which separates it from the broad, flat mound, on which *Jezreel* was built' (Miller, *Less than the Least of all Lands*, 169 f. [88]).

The ridge of *Gilboa*, which is the southern boundary or rampart of the Vale of *Jezreel*, is of bleak and bare aspect, except on the S. side, where it is used as arable and pasture land. Probably, however, it was once wooded; one might fairly contend that when 2 S. 12 was written (see *JASHER*, BOOK OF, § 2) the ridge was not so conspicuously bare as it is at present. The poet's aim is not to account for an existing phenomenon; he feels too deeply for that. *Gilboa* has, at least in parts, its clothing of grass and trees; he would

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have *Gilboa* compelled to sympathise with the mourning Israelites.

We have next to ask, Where are the scenes of the two great events *certainly* connected with Mount *Gilboa* to be placed? The answer can best

3. The 'Gilboa,' be given by quoting the two passages of Judg. 7:1 and 1 S. 28, etc., which describe the respective encampments of Gideon and Saul. (a) 'Gideon

and all the warlike force (עֲשָׂרֵי) that was with him encamped by (or at) the fountain of *Harod*, while the camp of *Midian* was to the N. of them, beneath Mount *Gilboa*, in the Vale' (Judg. 7:1, emended text; see *HAROD*, WKT. OF, 1). This was where Gideon collected his force to meet the horries from the other side of the Jordan. The expression 'by the fountain of *Harod*' is loose. Gideon's men were separated from the fountain by a steep and rugged slope; but they had the command of the fountain. It 'is on the plain, but so close beneath the hill, so encompassed by rocks, that a small detachment could secure it' (Miller, *op. cit.*, 178). A reference to the fountain made it at once plain whereabouts Gideon's force was posted. To have encamped beside 'Ain *Jâlûd* would have been unnatural for mountaineers like the Israelites.

(b) At a later time, we read, 'the Philistines gathered together all their battalions to *Aphek*, while the Israelites were encamped by the fountain of *Harod* which is in *Jezreel*' (1 S. 29:1, emended text; see *HAROD*, WKT. OF, 2); or, as another account says, 'The Philistines mustered, and came to *Shunem*, and Saul mustered all Israel, and they encamped on *Gilboa*' (1 S. 28:4). We are not to infer that *Aphek* and *Shunem* were close together.¹ *Aphek* was in the N. of the plain of *Sharon*; the two statements quoted come from different hands. They are, however, easily reconcilable. The mustering at *Aphek* was swiftly followed by the arrival of the Philistines at *Shunem*; the Israelites expected this, and had no occasion to change their position. Soon, however, the Philistines must have found that they could not attack Saul's position from *Shunem*; the *Nahr Jâlûd* has too deep a channel, and the ascent from the lakelet below (see *HAROD*) to the broken plateau above is too steep to permit a hostile attack on warriors drawn up above. An attack would be perfectly feasible, however, if the Philistines went up the far easier slopes and wadies to the S., which lead to open ground about the village of *Nûris*, and directly above the 'Ain *Jâlûd*.² Thus there is a clear parallelism between the position of the Midianites and that of the Philistines, and between that of Gideon and that of Saul.

Dean Stanley has given a picturesque account of the battle of *Gilboa* (*Jewish Church*, 225 f.; cp *Sinai and Pal.* 345). According to him, the position occupied by Saul was 'on the rise of Mount *Gilboa*, hard by the "spring of *Jezreel*," the Israelites as usual keeping to the heights, whilst their enemies clung to the plain.' The objections to this, however, drawn from close observation of the ground, are very strong.³ The chariots of the Philistines could not have pursued the Israelites up that steep and rugged slope. The fighting between Saul and the Philistines must have occurred on the southern slopes of *Gilboa*.

(c) One more event may perhaps be assigned to this mountain-region—viz., the defeat of *Benhadad*, king of Syria, by *Ahab*.

RV, following the received text, states that 'at the return of the year *Benhadad* mustered the Syrians, and went up to *Aphek*, to fight against Israel. And the children of Israel were mustered, and were victualled, and went against them' (1 K. 20:20 f.). 'And were victualled,' however, must be wrong; we require,

¹ Prof. G. A. Smith formerly held that *Aphek* was somewhere near *Jezreel* (cp H. P. Smith, *Sam.* 244); now, however, he has come over to the view advocated by WRS (*Aphek*, 3 (2), *suppl.*, col. 192) that the *Aphek* in *Sharon* is that intended (*PEFQ*, 1895, p. 252).

² *GASm.* HG 403; cp Miller, *Less than the Least of all Lands*, 175, 180 f.

³ It is inaccurate, however, to represent Stanley as saying that the battle was 'on the plain' (Miller, 175; *GASm.* 403). See passages referred to above.

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instead, a statement of the mastering-place of the Israelites. גִּלְעָד should perhaps be גִּלְעָד, 'in Gilead'; the error was obviously produced by the following word גִּלְעָד ('and went'). This is confirmed by v. 30b, where we read in RV that 'Ben-hadad fled, and came into the city, into an inner chamber, a rendering which is violently extracted from an obviously corrupt text. Khs. reads גִּלְעָד על עֵין חָרֹד, 'and hid himself by the fountain of Harod in Harod', or חָרֹד על עֵין חָרֹד, 'by the fountain in Harod.' The difficulty lies in the distance between Aphek in the N. of Sharon (see ARNOLD, 114b), which is surely meant here (not el-Mileh), and Mount Gilboa; but the textual suggestions are extremely plausible, and a mastering of the Philistines at the same Aphek preceded their final attack upon Saul by the southern slopes of Gilboa. Cp. however for the whole subject of this article, SALT.

GILEAD (גִּלְעָד), and, with the article, הַגִּלְעָד (B.V.I.), a trans-Jordanic region frequently referred to.

1. Name. The name, which can be explained from the Arabic *jal'ad*, 'hard, rough,' is at first sight not very appropriate, the hills and dales of Gilead being full of natural beauty, and well adapted for cattle (cp. Nu. 32:1) and for the flocks of goats which are still fed there (cp. Cant. 4:1; and see HARRIS, § 1). Upon the whole, Gilead is better provided with water and woodland than any part of W. Palestine. Hence Merrill (Hastings, *DB* 2:74b) seems inclined to doubt the correctness of the explanation. The name 'hard, rough' is, however, at once seen to be appropriate when we study the geological formation of the country.

The base slopes of the mountain chain of Moab and Gilead consist of sandstone.

This is covered in part by the more recent white marl, which forms the curious peaks of the foothills immediately above the Jordan valley; but reaches above them to an elevation of 1000 ft. above the Mediterranean on the S., and forms the bed of the Huket basin, farther E. and 1000 ft. higher.

Above this lies the hard, impervious dolomitic limestone, which appears in the rugged gray hills round the Jablok, and in Jebel Ajlun, rising on an average 1500 ft. above the sandstone, and forming the bed of the numerous springs. It also dips towards the Jordan valley; and the water from this formation, bursts out of the hill slopes on the W. in perennial brooks. It was from the ruggedness of this hard limestone that Gilead obtained its name. Above this again is the white chalk of the desert plateau, the same found in Samaria and Lower Galilee, with bands of flint or chert in contorted layers or strewn in pebbles on the surface. Where this formation is deep the country is bare and arid, supplied by cisterns and deep wells. Thus the plateau becomes desert, while the hill-slopes abound in streams and springs (Conder, in Smith, *DB* 9:1191a).

The plateau here spoken of is that extensive highland which extends eastward to the Euphrates, where nothing but desert shrubs will grow. On the edge of this region, and rising at most 500 ft. above it, are the long mountain-ranges which from their geological formation deserve the name of Gilead. Rocky as they may be, the higher slopes are covered with pine-trees (*Pinus carica*, Don., a species resembling the Aleppo pine), and, as Conder says, mastice-bushes,² whilst lower down are beautiful woods of oak trees and carob trees, forming altogether, with the addition of numerous streams and springs, the most perfect sylvan scenery in Palestine.

The 'wood of Rephaim' (so read for 'wood of Ephraim' in 2 S. 18:6) is still represented by the thick groves of the Jebel Ajlun, with which the woods of es-Salt in S. Gilead alone can compete. Far below the Gilead range lies the Jordan Valley, which is reached by a very steep descent, and a natural division in the range is formed by the river Zerkā (Jablok). The Hebrew writers, whether they were conscious of the original meaning of Gilead or not, were well aware that the name had properly no narrow or merely local refer-

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ence. They apply it, when they speak most deliberately, to the whole mountain range between the Yarmuk on the N. and the Arnon on the S., which was cut into two parts by the great trench of the Zerkā or Jablok (cp. Dt. 3:12 Josh. 12:5 13:25). The two parts together are sometimes called 'all Gilead' (Dt. 3:17 2 K. 10:11), and the general term Gilead is applied to those districts on the E. of the Jordan which were in Israelitish occupation (Nu. 32:29 Josh. 22:9 Judg. 10:8 20:1 2 S. 21:6 1 K. 4:19 Am. 1:11); but also to the northern or to the southern part alone (see for the one, Dt. 2:26 3:15 Josh. 17:15, and for the other, Nu. 32:1 Josh. 13:3). The elasticity of the term is strikingly shown by the fact that in Dt. 31:1 1 Macc. 5:27f. 'Gilead' even includes the region N. of the Jablok.

We have seen that the term 'Gilead' belongs of right to a large mountainous district, not to a particular mountain. It would be a mistake to

4. Gen. 31:17-54. infer the contrary from the interesting composite narrative in Gen. 31:17-54. It is true that what is said of Jacob and Laban in v. 25² and of Jacob in v. 34² implies that a particular mountain, known to the respective writers of these passages, was sometimes called in a special sense גִּלְעָד, 'the mountain of (the) Gilead'; but this specialisation merely indicates that the mountain referred to was a conspicuous one in some part of the Gilead range. That the two narrators J and E meant the same part of the Gilead-range can hardly be maintained. They both differ from the original story (see GILEAD, 1); they also differ from one another. When Jacob uttered the late prayer in 32:9f. (J) he must have been near some great ford of the Jordan. Probably he was at Succoth, not very far from the ford ed-Dāmiḥ, for the notice in Gen. 33:17 has surely been misplaced by the editor of JE, and in J's narrative stood before 32:4[3].⁴ It is possible that the Jebel Osha', the highest point in the Jebel Ajlun (N. of es-Salt, and N. of the Zerkā) is J's Gilead mountain. E, however, who makes Jacob go, after parting with Laban, to MADANAIM (v. 7), presumably localises the meeting of Jacob and Laban near some high point of the Jebel Ajlun. One might think of the Jebel Kafkafa (3430 ft.) which is to the NE. of Sūf and Jerash, close to the great pilgrim road from Damascus to Mecca; but Sūf itself (2720 ft.) has great claims on our consideration. This is one of the sites where dolmens are to be found.⁵ It is probable that by the 'pillar' and the 'heap' of Gen. 31:45f. the narrators meant some of those primitive stone monuments, which are specially abundant on the E. of the Jordan.

According to the theory here presented, there should also be such a monument on Jebel Osha'. All that we find is a shrine (perhaps 300 years old) containing a long, open trough, said to have been the tomb of Hosen, beside which the Bedouins kill sheep in honour of the prophet.⁶ The trough, however, may have been preceded by a cairn; sepulchral cairns are still common among the Arabs, and Absalom's cairn (2 S. 18:17) is familiar to readers of the OT. The narrative in Gen. is directed against the attempts of the Aramaeans to possess themselves of Gilead; the standing-stone (*massēbā*) on E's mountain and the cairn on J's were represented by E and J respectively as having been erected, the former by Laban, the latter by Jacob, as sacred boundary-stones. The *massēbā*, by a slight distortion, was called 'the Mispah' to indicate that Yahwē would

¹ Gilead is here distinguished both from Bashan and from the tableland of Moab.

² Jacob is here said (by J) to have pitched his tent 'on the mountain [of . . .] Laban on 'the mountain of (the) Gilead.'

³ Jacob sacrifices 'on the mountain'; v. 21 shows that some part of the Gilead range is meant. E is the writer.

⁴ It was followed probably by a mention of Jacob's crossing of the Jablok. Cp. Holzinger, *ad loc.*

⁵ Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 243f.

⁶ Rued. *Pal.* 16:7f.; cp. Conder, *op. cit.* 180. A large tree stands beside the shrine which is 'one out of the very few sacred domes E. of Jordan.'

¹ [In G occur the following forms:—Judg. 10:4 גִּלְעָד (B*), 10:8 גִּלְעָדִית (AL), 11:5 גִּלְעָדִית (A), 1 K. 4:13 גִּלְעָדִית (B), גִּלְעָדִית (L), 4:19 גִּלְעָדִית (L), 1 Ch. 5:10 גִּלְעָדִית (B), Hos. 12:11 (12) גִּלְעָדִית (Q)* se . . . Am. 1:11 גִּלְעָדִית (P.M.Q.T), -עֵין חָרֹד (Q.vnt.), 1 Macc. . . גִּלְעָדִית (A).]

² Smith's *DB* 9:1191; see also Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 182.

See, however, Post, cited *sup.* col. 165, with reference to the 'Rain of Gilead.'

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'keep watch (and interpose) between' Laban and Jacob, when occasion for this arose! (v. 49). We may certainly infer from this that the place referred to by E was one of those called Mizpah. Possibly it was Ramath-ham-mispeh, which in Josh. 13.26² is described as the N. limit of the territory of Gad, and is elsewhere called ham-mispa (see MIZPAH, 2). The name also received a name; it was called 'Heap of Witness', implying a playful etymology of the name Gilead.

There is yet another conceivable inference from this singular narrative (when explained as above), against

8. Specialization of Gilead.

which a caution may be desirable. It might be supposed that when E wrote, the territory known as Gilead began at the Jebel 'Ajlūn. The truth is that the Jebel 'Ajlūn is the representative of the whole land of Gilead. So at least it must appear to those who approach Gilead from Damascus, and see, looming up beyond the plain of Bashan, the summits of the Jebel 'Ajlūn. On the other hand, to those who come from Moab, the natural representative of Gilead will be the first lofty range to the N. of the plateau of Heshbon—i.e., the Jebel Jil'ad. How this latter name fixed itself just here is an obscure problem; why is the Yahvist's Gilead mountain preferred to the Elohist's? Problems of this kind, however, are numerous and baffling. Why, for instance, is the highest mountain in this range—the Jebel Ōsha—named after the prophet Hosea? It is true, Hosea, according to the MT, speaks of a city of Gilead in 11.8 (cp 12.11), and has been thought to refer here to some locality in the Jebel Jil'ad (see, however, 2). Can this have been known, however, to those who first used the Arabic name? Surely Hosea has displaced Joshua. Who, then, preceded Joshua? The truth is hidden from us.

It would seem as if this specialization of the term Gilead had already occurred by the time of Eusebius and Jerome (see 2); and it should also be noticed that 5 m. N. of es-Salt there is a ruin known as Jal'ad,³ perhaps the 'Gilead' of the Onomasticon. Not im-

possibly, too, another seemingly recent place-name preserves the memory of a name of Gilead, which, though but slightly attested, may be genuinely ancient. The place-name referred to is Gerash (the famous city of the Decapolis of Peraea), now called Jerash.⁴ According to Neubauer,⁵ the Midrash (*Samuel*, 13) affirms the identity of Gerash and Gilead; and Sir G. Grove has noticed that the Arabic version of Josh. 20.8 21.38 [36] gives Rāmat al-Jarāsh for MT's 'Ramoth in Gilead,' and that the Jewish traveller Parchi (*circa* 1315 A.D.) also says, 'Gilead is at present Jerash.'⁶ That the name Gerash is derived from the *γεραιτες*, or veterans, of Alexander the Great is of course absurd. It reminds us so much of Girzites and Gergashites that one is tempted to suspect that a tribe called Girzin or Girshim (cp GIRGASHITES) may have dwelt in Gilead in pre-Israelitish times (cp 2 S. 29, where Ishbaal reigns 'over Gilead and over the Girshite'); see GIRZITES. Gerash, like Gilead, may have obtained a specialized reference to a town and a district later; hence Yāqūt speaks of 'the Jerash

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mountain district (Jebel Jarash), as well as of the ruined city of that name.

If the name of Gerash is rightly thus accounted for, it still remains to determine what ancient city, if any,

7. Ancient sites.

once stood upon its site. It is difficult indeed to believe that the founders of that magnificent city, the ruins of which still fascinate us, placed it upon a site unconsecrated by the sanctuaries of the past. Both Ramoth-gilead and Mahanaim have been thought of; but we have reasons sufficient for accepting neither view. Just an hour W. of Jerash is the wretched but well-situated village of Remūn (Ewald's Ramoth Gilead), divided by a ridge from Sūf (Mizpah?). Turning to the W., in two hours the traveller comes to 'Ajlūn (Mahanaim?), 'nestling at the bifurcation of the valleys, in its gardens and vineyards,' with the great castle already spoken of in the neighbourhood; on either hand are the well-clothed heights of the Jebel 'Ajlūn. A descent, a climb, and again a descent bring us to the Wādī Yābis (a plausible claimant to the title of 'the brook Cherith,' were it not for the faultiness of the reading *CHERITH* {*q.v.*}), and to an isolated round-topped hill, strewn with ruins (ed-Dēr) but these not ancient—Robinson's site for Jahesh-Gilead. If we turn to the N. of the same Wādī, we come to Miryānūn, Merrill's site for the same famous city. About seven miles off is Pella (Fahl), which 'enjoys perhaps the finest climate, from an agricultural point of view, that can be found in Syria.'¹ The known history of Pella is a short one; but it may be noted here that, according to Eusebius (*HE* 3.5), the Jewish Christians fled, before the destruction of Jerusalem, to Pella.

And what shall one say of Irbid, the capital of the district of 'Ajlūn? Doubtless this was an ancient Arabea. Was it, then, the BETT-ARBEA of Hos. 10.14? Our answer will probably be in the negative; but the site is of strategic importance, and the name implies the antiquity of the place. Es-Salt, too,—at present the only capital of the Belkā, and the only important place in it—though not as strikingly placed as 'Ajlūn, must surely have been always a centre of population, as 'the lofty Jebel Ōsha' to the north must always have been crowned by an important sanctuary, surely not, however, Penuel. Where the latter place was, it is not easy to say; Succoth (1), however, is possibly the modern Tell Dēr 'Alla. With more confidence we can identify JABBATH with Jubehāt, and the JABBOK with the 'blue' river, the Zerkā.²

A passing reference is all that can be given to the interesting genealogies of Gilead (Nu. 26.29-33 Josh.

17.1-3 1 Ch. 7.14-19); see MACHIR, 8. OT ASRIEL, HEPHER (ii, 2), and especially

references. ZELOPHETHAI. The last of these names occurs in a mutilated form as Jidlaph in Gen. 22.22; it is probably identical with Salecah, and as Milcah, the mother of Jidlaph, is a corruption of Salecah, we see how mechanically the genealogies were often filled up. Nor can we here gather up the fragmentary notices of the history of Gilead. The country was the eastern bulwark of Palestine, and was the first district to suffer from Syrian and Assyrian invasions. In sacred legend it is distinguished by the passage of Jacob and by the residence of JEPHTHAH {*q.v.*}. The names of Barzillai, David, Ishbaal, Ahab, Elijah (was he really a Tishbite?—see TISHBITE) also will readily occur to the reader as connected with Gilead. The clansmen of GAD, whose name is almost treated as synonymous with Gilead (*e.g.*, Judg. 5.17 1 S. 13.7), had opportunity for learning resource and courage in the mountains and glens of the 'rugged' land. Cp GAD, § 2. PERRA.

Olipant, *Land of Gilead* (8.9); graphic descriptions; Conder,

¹ Le Strange, in Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 272. Pella is the *hnp* of Talm. Jer. (Neub. *Géogr.* 274); cp GASm. *HG* 292, n. 2.

² On the Jabbok of Gen. 32.22, see JABBOK, § 2.

¹ Verse 49, which, as it stands, is obviously imperfect, must be supplemented from v. 45. Read with Ball, 'And the pillar which he set up he called "the Mizpah," for he said,' etc.

² The two names next mentioned are Bezonim (rather Botnim) and MAHANAIM {*q.v.*}.

³ This name is not to be confounded with Jal'ad, the name of a river which starts from the 'Ain Jal'ad under GILBOA {*q.v.*, § 3}. This Jal'ad is also pronounced *Jal'at*, which is the Ar. form of Goliath. Goliath impressed the Moslem mind. Mokaddasi (19th cent. A.D.) calls the citadel of Ammān the 'castle of Goliath.'

⁴ According to Guthe (*MDPI*, '93, 57 ff.) Jerash, not Jerash, is the popular pronunciation.

⁵ *Géogr. du Pa'm.* 240.

⁶ Zunz, quoted by Grove (Smith, *DBI*) 2.1003. He also states that the Jews derived Gerash from Yegar-sahadutha (Gen. 31.47).

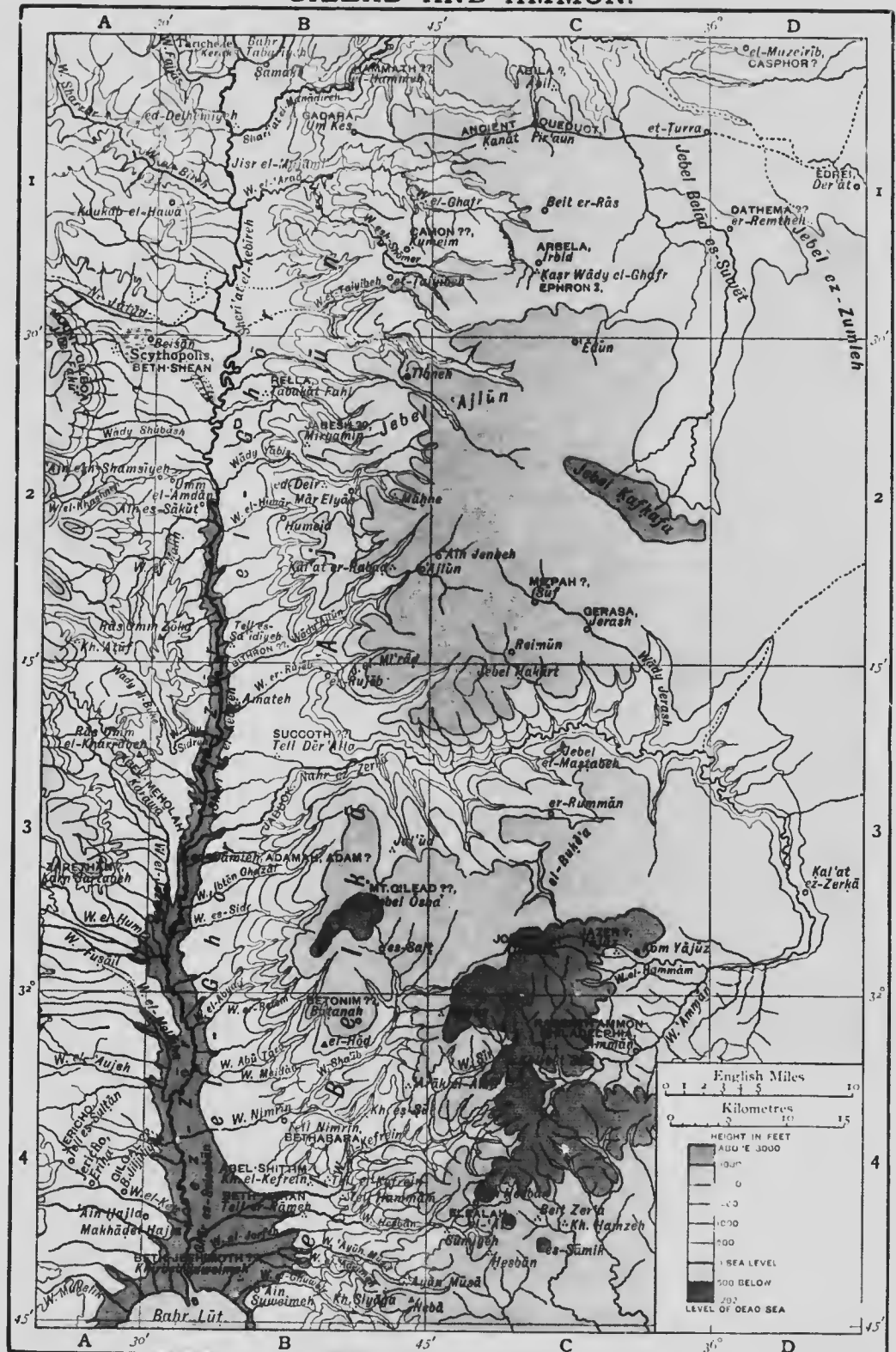
MAP OF GILEAD AND AMMON

INDEX TO NAMES

Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added to non-biblical names having no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement usually ignores prefixes: *abū* ('father of'), *ayn* ('spring'), *arak* ('district'), *ayn* ('spring'), *bahr* ('sea'), *beit* ('house'), *bilād* ('country'), *jebel* ('mt'), *jur* ('bridge'), *ka'fat* ('castle'), *kaukt* ('conduct'), *karn* ('horn'), *karr* ('castle'), *khirbet* ('ruin'), *kum* ('mound'), *makhadet* ('ford'), *nahr* ('river'), *ra's* ('head'), *tell* ('mound'), *umm* ('mother'), *wady* ('valley').

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GILEAD AND AMMON.



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W. H. R. C. Cockrell

GILGAL

Heth and Moab (83); Selah Merrill, *East of Jordan* (81); Schumacher, *Across the Jordan* (86), containing 'A Ride through Ajlun', by Guy Le Strange; Tristram, *Land of Israel*; G. A. Smith, *HG*; and Gautier, *Le delà du Jourdain* (96).

2. A city, mentioned perhaps in Judg. 10:17 and (S^{AI}) 12:7; also in Hos 6:8 12:11 [12]. Ewald (on Hos. *Hec.*) thinks of Mizpeh or Gilead (Judg. 11:29), which was the seat of an apostasy (Judg. 11:11 'Mizpah'). Buhl (*Geogr.* 202) thinks of Baath, or rather Ramath-Gilead; 11:14 of Jahesh-Gilead; Gilead (on Judg. 10:17) of the site of the modern 'Ajlun' S. of es-Salt (see 1), which is present-day Gilead mentioned by Eusebius as a name (O³ 241 2, 121 30). But 'Gilead' for 'Mizpah' or 'Baath', or the like, is hardly conceivable, and the passages quoted, except the first, prove to be corrupt.

In Judg. 10:17 'in Gilead' simply covers over the narrator's ignorance; 11:11 supplied 'Mizpah' as the place of encampment of the Israelites; that of the Ammonites could not be determined (cp. Moore's note). In Judg. 12:7 the text is mutilated; read probably 'in his city, in Mizpah of Gilead.' In Hos 6:8 12:11 [12] גִּלְגָּל should most probably be גִּלְגָּל (cp. גִּלְגָּלֹתֶיךָ 12:11 [12]) for גִּלְגָּלֹתֶיךָ. No doubt Hosea might have referred to a second sanctuary in Gilead, and Ruben's restoration of 6:6 is geographically and historically plausible (cp. Che. *Eph.*, Jan. 97, p. 47 f.). But the sanctuaries of Bethel and Gilgal are much more likely to be referred to than the hypothetical sanctuaries of ADAM [גִּלְגָּל, i. e. 'Gilead'. For גִּלְגָּל in p. 7 read probably גִּלְגָּל 'in Beth-aven', and read 8: f. thus—'Gilgal is a city of those that work wickedness, a hill fortress of evildoers (גִּלְגָּל בְּרִיתֵי עֲוֹנוֹת). And a company of traitors are her priests; the way of Yahweh they reject; they are eager to commit crimes' (וְהָיָה בְּרִיתֵי עֲוֹנוֹת וְהָיָה בְּרִיתֵי עֲוֹנוֹת). In 12:11 [12] גִּלְגָּל is a corruption of גִּלְגָּלֹתֶיךָ; the prefixed גִּלְגָּל is a dittographed גִּלְגָּל (Grä.).

T. K. C.

GILGAL (always with definite article, הַגִּלְגָּל, except

1. **Name.** Josh. 5:9 and MT of 12:23, the name of several localities in the Holy Land.

2. Usually renders גִּלְגָּל by the plural גִּלְגָּלֹתֶיךָ [BAQFI], as in Josephus and i. Macc. So in Josh. (except 12:23 14:6 [F]), 15:7; see below, § 6), i. S. (except 1:16 תִּןּוּרָא גִלְגָּלָא [B. M. תִּןּוּרָא גִלְגָּלָא [L.]); 15:33 גִלְגָּלָא [B. M.], 2 S. 2 K. Am. Hos. (except 9:15 גִלְגָּלָא [B. M.], 12:12a [12a] גִלְגָּלָא [B. M.]). The singular גִּלְגָּל occurs in Josh. 14:6 [B. M.], 15:7 [A. L.], Judg. 2:1 3:19 1 S. 15:33 (גִלְגָּלָא [L.]), Hos. 9:15 Mi. 6:5; גִלְגָּלָא [B. M.] in Dt. 11:30 (but גִלְגָּל [F.], גִלְגָּלָא [L.]). On Josh. 12:23 see below, § 6.

The name means literally 'the circle'—i. e., sacred circle of stones, the form now called 'eromlech' by archaeologists. Except in Galilee, such circles are not found W. of Jordan, where they may have been destroyed from the time of Josiah's reformation onwards; but many ancient specimens are extant in E. Palestine, similar to those of Western Europe, and Arabs still construct stone circles round graves. For a picture of a *gilgal* see PFFO, '82, p. 72; and for a plan, *Survey of E. Pal.* 11.

3. The first sanctuary and camp of Israel in W. Palestine. The earliest of the documents of which the

Book of Joshua is composed (JE) relates that, after crossing Jordan, Joshua erected twelve stones which he had taken from the bed of the river on the W. bank 'in the Gilgal' (1:12), and they became (7:21 f., probably Dt.) a monument of the miraculous passage. This account agrees with the meaning of the name. The same document, however (with its unscientific habit of connecting place-names with events of ancient history), derives Gilgal from the reproach 'rolled away'—Gallōthi, 'I have rolled'—from Israel by Joshua when he re-instituted there the rite of Circumcision (7:21, § 2), that had been in abeyance during the wanderings in the wilderness (5:6). That the 'place' (מָקוֹם, probably meaning sacred place, 5:13) was already so called, and was a centre of Canaanite worship, is apparent both from the narrative quoted, and from Judg. 3:19 (גִלְגָּלָא [B. M.]),

1 For an instance of twelve stones by the side of an altar see Ex. 24:4

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where for 'quarries' read perhaps 'graven images', see QUARRIES. The Priestly Writer, who records the celebration of the passover at Gilgal (Josh. 5:10-12), describes the site as at 'the east end' of the territory 'of Jericho' (4:19).

In the parallel passage in Josephus (*Ant.* v. 14), Gilgal is given as 10 stadia, or a little over a mile from Jericho—i. e., not the OT Jericho at 'Ain es-Sulfan, but the NT site on the W. of Kelt. Eusebius and Jerome (O³ 124 23 213 04) place Gulgala or Gulgol (גִּלְגָּלָא) 'to the E. of ancient Jericho', 'a desert spot' 2 R. m. from Jericho, 'ab illius regionis mortalibus miro cultu habitus'. Theodosius (*De Situ Terrae Sanctae* 16, circa 530 A. D.), sets it at 1 R. m. from the city; and later Christian records from a little less than 1 m. to as much as 5. After the eighth century the name was lost till Robinson heard a rumour of it in 1832 (*HN* 2 287); and in 1865 Zschokke (*Topogr. der W. Jordanside*, 28) heard 'Tell-Jeljul' applied to a low mound, a little more than a mile E. of modern Jericho, on the N. bank of the Kelt, with a heap of stones and remains of a wall. Conder (*Ten Work*, 203 ff.) found the form Jiljūlych applied both to some small mounds and to a tank. An Arab grave-yard suggests the traditional sanctity of the spot; and associated with it is a legend, derived from the fall of Jericho. There can be little doubt that, whether the name is due to a continuous tradition (which is probable, for Jos. *Ant.* v. 14) could hardly have hit on the site otherwise), or is a Christian revival of the fourth century, the neighbourhood, and perhaps the very site, is that of the ancient sanctuary and camp of Israel. It should be said that the modern name is not altogether beyond suspicion, Zschokke having asked for it, 'in various forms', before it was given back to him by the natives (*op. cit.* 28). Clermont-Ganneau (*Arch. Rev.* 2 37) was assured that the name Jiljūlyeh was 'only used by the Franks'. His excavations revealed nothing decisive, and he says 'the matter still seems to me extremely doubtful'.

The ark and the headquarters of the host remained here during Joshua's invasion of the hill-country, to which more than five roads opened conveniently from Gilgal, 96 106 f. c 15 (om. B² A: גִלְגָּלָא [B² c 15 L.]) 43 (om. B A: גִלְגָּלָא [L.]); there is little reason for supplying another Gilgal for these passages (see below, § 5), some of which are perhaps mere glosses (146, Judg. 2:1 all JE or Dt.). The place of Gilgal in the reverence of the nation was secured for centuries. Even if it were not the sanctuary to which Samuel went yearly in circuit (1 S. 7:16 גִלְגָּלָא [L.], see below, § 4) it was certainly that to which he sent Saul before him (10:8 גִלְגָּלָא [L.]), at which Saul was anointed king (11:14 f.), offered the hasty sacrifices which estranged the prophet, brought to Yahweh the devoted spoil, the *horev* (see B. M., § 2 f.) of the Amalekite campaign, and by his refusal to slaughter Agag lost his kingdom (15:12-31). (The narratives here are doublets; see W. R. Smith, *OTJ* 135 ff.; see SAMUEL ii.). Under Saul as under Joshua the religious attractions of Gilgal were supported by its military advantages. The Philistines had overrun the central range to the W.; there was no other place in the land at which Israel could be rallied to attack them; and Jordan and Gilead lay behind for a refuge (13:47). In the following reign Judah assembled at Gilgal to meet David when he came back over Jordan (2 S. 19:15 [16] 40 [41]) after his flight, and to escort him to the capital.

At the disruption of the kingdom, Gilgal fell with the rest of the Jordan valley to N. Israel; but we have now a problem to decide; whether the famous N. sanctuary of Gilgal was the

3. **The famous sanctuary?** Gilgal of this site by Jericho, or another Gilgal, which lay on the central range to the N. of Bethel, and was also a place sacred to Yahweh (see § 4), or still another which lay near Shechem (see § 5). Amos and Hosea, who frequently speak of the great national sanctuary, give us no hint as to where it lay.—Am. 4: 'come to Bethel and transgress—at Gilgal multiply transgression'; 5: 'seek not Bethel, nor come to Gilgal, for Gilgal shall taste the gall of exile' (so one must clumsily render the prophet's play upon words *hag-gilgal gālih yig'lih*; Hos. 4:15 'come not to Gilgal and go not up to Beth-aven'; 9:15 'all their evil is in Gilgal, for there I hated them . . . I will drive them out of mine house'; 12:11 [12] 'in Gilgal they sacrifice bullocks' or 'to bullocks' or (as We.) 'to demons'.

Apropos of this last verse it is interesting that the Christian fathers should have read 'Gilgal,' sometimes for 'Bethel,' name.

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times for 'Dan' as one of the two places where Jeroboam set up his golden calf (Cyril, *Comm. in Hoseam*, 5; [Pseud.] Epiph., *De Vit. Proph.* 237; *Chron. Pasc.* 161).

Thus, then, we find Gilgal in the eighth century equal in national regard with Bethel; where the people zealously worship Yahwé, but do so under heathen fashion with impure rites that provoke his wrath. In an age passionately devoted to the sacred scenes of antiquity, such a kind of sanctuary might well be that ancient Gilgal (now belonging to N. Israel) at which, it was said, the ark had found its first rest in the land, circumcision had been restored, the first king had been anointed, and David himself had been reinstated in the affection of Judah. Beyond these general considerations, however, there is no proof to offer—unless it be found in the facts that the prophets never speak of going up to Gilgal as they do to Bethel, and that the Gilgal known to the writer of Micah 6:5 appears to be the Gilgal on Jordan. We turn now to the rival Gilgals in the hill-country of Ephraim.

2. As early as the time of Eusebius there were¹ 'certain who suspected a second Gilgal close to Bethel' (*OS*, c. 7, γαλγала).

4. A Gilgal by Bethel? (*OS*, c. 7, γαλγала). This suspicion, aroused by the list of Samuel's circuit (1 S. 7:16)—Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah—of which Bethel and Mizpah are both on the central range, and strengthened by the prophets' close association of Bethel and Gilgal, in regard to the latter of which, as we have seen, they never use the expression 'go down,' which would have been almost inevitable in the case of a site in the Jordan valley, is raised almost to the pitch of conviction by the narrative of Elijah's last journey (2 K. 2:1-8; 7:1 ερεσχω [B*], γαλγала [Bth ms. A1.]).

The order given is Gilgal, Bethel, Jericho (Gth for Gilgal reads Jericho, but evidently by error; for variants of B have γαλγала), and it is said (7:2) that from Gilgal Elijah and Elisha 'went down to Bethel.' This implies a Gilgal on the central range, with at least an apparent descent on Bethel. Such an one has been found in *Jiljiliyeh*, about 7 m. N. of Bethel, and 2½ m. W. of the present high road, between Bethel and Shechem and Samaria. It is now a large village on the summit of a commanding hill 2441 feet above the sea. This is lower than Bethel, which is 2890 feet, but the hill is so bold and isolated that the phrase 'to go down to Bethel' is quite appropriate. The view is one of the grandest in Palestine, from the sea to the hills of Gilead and as far N. as Hermon itself (Robinson, who seems to have been the first traveller to visit it, *BR* 3:1; cp *PFE* 2:290, map, sheet xiv.). This Gilgal, like Jericho, had its school of the prophets. That it was the same as the Gilgal of 2 K. 4:38 (γαλγала [BAL]), Elisha's residence, seems implied by the connection of the latter (7:42) with BAAL-SIALISHA [q.v.], another Samaritan town, also on the western watershed (see further Buhl, *Geogr.* 171; and cp GORDON, *W.D.*, ad fin.).

If all these facts be held to justify the existence of a sanctuary and prophetic centre at Jiljiliyeh in Elisha's day, then a very strong presumption is established in favour of this being also the Gilgal famous in the time of Amos and Hosea. Moreover Jiljiliyeh is not far from Shiloh [q.v.], and the very curious passage in (Pseudo-) Epiphanius quoted above (§ 3), which identifies Gilgal as the shrine of the golden calf, adds ἡ ἐν σηνλυν—i.e., Shiloh. It would go far to explain the disappearance from Israel's history of so ancient a sanctuary as Shiloh, if we could believe that its sanctity had been absorbed by that of the neighbouring Gilgal, which in such a case would have strengthened its claim to be the rival of Bethel. That, however, is only a guess; and the claims of this Samaritan Jiljiliyeh are as inconclusive as those of

¹ Gth, however, reads simply ἡβαν or ἐρατοταί [L] (812); cp. Schlatter, *Zur Topog.* 249.

² In this connection it is interesting that the place-name Ashkaf (i.e., cliffs of) Jiljal occurs at Rammon 1½ m. E. of Bethel (*PFE Name Lists*, p. 225, sheet xiv.).

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the Jordan Gilgal. The case between them must still be regarded as open; nor is it confined to them. There is a third Gilgal which also has strong claims to be regarded as the popular Israelite sanctuary of the eighth century.

De 11:30: [Ebal and Gerizim] . . . 'are they not beyond Jordan, to the west of the road of the sunset,

5. A Gilgal in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the Arabah, over against Gilgal, beside the terebinth of Moreh? As punctuated by the Massoretes the text means that it is Ebal and Gerizim that are opposite Gilgal. Taking the latter to be Gilgal by Jericho, certain Rabbis, followed by Eusebius, Jerome, and a constant Christian tradition, transferred Ebal and Gerizim to the hills immediately behind Jericho. Recent commentators have preferred to alter the punctuation, and taking 'over against Gilgal' as describing the home of the Canaanites in the Arabah, have thought to secure both good grammar and accurate geography (see Driver, *ad loc.*). Dillmann, however, preserving the Massoretic punctuation, supposed some Gilgal near Shechem; and his hypothesis has been justified by the discovery of a modern place named Julejil, on the plain of Makhna, 1 m. E. of the foot of Mt. Gerizim, 2½ m. SE. of Shechem and 1½ m. SW. of Siliim (*PFE* 2:238). This suits the data of the passage. The terebinth of Moreh, 'the Revealer,' takes us back to Abraham, who built an altar beside it (Gen. 12:6). The place therefore was an ancient sanctuary, and further rendered sacred to Hebrew hearts by the worship of their great patriarch.

(The only difficulty in De 11:30 is the clause 'who dwell in the Arabah.' It is very possible that this is a later insertion due to one who supposed that the Gilgal mentioned must be that in the Arabah by Jericho.)

If then there was a Gilgal near Gerizim, sanctified by the worship of the patriarchs (for Jacob had been here as well as Abraham, Gen. 33:18), and by the command of Moses to Israel to celebrate there their entry into the Promised Land, this Gilgal has equal claims with the two others we have already described, to be considered as the popular sanctuary of N. Israel in the ninth and eighth centuries.

These claims have been defended in detail by Schlatter (*Zur Topog. u. Gesch. Palästinas*, 246 ff.) and accepted by Buhl (*Pal. topog.*). Schlatter makes out a most probable case; but his argument that the Makhna Julejil was also the Gilgal where Joshua placed the camp of Israel after the conquest of Ai (Jos. 10:6, 15:4, 14:6 γαλγала [B]) is very doubtful, and his other, that it was the Gilgal of Saul's appointment to the kingdom (1 S. 10:6 ff.), is quite unsuccessful. Schlatter mistakes the Judæan Carmel for Mt. Carmel. For another view of the difficult passage De 11:30 see GERIZIM, § 2:1.

(a) In the list of the Canaanite kings conquered by Israel we find a 'king of the nations at Gilgal' (Josh. 12:23 [H.]: מלך עמלקים; γαλγала [A]).

6. Other Gilgals. γαλγала [B], γαλγала [L]. In harmony with Gth's reading some propose to read 'king of the nations of Galilee' (see GALILEE, § 1).

The king, however, is mentioned between the kings of Dor (q.v., § 2) and Tirzah, and Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*) place a γαλγала 6 R. m. N. of Antipatris; and this is represented to-day either by Jiljiliyeh, 4 m., or Kilkiliyeh, 6 m. NNE. of Kafar Ras-el-Ain, a probable site of ANTIPATRIS (q.v., § 2).

(b) In Josh. 15:7 (P) the border of Judah is said to turn N. 'from the Oak of Achor to the Gilgal (γαλγала [AL], γαλγала [B*]), the present Tal 'at ed-Dani on the road from Jericho to Jerusalem. (In the parallel passage, Josh. 18:17 (P), γαλγала becomes γαλγала, γαλγала [B], γαλγала [L].) This is surely the hitherto unidentified Beth-gilgal or [AV] House of Gilgal (γαλγала [B*] om., γαλγала [L] [A] γαλγала [L]). which is given in Neh. 12:29 along with the fields of Geba and Amaveth as being 'round about Jerusalem.' (So, independently, Che. [GALILEE, 2], who also reads 'Beth-gilgal' for Beth-gallim in Is. 10:30.) If placed at the Tal 'at ed-Dani, Beth-gilgal would lie almost as far E. from the latter as Geba lies N.

(c) On the Gilgal or Galgala of 1 Macc. 9:2 see ARBELEA. The data undoubtedly suit best the Gilgal on the Makhna Plain, not the Gilgal suggested in § 3 of that article.¹

G. A. S.

¹ Besides the modern place-names mentioned above the only

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GILOH (גִּלּוֹה), a town in the highlands of Judah, in the same group with Shammir (=Shaphir), Debir, and Eshtemoth (Josh. 15:51 γΑΝΝΑ [B], ΓΗΛΩΝ [A], ΛΑΝΟΥ [L]), according to MT of 2 S. 15:12 the home of Ahithophel (גִּלְיָהוּ בֶן־חִיטְיָהוּ; EN ΠΟΛΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ [EN] ΓΩΛΑ [B]). EK ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΔ [L].

The gentilic is **Gilonite**, גִּלּוֹנִי; 2 S. 15:12 (θεκωνι [B], γελωναιω [A], γελωναιων II.D); 2 S. 23:34 (γελωνειτου [B], γελωνειτ. [A], γαλαδ [L]) = 1 Ch. 11:36 (ΠΕΛΟΝΙΤΕ, גִּלְיָהוּ a corrupt reading; ¹ φεδωνει [BK], φελλωνι [AL]).

Giloh is probably referred to by Micah in connection with Ophrah and Shaphir, though the paronomasia is disguised in MT (Micah 1:11). It seems to be represented by Jala, the name now attached to some ruins about 3 m. NW. of Halhul; the situation of Bēt Jālā—a place NW. of Bethlehem—seems too far north.

The text of 2 S. 15:12 is corrupt, but not desperately so. While he offered the sacrifices, if it has any meaning at all, can only refer to the important sacrifices connected with Absalom's assumption of royalty at Hebron. Yet the position of the clause shows that it contains a statement respecting Ahithophel. The scribe must have wrongly deciphered his original. Read, with Klostermann, for בִּנְיָמִן אֶחָדֵם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'when he fled to the Ziphites' (see 1 S. 23:19). This awakens a suspicion that Giloh was not the real name of Ahithophel's home, which may have been rather a place not far to the SW. of Jālā, viz. Keilah. It is by no means certain that the translator of *OT* had before him גִּלּוֹה or גִּלְיָה. He may have had גִּלְיָה (Gēliah); and even if he had not, גִּלְיָה is an easy phonetic corruption of גִּלְיָה (see KEILAH). David was once in great straits at Keilah; the citizens were about to deliver him up to Saul, but he suspected them, and escaped in time (1 S. 23:8-13). Ahithophel may have warned David or Abiathar. With this clue, Klostermann thus reads the former part of this passage, 'Absalom had made a league (בְּרִית) with Ahithophel the Keilahite (הַכֵּילָתִי, or 'the Keilanite', הַכֵּילָתִי), who made possible his escape (צִלָּתוֹ) from Keilah.' We thus understand David's habitual reliance on Ahithophel's counsel, and see how Ahithophel's son came to be one of David's 'thirty' (see EDIAM, 1).

The text of Micah 1:10f. is also corrupt. It opens, 'In Gath tell it not,' which Nowack regards as an interpolation inserted from 2 S. 1:20, whilst G. A. Smith thinks that the words describe the doom in store for Philistia as well as for the Shephelah of Judah in which Micah's home lay (*Twelve Proph.* 1:33). In support of this G. A. Smith refers to the situation of Shaphir, the modern Sawfir, in the Philistine plain. It is not probable, however, that Micah extends his view beyond his own region, the fate of which alone evokes his sympathy. SHAPHIR (שַׁפִּיר) need not be Sawfir. There is one place known to us, and only one, the name of which suggests a paronomasia fit to form a parallel to 'In Bochim weep' (see BOCHIM), and that is Giloh. Read therefore, בִּנְיָמִן אֶחָדֵם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'in Giloh exult not.' Cp. Che. *JQR*, July 1898.

T. K. C.

GINZO (גִּנְזוֹ), a town in the Shephelah of Judah, mentioned in 2 Ch. 28:18† (ΓΑΛΕΖΩ [B], ΓΑΜΑΙΖΑΙ [A], ΓΑΜΑΖΑΙ [L]). It is the modern *Jimzu*, about 3 m. SE. from Lydda.

GIN (גִּן) מִקְדָּשׁ, *mōqēš*; (2) פַּח, *pah*. See FOWLING, § 9.

GINATH (גִּנָּת), § 77; ΓΩΝΑΘ [B], ΓΩΝΑΘ [L], 'father' of TINI (1 K. 16:21 f. f.). Ginath (or rather, Gunath, cp. G) is probably a place- or clan-name. Kto. compares 'Guni' in Gen. 46:24 1 Ch. 7:11; We. (*IJC* 70 n.) refers to 'Shallum b. Jabesh' (i.e., the Jabeshite).

GINNETHO, RV *Ginnethoi* (גִּנְתְּהוֹ); ΓΕΝΝΑΘΩΘ [L], a priest in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA ii., § 6 b); Neh. 12:4. In Neh. 12:16 *Ginnethon* (גִּנְתְּחֹן) is a priestly family temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., § 6 b, § 11), which was represented amongst the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7).

Other readings in *OT* are: Neh. 10:6 [7] ΓΑΤΑΘ [B], ΑΝΑΤΩ [N], γαταθων [A], γαταθω [L], 12:4 γεννηθου [C] a. ing sup., B⁹ A om.; 12:16 γαταθω [C] a. ing. inf., B⁹ A om.

GIRDLE. Originating perhaps not so much in notions

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of decency (Gen. 37) as in the necessity of protecting the loins from the extremes of temperature in tropical countries, the girdle forms one of the oldest and most serviceable of all articles of apparel. In Hebrew the commonest terms for 'girdle' are *izār* and *hagor*:

1. *izār*, יָזָר (זָוַה, etc.), is exactly the Ar. *izār*, even the lengthened first vowel corresponding to the long form *izār* (Dozy, *Dict. de l'Or.* 32) which seems to be not merely Egyptian, since Payne-Smith has *izār* from Bar-Bahlul. The *izār*, now a large outer wrapper, was originally a loin-cloth or wrapper not covering the upper part of the body, wound round the loins (tied with a knot, Lane, *s.v.* p. 53) so as to be loosed if trodden on (Frey, *Chr. Ar.* 72 l. 7, and *Eint. in das Stud.* etc. 298). This is the dress of the Saracens in Ammianus, and is retained in the *ihām*. *Mizār*, now a pair of drawers, is not originally different, *Iam.* 81 and Dozy, *op. cit.* Bar 'Ah (Hoffm. 5842) explains Syr. *mizār* by *mayzār* or *tubbin*. The latter are the short drawers without legs worn by wrestlers or sailors. It is therefore an inner garment and so different from the *hagor* (see below, 2). This suits all the passages of *OT*. From Is. 5:27 we learn that it was easily loosed (*halla* in Frey, *Chr.* l.c.), from Jer. 13:1 2 K. 18 that it might be either of linen (עֲשֵׂה) or of skin. Elijah's was of the latter material. Like the old Arabs, he wore but two garments, the *izār* and the *addērth* (Ar. *ridā'*); see MANTLE.

The person who wears the *izār* has of course no shirt. So the prophet Isaiah (20:2) has only a waist-wrapper, and this explains Jeremiah's *izār* (Jer. 13:1). Hence it is that in Job 12:18 the king who is humiliated is represented as wearing the *izār*. In Ezek. 23:15 it is a peculiarity of the Chaldeans that they wear for girdle above their garments an *izār*, and this is seen on the monuments (Perrot, *Chapier, Art. in Chald.* etc. 1 fig. 14, 2 figs. 15, 16). As the *izār* is next the skin, the phrase Is. 11:5 is intelligible, and so the Arabs say *hawa minni ma'kidh izār*, meaning 'he is my near neighbour' (Lane, *s.v.* *ma'kidh*, Fr. *Eint.* l.c.). Phrases like אִנִּי אֶחָדֵם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל (1 S. 24) are simply 'are clothed with.' But in Job 28:34 35 Jer. 1:17 בְּחִיטְיָהוּ מִלְּבָשִׁים (כְּבֵדָה like a man) is like *shadda izārah* or *mizārah* = *shammara*, 'tuck up the cloth so as to leave the legs bare,' *Iam.* 334, 383, n. It is probable, however, that a (short) *izār* was the dress of active life (sailor's *tubbin* is analogous), like the waist-cloth of the modern East and also of the warrior. In *Iam.* 334, l. 1 the warrior is *mushammim* . . . *an shazāhu*—leaves his sides bare—like Ammianus's Saracens, and cp. Shanfara l. 62. הָאָדָם Ps. 93:1 simply יָזָר. But in Is. 8:9 it is Hithp. 'put on your *izār*' (which in that case is a warlike dress), or is it 'be a covering and support to one another' as in Arabic *izāra* 'to back' (lit. 'cover'), and of herbage, *ta'izāra* 'it grew thick and rank, the stalks supporting each other' (*Iam.* 657 l. 1 *nasar* *mu'azzar* = 'effective stout help.' See also *Asis al-Baligha* 2). From *izār* 'waist-cloth' is distinguished:—

2. *Hagor*, חָגוֹר, חָגוֹרָה, *hagōrah* (זָוַה, *perizōma*), a belt or girdle worn round the waist outside the dress. In modern times it is usually a coloured shawl, or long piece of figured white muslin. The girdle of the poorer classes is of coarse material, often of leather, with clasps. This leathern girdle is also much used by the Arabs, and by persons of condition when equipped for a journey. It is sometimes ornamented with work in coloured worsted, or silk, or with metal studs, shells, beads, etc.

Such, probably, were the girdles worn by the ladies of post-exilic Jerusalem (Is. 3:24), and the eulogy of the 'virtuous woman' describes her (Prov. 31:24) as making a *hagor* which Phœnician merchants did not disdain to buy (cp. the *zāwiyā* χρυσῆν of Rev. 1:13 15). The warrior used a *hagor* as a sword-belt (2 S. 20:8; on text see Comm.; 1 K. 25); cp. חָגוֹרָה 2 K. 3:21, and חָגוֹרָה Judg. 3:16 etc. That other objects also

¹ So the Baptist, see Mt. 3:4 Mk. 1:6.

² Elsewhere Robertson Smith sums up thus: 'The general impression produced by a survey of the usage of the word is that among the Hebrews the *izār* ceased to be part of their ordinary dress pretty early, being superseded by the tunic (תִּנְיָה, see TUNIC), but that it was used by warriors, by the meanest classes, by prophets and mourners, and that the word (or the cognate word) was also retained in proverbial phrases and similes, just as was the case with the Arabs' ('Notes on Hebrew Words,' l. *JQR*, 1892, p. 289 ff.). Cp. also, on the *izār* of Jeremiah, Che. *Life and Times of Jer.* 161 (188).

other in W. Palestine which seems to repeat the ancient Gilgal is Jelfel, about ½ m. S. of Beisan (*PEF Name Lists*, 161). It is remarkable that the name has not yet been found E. of Jordan.

¹ On the passage see Kto. *Sami.*, ad loc., and cp. AHITHOPHEL, end.

GIRGASHITE, GIRGASHITES

might be carried in it, is suggested by Dt. 23.13 [14] 15; cp Mt. 10.9 Mk. 6.8 (EV 'purse').

3. *Ḥēzēth*, חֶזֶת, Ps. 109.19 (1 V 'girdle'); חֶזֶת, *mēzēth*, Job 12.21 (for חֶזֶת = חֶזֶת; AV 'strength', mg. 'girdle', RV 'belt').

Che. reads in Ps. חֶזֶת = חֶזֶת (cp Lag. *Ubers.* 177), and in Job חֶזֶת, 'greaves'. חֶזֶת occurs in a doubly corrupt context in Is. 2.10 (AV 'strength', AVmg. RV 'girdle'); 'girdle' for 'restraint' is intrinsically improbable. Du., Che. read חֶזֶת, 'haven.'

4. *Ḥēzērim*, חֶזֶתִּים (hands) of costly make, worn by women (Is. 3.20 *ἐμπλάσιον*, Jer. 2.32 *σθηθοδεσμός*). Jewish interpretations vary; Kimchi and Rashi render 'headband' (so AV; RV 'sashes'). The *Ḥēzērim* were richly studded with jewels and were the receptacle of the other ornaments worn by men and women.

5. The priestly *ḥabnet*, חַבְנֶת (Ex. 28.39 f. 39.29 Lev. 8.7 16.4; all P), was a sash rather than a girdle (צִנְיָה; *ballous* [Vg.]; see Lag. *Ges. Abh.* 39).² The *ḥabnet* was of great length, according to Rabbinic tradition 32 cubits long and 4 cubits wide. Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7.2) says that the *ḥabnet* was four fingers broad, 'so loosely woven that you would think it was the skin of a serpent'. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet and purple and blue and fine linen; but the warp is nothing but fine linen. It was wound under the breast, twice round the body, was tied in an ample bow or loop, and the ends reached the ankles. It was thrown over the left shoulder while the priest was officiating. Driver-White (*SBOT*, 'Leviticus,' 70) summarily describe the *ḥabnet* as 'an embroidered loosely woven scarf.' The *ḥabnet* was the only garment in which an intermixture of wool and linen was permitted. The same word is applied to the sashes of high officers in Is. 22.21.

6. On the 'curious girdle' (RV 'cunningly woven band' *ḥabnet*) of the Ephod, see Ephod, § 3.

The NT terms are:—
7. *ζώνη* (common in OT, cp also *παράζωνη* 2 S. 18.11) Acts 21.11 Mt. 3.4; see above.

8. *σιναιτίθια*, Acts 19.12, see APRONS.
W. R. S. (1)—L. A.—S. A. C.

GIRGASHITE, GIRGASHITES (גִּרְגָּשִׁית, גִּרְגָּשִׁיִּם; ο γερ-γεσαιο)

[BADELI]; so Jos.; Judith 5.16 τοὺς γερ-γεσαιοὺς. AV GERGESITES, RV GIRGASHITES), a people of Canaan, Gen. 10.16 (gloss), 15.21 (gloss), Josh. 3.10 (1.2), 24.11 (D₂), Dt. 7.1 Neh. 9.8 (AV always 'Girgashites' except Gen. 10.16, where *Girgashite*; RV always 'Girgashite'). Another form of the name is very probably GIRZITES (גִּרְזִית), which has sometimes been corrupted into PERIZZITES (פְּרִזִּית). In the Table of Peoples the Girgashites have, properly speaking, no place; it is to the Deuteronomist, who had archaeological tastes, that the resuscitation of the name is due. Apparently for a good reason he places it next on the list of peoples in Dt. 7.1 to that of the Hittites. Whence did he derive it? Probably from the Song of Deborah, where the slaughter of the Kadashim, or, as he probably read, Kadeshim or Gadeshim, is spoken of (Judg. 5.21); the N. or Hittite Kadeshites, see KADESH, 2. γ [r] instead of γ [d], and the repeated γ [g] after the γ [r] are ordinary errors of scribes.⁴

T. K. C.

¹ It is enough to mention the analogical use of 'girdle' (EV 'apron'; but see AVmg. RVmg.) in Gen. 3.7.

² Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 7.2) transliterates *αβαθ* (Niese, *al. αβαθη*), and notes that the term in use in his day was *εμαυ* (cp Targ. on Ex. חֶזֶת), probably the Pers. *himyān*; see also NICKLAGE.

³ [See picture in Braunsius, *Vestit. Sacerdot. Hebraeorum*.]

⁴ Phoen. personal names *גִּרְגָּשִׁית*, *גִּרְגָּשִׁי* are quoted. Are these too derived from Kadesh? The Hittites had allies called Karkis; but these, as Sayce remarks (*Pat. Pal.* 51), can hardly have left their name in Palestine. According to W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 355), the Karkis were Cilicians. We may compare the development of *γεργασσιων* from *γερσασσιων* (see GERASENES), and the reading of 6 for GESHUR (see GESHUR, 2) in Dt. 3.14 (6).

GITTITH

GIRZITES, THE (גִּרְזִית) for the readings of 6 and of EV see GERZITES, 1 S. 27.8 Kt. There seems to have been a widely extended pre-Israelitish tribe called Girzites or Girshites. In fact, wherever PERIZZITES [7.2] or GIRGASHITES is read in the Hebrew text we should probably restore Girzites or Girshites.

It is doubtful whether 'Geshurites' or 'Girshites' is the correct reading in 1 S. 27.8 (see GESHUR, 2); but in 2 S. 29, instead of 'and over the Ashurites, and over Jesseel,' we should most probably read simply 'and over the Girzites' (גִּרְזִיתִּים), the rest being due to dittography (see Che. *Crit. Bib.*). Of the 'Girzites' there is another record in the name mis-called 'Mount Geriz(z)im' (the mount of the Girzites), whilst the Girshites are also attested by 7.2 (i.e., 7.2, see HIRITES, § 1 n.) in Is. 17.10, and by the two trans-Jordanic places called Gerasa (see GILEAD, § 6).

Another (probable) occurrence of the gentile Geras has escaped notice—Boanerges, which seems to the present writer to have come from *ḡaveyeros* = גִּבְיָה, 'sons of Gerasa.' That the phrase is both misread and misinterpreted need not disturb us; there are quite as great misinterpretations in Lk. 6.15 ('Simon, called Zelotes') and in Acts 4.36 (see BARNABAS). After misunderstanding it, Mk. wrongly ascribed the name to Jesus.

Parallel corruptions are perhaps *καρναίος* or *καρναίτης* for *καταίος* or *καταίτης* = 'ḡā, 'a man of Cana' (but cp CANANAEAN), and *ισκαριώτης* for *ισεριώτης*, 'a man of Jericho' (cp JUDAS ISCARIOT, § 1). Possibly, too (but see JAIRUS, first note) THARUS in Bartimaeus may be from a place-name Timai (see Nestle, *Marg.* 91).

T. K. C.

GISPA, RV Gishpa (גִּשְׁפָּא), named after ZIHA as an overseer of NETHINIM in Ophel (Neh. 11.21 f.; גִּשְׁפָּא [N. 4 mg. inf.], om. BN^a.A). According to Ryssel his name is a corruption of HASUPHA (הַסּוּפָּה), which follows Zihā in the list in Ezra 2.43.

GITTAN-HEPHER (גִּתָּן הֶפְּהֵר), Josh. 19.13 AV, RV GATH-HEPHER (7.2).

GITTAIM (גִּתַּיִם, ΓΕΘΘΑΙΜ [BADELI]; probably = Gittim, 'place of a wine-press'; on form of name see NAMES, § 107).

1. An unidentified town in the list of Benjaminite villages (EZRA ii. § 5 [d], § 15 [1] a), Neh. 11.33 (γῑθημ [N. 4 mg. inf.; om. BN^a.A]).

2. A town where the fugitive Beerthites were received as *gerim* or protected strangers, apparently in the days of Saul (2 S. 4.3). For the key to this incidental notice see ISHBAAL (1). This Gittaim can hardly have been the Benjaminite town. The persecuted Beerthites would surely have fled to the territory of another tribe. There were probably several Gittaims as well as several Gaths. Thenius, Grove (Smith's *DB*), Klostermann, think the flight was towards Gath (γῑθημ [B], -θῑμ [A]).

3. Gittaim is also probably the name of a town in or near Edom, Gen. 36.35 (BADELI), 1 Ch. 1.46 (so 6; 6A γῑθημ, but 6L εῑθ), where MT Kt. has AVITH (7.2). Note that vineyards in Edom are referred to in Nu. 20.17.

4. By a manifest error Gittaim appears in 6 1 S. 14.33 where Saul's speech begins, not with the appropriate 'Ye transgress' (עֲבַרְתֶּם), but with the difficult *ἐν γῑθημ* ([B], 6A γῑθημ), 'In Gittaim.'

T. K. C.

GITTITE (גִּתִּית), 2 S. 6.10. See GATH, § 1.

GITTITH, 'Set to the' [RV], or, 'Upon Gittith' [AV] (גִּתִּיתִּי), *ὑπὲρ τ. ἀγῶν* = *ὑπὲρ-ἄγ* (BHKAR Syr. Symm.); *pro* [or, Ps. 81, in] *torcularibus* [J]; *ἐπὶ τ. ἀγῶν*, Aq. in Ps. 81.84 (Syr. Hex.), but in Ps. 8 ὑπὲρ τ. γῑθημ (so also Theod. in Ps. 8), Ps. 8.81 (om. T); ὑ. τ. ἀλλοιωθῶσάντων [A], 84 (headings).

According to Wellhausen we have a twofold question to answer: (1) Is it a mode or key which is denoted by 'the Gittith'; and, (2) Does Gittith mean 'belonging to Gath,' or 'belonging to a wine-press'? The latter question must be answered first. No doubt the vintage festival had special songs of its own (one such may be alluded to in Is. 65.8), and Baethgen thinks the three psalms with the above heading appropriate for such an occasion. If this view of the appropriateness of the psalms be accepted, it becomes plausible to follow those old in-

GIZONITE, THE

interpreters who read 'on (= with) the (treading in the) wine-presses.' If it be rejected, there still remains the view that the temple music had borrowed a mode or key or (see 'G.) instrument from the city of Gath. Philistine influence on the temple music, however, is scarcely credible (see, however, Hitz., Del.), and in any case Gath had probably been destroyed before the exile.

No theory therefore is in possession of the field, and when we consider the frequent miswriting of these musical headings (see, e.g., HIGGAION, SHIGGAION, MAHALATH [ii.]), it is as natural as it is easy to read מִנְחֵלֶיךָ, 'with string-music.' 2 before 1 might easily be dropped; the next stage of development is obvious. Gesenius in 1839 (*Thes.*, s.v.) had already given a kindred solution (נָחַל for נָחַל = נָחַל). The question relative to the mode or key called the Githith disappears.

T. K. C.

GIZONITE, THE (גִּזְוִנִית), 1 Ch. 11:34; see GUN, 1.

GIZRITES (גִּזְרִיתִים), 1 S. 27: RV^{mg}; AV GEZRITES.

GLASS. 'The art of glass-making, unlike that of pottery, would appear not to have been discovered and practised by different nations independently, but to have spread gradually from a single centre.'¹

That the Phoenicians are not to be credited with this invention (Pliny, *HN* 36:265, etc.) is practically certain, since our oldest examples of glass proceed from the countries watered by the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. From Egypt we have a dusky green glass bead of the queen Hatshepsut (or rather Hatshepsut, see EGYPT, § 53), of the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., also a light green opaque jar of Thothmes III. (1500 B.C.),² and, ascending higher, an amulet with the name of Nuanet IV., of the eleventh dynasty (circa 2400 B.C.).³ With this agrees the fact that the most ancient representations of glass-blowing belong probably to the Middle Empire, the alleged earlier cases being capable of a different explanation—viz., smelting (Erman, *Enc. Eg.* 459).

The Assyrians, too, were acquainted with the use of glass (ASSYRIA, § 13, cp. n. *ib.*), and we have one of the most important specimens of their work in the unique transparent glass vase of the time of Sargon (722-705 B.C.).⁴ The recent excavations in Nippur, however, appear to permit us to carry back the use of glass to a much earlier date.

According to Peters (*Nippur*, 2:34) 'badly broken inscribed axe-heads of a highly ornamental shape' of blue glass, coloured with cobalt (brought presumably from China) were found in mounds of the fourteenth century B.C.⁵ These and other glass objects found here had been run in moulds, not blown. A small glass bottle was found with the door-sockets of Lugal-kish-nidudu (circa 4000 B.C.; *op. cit.* 160, 374); but, 'in general, the glass objects found at Nippur were of late date, and while glass fragments were very numerous in the later strata, there were few or none in the earlier.' The above examples should no doubt be looked upon as exceptions, since 'the greater part of the glass found belonged to the post-Babylonian period' (*op. cit.* 373/).

The use of glass among the Phoenicians begins at a later date.⁶ Their acquaintance with it was probably derived from the Egyptians and spread abroad by them in their trading expeditions. To them, also, are possibly due the many specimens of coloured beads found in many parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The part played by the Phoenicians in spreading the knowledge of glass—as well as certain arts, etc.—may need some qualifying in the future (see TRADE AND COMMERCE). In Cyprus, at all events, it would appear that glass was a native production, rather than of Phœnician origin. The art itself was probably derived from Egypt (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Archæol.*, etc., 416). That Egypt exported glass is well known (cp. e.g., Martial, *Ep.* 21, 74).

¹ A. Neshitt, art. 'Glass' in *EB* 9th.

² Now in the British Museum.

³ In the same spot were found objects of Eubœan magnesite, implying regular intercourse with Greece.

⁴ The later manufacture of glass in the districts of Beirût, Tyre, and Sidon (see MISREPHOTH-HA'AIN) does not therefore concern us.

GNOSIS

From the treatment which glass received in the ancient world it is evident that in Egypt and Babylonia it was held to be a precious thing, a fit offering for the gods. It would, therefore, be appropriate to find it mentioned along with precious jewels in the eulogy of wisdom.

2. Biblical references. Job 28:17 (*zakkith*, תְּכֵימֶה, 'clear' [transparency is not implied], AV CRYSTAL, RV 'Glass'; *Isa* 54:12 [B&AC]).

ὑαλος originally denoted any transparent stone or stone-like substance (e.g., Herod. 3:20). On the other hand, some vitreous ornament is undoubtedly referred to in ἀργυρά τε λίθινα χυτά (*ib.* 2:69).

In the case of the 'glassy sea' (θάλασσα ὑαλίνη, Rev. 4:6 15:2), and the comparison of the golden streets of the heavenly city to pure 'glass' (*ὑαλος*, Rev. 21:18:21), the earlier meaning of *ὑαλος* perhaps holds good, although we are reminded of the Arabian legend that Solomon prepared in his palace a glass pavement which the queen of Sheba mistook for water (Qoran, *Sur.* 27). A reference to glass-making has been found in Dt. 33:19 ('the hidden treasures of the sand'),¹ but see ZERULLUS.

The colloquial use of 'glass' to denote a 'mirror' of glass, or of any other material, is found in AV of (a) Is. 3:23 (תְּכֵימֶה, διαφανή λακωνικά), see DRESS, § 1 (2); (b) 1 Cor. 13:12 *Is.* 1:23 (ἐσπῆτρον); see further LOOKING-GLASS, MIRROR.

See art. 'Glass' in *EB* 9th, and in Kittel's *Bib. Lex.*; also A. Löwy, *PSBA.* 31:1, pp. 24-30. S. A. C.

GLAZING (χρῖσμα [B&AC]), Eccles. 38:30. See POTTERY.

GLEANING (צִמְצִיץ), Lev. 19:9. See AGRICULTURE, § 12.

GLED is EX's attempt to render the apparent Hebrew word גִּלְדָּה in Dt. 14:13 (גִּלְדָּה [BAFL]). The error of the scribe was corrected in the mg., and from the mg. found its way into the text before גִּלְדָּה ('and the falcon'). That this view is correct is self-evident, even without the confirmation supplied by the passage, Lev. 11:14. The word *glead* or *gled* (AS *glida*) is Old English for 'kite,' and has not yet entirely disappeared.

To represent the phenomena of the text we might render, 'And the kite (read 'kite') and the falcon.' Tristram (*Arab.*) thinks that our translator means the Buzzard, and adds that there are three species of Buzzard in Palestine. T. K. C.

GNAT. 1. (κωνωψ [Th. WH.]) Mentioned only once in the Bible (Mt. 23:24).

The gnats or mosquitoes are dipterous insects belonging to the family Culicidae. There are many species; they breed in swamps and still water, the first two stages, larval and pupal, being aquatic. The female alone inflicts the sting-like prick with its mouth-organs; the male insect does not leave the neighbourhood of the breeding-place.

RV's *strain out* a gnat is a return to the old reading of Tyndale, Cranmer, and the Geneva, AV's *strain at* being probably due to a misprint (see Whitney, *Diect.*). Reference is made in this proverb to the scrupulous care exercised by devout Jews (as also in the present day by Singalese Buddhists) in conformity with Lev. 11:23 43 (cp *Chullin*, f. 671). The comparison with the smallest and largest things finds analogy in the Talm.—e.g., *Shabb.* 77b, הַפִּי עַל הַחֵטְא, 'the fear of the gnat is on the elephant'; cp the Ar. proverb, 'he eats an elephant and is suffocated by a gnat.'

2. The word 'gnat' ('like gnats') occurs also in the RV^{mg} of Is. 51:6. It would be safer to read צִמְצִיץ (Weir, *Ch.*), which elsewhere AV renders *tick* (Is. 7:1); in *SBOT* (Heb.) 147, however, a bolder correction is suggested (see *Locust*, § 14b). In the case of the plague in Ex. 8:16 [12:17], 'gnat' is possibly more correct. The σκνίψ (B's word in Ex. 10:2) is called by Suidas ζών κωνωπίδες.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

GNOSIS. In the second century, and also to some extent even in the third, the Church was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Gnostics. 1. **Origin of term.** By Gnostics we are to understand a certain class of Christians—of many different schools, bearing a great variety of names, and diffused all over the Hellenistic world—all having in common a

¹ So *Meg.* 6a interprets גִּלְדָּה ('sand') by גִּלְדָּה, 'white glass.'

certain speculative pretentiousness, all laying claim to a special knowledge (*gnosis*) in contrast to the mere *faith* of the masses, and all giving effect to their fantastic ideas about the origin of the world and the origin of evil in the Church. If we could assume Carpocrates and Cerinthus (circa 100 A.D.) to have been the earliest representatives of the tendency in question, and all the writings of the NT to have been composed within the apostolic age, biblical science as such would have no concern with the Gnostics; and it is in point of fact true that the name of Gnostic does not occur in the NT, nor is it mentioned in any extant writing earlier than 176 A.D.

However, 'they who make separations' (οἱ ἀποδοχοῦντες) referred to in the epistle of Jude (v. 19 RV) can only be taken as Gnostics of a libertineistic complexion; the emphasis laid in vv. 1-20 on the faith once for all delivered to the saints is best explained on this assumption, and still more, their ironical designation as 'natural' or 'animal' (RVms. = ψυχικοί); plainly they were in the habit of calling themselves πνευματικοί, 'spiritual men,' as distinguished from the ordinary run of 'psychical' Christians who rested content with faith merely. So also in 2 Pet., only here the author points still more clearly at the Gnostics by his repeated references to the true knowledge (12 f. 5 f. 8 220 318). The polemic of the Johannine Epistles has a similar scope; if the substantive *gnosis*, does not occur, the verb 'to know' is met with all the more frequently; 'we have known and believed' (1 Jn. 4:16) is intended to express the true knowledge that is in accord with faith as contradistinguished from the knowledge which sets it aside. When the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. 6:20) bluntly warn against the oppositions of the *gnosis* which is falsely so called, the adherents of which have erred, or missed the mark, concerning the faith, it may perhaps be possible to doubt whether the reference is to the Gnostic Marcion, who wrote 'Antitheses' about 140 A.D., but not to deny reference to the Gnostics altogether. Finally, in the Apocalypse (2:24), to the false teachers who claim to have 'known the depths of Satan,' a grim characteristic of Gnostic speculation.

To all the writings hitherto named as containing allusions to Gnosticism, it might perhaps be possible to attribute a date about the year 100 A.D. or even later, in which case the traditional account of the Gnostic movement as having arisen about the end of the first century would remain unshaken; on other grounds also the Pastoral Epistles have, in fact, been assigned to the second century. Yet we are none the less compelled by the NT to recognise certain *gnosticizing tendencies* as existing within the apostolic church itself as well as certain extra-Christian and pre-Christian developments bearing a Gnostic character. In the Synoptic Gospels, it is true, the intellectual side of religion is but rarely and exceptionally brought forward: Lk. 11:52 (key of knowledge), Mt. 13:11 and parallels (the gift of understanding the mysteries of the kingdom), and Mt. 11:27 (the knowledge of the Father [and of the Son] reserved for the chosen ones only) are the leading passages. The Fourth Gospel, however, lays an emphasis, that on this account is all the more striking, upon the capacity to understand. Just as the decisive confession of faith in Christ is (6:69), 'we have believed and know that thou art the Holy one of God,' so elsewhere knowing and believing are interchangeable expressions with reference to the same objects, and the impression is left that knowing is higher than believing. Thus, for example, to 'those Jews who had believed' the promise is given (8:31 f.), 'If ye abide in my word . . . ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' The Gnosticism of the Fourth Gospel is distinguished from the

heretical *gnosis* only (1) by the contents of the *gnosis* to which it attaches so high a value—in this case identical with the contents of faith; and (2) by the closeness of the connection between knowledge and faith; here there is no such distinction as is elsewhere drawn between the disciples who only believe and the disciples who only know, as two separate classes.

Paul often uses the words for knowing (γινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω) in their most ordinary sense, as for example in Phil. 1:12 2:19 22 4:5 1 Cor. 14:17, and, inasmuch as he attributes to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews (Rom. 1:21 2:18) a knowledge of God

3. Paul's use of γινώσκω, etc.

—in contradiction, it is true, to 1 Cor. 1:21—he is obviously bound to assume in the case of every believer a knowledge of God, of Christ, of the Gospel as in Gal. 4:9 2 Cor. 8:9 13:5 Phil. 3:10 (here γινώσκω θεόν, Χριστόν, etc.) or 2 Cor. 2:14 4:6 Phil. 3:8 Col. 1:9 f. (here γινώσκω, ἐπι-γινώσκω, and the corresponding genitives) without our being thereby entitled to ascribe to him a vein of gnosticism.

In 1 Cor. 13:9 12, however, he speaks of 'knowing' without mentioning any particular object, and the substantive γνῶσις is, in the majority of cases, used absolutely; occasionally and exceptionally (e.g., Rom. 11:31) as an attribute of God, mentioned along with his wisdom, but elsewhere as a possession—highly to be prized—of the man who has become a believer.

As proving that knowledge is here sharply separated from faith it will not do to cite 1 Cor. 12:8 f., where we read that to one is given the word of knowledge and to another faith; for in this passage *πιστις*, faith, is used in a narrower sense than usual, whilst, according to 1 Cor. 12:8 13:8, *gnosis* is one of the charismata that are bestowed only on certain individuals, and 1 Cor. 8:7 (cp. 8:10 f.) declares expressly that all have not knowledge. It is half ironically only that Paul (8:1) declares himself as accepting the proposition that 'we all have knowledge,' since in v. 2, with manifest allusion to the conceit of the Corinthians, he distinguishes between knowing as one ought to know and a *gnosis* that, in all essentials, is merely imagined. The circumstance also that in Gal. 4:9 (cp. 1 Cor. 8:3) he speaks of it as the highest object of Christian effort that one should be known of God rather than that one should know God, is not to be understood as depreciating the high value he elsewhere attaches to *gnosis*, any more than 1 Cor. 13:8 f. 12 is to be so taken, where he speaks of all knowledge in the present as only in part, and promises that in the time of perfection it shall, as imperfect, be done away. For the same thing is said of speaking with tongues and of prophecy, and of them also, as well as of acquaintance with all possible knowledge, he says (13:1 f.) that they are of no profit to the man who has not love.

It cannot be by accident merely that, in Paul, *gnosis* is always met with as the precious possession of the members of the Christian community and never as belonging to unbelievers; it has its place, in fact, among the charismatic manifestations of the spirit of God, which this same spirit bestows on individuals for the benefit of all (1 Cor. 12:7-11), and as such ranks with prophecy and the gift of miracles; he who is endowed with knowledge—the 'gnostic,' as the expression would have been at a later date—belongs to the number of the πνευματικοί, the men of the spirit.

We might venture, after Paul, to define *gnosis* as the result of the instruction which a 'spiritual' man has received from the spirit of God in the things of the spirit down to the very depths of the Godhead (1 Cor. 2:8-16) in such a manner that, possessed of the God-given teaching, he finds everything dark in earth and heaven become clear to him and (if only 'through a glass,' in mere outline) he sees that which is true, where others see nothing, or only what is false. Paul himself belonged pre-eminently to the number of such gnostics (2 Cor. 11:6), and if that piece of 'knowledge' which, as we learn from 1 Cor. 8, he shared with many Corinthia, —that idols are nothing, and that consequently, to speak strictly, there can be no such thing as meat offered to idols—is of a somewhat elementary character, we must nevertheless remain lost in admiration at the deeper passages in his epistles (e.g., Rom. 8 and 9-11), in which he expounds the divine plan of salvation—at his 'gnosis,' in fact. The

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deeper understanding of the scripture, which became possible to him as a Christian (as in Gal. 3.7 421 ff.), has the same origin. The gnosis of the individual becomes fruitful for the community only, of course, by the communication of it, whether orally or in writing; 1 Cor. 128 accordingly includes the word of knowledge in the list of the charismata; and it is almost certain that in 1 Cor. 146 the 'teaching' (διδασκῆ) means the communication of 'gnosis' (cp 1426), and therefore that the 'teachers' (1228) who take the third place, immediately after apostles and prophets, in the enumeration of those who possess the gifts of the spirit, are to be thought of as 'Gnostics.' Their sharp differentiation from the prophets is somewhat surprising; in many cases it cannot have been practically possible; but as Paul in 1 Cor. 116 gives to 'prophesying' the same position with reference to 'revelation' that he gives to 'teaching' with reference to 'knowledge,' he would seem to have distinguished the word of knowledge from prophecy much in the same way as the latter was distinguished from speaking with tongues; those exercising the last-named gift did so unconsciously, those who prophesied did so in at least enthusiastic exaltation, whilst those who gave the word of knowledge did so in full calm consciousness and with a view to convincing their hearers. Moreover, the contents of prophecy were derived from former revelation and extraordinary experiences, whilst the word of knowledge proceeded from the continuous instruction of the Holy Spirit, making use of the forms of human thought.

In 1 Cor. 128 Paul speaks of a word of wisdom alongside of a word of knowledge, and students have seldom failed to observe the close connection between the two; in fact, the 'teaching' of 1426 must include them both. The distinction between them has sometimes been formulated: thus: the essential feature of the word of wisdom is that it appeals to the understanding, whilst the character of gnosis essentially consists in intuition, in an illumination by the spirit of God, and in an immediate relation to this spirit (Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, 264). Wisdom (σοφία), however, of which Paul (apart from Col. and Eph., and apart from the fact that of course he does not deny it to be an attribute of God) almost always speaks in a tone of disfavour—the wisdom which, in his view, as the ideal of the Gentiles (1 Cor. 122), proceeds from the rulers of this present world—could never become for his theology a conception of importance comparable with that of gnosis; in 1 Cor. 26 ff., what he opposes to the false wisdom as being the divine wisdom which he proclaims is the contents of his own gnosis (zv. 811), and only on polemical and rhetorical grounds is it that he speaks of wisdom, not gnosis (zv. 6), as the subject of his discourses.

The unique passage in 1 Cor. 128 can hardly be taken as implying, on Paul's part, a deliberate co-ordination of wisdom and knowledge; probably all that he desired was to mention the gift of teaching as heading the list of the charismata, and this he could have done with perfect clearness by using the expression 'word of knowledge'; but, inasmuch as the Corinthians attached great importance to wisdom, and a section of them had even perhaps chosen to rank themselves among the followers of Apollos as being the man of wisdom, it occurred to Paul that he ought not to allow it to appear as if he did not recognise the 'word of wisdom' of (say) an Apollos as being a charisma also, as well as his own 'word of knowledge'; and if in 2 Cor. 116 he contrasts his 'rudeness' in respect of speech with his mastery in respect of knowledge, it becomes natural to take the 'word of wisdom' of 1 Cor. 128 as a kind of speech distinguished by correctness and brilliancy of form, as employing the resources of a finished education and training.

To sum up: Paul reckoned gnosis as among the highest gifts of grace belonging to the church of his day; its possessor was able to solve the riddles of time and eternity which remained insoluble to other believers; according to

1 Cor. 26 ff. he even held that such pieces of knowledge could be communicated only to such as were 'perfect,' to Christians who, in truth, deserved to be called spiritual

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men. These opinions Paul shares with the later Gnostics, it is easily intelligible why they all, and Marcion especially, felt closer affinities with him than with any of the other NT writers; what separates their gnosticism from his is the preponderance, to a greater or less degree, of heathen elements in their speculation, whilst his own confined itself to working out in a sympathetic, if speculative way, the fundamental ideas of the gospel. That Paul found such speculation indispensable is, however, no personal peculiarity of his; it was an element in his composition that he had derived from the atmosphere of his time; under its influence it was that he contributed to make Christianity, from being a religion, into a system of religious and metaphysical thought.

At the same time Paul's epistles, and especially Colossians, show that already at that early date he had to combat certain developments of the spirit that prided itself on knowledge. The false teachers of Colossae (see Colossians, § 6) become intelligible only if we take them as judaizers on the one hand, and gnosticians on the other, Christians who gave themselves up to fantastic dualistic speculation. A gnosticizing Judaism of this sort they must have imported with them from without; that is to say, gnosticism already existed in the apostolic age, and it was introduced into the Christian Church by the Jews. But neither had it its ultimate origin in Judaism; from the strong heathen element it contains we can see that it must have been imported from the heathen religious philosophy, undergoing manifold modification and accommodation in the process. Respect for gnosis is a pre-Christian, Hellenic phenomenon; Christianity was no more successful in withdrawing itself from the influence of this predominant tendency of the time than it was in the case of Judaism; but Paul at so early a date as that of his epistle to Colossae already found, and made use of, the opportunity to draw the line beyond which gnosis could not be tolerated as a Christian basis, and succeeding generations of the Church only followed in his footsteps, though with increasing earnestness as the danger increased, when they carried on the struggle against 'Gnostics after the flesh.'

Cp F. C. Baur, *Die Christl. Gnosis*, 35, and *Das Christenthum u. d. christl. Kirche der 3 ersten Jahrhunderte*, 60; R. A. Lipsius, 'Gnosticismus,' in Ersch and

Literature. Gruber's *Encyc.* vol. lxxi., 60; Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 75; J. R. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon*, 86; M. Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, 98.

A. J.

GOAD. 1. *dorbhān*, דִּרְבָּן (ΔΡΕΠΑΝΟΝ; stimulus).

1. 3. 721 (also 7. 20 d. amended text, see SBOT), דִּרְבָּן, *dorbhān* (דִּרְבָּן), Eccles. 1211. 2. *Malmūdh*, مَلْمُود (ἀπορροῦς), Judg. 3311. 3. *kērtov*, Acts 2614 RV. See AGRICULTURE, § 4, col. 79.

GOAT. Jer. 3139 RV; AV GOATH.

GOAT. To supplement the general introductory notes respecting large and small cattle among the Hebrews (given elsewhere; see CATTLE) some remarks upon the treatment of goats in particular are necessary.

There are several different breeds of the genus *Capra* in Palestine and adjacent countries; but it is not possible to distinguish each precisely by its original Hebrew name.

The generic Heb. term, common to all the Semitic family is (1) *zē*, זֶה (Ass. *ezzu*, Ar. 'anz, Syr. 'ezza; & usually renders אֵיז, also *ēpēos* Gen. 279, etc.), which includes male and female (עֵזָה, Gen. 139).

To denote the he-goat (so RV), four words are found: (2) *'attūd*, אֶתְוּד (Ass. *atūdu*, mentioned as a swift mountain animal), AV 'rams' in Gen. 311012. & *trāyos*; but *krās* Gen. 311012, *χίμαρος* Ps. 5096013.

(3) *zāphir*, זָפִיר a late word (Ass. *zapparu*, Syr. *zaphrāyā*), Dan. 850, and (Aram.) Ezra 835; זָפִיר Dan. 85017 Ch.

1 In Dan. 821 glossed by זָפִיר (Bev.).

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221. *ἄγριος* but *χίμαρος* 2 Ch. 29:21. *ἄγριος* also read *ἄγριος* in Neh. 5:18 (MT *ἄγριος* 'fowls').

(4) *ἄγριος* ('hairy one'), *ἄγριος* 2 Gen. 37:31 Ezek. 43:22, etc.; AV 'kid of the goats' (*ἄγριος αἰγών*), fem. 'ἡ ἄγρια Lev. 4:28, etc.

(5) *ἄγριος*, *ἄγριος*, Gen. 30:35 32:14 135, *ἄγριος*.

The generic terms for the young animal are (6) *ἄγριος*, 173 (fem. Cant. 1:8), *ἄγριος*, etc. in conjunction with (1) above, *ἄγριος* 1 S. 16:23 Gen. 27:9 etc.; and (7) *ἄγριος*, used of both goats and sheep (Ex. 12:5 Dt. 14:4); cp CATTLE, § 2 (6), and see SHARP.

The Hebrew terms refer generally to the domesticated goat, *Capra hircus*, which, it is probable, is descended

2. Species. mainly from the Persian wild goat, *C. agagrus*, though doubtless other strains are mingled in its ancestry. Of the various breeds in Palestine, the chief is the *mauber*, or Syrian goat, which attains a large size. It is remarkable for its long pendant ears, half as long again as the head, an allusion to which is perhaps found in Am. 3:12. The hair is long, black and silky. Both sexes are generally horned and have short beards. Another breed which is found in some parts of the North of Palestine is the mohair or Angora goat. It is generally white and has long silky hair.

The Wild Goat (*C. agagrus*) extends through Asia Minor and Persia, and in Homer's time was abundant in Greece. It would be well-known to the Assyrians, although the species occasionally figured is doubtless (so Houghton) the Asiatic ibex—viz., the *Capra sinaitica* (colloquially called the *beden*). This animal occurs in the Sinaitic peninsula, in Palestine (but not N. of Lebanon), in Upper Egypt, and in Arabia Petraea. It is quite distinct from the ibex of other countries, being rather smaller than the Alpine species, and lighter in colour than any of its congeners. It is a shy animal, with a keen scent, and its coloration is so like that of the surrounding rocks, etc., that it is very difficult to see. It usually goes in small herds of eight or ten, and, when feeding, has a sentry on the look-out for enemies. The flesh is said to be excellent, the horns, which are much smaller in the female than in the male, are often used for knife handles, etc.

The generic Heb. term for the 'wild goat' is *ἄγριος* (only in pl., *ἄγριοι*, *ἄγριοι*), to whose fondness for rocky heights allusion is made in 1 S. 24:2 Ps. 104:19 (*ἄγριος*), Job 39:1 (*ἄγριος* *ἄγριος*). Like the GREEK, the 'wild' or (better) 'mountain' goat is used of a woman (*ἄγρια* Prov. 5:19, *ἄγρια* *ἄγρια*), and occurs as a personal name (see JABL.). Another, probably more specific, term is *ἄγριος*, mentioned as a 'clean' animal in Dt. 14:5 (see CLEANS., § 7 f.). The Vss. vary between *ἄγριος* (so Targ. Pesh.), and *ἄγριος* (AFL. B om.), which is applied distinctively to the long-haired and bearded goat found in Arabia and on the Phasis. We may probably identify the animal with the *beden* or Syrian ibex (cp above).

It is possible indeed that several of the terms may be mere appellatives, and when we find that the Hebrew *ἄγριος* (*Cervus*, see HART) and *ἄγριος* (*Ovis Aries*, see SHARP) are virtually identical, it is natural to infer that the Semites did not always distinguish precisely between the *Caprinae* and the *Cervidae* and *Antilopinae*.

We cannot, therefore, state exactly what animals are meant by the Ass. *arnu* (cp ARAN, Syr. *arnā*), *daḥu* (see PYLARGO), *ditanu*, *turdu* (Syr. *tarḥā*; cp TERAH), and *kurhu* (cp SYR. *kurhā*), although the probability is that a mountain-goat is referred to in each.

Goats form a large part of the wealth of a pastoral community. In hilly and poorly watered regions they are more abundant than the sheep.

3. Breeding. On the downs of Arabia where no shrubs are to be found, there are no goats. In the rich maritime plains their place is taken by horned cattle, for the luxuriant grasses are too succulent for their taste.¹ They flourish best in the southern

¹ See Liddell and Scott. The gloss *ἄγριος* (*ib.*) is no doubt related to the Heb. *ἄγριος*, see CHAMOLIS.

² In Dt. 14:5 Pesh. for *ἄγριος*, see CHAMOLIS.

³ Tristram in Smith's DB², 1200 b.

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wilderness (Edom), and in the hills from Hebron (1 S. 25:2) to the top of Lebanon, and beyond Jordan (Cant. 4: 65 [cp GILEAD, § 1, HAIR, § 1], Gen. 30:31 32:14 [15]). They have given their name to 'Ain-July (see EN-GEDE), where they are said still to be found (Thomson, LB 603).

As a rule they are herded with the sheep.¹ The two flocks² keep apart, however, the sheep browsing on the short grass whilst the more agile and independent goat skips along nibbling at the young shoots of trees and shrubs. In this way great damage is done to seedling trees, and the goat is to a large extent responsible for the absence of trees in Palestine. When folded together at night, the goats and sheep gather separately, and round the well, while awaiting the filling of the trough, they instinctively classify themselves separately (Tristram, loc. cit.).

The *ἄγριος* is mentioned in Pr. 30:31 as one of the things 'stately in march' (*ἄγριος ἡγούμενος αἰσιν* [GPMV]), an allusion, doubtless, to the he-goat's habit of leading the flock (cp *attad* Jer. 50:2). Hence the latter term is applied to the leaders of the people (Is. 14: Zeck. 10:1; cp Jer. 51:40 2 *ἄγριος*), and Ezekiel (Ezek. 37:17) contrasts the weak flock (the poor people) with their leaders, the rams and he-goats (the rich and powerful; cp Dan. 8:35). It is plain that there is no real affinity between this passage and Mt. 25:32 f. where the blessed are separated from the cursed 'as the shepherd divides the sheep from the kids' (*ἐπίφια*; RV¹⁸⁸⁸ kids). This language does not imply that kids are either less valuable or (see Post in Hastings' DB, 2:195 b) less mild and tractable than sheep.³ On the passage as a whole see SHARP.

Herds of goats were a valuable possession in more ways than one (cp Prov. 27:26, and see CATTLE, § 8).

4. Use, etc. Their hair was woven (*ἄγριος*) by the women into curtains, tent coverings, etc. (Ex. 35:26 Nu. 31:20 etc., see TEXT, § 3), and Paul's native country Cilicia, in particular, exported goats' hair for this purpose (see CHICIA, § 3). The skins might be used to cover the body (see below), and cp DRESS, § 8; Heb. 11:37 *ἐν αἰγίοις δέπυσαν*, though, in later times, this would rather be the garb of an ascetic. More commonly they were used for bottles.⁴ Goats' flesh was, of course, eaten (see FOOD, § 15), and goats' milk (*γάλα* Prov. 27:27) formed one of the main articles of diet (see MILK). Hence a gift or present frequently takes the form of a goat or kid (Judg. 15:1 1 S. 10:1 Gen. 38:17 Tob. 2:12), and, as at the present day, it is dressed and prepared for the guest by every generous host (Judg. 6:18 f. 13:15, cp Lk. 15:29).

The goat was one of the commonest sacrificial victims (Lev. 3:12 Gen. 15:9), and most frequently comes in connection with the priestly ritual of the sin-offering. It was the animal selected on the great DAY OF ATONEMENT to bear away the sins of the people to AZAZEL. Cp SACRIFICE.

The following terms are found: *ἄγριος* (Nu. 15:27), *ἄγριος* 2 Ch. 29:21, *ἄγριος* Lev. 4:24, *ἄγριος* Lev. 16:5 f., Nu. 7:10, fem. *ἄγρια* Lev. 5:6, *ἄγρια* Lev. 9:15 2 Ch. 29:21. Similarly in the Carthaginian ritual the *ἄγριος* and *ἄγριος* were used as offerings; cp CRYL. no. 165, II. 79.

The so-called Satyrs (see SATYR) must also be referred to in passing. If we may conjecture that there were ancient Hebrew rites wherein worshippers appeared in goat-skins (see DRESS, § 8, ISAAC, § 4; and WRS Rel. Sem.⁽²⁾, 467) the origin of these *jinn*-like objects

¹ *ἄγριος* denotes the fold of the goats (Ps. 50:9) as well as that of the sheep.

² The 'flocks of kids' (*ἄγριος*) in 1 K. 20:27 is a precarious rendering derived from *ἄγριος* (*ἄγριος*). Klostermann reads *ἄγριος* (*ἄγριος*), 'on the bare height, after the manner of kids.'

³ See Is. 11:6 Eccles. 47:3.

⁴ See BOTTLE, § 1. This is literally expressed in the Palmyrene *ἄγριος* (Tadmor, Fiscal Inscr. 1137 A.D.), B 245).

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of veneration becomes more obvious. It may well be that at some early period the goat was regarded in Canaan as a sacred animal (cp GAZELLE, HARRI). It was so venerated by certain communities in Egypt,¹ and to some extent among the Greeks.² We know, too, that it filled a prominent place in Babylonian astronomy.³

A. L. S. S. A. C.

GOATH or better (RV) **GOAH** (גֹּאֵה, 'to Goah'), one of the land-marks of the restored Jerusalem (Jer. 31 39 f.). Read גֹּאֵה, 'to the Hill'—i.e., probably 'to the Hill of God,' the Mt. of Olives (see Is. 10 32, as emended under Noh). Gratz (MGWJ, 1883, p. 343) thinks of Gibeah of Saul; but that is too far off. In v. 38 the new wall is traced from the tower of Hanneel on the NE. to the corner-gate on the NW.; in v. 39 from the NW. back to the NE. on the S. side, passing by GAREB (ii) (between the vine of Hanneel and the Valley of Rephaim) to the Mount of Olives.

Pesh. evidently read גֹּאֵה, cp גֹּאֵה, cod. 36 (Field). B. M. A. rendering (καὶ περιουλοῦσθαι καὶ εἰς ἡλεκτῶν ἁθῶν) represents the last clause (גֹּאֵה, נֹחַבִּי) and seems to be a paraphrase of a reading גֹּאֵה (cp גֹּאֵה, Syr. Hex.) from גֹּאֵה (Aq.).

T. K. C.

GOB (גֹּב, גֹּב—i.e., 'a cistern,' Ges.), if the reading be correct, is the name of the place where David's warriors had two encounters with the Philistines (see DAVID, § 7; ELHANAN, § 1), 2 S. 21 18 f. In the passage (1 Ch. 20 4 f.) the place is mentioned only once (v. 4), and is given as Gezer (so in 2 S.; Then., Ew., with Jos. Ant. vii. 12) which is plainly a corruption of גֹּב = גֹּב. The commentaries are just here very meagre; but we can hardly doubt that the true reading in 2 S. is either גֹּב, 'Gath' (so Grove, Gratz, Klo.), or (more probably) גֹּב, REHOBOTH (q.v.). For the restoration of Gob in 2 S. 21 16 (We. and others) see ISHBI-BENOR.

All the three encounters mentioned in 2 S. 21 18-21 presumably occurred in the same neighbourhood; G in v. 18, and MT and G together in v. 20, besides the reference in v. 22 (G), support 'Gath,' Ges. naively remarks (Theol. s.v., 23) that 'Gob' being little known, G substituted other names. The truth is that, though there probably in Talmudic times was a place called גֹּב, Gōb (now el-Ghūb, Bled. 15),⁴ there never was any named 'Gob.' Either 'Gob' is a fusion of 'Gath' and 'Noh,' or it is a corruption of Rehoboth. The latter view seems preferable. The גֹּב of G in v. 18 is a fusion of 'Gezer' (גֹּזֶר), and 'Gath' (גֹּת). (Some Heb. MSS have גֹּב; so also the Soncino Bible [1438], etc.; v. 18, גֹּב [Com. 11]; גֹּזֶר [HP 246]; גֹּזֶר [id. xi. 29236, 242 etc.]; גֹּת [id. xi. 29236, 242 etc.]; v. 18, גֹּב [A], p. 113, p. 113, Compl. nisi v. 18, cp HP.)

T. K. C.

GOBLET (גֹּבֶלֶת, Cant. 7 2 [3]. See BASON, 1.

GOD, NAMES OF. See NAMES, § 108 ff.

GOEL (גֹּאֵל). The idea expressed by the verb גָּאֵל, gā'al, is to resume a claim or right, which has lapsed or been forfeited, to reclaim, re-vindicate, redeem, redimo (to 'buy back'); it is thus used in Lev. 25 25 ff. of the redemption of a field or house after it has been sold, in 25 47 ff. of the redemption of an Israelite who, through poverty, has been obliged to sell himself as a slave to a resident foreigner, and in 27 13 15 etc., of the redemption of something which has been vowed to Yahwē; in the first two of these connections, the subst. גֹּאֵל, gē'ullāh, is used similarly, 25 24 26 48 etc. In practice, however, a man was seldom able himself to 'redeem' a right which had lapsed, and thus, by ancient custom, the right (the duty) of doing so devolved upon his family (cp 25 48 f.), and, in particular, upon that member of his family who was most nearly related to him. The consequence was that the term gō'el, properly redeemer, came to denote a man's kinsman, and especi-

¹ See Wilk. Anc. Eg. 3 303, and especially Wiedemann, Herodots Zweites Buch, cap. 46.

² See Frazer, Golden Bough, 1 320 ff., 2 34 ff.; Paus. 4 105 f.

³ Jensen, Kosmol. 76 ff.

⁴ Neub. Geogr. 76.

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ally his next-of-kin (G ἀγχιστεία, ἀγχιστεῖν, ὁ ἀγχιστεῖν; see Lev. 25 25 Nu. 38 Ruth 2 20 39 12 41 36 8 14 1 K. 16 11 (Gth om.), where it is rendered so (or similarly) in AV, RV (cp Ruth 3 13, where the verb 'to redeem' is rendered four times perform or do the part of a kinsman). What has been said is well illustrated by Jer. 32 7-9, where, Jeremiah's cousin Hanameel wishing to sell some property, the prophet is represented as possessing the right of redemption, which he proceeds to exercise; and by Ruth 3, where, when Naomi had determined to sell her husband's estate in Bethlehem, her nearest of kin, who has the right to redeem it (G ἀγχιστεία), expresses himself unable to do so, and the right devolves upon Boaz, her next nearest kinsman, who accordingly purchases the estate, and takes with it Ruth, Naomi's daughter-in-law, as his wife (3 12 14-16).

גָּאֵל, gā'al, to be carefully distinguished from the late verb גָּאֵל, gā'al, 'to defile,' occurs chiefly in the later literature, though the antiquity of the ideas and usages of which it is the expression is sufficiently attested by 2 S. 14 11 1 K. 16 11. In the derived meaning 'to act as kinsman' (2 S. 14 11 1 K. 16 11, and esp. Ruth, and the legal codes of BHP) it is generally rendered by ἀγχιστεῖν (τεῖν), etc., whereas the other meanings 'to redeem, redemption, etc.' are expressed by ῥύσσειν (Gen. 48 16 and often [not always] in Is. 40-60), or, more frequently, by λυτρεύειν (λυτρεύσις, etc.). On the use of גָּאֵל in the metaphorical sense of 'redemption' from trouble, etc., death, etc., see BDB s.v. no. 3 (p. 145); in Job 19 23 'גָּאֵל' my vindicator' (RVog) is the vindicator of my innocence, whether (Dt., Ps.) as against false accusations, or (Hb., Deut., Chet. Job and Sol. 288, Du.) as against an unjust death (see 2); on the distinction from גָּאֵל see Dr. on Dt. 7 6.

The principle of which these usages are the expression is the desire to keep the property—or, to speak more generally, the rights—of the family, intact; and the gō'el had-dām (גֹּאֵל דָּם), or 'avenger of blood,' is just the embodiment of a parallel application of the same principle. The gō'el

had-dām is the man who vindicates the rights of one whose blood has been unjustly shed; by primitive usage the duty of doing this devolves upon the members of the family, or clan (as the case may be), of the murdered man (cp 2 S. 14 7: 'the whole family is risen against thy handmaid, and they said, Deliver him that smote his brother,' etc.); and any one of them, 'now in Arabia' may find himself called upon to discharge it; but naturally the responsibility is felt most strongly by the more immediate relatives, and one of these is the 'avenger of blood,' kar' ēxōhōn.

The character is one that figures in many primitive or semi-primitive societies. In a completely civilised society the right of punishment for murder, or for other crimes, is assumed by the state; for the revenge which might be inflicted in haste or passion (Dt. 19 6) by one prompted by personal feeling, is substituted the judgment of a cool and impartial tribunal. In a primitive community, however, the case is different; what the manslayer has there to fear is not public prosecution, but the personal vengeance of the relatives of the slain man. Hebrew law is an intermediate stage. Already in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21 12-14) there is drawn the distinction (which is not yet found in Homer) between intentional and unintentional homicide, and the importance of the distinction is insisted on in all the Codes (Dt. 19 1-13 Nu. 35 9-34), where provisions are laid down to prevent homicide, as distinguished from murder, being visited by death. The gō'el, however, not the state, still executes justice on the murderer (2 S. 14 7 11 Dt. 19 12; and, in P., Nu. 35 19 21 27); on the other hand, his authority is limited; the altar of Yahwē in Ex., and the 'cities of refuge' in Dt. and P., are appointed as places at which the homicide may be secure from the vengeance of the gō'el; restrictions are placed in the way of his acting hastily or in passion (Dt. 19 36); according to Josh. 20 4 f. (D₂) the manslayer is to state his case before the elders of the city of refuge, and, if he has satisfied them (it is implied) of its truth, is to be taken under their protection; in Nu. 35 24 f. (P) the

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case between him and the avenger of blood is subject to the decision of the 'congregation'; and the murderer is to be put to death only on the evidence of more than one witness (Nu. 35.30; cp the general rule, Dt. 19.15).

The practice of blood-revenge is widely diffused, especially among tribes in a relatively primitive stage of civilisation. It is essentially connected with the family, or clan; indeed it is found only where a clan-system is fully developed and clan-sentiment strongly felt. Its aim is to maintain intact the honour and integrity of the clan; the feeling which prompts it is the *esprit de corps* of the clan. The duty is felt as a sacred one; in Australia, for example, for the nearest relative of a murdered man to refuse to avenge his death would be to repudiate a most sacred obligation, and at the same time to incur the taunts and derision of the entire clan. As has been said above, however, it is often a matter not simply between a particular relative of the murdered man and the murderer; the whole clan, on each side, is implicated, and a remorseless and protracted blood-feud between the two clans may be the consequence of a murder, until the penalty which custom demands has been exacted.

Wherever the practice of blood-revenge exists, the principle underlying it is the same; though naturally there are many differences in the details of its application, and many special usages and customs arise in connexion with it. The limits of the clan implicated vary,—sometimes it is the murderer's more immediate family, sometimes it includes his relations in a wider sense; in Arabia it is the group called the *hary*—i.e., the aggregate of kinsmen, living and moving from place to place together, and bearing the same name (WRS *Kinship*, 22-24, cp 36-39). Very often, again, a *poenā* or *werigild* is taken in compensation for a life (cp for instance Hom. *Il.* 18.493 ff.; Tac. *German.* 21; and, among the Saxons, Stubbs, *Const. Hist. of Eng.* 153-143 f. 157-161 f.); this was against Hebrew feeling, and is strictly prohibited—implicitly in Ex. 21.12 (JE) Lev. 24.17 (H) and Dt. 19.11-13, explicitly in Nu. 35.31-33 (P).¹ Where a *werigild* is accepted, its amount varies amongst different peoples, and also in accordance with the rank, age, or sex of the murdered person. For other varieties of usage in connexion with the institution, it must suffice to refer to A. H. Post, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgesch. des Familienrechts* 113-137 [1901]; also WRS, *Kinship*, 22 ff. 33-47 52 ff.; *Rel. Sem.* 32 f. 272 f. 420; *PEFQ* 97, pp. 128-130. S. R. D.

GOG and MAGOG. Magog (מָגוֹג; μαγωγ [BADEL]), in Gen. 10.2 = 1 Ch. 1.5 (μαρωα [A]), is a 'son' of Japheth. The name, which should be connected in some way with Gog, occurs also in Ezek. 39.6 (γγωγ [BQ], σε [A]), where Magog is spoken of as exposed to judgment (Gog, Meshech, and Tubal, 7. 11, and in Ezek. 38.2 where we have 'Gog of the land of Magog,'² mentioned with Meshech and Tubal. Gog (גֹּג; γγωγ [BAQ])³ is to come from the remote part of the N. (38.15 39.2). Meshech and Tubal (see TUBAL), as well as Gomer (39.6), also point northward. The order of the names would place Magog between Cappadocia and Media,—i.e., in Armenia, or some part of it.

The correctness of the Hebrew text has been doubted.⁴

¹ It was permitted only in the case of a man or woman being gored to death by an ox (Ex. 21.28 ff.).

² Bertholet reads 'against the land of Magog' (מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג).

³ Has γγωγ also in Am. 7.1 (βρογγος εἰς γγωγ ὁ βασιλεύς), and in Nu. 21.7 (see AGAG). [B* also has γγωγ for 'Og' in three places in Dt. (3.13 4.47). In Eccl. 48.17 γγωγ [BCI] (גִּי) may be a corruption of ἀγγέλος which appears in 48.2.]

⁴ [In Gen. 10.2 γγωγ is probably a corruption of מַגִּי, miswritten for מַגִּי. In Ezek. 38.2 read מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג, 'set thy face towards the land of Migdon.' Migdon is probably a name of the Babylonian god of the underworld, which, like Belial or Belial (i.e. Belial, see BELIAL, § 3), was adopted as a name of Antichrist (see ARMAGEDDON). In Ezek. 38.2 מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג springs out of

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271 connects Gog with the gentile name *Gogaya*, 'of the land of Gog,' used in Am. 1.1 as a synonym for 'barbarian.' Others connect it with Ass. *Gugu*, ruler (*gugu*) of the land of *Sakki*, northward from Assyria, in the time of Ashur-bani-pal (Schr. *KGF* 159; *KA* 180 f.; Del. *Par.* 217; Tiele, *Gench.* 362); less probably with Gygēs, king of Lydia (Ass. *Gugu*), a contemporary of Ashur-bani-pal (F. Meyer, *G. 1.1* 358). The traditional identification with the Scythians (Jas., Jer.) is plausible, but without definite evidence (see further Dt. on Gen. 10.2, Lenorm. *l.c.*).

For Gog and Magog in eschatology see ANTICHRIST, § 12; APOCALYPSE, § 46; ESCHATOLOGY, § 88 (A), and SCYTHIANS, P. D.

GOG (גֹּג), in a genealogy of REUBEN, 1 Ch. 5.4 (גֹּג [BA], גֹּג [1.]).

GOLIM (גִּלִּים; (1) AV NATIONS (גִּלִּים; εθνων [ADEL]),

GEN. 14.1; Gen. 14.1, possibly = Gilmim (Kurdistan). See KOA, TIDAL. (2) Josh. 12.23 RV. See GILGAL, § 6.

GOLAN (גִּלְיָן; תְּחֵן גַּלְיָאֻן [BAFL], in Ch. גַּלְיָאֻן), a town in Bashan in the territory of the half-tribe of Manasseh, only mentioned in Dt. 4.41 Josh. 20.8 (גִּלְיָן Kt.; תְּחֵן גַּלְיָאֻן [AL]) as a city of refuge, and in Josh. 21.27 (גִּלְיָן Kt.; תְּחֵן גַּלְיָאֻן [AL]) = 1 Ch. 6.71 [30] (תְּחֵן גַּלְיָאֻן [H]), as a Levitical city.

The site is uncertain. Golan was known to Josephus as *Γολαν* (*Ant.* xiii. 15.1; *It.* i. 4.48); and Eusebius (*ON* 242) describes it as a 'large village in Batanaea' which gave its name to the surrounding district, Gaulanitis (cp Schürer, *Gal.* 1.226 354). Gaulanitis is frequently mentioned in Josephus (*e.g.*, *Ant.* xvii. 8.1 xviii. 46) as part of the tetrarchy of Philip. The ancient name is still heard in the modern *Jaulan*—the name of an administrative district, bounded on the W. by the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee, on the S. by the Yarmūk or Sheri'at el-Menadireh, on the E. by the Nahr el-'Allan, and on the N. by the declivities of Hermon and the Wādy el-'Ajām. Schumacher (*Across the Jordan*, 92) thinks that Golan may have been on the site of the present large village, Sahem el-Jaulān, on the W. of Haurān, 17 m. E. of the Sea of Galilee; the ruins here are extensive, and there is a tradition current among the inhabitants that the place had long ago been the 'capital of Jaulān,' and the seat of government. It is true, Sahem el-Jaulān is about a mile to the E. of the present border of Jaulān; but we do not know that the ancient Gaulanitis was exactly co-extensive with the Jaulān of to-day. The grounds of the identification are, however, not such as to be conclusive.

The modern Jaulān consists of a plateau rising gradually from a height of about 1000 feet above the sea in the S. to upwards of 3000 feet above it in the N. The whole region is volcanic; and the country is studded with the conical peaks of extinct volcanoes. The N. and middle tracts of this part of Jaulān are stony and wild, abounding in masses of lava which have been emitted from the volcanoes. The soil is of little use agriculturally; but it is valuable as pasturage; wherever between the hard basaltic blocks there is a spot of earth, the most luxuriant grass springs up in winter and spring, affording fodder for the cattle of the Bedouin. Parts of the country are well covered with oaks and other trees; and there are indications that it was once even better wooded than it is now.

The plateau is intersected by deep wādys, mostly running in a SW. direction into the Sea of Galilee. The SW. part of this plateau, in the angle formed by the Yarmūk and the Sea of Galilee, is, on the other hand, stoneless; the lava-rock surface gradually disappears and in its place is a rich dark brown lava soil, such as prevails in Haurān, of extreme fertility, on which wheat and barley flourish in large quantities. Timber is less abundant here than it is farther north. Eastern Jaulān (between the Rukād and the 'Allān) is, in the N., covered with a number of

mountains. It is a fragment of מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג—i.e.

Tiras; Meshech, and Tubal, is a late insertion from Gen. 10.2, whence also comes מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג, which the scribe substituted for [מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג].

In 39.1 a similar emendation is required. מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג, in 38 and 39, should always be מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג. In 39.11 מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג is a mere expansion of a miswritten מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג. In 39.11 15 מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג, and in 39.16 מִן הָאֶרֶץ מָגוֹג may come from הרמגדון—i.e. Harmigdon. We now perhaps see from which source the Apocalypticist drew the name ARMAGEDDON (q.v.), and also where Armageddon was (see Ezek. 39.11).

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volcanic mounds, so that the soil here scarcely repays cultivation; in the S., though the country is still basaltic, the land is richer and less stony, and it is accordingly more cultivated. Extensive ruins have been discovered in different parts of Jaulan, dating from Roman times and onwards, which show that it must once have been the home of a thriving population.

Jan. it has been described very fully, with maps, sketches, and particulars respecting ruined sites, etc., by G. Schumacher in *The Jaulan* and *Across the Jordan*, 1-30, 41-102 (the two last named passages dealing with Eastern Jaulan, between the Rukhād and the 'Allan).

GOLATH-MAIM. Golath-maim or Gullath-maim, as also Golath (Gullath)-illith and Golath (Gullath)-illith (Josh. 15:19. נַחֲלֵי מַיִם וְנֶחֱלִים נְחֹתָיו; Judg. 1:15 נַחֲלֵי מַיִם וְנֶחֱלִים נְחֹתָיו) etc., 'the upper springs, the lower springs' etc., according to Moore and Budde, proper names. See, however, KESITAN.

GOLD. The importance of gold in Semitic antiquity is suggested by the number of words for gold in OT Hebrew compared with biblical Greek. χρυσός and χρυσίον (the latter also = wrought gold [1 Pet. 3:1] and gold coin) are the only Greek words. Hence in Is. 13:12 Job 31:24 and Prov. 25:12, where a second word is wanted, **G** has to represent בָּתָּם by אִשֹּׁר, אִשֹּׁר פֹּלֶה, אִשֹּׁר פֹּלֶה, and אִשֹּׁר פֹּלֶה. See also (d). The Hebrew terms are:

(a) **זָהָב**, *zāhāv*, Aram. **זָהָב**, Ar. *dhahabun*, perhaps 'the sparkling'; cp **זָהָב**. Note the phrases **זָהָב טָהוֹר** (1 K. 10:19), for which 1 Ch. 17:17 has **זָהָב טָהוֹר**, 'pure gold' (**G** in each case χρυσός *doximós*; but Pesh. reads **זָהָב טָהוֹר** 1, 'gold from Ophir'), and **זָהָב טָהוֹר** (χρυσός *elatos*), 'beaten gold'; 1 K. 10:10 f. 2 Ch. 9:13 f. See also URHAZ.

(b) **חֲרָט**, *hārāt*, Ass. *hārūtū*, Phoen. **חֲרָט** (whence χρυσός, χρυσίον); in Hebrew, mostly poetical (Zech. 9:3 Ps. 68:13 [14] Prov. 3:14 8:10 19:10 10:16). We find it twice, however, in prose, according to necessary emendations of Gen. 2:11 f. and 23:10. Gen. 2:11 f. should run, '... the whole land of Havilah, where there is the *hārāt*-gold, where there is the *hīpindus*-stone, and the *shōham*' (malachite?); see OPHIR, § 1; ONYX; TOPAZ. The sudden transition to naïve wonder ('The gold of that land is good') conceals, in fact, a reference to a kind of gold designated *hārāt*. In Gen. 23:10 *hārāt* is cancelled under *lavōhār* (see KESITAN). What, then, does *hārāt* mean? Nöldeke (*ZDMG*, 1886, p. 728) and König (*Die 137*) advocate the explanation 'yellowish'; so BDB, *Ges. Bull.* See Ps. 68:13 [14], **בִּיבְרֹק חֲרָט**, 'with yellowish [or, greenish] gold'; and cp BDB, *s.v.*, **חֲרָט**. Ps. 68:13 [14], however, is corrupt (real **חֲרָט** 'with the glory of gold').

(c) **חֲרָט**, *hārāt*, possibly described gold in one of the stages of its production. 'The hard stone [quartz] was first made brittle by the action of fire, then *beat out with iron picks*' (λατομικὰ σιδηρὰ κατακοπὴν, ... τὴν αὐτὴν σιδηρὰς τῆν μαρμαρίζουσαν κείραν κοπύουσιν, Diod. Sic. 3:12).

(d) **כֶּתֶם**, *kēthem*, possibly from **כָּתַם**, 'to cover' (so Ass. Ar.); same word in Sab.; in Hebrew only, or mostly, poetical (Is. 13:12 Job 28:16 31:24 Prov. 25:12 [and perhaps Prov. 25:11, by emendation, see BASKETS, n. 1] Lam. 4:2 Dan. 10:5, but not Ps. 45:9 [10] Cant. 5:11, where the text is corrupt). One of the kinds of gold specified in Egyptian records (New Empire) is 'the good gold of Katm' (Erman). W. M. Müller gives the forms *Kat-tima* and, more common, *Kint* (*As. u. Eur.* 76). Possibly **כֶּתֶם**, *kēthem* (*Kāthem*), also is the name of a gold-producing place, like Ophir; in Is. 13:12, as Duhm has seen, **אִשֹּׁר**, *ophir*, is a gloss on **כֶּתֶם**. Perhaps in Gen. 10:30 **כְּסֵרֵה הַר הַקָּדִים** should be read **כְּסֵרֵה הַר הַקָּדִים**, 'to Saphir' (i.e., OPHIR, *q.v.*), to the mountains of Kethem. Tg. recognises, at any rate, a special kind of gold.

(e) **פִּי** (Talm. **פִּי**; Tg. **פִּי**), *pī*, 'refined gold,' probably **פִּי** (see above, a). Ps. 19:10 [11] 21:3 [4] Prov. 8:19, **אִשֹּׁר** **פִּי**; Ps. 119:127, **טֹפֵאִיוֹן** [see TOPAZ]; Job 28:17 Cant. 5:13 [see *שָׁמַר*, *šāmar*], **טֹפֵאִיוֹן**; Is. 13:12 Lam. 4:2, **טֹפֵאִיוֹן**; Cant. 5:13, **טֹפֵאִיוֹן** [B.A., *טֹפֵאִיוֹן*].

(f) **אִשֹּׁר**, 'Ophir,' also could be used poetically for **אִשֹּׁר** **פִּי** 'Ophir-gold' (Job 22:24 **טֹפֵאִיוֹן**, also Ps. 45:9 [10]: read **אִשֹּׁר** **פִּי**).

(g) Similarly **בְּנֵי**, *šigārā* (συνελισμός), or **בְּנֵי** (Hoffm.,

1 Saphir may perhaps be simply a corruption of Ophir; **א** and **פ** are frequently confounded (e.g., **בְּנֵי** and **בְּנֵי**, Is. 41:3). The forms **אִשֹּׁר** (*šigārā*), **אִשֹּׁר**, **אִשֹּׁר**, **אִשֹּׁר** occur in **G**.

2 Yg.'s renderings are peculiar. **אִשֹּׁר** becomes (Job 28:16) *tinctis Indis coloribus* (cp in colore, Jer., for **כֶּתֶם**, Dan. 10:6); Is. 13:12, *mundus obrizo* (cp in colore, Jer., for **כֶּתֶם**, Dan. 10:6).

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lin., Duhm) is perhaps used for **כֶּתֶם** **פִּי**, Job 28:13, lit. 'gold closed up.' See the Comm. on 1 K. 10:20. Tg. **כֶּתֶם** **פִּי**, *ḥatam pī*, Ass. *hārūtū*. Most probably Ass. *hārūtū* *zāhāv*, 'massive or solid gold' (Del. *Art. III* 2, 494 f.). It seems that we should read **כֶּתֶם** 'gold' for **כֶּתֶם** (AY 'gifts') in Ps. 72:16, and **כֶּתֶם** (AY 'a round goblet' in Cant. 7:1 [2] (AY 11:4-4 [99]k). In these we must not add the phrase **כֶּתֶם** **פִּי**, Cant. 5:11, AY 'the most fine gold' (the bridegroom's hair), the text being corrupt.

Besides the above there are other terms (*Lahn*, etc.) of strange aspect, which may claim to be mentioned.

1. Does the phrase **αὐρὸς ὀφίρ** mean Ophir-gold? or gold dust (Ass. *phru*, [a] masses of earth, [a] dust)? Scarcely; against the latter view see W. *J. L. Alter*, 146, n. 2. Nor is there much to be said for Sprenger's conjecture (*Alttestament. Bib.* 1896, 46 f.) that both Ophir and **αὐρὸς** describe the reddish colour of the best kind of gold (Ophir, therefore, not originally a place-name).

2. **ὀφίρ**, Lat. *obrium*, no doubt means the test of fire applied to gold in a cupel; the gold which has passed this test is called *aurum obrium*; cp Arab. *ibrium*, whence *obrium*, *cpit aurum purum*. But what is the origin of **ὀφίρ**?

At any rate, the words just mentioned have a real right to be. That is more than we can say of the Heb. **כֶּתֶם**, *ḥatam*, however, commonly explained as 'gold-ore.' It is suspicious, that **כֶּתֶם**, 'ore,' was altogether unknown to the ancients. There is only one passage in which almost all moderns have found it, and only one more in which one or two have suspected its existence. In both passages the word taken to be **כֶּתֶם** is surrounded by textual corruption, and there can hardly be a doubt that it is itself corrupt. The passages referred to are:

(a) Job 22:24 f. (**כֶּתֶם**, AV 'gold'; RV 'thy treasure' [mg. Heb. 'ore']; **כֶּתֶם**, AV 'thy defence'; RV renders as **כֶּתֶם**). It is necessary here to give the context. Budde renders his somewhat emended text thus:

'And (if thou) layest ore of gold in the dust,
And in the sand by the sea Ophir-gold,
So that the Almighty is thine ore of gold,
And his law is (as) silver unto thee.'

A reference to the Hebrew will show that **כֶּתֶם** is in part happily emended. Still the gist of the passage seems to be misapprehended, and the **כֶּתֶם** of MT is not cleared up. Beer, too, while adopting Budde's reading in **כֶּתֶם**, confesses that the phraseology of **כֶּתֶם** seems to him very strange. So also, however, is that of **כֶּתֶם**. Nor is Budde's emendation, 'his law,' **כֶּתֶם** for **כֶּתֶם**, plausible. Duhm hardly improves upon Budde. Probably we should read thus:

And thou wilt heap up treasures as the dust,
And as the sand of the sea Ophir-gold,
And Shaddai will be thy diadem (**כֶּתֶם**).
And a crown of Ophir-gold (**כֶּתֶם**) unto thee.

(b) Ps. 68:10 [11], **כֶּתֶם** **כֶּתֶם**; RV 'trampling under foot the pieces of silver.' For this Cheyne (*Pz.* 393), doubtfully and Nestle (*IBL*, 91, p. 131) have read **כֶּתֶם** **כֶּתֶם**, 'with (or for) pieces of silver ore'; but the extreme doubtfulness of **כֶּתֶם** in Job makes it preferable to read **כֶּתֶם** **כֶּתֶם**, 'with store of silver.' On the corrupt **כֶּתֶם** see PARIMOS. (Duhm is rather disappointing here.)

It does not, in fact, appear that the OT Hebrew has any expression for 'gold ore.' In the margin of Job 28:6 AV does indeed give 'gold ore.' However, this may only record the impression of the translators that **כֶּתֶם** would not be good Hebrew for 'dust of gold.' For the same reason probably RV gives in the margin 'and he winneth lumps of gold'; but the only safe rendering is that of Delitzsch, Dillmann, Hoffmann, 'and he hath gold-bearing earth.' Yet this cannot represent the poet's meaning. No miner is mentioned in the context, and, as Bateson Wright has seen, the parallelism requires **כֶּתֶם**. Probably the verse should run thus:

His stones are the place of silver,
His clods are the mine of gold.

Thus **כֶּתֶם** corresponds (as it should) to **כֶּתֶם**. Cp SAPHIRE.

1 In Ezek. 27:15 **כֶּתֶם** should probably be **כֶּתֶם**.

2 Grätz (cp Bu.) would read **כֶּתֶם** for **כֶּתֶם**; but the best reading seems to be **כֶּתֶם**, 'like Carmel' (see 76 [3], HARR, 1). **כֶּתֶם** **כֶּתֶם** and **כֶּתֶם** in Cant. 5:11 represents **כֶּתֶם** **כֶּתֶם** (see URHAZ). This became **כֶּתֶם** (Crd. 234 HP), **כֶּתֶם** (Crd. 300) i.e., **כֶּתֶם** **כֶּתֶם** (Lag. *Mittheil.* 281). Neither form of text, however, makes a good sense, and the connection of 5:11a with 5:11b can scarcely be denied.

3 Abulwalid derives it from **כֶּתֶם**, 'to break off,' comparing Ar. *thrum* (native gold, whether dust or nugget).

4 See *Exp. T.*, 1064 f. (Nov. 58).

כֶּתֶם **כֶּתֶם** **כֶּתֶם**

כֶּתֶם **כֶּתֶם** **כֶּתֶם**

1750

GOLGOTHA

² Krall, *Grundriss der altorient. Gesch.* 48; cp Jensen, *ZA*, 1895, p. 272.

GOLGOTHA

the second γ of the original word has been dropped in order to facilitate pronunciation on top of *Jalagatha*, and so Zahn, *Vf. Anst.* 1. 2. 3. Mk., Mt., and Jn. give its interpretation as *spavios* *rocos*, the place of a skull; Lk. gives the Greek name only—'in the place called *Acrania*' (23. 33). *for the name for $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$* *spavios* *spavios*, RV 'The skull', as it is rendered in AV and RVmg—after the *Vg. (Acrania)*, 'Calvary'. Eusebius mentions it as *\gamma. spavios* (13. 17. 11); *\gamma. spavios* (180. 1. 202. 1), and *\gamma. spavios* *rocos* (24. 21); *Jas. ne* gives *Golgatha calvaria* (103. 81. 22) and *G. loca Calvaria* (130. 23).

According to Jerome (*Comment. ad Ephes. 5. 14*, Epist. 40), and Basil (*in 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.*

Several examples occur in the OT of names suggested by the configuration of the ground (see NAMES, § 99). The existence of a small village situated on a hill-top in the neighbourhood of Tyre called *el-Jumayyeh* 'the little skulls'; *AK* 3. 56. 58, *PEF.V* 154 makes it probable that a similar name was in ancient times applied to any knoll which was thought to resemble a skull.

Whatever be the explanation of the name, the place intended must have been outside the city wall (so Jn. 19. 13, 'nigh to the city' [cp Mt. 28. 11 Heb. 13. 12], and Jn. 19. 14, 'near a tomb,' new tombs would be outside the city). Further, it was a prominent position (Mk. 15. 40 Lk. 23. 49) and near a road (Mt. 27. 39 Mk. 15. 29). These data, however, suit several positions.

The traditional site, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, has lately been proved to lie beyond the second wall (see JERUSALEM, § 12, ii.) which was the outside wall at the date of the Crucifixion; and several rock tombs have been found about it. It was near a road. It therefore may have been the site. The tradition in its favour, however, does not reach behind the fourth century; and the manner in which the site is said to have been indicated to the Emperor Constantine who removed a temple of Venus, that stood over the spot, and discovered the alleged tomb of Christ and therefore erected the Church of the Resurrection, does not prove that the sanctity of the place was anciently, or even at the time, publicly known (Eus. *1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 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That too, however, is precarious, and by no means strong enough to dispose of rival sites. Other sites for Golgotha have been suggested on several positions to the north of the city. One, first pointed out by Theodosius in 1849, and adopted by General Gordon and Colonel Conder, has received recently a great deal of support. It is an eminence above the grotto of Jeremiah, outside the present wall not far from the Damascus gate. Besides suiting the general data of the gospels—it is near a road, stands high, and has tombs about it—its appearance agrees with Lk.'s rendering of the name; it has a strong re-

¹ The Old English 'cop' on the other hand, seems to have meant primarily 'summit', and then 'head' or 'skull'. See Murray, *v. r.*

² A résumé of the voluminous literature on the Holy Sepulchre and a discussion of the claims of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to occupy the site of our Lord's tomb will be found in the article 'Sepulchre, the Holy', by A. B. McGregor in the *Ency. Brit.* (9). This article notes that the existence in the rock on which the church is built of several ancient Jewish tombs may be used as an argument against the site, for Eusebius (*Theophania*, Lee's transl., p. 100) emphasises the fact that 'there was only one cave within it, but had there been many, the miracle of him who overthrew death should have been obscured.'

GOLIATH

resemblance to a skull; and there is a modern Jewish tradition that it was the place of stoning in ancient times. But neither are these things conclusive, and on the whole we must be content to believe that the scene of the greatest event in Jerusalem's history is still unknown. From this, of course, it also follows that the site of Stephen's martyrdom is uncertain.

M. A. C. § 1, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

GOLIATH (גִּלְיָת), Goliath, some editions גִּלְיָת (except

1. Earlier in 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

GOLIATH

put his hand in his bag, and took thence a stone, and slung it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead; and the stone sank into his forehead, and he fell upon his face to the earth' (v. 49). Though sorely wounded Goliath was not dead. So David 'ran and stood upon the Philistine,' triumphing over his foe, like Sanehat in a similar case in the old Egyptian story;¹ next he drew the giant's sword² from its sheath and cut off his head. Then the Philistines saw that the incredible had happened, and took to flight.

Why did the Philistines flee? Had they not still their well-appointed infantry and their war-chariots? Had they not still the memory of their former victories? A Greek poet would have said that a god impelled them behind with mighty hand, and struck terror into their souls; and indeed it was a religious dread that seized them. They were powerless to resist the fierce Israelites.³ Meantime, if the view suggested elsewhere (Now) be correct, David took the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Saul; but he put his armour in the tent of Yahwé (v. 54).

Goliath's arms of attack are made of iron; those of defence, of bronze. 'Javelin of bronze' in 1 S. 17.6 must be a mistake (see JAVELIN, 5).

3. The arms of Goliath.

The sword was afterwards given to David the fugitive by Ahimelech (1 S. 21.9[10]; cp 22.10). The tradition said (apparently) that David had deposited it as hallowed spoil in the sanctuary of Nob (or Gibeon). The (reputed) weapons of ancient divine heroes have not infrequently been found in Babylonia,⁴ and a sword like that with which a mere shepherd boy had cut off a giant's head would have not less supernatural power than the fairy lance of Gilgamesh. There may have been stories, in the fuller Odyssey of Hebrew tradition, in which this sword played a part. If so, it is obvious that they have been with good reason passed over.

The story of David, as edited in the Book of Samuel, is that of a man who fought the 'wars of Yahwé,' and was by his God delivered, and later ages clung with special affection to the story of Goliath, because of its

4. Religious covering.

latent religious significance (see Eccles. 4.2-11, and cp title of Ps. 144 [143] in SHERR).⁵ From the first the idea that God alone gives strength to conquer must have been present to those who told this tale, and it is beyond reasonable doubt that a later writer of the post-Deuteronomian period inserted 1 S. 17.40 f., to bring the lesson of the tale into clearer view.⁶ It is only with an eye to this latent idea that the legend of Goliath can be retained by critically trained teachers and preachers. It has indeed been urged against this changed attitude that the story of Odysseus could be treated in the same way. So it could, provided that there was a genuine, however small, historical kernel in the story, and also that Odysseus held a prominent place in the period of preparation for the coming of Jesus Christ. Such was not the case; the story of Goliath may therefore remain unchallenged in the repertory of the religious teacher. Nowhere else outside of the NT does the message of encouragement to the humble and exhortation to the weak in faith receive so affecting, so inspiring an expression. Such a message could not have been engrafted even on the instructive life of David but for that process of idealisation, which is so characteristic of some Hebrew writers, but often so shocking to modern students.

¹ Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 113-115.

² Robertson Smith and Klost. think there was a conflict of traditions, one stating that David (Saul's armour-bearer) drew his own sword to slay Goliath, the other that, having no sword, he used the giant's.

³ Che. *Aids*, 129 f.

⁴ Maspero, *Diction of Civ.* 642; cp *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 3.52 ff. 194.

⁵ Τὸ Δαυὶδ, πρὸς τὸν Γολιάθ. On the title in Pesh. see SHERR. The Greek Psalter also rejoices in a Psalm of David ἔλαθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, comprised οὐ ἐνομομαχῆσε τῷ [πρὸς τοῦ] Γολιάθ [αὐτῷ] (cp 7.6 f.).

⁶ Verse 46 predicts the slaughter by David, not only of Goliath, but also of the army of the Philistines; and announces as the consequence of this the universal recognition of the divinity of Yahwé (cp Ps. 18.47[48] ff. 1 S. 55.4; both passages late). In 7.47 the warriors of Israel are spoken of just as if they were an 'assembly' gathered together for religious instruction (2 Ch. 20.14-20 is closely parallel), and the lesson that Yahwé 'saveth not with sword and spear' is precisely that which was so dear to the paladins of the Second Temple (Ps. 20.7[8] 44.3[4]). The second clause of 7.46 reminds us of Ps. 79.2, while the phrase דָּרַךְ הַחַיִּים (7.47) occurs elsewhere only in late writings (see Gen. 1.24 f. 30.9-2 to Ezek. 29.5 32.4 34.23 Job. 5.22 Ps. 79.2). So Che. *Aids*, 117; cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 214, who is more definite and satisfactory on this point than We. (*Græch.* 146; ET, 266).

GOPHER

The story of David and Goliath has taken the place of another narrative which described the call of the warrior David to the court, and his

5. MT and G. advancement in the army as the reward of his military talents (see DAVID, § 1). The narrative, however, whether we take the version given in MT or that in G, no longer preserves its original form. The former is too long, the latter too short. Robertson Smith, indeed (with whom F. H. Woods, *Stud. Bibl.* 129, agrees), is of opinion that G's text of 1 S. 17.1-18.5 should be followed. He thinks that whatever the Hebrew text has in addition has been interpolated from some lost history of David which gave quite a different turn to the story of Goliath (see OTJC² 120 ff. 431 ff.). When in 1892 Robertson Smith revised his fine volume of *Lectures* he had before him all the recent examinations of the Goliath-story which advocate a different view of G's text, and was not persuaded by the arguments of Wellhausen (who once held the same view as his own), Kamphausen, Stade, Budde, and Kittel. On the other hand, he has not himself persuaded Stade and Budde, who have expressed themselves anew since 1892, and the present writer, in view of the difficulties which beset Robertson Smith's and still more Klostermann's theory (cp Budde, *Ri. Sa.* 213 f.), sees no choice but to hold that if we put aside later insertions (such as 7.46 f., pointed out above), MT represents the one original story of David and Goliath. Some of Robertson Smith's observations are, indeed, not only acute but also correct; but the roughnesses in the text can be accounted for differently (see Che. *Expos.* 1926, p. 156 f.; and cp Bu. *SBOT*; Kamphausen, 'Bemerkungen zur alttest. Textkritik' in the *Arbeiten d. Rhein. Wiss. Pred.-Vereins*, 7.13 ff.). These differences among critics, however, are unimportant compared with the result on which there is no doubt whatever. The story of Goliath has poetical and religious truth, but not, except in a very minute kernel, the truth of history. Cp REHOBOAM, TAMMUZ.

T. K. C.

GOMER (גֹּמֶר, גֹּמֶר [BADEL]; Gen. 10.2 f.

1 Ch. 15 f. 70. [1.] Ezek. 38.6 70. [BAQ]; Ass. *Gimirrai* [Schr. *KGF*, 157 ff., Del. *Par.* 245 f.], one of the 'sons' of Japhet, and 'father' of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen., Ch.), mentioned 'with all his hordes' along with Togarmah 'in the uttermost parts of the north, and all his hordes' in Ezekiel (*l.c.*). The territory corresponds in general to Cappadocia (which in Armenian is Gauri (+pl. ending x); Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geog.* 91; Lag. *Arm. Stud.* 32, 448; *Übers.* 77; see also *Gimmeri* = Cappadocians, Eus. *Chron.* ed. Migne, 138, and note also γάμπερ ἐξ οὗ καππαδοκῆς, Eus. 212). Probably their earlier home was N. of the Euxine (κιμμερία, Herod. 4.11 f.; Strabo, iii. 2.12 7.222 f.; cp Homer, *Od.* 11.14; see Gelzer, *IZ.* 75, p. 14 ff.; Schr. *KGF* 156 ff.). The Ass. *Gimirrai* appear in Cappadocia from the time of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.; cp, further, on Gomer, Letourmy, *Origines*, ii. 132 f.). See CAPPADOCIA.

F. B.

(2) bath Bithlain (גֹּמֶר בִּיתְלַיִם, τὴν γομερ θυγατέρα δεβλαίμ [B], τ.γ.θ. δεβλαίμ [AQ]; cp perhaps גֹּמֶר בִּיתְלַיִם, ἐν οἴκῳ δαυὶδ [BAQ] [BAQ] Jer. 48.22), Hosea's wife (Hos. 1.3). There is no reason for supposing that her name, like those of her children (see LO-REHAMAH, JYZREEL [iii. 2]), has any symbolical import. See HOSEA, § 6.

GOMORRAH (גֹּמֶרָה), Gen. 13.10. In Mt. 10.15 (Γομορρῶν [Ti. WH]), Av *Gomorraha*. See SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

GOODLY TREES, FRUIT OF. See APPLE, § 2 (3).

GOPHER (גֹּפֶר, Gen. 6.14 f.), a very uncertain word, as it occurs only once and is unknown to the other Semitic dialects.

¹ For a personal name with this termination cp ARPAIM, SHAHARAIM.

GORGET

The ancient versions have various renderings; *GORGET* is *ἐλάω τετραγών* (*ἀσηπτον* and *κεδρίων* being cited as alternatives of other interpreters). Vg. *de lignis betigatis*, 'lignis' of juniper wood; and Targ. 'of cedar wood'.

1. Versions. Gopher is by some moderns taken to be the name of a tree; thus Celsius (1320 ff.) identifies it as the cypress, being misled by the likeness of names.¹ The word may be akin to *gōphē* 'lotumen'—itself according to Lag. (OS 295; but see BITUMEN) properly an Aramaic word, for which the Heb. equivalent is *gōphē*—and may also, according to the same scholar, be connected with *gōphē* 'sulphur' for which an Indo-European etymology is offered (see BITUMEN). The most plausible suggestion, therefore, is that of a fragrant resinous wood (so Dr.); but the entire uncertainty of the word (see below) must be maintained with Lag. (*Ueberl.* 218).

The ordinary philological means fail us in dealing with the word Gopher. It is natural therefore to have recourse to Assyriology, which accounts

2. Assyriology. (see DELUGE, § 13) for the mention of *gōphē* (EV 'pitch') in Gen. 6:14. Is it possible that *gōphē*, or some word which explains it, occurred in an early form of the Babylonian Deluge-story? If so, what can that word have been? Halévy and more recently Hommel (Hastings, *DB* 1:214 f.) compare Bab.-Ass. *gipāru*; but this means 'reed,' 'canebrake' (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 170 f., 325 f.; but not so Halévy), and would have been more suitable in a description of the 'ark' of Moses than in that of Noah. *gōphē* ('gopher-wood') should mean the timber of some tree used in shipbuilding when J's Hebraised Babylonian authority (see DELUGE, § 10) took shape—most probably some kind of cedar.

The original Babylonian or Assyrian phrase probably ran—*gūšur* (or *gūšur erinu*—i.e., beams of cedar; see the Ass. Lex.). Overlooking (*Ugierini*), the Hebrew translator mistook *gūšur* for a tree-name, and so produced the phrase *gōphē*. Next, a scribe, who saw *gōphē* at the end of the verse, miswrote the second word (*gōphē* and *gōphē* conflated, as in *gōphē* Job 14 to MT).

If this is correct, the timber used in the ark would be cedar-wood (*erinu*). Possibly, too, the substitution of a 'box' (*gōphē*) for a 'ship' (*telippu*) arose from a confusion between *erinu* 'cedar' and *erinnu* ('box', 'receptacle', in the phrase *gūšur (gūšur) erinu*. See Che. *ZATW*, 1898, p. 163 f.

N. M., § 1; T. K. C., § 2.

GORGET (גֹּרְגֹת), IS. 17:6 AV^{10g}. See JAVELIN, 5.

GORGAS (ΓΟΡΓΑΣ [ANV, but ΚΟΡΓΙΑC, A in 1 Macc. 45]), one of the Syrian generals sent by Lysias against Judas the Maccabee. It was his vain attempt to surprise Judas by a night attack that led to the great battle of EMMAS [9:1, 1], in which the Syrian army was signally defeated (166-165 B.C.). After this, battle was offered to Gorgias, who declined it, and withdrew precipitately into Philistia (1 Macc. 41 ff.). About two years later, being governor of Idumea, Gorgias was threatened by a small Jewish force under Joseph and Azarias at Jamnia, which he put to flight (1 Macc. 5:55 ff.). In the account of the first incident given in 2 Macc. 8:8 ff., it is NEUVOR (9:1, 1), not Gorgias, who is represented as being at the head of affairs; and in 2 Macc. 12:32-37 the second incident, so unfortunate for the Jews, only receives passing notice (9:34), whilst a fuller but somewhat confused account is given of the defeat and flight of Gorgias.

In 2 Macc. 12:32 for 'Idumea' (*Idoumaia*) we should probably, but not certainly, read 'Jamnia' (*Gammas*), with Grotius (cp. 1 Macc. 5:54-54a, and Jos. *Ant.* vi. 86), and in 9:36 for 'Esdras' we should perhaps read (with 44:64, etc. of G) 'Gorgias' (see ESDRAS).

GORTYNA (ΓΟΥΡΤΥΝΑ [NV] ΓΑΝ [AV]; in classical writers ΓΟΥΡΤΥΝΑ or ΓΟΥΡΤΥΝ). The rival of Cnosus for supremacy in Crete (Strabo, 476, 478; Pol. 4:51 f.). It lies in the fertile valley of the Lethrae, in the plain Messara, midway between the E. and W. extremes of the island. Its only biblical interest is connected with the

¹ In the East chests are often made of the wood of *Cupressus sempervirens*, which is delightfully fragrant. In the Middle Ages they were much in request in Italy.

GOSHEN

presence of Jews (1 Macc. 15:23) in the time of Ptolemy Physcon (139 B.C.). In that year, as a result of the successful embassy sent by Judas the Maccabee to Rome, the Senate dispatched a circular letter in favour of the Jews to Gortyna, and to eighteen other autonomous cities and countries. We may perhaps connect their presence with the abortive attempt of Ptolemy Philopator to surround the extensive site of Gortyn with walls (222-205 B.C.).

The city was the Roman capital of the island. The site is now marked by the poor village of *Agios Patak*. Among its ruins are those of a church dedicated to TIMS, the patron saint of Crete; it dates from the fourth or fifth century (cp. Tit. 15). Gortyn lies ten or twelve miles from FAIR HAVENS (Strabo, 478), so that during the long delay there (Acts 27:9) it is possible that Paul visited the city. See SQUIR, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, 2:20 f.

W. J. W.

GOSHEN, but in Judith 10 AV GISEM (גִּישֵׁם; גִּישֵׁם [BHAL], GISEN [e.g., D, through later Hexaplaric?] influence], rarely גִּישֵׁם, GECCE, etc.; Vg. *Gessen*, cp. Jer. OS 1254 *Gisen* [also *Gisem*, which agrees with Jer.'s etymology]), usually in the phrase 'the land of Goshen' (see Gen. 46:26-29), is in J and E the name of the part of Egypt inhabited by the line Israel from Joseph to Moses. It uses instead the phrase 'land of Ramesses' (Gen. 47:11, and remarkably enough G in 46:28 appends to *καθ' ἡρώων πόλιν* (= *גִּישֵׁם*, 'to Goshen') the explanatory gloss *ἐς γῆν παυσση*. The two expressions are in G synonymous (see, however, JOSEPH n., § 3). The problem is to determine the situation.

In 16:34 Goshen is outside of Egypt and not inhabited by Egyptians; in 2:28 it is between Pharaoh's and Joseph's residence and Palestine; see also Ex. 13:17 as to its situation on the frontier. It is (Gen. 47:6 ff.) 'the best of the land'—i.e., for a pastoral population; cp. 2:6 (Pharaoh's cattle pasturing there). It must therefore have been unsuitable for agriculture—i.e., too far E. to be as regularly irrigated as most of Egypt. In Ex. 23:3 a branch of the Nile flows through (2) it, and a royal residence is near or in it.

When we turn to G we get something more definite: in Gen. 46:10 Goshen is called 'the land of Gesem of Arabia' (γῆ γέσμη ἀραβίας). Unfortunately, 'Arabia' is ambiguous.

There was (1) a nome of Egypt called ἡ ἀραβία (in the Revenue Papyrus of Ptolemy II, always connected with the 'Bubastite nome'; see further Pol. 4:553; Strabo, 8:3; Pliny, 5:9), correctly identified by Brugsch with the 20th of Lower Egypt in the Egyptian lists; (2) but the Greeks (3) gave the name Arabia also to all the land E. of the Nile. The eastern part, indeed, was a distinct nome (see below) called Hieropolis (possibly the Phagronopolis² of Strabo [8:40] means 'Arabia'); but by the Greeks (3) the name Arabia was usually extended so as to include it and to reach to the Crocodile Lake (B. vi-Timsāh).

The choice between the alternatives seems easy: G evidently means by Arabia a special district. It cannot well be the Arabian nome, however, as we should expect. On the contrary it must mean a more eastern part of the Arabian district; the Wady et-Timlat and its western vicinity E. of Bubastus. This is the view of Gen. 46:28 f. (see below, of art.), where G is still more definite. It takes Goshen to be a city, Hieropolis (9). The discovery by Naville of this city—Tell el-Maskhuta (= Ithom (= ETHAM [9:2, 1], accordingly, has determined the centre of the region intended, and confirmed the general assumption of scholars. There is no evidence in the Egyptian inscriptions, however, that that region was ever called Goshen, a name which, as we shall now see, probably represents an Egyptian name for the western nome (next §, end).

We have said that the Greek district of 'Arabia' was

¹ On name and capital see below, § 3.

² With Oppert and Brugsch, the present writer derives this name from Pakru, the name of the ruler of Pisapi in the Egyptian Arabia under Assurbanipal (4:22-23). Phagronopolis is possibly identical with the capital.

GOSHEN

occupied by two Egyptian nomes, the western of which (the 20th, already referred to) was by the Greeks specifically called 'Arabia'.³ Its position is determined by the fact that it was called 'that of the god Sapdu(u)',¹ whose chief temple² was in the city P-(house of) Sapdu(u),³ a name which evidently has survived in the modern *Saft* (cp Brugsch, *AZ* 8116) *el-Henneh*, 5 or 6 m. E. of Bubastus. Naville⁴ has argued that this *P-sapdu(u)* (*Saft el-Henneh*), another name for which may have been *P-kos(?)*, is the *Phakusa*, Phacusi(m), of the *Tab. Peut.*, the *Phaguse* of Geogr. Rav., the 'village between Egypt and the Red Sea' of Steph. Byz., because *Phakusa* is called by Ptolemy (iv. 553) the capital of the Arabian nome, and Strabo states that at *Phakusa* the canal to the Red Sea branched off from the Nile.

The definition of the position of *Phakusa* in the *Tab. Peut.* (36 R. m. from Pelusium), however, suits better the modern *Fakūs*, 16 m. N.E. of *Saft el-Henneh*, which had been supposed to be *Phakusa* by modern scholars. On the other hand, that the Greeks might repeatedly have confounded *P-kos* (i.e. *Sapdu(u)*) with a name like *Pakos(?)* (*Fakūs*) may be admitted.

However that may be, the identification of *P-sapdu(u)* (*Saft el-Henneh*) and *P-kos(em)* is probable. The inscriptions dealing with sacred geography apply the phrase 'land of Sapdu' to a country

'*Āsm(t)* of the East'⁵ (Duen. Geogr. Inschr. 25). The shrine of *Saft* (publ. Naville, pl. 6, calls the gods of *Saft* 'gods of *Ās*',⁷ connecting especially *Sapdu* with this name *Ās*. Other texts combine *Ās* with the name of *Sapdu*, indicating by the orthography sometimes a

district, sometimes a city. See § 4 on the earliest mention. In any case, it is clear that the name *Āsm* (*Ās* seems only an abbreviation or 'defective orthography') referred originally to the land immediately E. of Bubastus.

The question arises: Was the range of *Āsm* (= Goshen⁸)



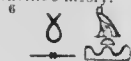
Sapdu(u) is mentioned repeatedly as 'lord of the E. and of the Asiatics' (cp Naville, *The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh*, 5-13 [188]). In his chief temple (see above) he had the name 'vanquisher of the Asiatics' (*hwy mntwy*), as being a god of the frontier district. The present writer cannot follow de Rongé (Duenichen, Naville), who finds in a coin-legend of the nomos Arabia *ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ* (*Sepd. Aḥisic'pm*).

² It was called 'the place of the *nubs*-tree' (sycomore? lotus tree?).

³ Mentioned by *Asur-bāni-pal* as *Pisapdu* or *Sapdu*, 'at the gate of the East'.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 14 ff., where a full discussion of the name Goshen is given. Earlier treatises, e.g., in Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, are now obsolete. On *Saft* see also Duressy, *Rev. trav.* 20, 76).

⁵ *κως* or *κοὸς βοῖβο* (= *Ar. Kūs*, see Peyron, *Lex.* 71) is hardly *Phakusa* as Champollion (*Ép. sous les Phar.* 276, cp Naville) thought. The article *p* is not = *pha*, *fā*. Lists of hieroglyphs make 'the Arabian name' = *Fakūs*, which is in favour of Naville's theory.



⁸ *k* = *g* in the transcription is regular; but not Egyptian *s* =

GOSHEN

extended to the newly colonised territory to the E. of *Saft*? This might have been done by the new settlers and the Palestinian. The sacred Egyptian lists, however, treat this eastern country (at least after 300 B.C.) as a distinct nome, the eighth of Lower Egypt,¹ called 'Eastern. . .',² its capital being *Tk(t)*, *Tku(t)*, *Tk(t)* (read *Tukōt*), which had the sacred name *P-atum*. (See SUCOTII and PITHOM on the question whether these names are identical.)

The principal god was *Atum* of Heliopolis, dwelling in the temple 'seat (or house) of (the serpent) *Āerh*'—evidently this was the earlier local divinity. The canal flowing through the land was the *Āarma* (*Āalma*),³ water, so called from the many crocodiles (*hēlma* in the language of the *Hamitic* Troglodytes)⁴ which have given its name also to the present Timsāh-lake. This lake had in ancient times the name *Āi-srk*⁵ 'Scorpion lake'.

The eighth nome belonged to the country called 'n' (*āian*? see *Eant*, Plin. *HN* 6 29, as name of the gulf of Suez), which included the desert between the gulf and Heliopolis (also the modern Mokattam-mountain opposite Memphis). This desert region was originally inhabited only by a few Semitic and some Troglodytic nomads; it was unfit for agriculture, the narrow valley alone being reached by the yearly inundations, and that

irregularly. At a very remote time, indeed, the Egyptians had in the Wādī el-Tūmilāt, a strong fortification called the 'wall of the prince,' to guard (against the inroads of the nomads) the most vulnerable spot of the Egyptian frontier;⁷ but the colonisation of the eighth (eastern) nomos seems to have been due entirely to the

great king Ram(ese)s or Ra'nessu II. (in the first twenty years of his reign), who must have improved the irrigation. The chief cities founded by him were:

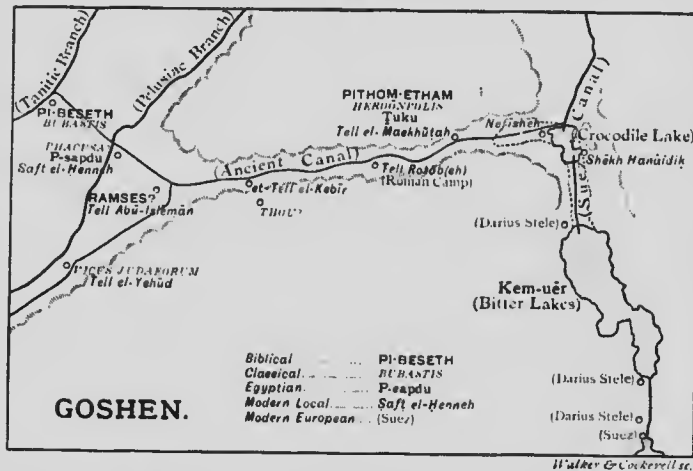
Consequently the Semitic, or at least non-Egyptian origin of the name, proposed already by Semitic scholars, becomes very probable. The name seems to have been obsolete after 400 B.C., so that *G*'s small inaccuracy in making Heliopolis the capital becomes intelligible.

¹ On our present knowledge of the material, see Naville, *Pithom*.

² The proposed reading (*nefer*) of this sign is very doubtful. The site of the 'Western. . .', to which this name is opposed, is not quite certainly determined.

³ See WMM in *WZKM*, 96, p. 3.

⁴ This was the point selected for attack—e.g., by the English army so recently as in the campaign against Arabi. On the history of the fortification, which seems to go back to the first four dynasties, see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 43-45. The site of it is unknown. We should look for it near the 'Great Black Lake'—i.e., about the S. end of the 'Crocodile Lake', according to the earlier passages. The *Se-muhyt*-story (*LL* 3, 8), however, would place it several hours' march from the lake. Griffith has found a passage of dyn. 12 (Kahun-Pap. 214), which speaks of 'the fortification of *Sapdu(?)* (in) *Āsm*.' Therefore, the wall of the middle empire is to be sought for in the eastern part or near the entrance of the wādī.



GOSHEN

The house of Ram(e)s'es' with a royal residence and temples of Amon, Suteh, 'Astart, and Buto,¹ evidently not very far E., and P.-Atum=Pithom on the site, of modern Tell el-Mashûta. It is very questionable whether before Ram(e)s'es II. there were in the eastern part of the valley any Egyptian settlements except the fortification mentioned above; at any rate, it fully deserved the name that it came to bear in later times—'land of Ram(e)s'es' (this would hardly apply to the old western district). The position of the land colonised by Ram(e)s'es was very advantageous. It possessed a healthy desert climate and was most fertile as long as the canal to the Crocodile Lake was kept in order.² The extension of the canal of Ram(e)s'es³ to the Red Sea by Necho I. increased the commercial importance of the district. Quite recently, the repairing of the canal has trebled the population, now 12000, of this district, which forms a part of the modern province esh-Sharkîye. Heroopolis-Patum thus became an important place⁴ for the trade on the Red Sea, where also the Romans built a fortified camp.

Thus we see that *Kesm*-Goshen and 'land of Ram(e)s'es' were with the Egyptians hardly identical.

5. The biblical and the Egyptian Goshen. The 'country of Ram(e)s'es' could be only the eighth (eastern) nome. The application to that (eastern) district, of the (obsolete and rare) name *Kesm* (vocalise *Kesm*?) of the western (20th nome) has not yet been shown on the (later) Egyptian monuments.

The Hebrew story (Nu. 33 & f.) of the Israelites marching two days (Ramesses to Succoth, Succoth to Etham) through the whole valley of Tinnit (instead of starting from its eastern end) might suggest to some a mistake of P. JE placing the country of the Israelites between Bahastus, Belbes, and Tell Ahû Islemân (cp Naville). The probabilities, however, of such a theory are small; all sources seem to mean the same part of the country.

Probably Heroopolis had, before the extension of the canal by Necho I., less importance, and the possibility that once also the eastern district had P-sapdu as capital and belonged to the district *Kesm* is, therefore, not to be denied. It must be confessed that the geographical texts upon which we have to rely date from Ptolemaic times only. The division of the 'Arabian district' may have been different in earlier centuries.

GOSPELS

Tradition has been exceptionally fortunate with the name Goshen; Makrizi, in particular, identified Goshen with the region between Belbes and the land of the Amalekites. The limitation of Goshen to Sadir, a village N.E. of Belbes, by Sa'adia (and Abu-said) is as strange as the limitation to Fostâj (Old Cairo) by Bar Bahlûl. Modern scholars have, on the contrary, frequently extended Goshen too widely: Ebers, e.g., included in it the whole eastern delta between the Tanitic branch (cp Targ. Jer. which made Goshen 'the land of Pelusium'), Heliopolis, and the Bitter Lakes. We can afford to neglect certain hypotheses which date from the period before the decipherment of the hieroglyphics; for the situation erroneously assumed by Brugsch, see EXODUS, § 13.

W. M. M.

GOSHEN (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛; 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 [BAFL]; GOSHEN). 1. A

'land' mentioned in Deuteronomistic portions of Joshua among other districts of S. Canaan, Josh. 10.41 (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 [BAFL]), 11.16 (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 [BAFL]). It is strange to find the name of Goshen outside the limits of Goshen proper. Hommel (*AHT* 227 f. 237; cp *Eip. T.* 815 [Oct. '96]), supposes that as the Israelites in Egypt multiplied, the area allotted to them was extended, and that the strip of country between Egypt and Judah, which still belonged to the Pharaoh, was regarded as an integral part of the land of Goshen. This is obviously a conservative hypothesis (see EXODUS i. § 2; MIZRAIM, § 2 d). The text, however, may need criticism. That the MT sometimes misunderstands, or even fails to observe, geographical names, is plain; we have learned so much from Assyriology. Let us then suppose that Goshen is wrongly vocalised, and should be 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛=𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛, and compare the name of the Galilean town 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 ('fat soil'), the Gischala of Josephus. Other solutions are open; we may at any rate presume that this old Hebrew name had a Semitic origin, see 2.

As they now stand, Josh. 10.41 and 11.16 do not convey the same geographical picture. The words in 11.16, 'all the Negeb and all the land of Goshen (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛) and the Shêphêlah, suggest that 'the Goshen' lay between the Negeb or southern steppe region and the Shêphêlah or Lowlands. We might hold that it took in the SW. of the hill-country of Judah. In Josh. 10.41, where we read 'all the land of Goshen as far as Gibeon,' we may presume that some words have dropped out after 'Goshen.' Cp NEGBE, § 4.

2. A town in the SW. of the hill-country of Judah, mentioned with Debir, Anab, etc., Josh. 15.51 [P]. Probably an echo of the old name of a district in the same region (see 1). Cp Gesham.

T. K. C.

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 - (i.) Mk. and Mt.; Jn. in relation to Mk. and Mt. (§ 15).
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 - (iii.) Mt. and Lk., or, 'The Double Tradition'; (a) Acts of the Lord; (b) Words of the Lord (§§ 17-19).
 - (iv.) Jn. in relation to 'The Double Tradition' (§ 20).

¹ A poetic description of the new city is to be found in papyrus Anastasi, 46.

² Neglect of the canal always led immediately to an encroachment of the desert upon the narrow cultivable area.

³ The canal was 50 cubits wide (according to Strabo; 100 ft. according to Pliny [61.15]; 50 yards according to traces near Ballâs) and 30 ft. deep according to 'iny; 16-17 Engl. ft. according to modern traces.

⁴ The canal was repaired by Darius, Ptolemy II., Trajan—whence the name of the province Augustamnica from the Canalis Trajanus.

- IV. THE INTRODUCTIONS (Mt. and Lk.), §§ 21-23.
 - (i.) The effect of prophecy (§ 21).
 - (ii.) Philonian Traditions (ib.).
 - (iii.) Justin and Irenæus (ib.).
 - (iv.) Divergence of Mt. and Lk. (§ 22).
 - (v.) Jn. in relation to the Introductions (§ 23).
- V. THE CONCLUSIONS (Mt. Lk. and the Mk.-Appendix), §§ 24-33.
 - (i.) The Evangelists select their evidence (§ 24).
 - (ii.) The Period of Manifestations (§ 25).
 - (iii.) Traces of Poetic Tradition (§ 26).
 - (iv.) Discrepancies (§ 27).
 - (v.) Lk.'s view ('proof'), § 28.
 - (vi.) The Manifestation to the Eleven (The Mk.-Appendix, Lk., Ignatius), § 29.
 - (vii.) The historical estimate of Lk.'s tradition (§ 30).
 - (viii.) Jn.'s view ('signs'), § 31 f.
 - (ix.) Contrast between Jn. and the Synoptists (§ 33).
 - (x.) Note on the Testimony of Paul (§ 33 note).
- VI. SINGLE TRADITIONS (§§ 34-63).
 - (a) *The First Gospel* (§§ 34-36).
 - (i.) Doctrinal and other characteristics (§ 34).
 - (ii.) Evidence as to date (§ 35).
 - (iii.) Jn. in relation to Mt.'s Single Tradition (§ 36).

¹ The Coptic versions, which simply transliterate, seem, however, to have lost all tradition. Possibly the vocalisation of *γῶσα* disguised the Egyptian name to them. A woman pilgrim of the fourth century places the 'terra Gesse' 16 R. m. from Heroopolis, calling the capital 'civitas Arahia.' She believed Ram(e)s'es to be 4 R. m. to the E. of this capital (see Naville, *Shrine of S.* 12), meaning apparently 'fat'.

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- (b) *The Third Gospel* (§§ 37-44).
 (i.) [a] The Dedication, [β] Linguistic characteristics (§ 37 f.).
 (ii.) Doctrinal characteristics (§ 39).
 (iii.) A manual for daily conduct (§ 40).
 (iv.) Evidence as to date (§ 41).
 (v.) Supernatural narratives (§ 42).
 (vi.) Lk.'s position historically (§ 43).
 (vii.) Jn. in relation to Lk.'s Single Tradition (§ 44).
 (c) *The Johannine Gospel* (§§ 45-63).
 (i.) Hypotheses of authorship (§ 45).
 (ii.) [a] Names, § 46, [β] numbers, § 47, and [γ] quotations (§ 48).
 (iii.) Style (§§ 49-51).

B.—EXTERNAL EVIDENCE AS TO ORIGIN.

- I. STATEMENTS (§§ 64-82).
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 (b) His account of Mk. and Mt. (§ 65 b).
 (c) The system of Eusebius (§ 66).
 (d) The silence of Papias on Lk. and Jn. (§ 67).
 (e) The date of his Exposition (§§ 68-73). (1) Was Papias a hearer of Jn.?(2) and (3) Aristion and Jn. the Elder, (4) Papias' Elders, (5) His list of the Apostles, (6) His relation to Polycarp.
 (f) Summary of the evidence (§ 74).
 (iii.) Justin Martyr (§§ 75-77).
 (a) His titles of the Gospels (§ 75).
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 (iv.) The Muratorian Fragment (§ 78).
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Special abbreviations used in this article.

Clem.Alex. (ref. to pp. in Potter's ed. and margin of Klotz).
 Clem.Anc.Hom. = the epistle entitled 'An ancient homily,' in Lightfoot's ed.
 Clement. = *Clementine Homilies*, ed. Schwegler.
 Diatess. = The Arabic Harmony commonly called Tatian's *Diatessaron*.
 Ephrem = comm. ed. Moesinger.
 Eus. = Eus. *HE* ed. Schwegler.
 Grätz = Grätz's *GT*, E.T.
 Hippol. = Hippolytus's *Refutation of Heresies*, ed. Duncker.
 Hor.Hebr. = Lightfoot, ed. Gandell, 1859.

Ign. = *Epistles of Ignatius*, ed. Lightfoot.
 Iren. = Irenaeus, *Refutation of Heresies* (text of Grabe, books and sections of E.T. in 'ante-Nicene Library').
 Lightf. BE = Bp. Lightfoot, *Bib. Essays*.
 Lightf. SR = Bp. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*.
 Lucian (ed. Gesner, Amsterdam, 1743, ref. to vol. and page).
 Mk. App. = Appendix to Mk. — i.e., Mk. 16:9-20.
 Mk.Lk. = the Common Tradition of Mk. and Lk. where it differs from Mt.

Mk.-Mt. = Common Tradition of Mk. and Mt. where it differs from Lk.
 Mt.Lk. = Common Tradition of Mt. and Lk. (whether in Synoptic or Double Tradition).
 Orig.Cels. = Orig. *contra Celsum*.
 Orig. Comm. = (ed. Huet, Rouen, 1668).
 Philo (Mangey's vol. and page).
 Pseudo-Peter = Gospel of Peter.
 Schöttg. = Schöttgen's *Hor. Heb.* 2 vols.
 Sa. = The Codex (see TEXT), called Syrus Sinaiticus.
 Tryph. = Justin's (c. I. Otto).
 Westc. = Bp. Westcott's *Comm. on John*.
 Weist. = Weiststein's *Comm. on NT*, 2 vols.

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- (iv.) Structure (§§ 52-63).
 (a) The Gospel as a whole (§ 52).
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 (1) The Prologue (§ 53).
 (2) The Bridgroom, or the Doctrine of Water; (a) Galilee, (β) Jerusalem, (γ) Samaria (§ 54).
 (3) The Bread of Life (§ 55).
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 (9) The 'Deuteronomy' (§ 61).
 (10) The Passion (§ 62 f.).

- (v.) Clement of Rome (§ 87).
 (vi.) The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (§ 88).
 (vii.) The Epistle of Barnabas (§§ 89-90).
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 (viii.) The Great Apophysis (§ 91).
 (ix.) Ignatius (§ 92).
 (x.) Polycarp (§ 93).
 (xi.) Papias (§ 94).
 (xii.) The Epistle to Diognetus (§ 95).
 (xiii.) The Shepherd of Hermas (§ 96).
 (xiv.) Basilides (§ 97).
 (xv.) Marcion (§ 98).
 (xvi.) Valentinus (§ 99).
 (xvii.) Summary of the Evidence before Justin (§ 100).
 (xviii.) Justin Martyr (§§ 101-104).
 (1) Minor apparent Johannine quotations (§ 101).
 (2) 'Except ye be begotten again' (§ 102).
 (3) Other alleged quotations (§ 103).
 (4) Abstentions from quotation (§ 104).
 (5) Inconsistencies with Jn. (§ 105).
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IV. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF SYNOPTICS AND THEIR SOURCES.

- Titles of gospels (§ 146).
 Statements of Fathers (§ 147).
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 Date of logia (§ 150).
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[The aim of the following article is to set forth with sufficient fulness the facts that have to be taken into account in formulating a theory of the genesis of the gospels, to record and criticise some of the more important theories that have been proposed, and to indicate if possible the present position of the question and the apparent trend of thought.]

Its two parts, as will appear from the prefixed tabular exhibit of their contents, are partly independent, partly complementary. Roughly it may be said that the first

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(§§ 1-107) is relatively full in its account of the contents of the gospels as a basis for considering their mutual relations, and in its survey of the external evidence as to origin. The second (§§ 108-158) aims mainly at giving an ordered account of the various questions bearing on (especially) the internal evidence that have been raised by scholars in the long course of the development of gospel criticism, and at attempting to find at least a provisional answer.]

A.—DESCRIPTIVE AND ANALYTICAL.

Of the Four canonical Gospels the first Three (differing from the Fourth) so often agree in subject, order, and language, that they are regarded as taking a

'common view' of the facts, and are hence called Synoptic.

A. INTERNAL EVIDENCE AS TO ORIGIN.

I. THE EARLIEST TRADITION.

Roughly it may be said that, of the Synoptists, Mk. exhibits the Acts and shorter Words of the Lord; Mt. a combination of the Acts with Discourses of the Lord, the latter often grouped together, as in the Sermon on the Mount; Lk. a second combination of Acts with Discourses, in which an attempt is made to arrange the Words and Discourses chronologically, assigning to each the circumstances that occasioned it. A comparison shows that Mt. and Lk., where Mk. is silent, often agree with one another. This doubly-attested account—for the most part confined to Discourses, where the agreement is sometimes verbatim—may be conveniently called 'the Double Tradition.' Where Mk. steps in, the agreement between Mt. and Lk. is less close; and a study of what may be called 'the Triple Tradition,' i.e. the matter common to Mk., Mt., and Lk., shows that here *Mt. and Lk., as a rule, contain nothing of importance in common, which is not found also in our Mk. (or rather in an ancient edition of our Mk., containing a few verbal corrections for clearness [see below, § 5]).* This leads to the conclusion that, in the Triple Tradition, Mt. and Lk. borrowed (independently of each other) either from our Mk., or (more probably) from some document² embedded in our Mk.

Any other hypothesis requires only to be stated in order to appear untenable. For example: (1) that Mt. and Lk. should agree by accident, would be contrary to all literary experience; (2) if Mt. and Lk. borrowed from a common document containing Mk., or (3) differing in important respects from Mk., or (4) if Lk. borrowed from Mt., or Mt. from Lk., the two Gs., Mt. and Lk., would contain important similarities not found in Mk.; (5) if Mk. borrowed from Mt. and from Lk., he must have adapted his narrative so as to insert almost every phrase and word common to Mt. and Lk. in the passage before him—a hard task, even for a literary forger of these days, and an impossibility for such a writer as Mk.

The Fourth Gospel (henceforth called Jn.) does not contain the Synoptic 'repent,' 'repentance,' 'forgiveness,' 'faith,' 'baptism,' 'preach,' 'rebuke,' 'sinners,' 'publicans,' 'disease,' 'possessed with a devil,' 'cast out devils,' 'unclean,' 'leper,' 'leaven,' 'enemy,' 'hypocrisy,' 'divorce,' 'adultery,' 'woe,' 'rich,' 'riches,' 'mighty work,' 'parable,'³ 'Instead of 'faith' (πίστις), Jn. uses 'have faith in' (πιστεύω). 'Faith,' in Jn., is 'abiding in Christ.' The Synoptists say that prayer will be granted, if we 'have faith'; Jn. says (15:7), 'If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you.' Except in narrating the Crucifixion, Jn. never mentions 'cross' or 'crucify,' but he represents Jesus as predicting his being 'uplifted' or 'glorified.' In Jn. the Synoptic 'child' rarely occurs; but the necessity of 'receiving the kingdom of God as little children' is expressed by him in the necessity (verbal) different, but spiritually the same) of being 'born from above.'

Since the author of the Fourth Gospel must have

known (Eus. iii. 24) the substance of the Three,¹ it is antecedently probable that, where the Synoptists differ, if Jn. favours one, he does so deliberately. Independently, therefore, of its intrinsic value, Jn. is important as being, in effect, the earliest commentary on the Synoptists.

II. THE TRIPLE TRADITION.

Here we have to consider (i.) The edition of Mk. from which Mt. and Lk. borrowed; (ii.) Mt. relation to Mk. and Lk.; (iii.) Jn. relation to Mk., Mt., and Lk.

(i.) The Edition of Mk. from which Mt. and Lk. borrowed differs from Mk. itself merely in a few points indicating a tendency to correct Mk.'s style.

The most frequent changes are (a) to substitute εἶπεν for λέγει,² and to insert pronouns, etc. for the sake of clearness. But there is often apparent (b) a tendency to substitute more definite, or classical, or appropriate words. For example, ἐκχεῖσθαι and ἀπαλλύσθαι are substituted for the single ἀπολλύσθαι (Mk. 2:22, applied to wine and wine-skins), κλίση (or some other word) for the barbaric (Mk. 2:40 11 12) κράββατος, περιπατεῖ for (Mk. 2:21) ἀπεπαρτεῖ. Ambiguity is removed—e.g., by the following bracketed additions: Mk. 4:11 [τοῦ ἱεροῦ] the mystery of God; (3:14) 'Andrew [his brother];' (4:4) ἐν τῷ σπείρειν [αὐτοῖς]. In Mk. 4:15, for 'them,' Mt. and Lk. substitute 'their heart.' (c) Sometimes there is condensation (e.g. [Mk. 4:10] οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα [Mt.-Lk. οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ]); or an unusual word (e.g. [4:32] ἀναβαίνει [of a plant] is changed to a more usual οἰκίσσει); or a less reverential phrase (5:27) τοῦ ἱματίου to a n. reverential one (τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου). In Mk. 10:25, τριμαλίας is altered into, τριήματος or τριμήματος, possibly because τριμαλίας means in ὁ (four or five times)

¹ This follows from the generally admitted fact that versions of the Three Synoptic Gospels were well known in the Church long before the publication of the Fourth (see below, 'External Evidence'). An interesting testimony to the authority of our Four Canonical Gospels, and also to the later date of the Fourth, comes from 'the Jew' of Celsus, who says that (Orig. Cels. 2:27) certain believers, 'as though roused from intoxication to self-control (or to self-judgment, ὡς ἐκ μεθης ηῖκοντας εἰς τὸ εἰσεστῆναι ἑαυτοῖς), alter the character of (μεταπαρτεῖν) the Gospel from its first written form (ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς) in threefold, fourfold, and manifold fashion (τριπλῆ καὶ τετραπλῆ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ), and remould it (μεταπλαττεῖν) that they might have wherewith to gainsay refutations (ὡς ἔχοιεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀνείσθαι).'

Celsus apparently believes that there was first an original Gospel, of such a kind as to render it possible for enemies to make a charge of 'intoxication' (perhaps being in Hebrew and characterised by eastern metaphor and hyperbole), then, that there were three versions of this Gospel, then four, thus making an interval between the first three and the fourth, which he does not make between any of the first three. The word 'manifold' appears to refer to still later apocryphal Gospels.

² Perhaps εἶπεν seemed more appropriate for history. At all events Lk. never applies λέγει (without ἀποκριθεῖς, etc.), to Jesus. The only apparent instance is Lk. 24:36, 'And saith unto them, Peace be unto you.' This is expunged by Tischendorf, and placed in double brackets by W.H. Alford condemn Tischendorf on the ground that 'the authority is weak.' But the internal evidence is strong.

³ The deviations of Mt. and Lk. from Mk. are printed in distinct characters in Mr. Rushbrooke's Synopticon, which is indispensable for the critical study of this question. It follows the order of Mk.

¹ For the meaning of the emphasised 'the,' see below, § 15.
² The hypothesis of an Oral Tradition, as the sole origin of the similarities in the Synoptists, is contrary both to external and to internal evidence.
³ 'The kingdom of God,' or, 'of heaven,' occurs in Jn. twice, in the Synoptists more than eighty times.

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'the cleft of a rock.' Once at least, our Mk. (9:50: ἀναλον γυναικα) seems to have the newer tradition, Mt. and Lk. (μωραθη) the older; but there the parallel Mt. is out of Mk's order, and is taken from the Sermon on the Mount, indicating that both Mt. and Lk. derive the saying, not from Mk. but from a different source, from which come the portions common to Mt. and Lk. above called 'The Double Tradition.'

An examination of the deviations from Mk. common to Mt. and Lk. in the Triple Tradition confirms the view that Mt. did not borrow from Lk., nor Lk. from Mt. Had either borrowed from the other, they would have agreed, at least occasionally, against Mk. in more important details.¹

(ii.) *Mk. in relation to Mt. and Lk.*—It is a remarkable fact that—whereas the later Evangelists, and other writers such as Barnabas and Justin, appeal largely to detailed fulfillments of prophecy—Mk. quotes no prophecies in his own person,² and gives no miraculous incidents peculiar to himself except (Mk. 8:25) an ancient and semi-poetical tradition of the healing of the blind. He makes no mention of Christ's birth or childhood, and gives no account of the resurrection.³

Occasionally, Mk. repeats the same thing in the form of question and answer. This may sometimes be a mere peculiarity of style, e.g., 2:19 3:33 f.; but in many cases (1:32 4:2 8:22 (compared with 3:10 29 4:15 5:15 12:44 etc.)), he seems to have had before him two versions of one saying, and, in his 'anxiety to omit nothing,'⁴ to have inserted both. For amplifications in connection with unclean spirits, see 1:26 f. 4:37-42 9:14-27; for others, relating to the crowding of people round Jesus, the publicity of his work, and his desire for solitude, see 1:28 35-37 45 2:14 15 8:10-12 9:31 etc. (some paralleled in Lk.), but not so fully or graphically). Mk. abounds with details as to the manner, look, and gestures of Jesus (see 3:5 7:31-37 8:22-26). In some of these, Aramaic words are given as his very utterances, e.g., 5:41 7:34 14:36. Sometimes Mk. gives names mentioned by no other writer (cp 3:17 8:10 10:46).

In some circumstances, Mk.'s elaboration of unimportant detail (and especially the introduction of names), instances of which abound in the Apocryphal Gospels, would indicate a late writer. But Mk. often emphasises and elaborates points omitted, or subordinated, by the other Evangelists, and likely to be omitted in later times, as not being interesting or edifying.

For example, Lk. and Jn. subordinate facts relating to the personal appearance, influence, and execution of John the Baptist. Now Acts 19:3 indicates that several years after Christ's death 'the baptism of John' was actually overshadowing the baptism of Christ among certain Christians. This being the case, it was natural for the later Evangelists to subordinate references to the Baptist. Lk., it is true, describes Jn.'s birth in detail; but the effect is to show that the son of Zachariah was destined from the womb to be nothing but a forerunner of the Messiah. Jn. effects the same object, in a different way, by recording the Baptist's confessions of Christ's pre-existence and sacrificial mission. It is characteristic of Mk.'s early date, as well as of his simplicity and freedom from controversial motive, that, whether aware or not of this danger of rivalry, he set down, just as he may have heard them, traditions about the Baptist, that must have interested the Galilean Church far more than the Churches of the Gentiles.

Another sign of early composition is the rudeness of Mk.'s Greek.

Mk. uses many words expressly forbidden by Phrynichus, e.g., (6:23) ἐσχατος ἐχθ; (24:9) ἡ φ; κρησιν; (11:15) κολυβισται; (5:41) κοραιον; (14:65) παρισμα; (10:25) παφες. Just as the Apostolical Constitutions improves the bad Greek of the Didache (Taylor's *Didache*, 43), so Lk. always (and sometimes Mt.) corrects these inelegancies. Such words (which stand on quite a different footing from Jewish Greek, such as we find in

¹ Almost the only addition of importance in this 'corrected edition of Mk.' is (Mt. 26:68=Lk. 22:64) 'Who is it that smote thee?' added to explain the obscure Mk. 14:65 'Prophecy.'

² The parenthesis in Mk. 1:2 is the only exception. This was probably an insertion in the original Gospel (see § 2).

³ For proof that Mk.'s Gospel terminates at 16:8, see WH on Mk. 16:9-20, which is there pronounced to be 'a narrative of Christ's appearances after the Resurrection, found by a scribe or editor, "in some secondary record then surviving from a preceding generation;" its authorship and its precise date must remain unknown; it is, however, apparently older than the time when the Canonical Gospels were generally received; for, though it has points of contact with them all, it contains no attempt to harmonise their various representations of the course of events.'

⁴ So Papias, quoted by Eus. (3:39): 'For he (Mk.) took great care about one matter, viz., to omit nothing of what he heard.'

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Lk.'s Introduction) might naturally find their place in the dialect of the slaves and freedmen who formed the first congregations of the Church in Rome; but in the more prosperous days of the Church they would be corrected.

Again, a very early Evangelist, not having much experience of other written Gospels, and not knowing exactly what would most edify the

6. Vividness. Church, might naturally lay stress on vivid expressions and striking words, or reproduce anacolutha, which, though not objectionable in discourse, are unsuitable for written composition.

Many such words are inserted by Mk. and avoided by Mt. or Lk. or by both—e.g., (1:10) σιζουτρον; (2:21) ἀγραφοι; (1:39) κωμοποιεις. For irregular constructions see 12:40, οἱ καταθεοντες (altered by Lk.); 5:23 ἡ ἐπιθῃς. Note also the curious change of construction from ἡ to the infinitive in 8:15, as compared with 8:14, and the use of ὅτι, to ask a question (2:16 9:11 28). The Latinisms of Mk. are well known; see 6:27 7:4 15:15 39. Those in 12:14 15:16, and φπαγαλου in 15:15, Mk. shares with Mt. Less noticed, but more noteworthy, are the uses of rare, poetic, or prophetic words (7:32 μοιλαλον; 8:23 ὁματα; 25 τηλονυγας), which may indicate a Christian psalm or hymn as the basis of Mk.'s tradition.¹

Mk. also contains 'stumbling-blocks' in the way of

7. Candour. weak believers, omitted in later Gospels, and not likely to have been tolerated, except in a Gospel of extreme antiquity.

For example (6:5 f.), 'He was not able to do there any mighty work'; (1:32 34) all the sick are brought to Jesus, but he heals only many; whereas Mt. (8:16) says that he healed all, and Lk. (4:40) that he healed each one (ἑνὶ ἑκαστῷ); (3:20-21) his mother and brethren attempt to lay hands on him, on the ground that he was insane; (10:35) an ambitious petition is imputed to James and John, instead of (as Mt.) to their mother; (15:44) Pilate 'marvels' at the speedy death of Jesus, which might have been used to support the view (still maintained by a few modern critics) that Jesus had not really died; Mk. omits (6:7) the statement that Jesus gave power (as Mt. 10:1 Lk. 9:1) to his apostles to heal diseases; (8:24) he enumerates the different stages by which Jesus effected a cure, and describes the cure as, at first, only partial; (11:20) the fig-tree, instead of being withered up 'immediately' (as Mt. 21:10 παρρημα), is not observed to be withered till after the interval of a day.

(iii.) *Jn. in Relation to the Triple Tradition.*—(a) Instances from the first part of Mk.—The following

8. Jn. and Triple Tradition in Mk. 1-8. comparisons will elucidate Jn.'s relation to the Triple Tradition. (It will be found that Jn. generally supports a combination of Mk. and Mt., and often Mk. alone, against Lk.; the exceptions being in those passages which describe the relation of John the Baptist to Christ. There Jn. goes beyond Lk.)

Mk. 12:7, 'As it is written in Isaiah, etc.' If these prophecies, wrongly assigned to Isaiah, are not an early interpolation, they are the only ones quoted by the Evangelist in person. Mt. and Lk. assign one of these prophecies to Jesus; Jn. assigns both to the Baptist, so as to emphasise the willing subordination of the latter ('I am [but] the voice').

Mk. (16:7) mentions no suspicion among the Jews that the Baptist might be the Messiah. Lk. mentions (8:15) a silent 'questioning' (that does not elicit a direct denial). Jn. adds a public question (1:19), 'Who art thou?' followed by a public denial, 'I am not the Christ.'

Mk. 17: 'after me.' Rejected by Lk. (possibly as being liable to an interpretation derogatory to Jesus), but thrice repeated by Jn. (1:15 27 30) in such a context as to testify to Christ's pre-existence and pre-existence.

Mk. 18: 'shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit,' omitting 'and with fire,' which is added by Mt. and Lk. Jn. goes with Mk. (Jn. 1:33): 'He it is that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit.'

Mk. 19 mentions 'Jordan' in connection with the baptism of Jesus; Lk. does not (though he does afterwards in his preface to the Temptation). Jn. (1:28) does, with details of the place. (Note that Lk. never mentions the Synoptic 'beyond Jordan';

¹ It is beside the mark to reply that these words are used, occasionally, by classical prose writers. The point is, that ὁματα occurs in NT only here and in a Mk.-like account of blind-healing in Mt. 20:34, whereas ὁδομας occurs in NT about ninety times! In the canonical books of OT, ὁματα occurs only in Proverbs. Τηλονυγας occurs only here in NT, and only twice (apart from a leper's 'bright scab') in OT, and there in poetical passages. Μοιλαλος (practically non-occurrent in Greek literature, see Thayer) is found nowhere in the Bible, except in Ps. 15:35, and in Mk.'s account of the man who had (Mk. 7:32) 'an impediment in his speech.'

² It is omitted also in 8:15 (where D and Ss. add it).

³ The parallel passages of Mt. and Lk. to Mk. will be found by reference to Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*. It may be assumed that, in this section, Mt. agrees with Mk., except where otherwise indicated.

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Jn. has it thrice.) Lk. (322), in describing the descent of the Spirit, adds 'in a bodily shape.' Jn. implies that the descent of the Spirit was (133) a sign to the Baptist alone, and states that it *permanently* abode on Jesus. This he excludes 'bodily shape,'—at all events in the ordinary sense. Lk. alone (137) had stated that the Baptist was connected with Jesus through family ties; Jn. represents the Baptist as saying (133), 'And I knew him not.'

Mk. 14f. (possibly also Mt.) leaves room for an interval after the Temptation, in which the reader may place Christ's early teaching in Jerusalem before 'John was betrayed.' Lk. 414, omitting the mention of John, appears to leave no interval. Jn. repeatedly says, or implies, that the early teaching took place (324 413) *before the Baptist was imprisoned*.

Mk. 217: 'I have not come to call the righteous, but the sinful.' Lk. adds 'to repentance.' Jn. *never* uses the word 'repentance.'

Mk. 321 puts into the mouths of Christ's household or friends the words (321), 'He is beside himself (ἐξωγν);' Mt. and Lk. seem to transfer this to 'the multitude.' They render it 'were astonished (ἐξασταστον)' or 'marvelled (θαυμάσαντες)'. Jn. goes with Mk. in mentioning a charge of 'madness' (μωρία), and connecting it with the charge of possession (10202: 'He hath a devil and is mad'). Mk. 322-30 repeats the charge of the Pharisees, (a) in the form (322) 'He hath Beelzebub,' and (330) 'He hath an unclean spirit,' while adding (b) a milder form (322): 'In the prince of the devils he casteth out the devils.' Mt. and Lk. reject (a) and adopt (b), defining 'prince' by 'Beelzebub.' Jn. goes with Mk. (Jn. 1020), 'He hath a devil.'

Mk. 420-29: the parable of the seed that springeth up, the sower 'knoweth not how,' is omitted by Mt. and Lk. Jn. gives the essence of this in his description of the birth from the Spirit, as to which, we (34) 'know not whence it cometh and whither it goeth,' apparently modelled on Eccles. 115f.: 'As thou knowest not what is the way of the wind (πνεύματος), nor how the bones grow in the womb of her that is with child, even so thou knowest not the work of God who doeth all. In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand: for thou knowest not which shall prosper, this or that.'

Mk. 61-6: 'A prophet in his own country.' Lk. alone connects this proverb with a visit to Nazareth, in which the Nazarenes try to 'cast Jesus down a precipice'; Jn. (44) connects it with a visit in which the Galileans 'received' Jesus. Cp NAZARETH.

Mk. 27-29. Here Lk., alone of the evangelists, represents Jesus as (919) 'praying (προσεύχωντο),' and he does the same in four other passages where Mk. and Mt. omit it. Jn. never uses the word προσεύχεται throughout his Gospel.

(β) Predictions of the Resurrection.—As to these Mk. and Lk. give us a choice between two difficulties.

(a) Mk. 9 to (comp. also 942) says, that 'the disciples questioned among themselves what was the meaning of rising from the dead.' Yet what could be clearer? In

9. In predicting Lk., Christ's predictions of death and resurrection *begin with fulness of detail, which diminishes as the Gospel proceeds;*

and the last prediction of death contains a statement that (945) 'it was as if *it were veiled from them*.' (δ) Also, whereas Mk. 1428 (and Mt.) contains the prediction, 'After I have been raised up, I will go before you to Galilee,' Lk. omits this; and subsequently, where Mk. (167) and Mt. repeat or refer to this promise, Lk. alters the words 'to Galilee' into 'while he was yet in Galilee.'

Jn.'s relation to (a) and (δ) is as follows in (a') and (δ').

(a') Jn. makes it obvious why the disciples could not understand Christ's predictions.

Take the following:—(219) 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up (ἐγερῶ)'; (314) 'The Son of man must be lifted up (ὀψωθήναι)'; (1223) 'The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified'; (1331) 'Now hath the Son of man been glorified (δοξασθῆναι)' and God hath been glorified in him, and God will glorify him in himself and will straightway glorify him.' Who was to conjecture that, when Jesus spoke of being 'lifted up from the earth,' he said this (1233), 'signifying (σημαίνων) by what death he was (ἡμελλεν) to die?' or that

1 'Call,' used by Lk. 41 times, Mt. 26, Mk. only 4, is used by Jn. only twice. 'Righteous (δικαίος)'—frequent in Mt. and Lk. (but only twice in Mk.), to describe 'one who observes the law'—is used but thrice in Jn., and then in the higher Platonic sense (1725 'O righteous Father,' and see 5307 24). Ἀμαρτωλός, 17 times in Lk., only 11 times in Mt. and Mk. together, occurs only 4 times in Jn., and never *expressly* in the conversation of 'the Jews.' Jn. differs in expression from Mk. and Mt.; but he differs far more from Lk.

2 Similarly, in the *Logia* of Behesa (see § 26), 'Raise the stone, cleave the tree,' Jesus—while mainly referring to the Baptist's doctrine about raising up stones as children to Abraham, and about cutting down the barren tree of Jewish formalism—may possibly have had in his mind Eccles. 100.

3 The aorist cannot be exactly expressed in English: 'I have been' is nearer to the meaning than 'was.'

4 'Signifying'—i.e., representing under a figure or 'sign' (which no one understood at the time). In 2112 the cross is 'signified' more clearly by the 'stretching out' of the 'hands'; but no

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'glorify' meant 'glorifying' the Father, and hence the Son, by the supreme sacrifice on the Cross? No one can deny that these were what Jesus calls 'dark sayings (παραίτια)'. True, the disciples contradicted him: (1629) 'Behold at this moment (νῦν) speakest thou clearly and utterest no dark saying.' But they were wrong.

Jn. seems to say, therefore, not that Christ's teaching, though clear, was 'concealed' (Lk. 943) from the disciples supernaturally, but rather that it was *necessarily* altogether beyond them till the Spirit was given. Imbued with the popular belief that resurrection must imply resurrection in a fleshly form, visible to friends and enemies alike, how could they at present apprehend a spiritual resurrection, wherein the risen Christ must be shaped forth by the Spirit, and brought forth after sorrow like that of (1621) 'the woman when she is in travail?'

Mk. and Mt. seem to have read into the utterances of Jesus details borrowed from subsequent facts or controversies. Towards these, Lk. and Jn. take different attitudes.

Lk., starting at first in accord with the Synoptic Tradition, gradually drops more and more of the definite predictions; and at last, when confronted with the words, 'After I am raised, I will go before you into Galilee,' omits the promise altogether. Jn., on the contrary, recognises that the predictions of Christ were of a general nature, though expressed in Scriptural types.

Jn. and Lk. differ also in their attitudes towards Scripture as 'proving' the Resurrection. Lk. represents the two travellers as blind to the risen Saviour, till he (2427) 'interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself.' Jn. expressly says that the belief of the beloved disciple preceded the knowledge of the Scriptures: (208) 'And he saw and believed; for not even yet did they know the Scripture, how that he must needs rise from the dead.'

In the light of Jn., returning to Mk.'s statement that the disciples discussed together 'what the rising from the dead might mean,' we have only to substitute 'this' for 'the,' and it becomes intelligible. Every one knew what 'rising from the dead' meant. But they did not know the meaning of *this kind of* rising from the dead—i.e., what Christ said about his resurrection.

(δ') The promise (Mk. 1428 and Mt.), 'I will go before you to Galilee,' occurs in close connection with Peter's profession that he will not desert Jesus. Jn. has, in the same connection (142), 'I go to prepare a place for you.'

This leads us to look elsewhere for a confusion between 'Galilee' and 'place.' Comparing Mk. 128 with Lk. 437, we find that Lk. has, instead of 'The whole περικύριος of Galilee,' the words 'every place of the περικύριος' (so also in Lk. 717, πᾶσι τῇ περικύριος stands where we should expect πᾶσι τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ; so Chajes [Markus-studien, 13], who also independently offers the same theory [double meaning of πᾶσι] to account for Lk. 437).

In Mk. 37, Lk. omits 'Galilee.' The question, then, arises, whether the original may have been some word signifying 'region,' or 'place' which (1) Mk., Mt., interpreted to mean 'Galilee,' (2) Jn., 'the place (of my Father)' or 'the (holy) place,' while (3) Lk. found the tradition so obscure that he omitted it altogether. Now the word πᾶσι, a longer form of πᾶς ('Galilee'), is used to mean (Josh. 2210f.) 'region.'

Again, Mt. 2816, 'to Galilee, to the mountain where he appointed for them,' suggests two traditions, (1) 'Galilee,' (2) 'appointed mountain.' Lastly, besides many passages (Act. 125; Ign. Magn. 5; Barn. 191; Clem. Rom. § 5, τὸν ὀφθαλμοῦ τὸν οὐρανῶν, and also τὸν οὐρανόν τόνον) where Jn.'s word τόπος is used, with an attribute, to mean 'place (in the next world),' Clem. Alex. (p. 978, παρὰ τὸν τόπον κατοικοῦντο), uses the word absolutely of 'Paradise.' All this leads to the inference [which is highly probable as regards 'Galilee,' and which further knowledge might render equally probable as regards 'place'] that an expression, misunderstood by Mk. and Mt. as meaning 'Galilee,' and omitted by Lk. because he could not understand it at all, was understood by Jn. to mean [my Father's] 'place,' i.e., 'Paradise.' In any case, we have here a tradition of Mk. and Mt., rejected by Lk., but spiritualised by Jn. in such a way as to throw light on the different views taken by Lk. and Jn. of Christ's sayings about his resurrection.

one is said to have understood the 'stretching out,' and the context almost compels us to suppose that it was not understood.

1 In 1 Sam. 2020, where MSS of B have a corrupt reproduction of μαρτύρια, Sym. has συντεταγμένον (τόπος) 'appointed place.' Also compare Mt. 2810, 'Go tell my brethren to depart to Galilee,' with Jn. 2017, 'Go to my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father.' Does not this indicate that what Mt. understood as meaning 'Galilee' or 'appointed mountain,' Jn. understood as meaning 'heaven'? This points to some original capable of being expressed by 'the place,' 'the holy place,' 'the (place) of the Father,' 'the Mountain,' 'the Holy Mountain.'

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(7) Deviations of Lk. from Mk. (or Mk.-Mt.) caused by obscurity, appear to be corrected, or, omission supplied, by Jn., in the following instances:—

10. In correcting Lk.'s deviations.

Mk. (11.7, *ἐκβάλλει*) and Mt. say that Jesus 'sat on the ass'; Lk. first confused *ἐκβάλλει* with *ἐκβάλλει*, and then substituted for the latter the unambiguous *ἐπιβάλλει* 'they put him thereon.' Jn. (12.14, *ἐκβάλλει*) goes with Mk. The Synopists all mention 'garments,' placed on the ass and strewn in the road. But Mk. and Mt. mention also the 'strewing' of branches (Mt. *καὶ ἄλλοι*)—Mk., however, calling them *σπυδαί*, a word that mostly means 'litter,' or 'grass and straw used for bedding, or for the stuffing of a mattress.' This Lk. omits. John inserts 'palm-branches' (without mentioning 'garments'), but in a different context: (12.13) 'They took (in their hands) the branches of the palm trees (*τὰ βῆλα τῶν φοινίκων*), and went forth to meet him.'²

Whether Jn. or Mk. was right, or whether both were right, is not now the question. The point is that where Lk. omits a tradition of Mk., possibly as being difficult, Jn. modifies it, or substitutes a kindred one.

Mk.'s (14.3-9) account of the anointing of Jesus by a woman is either omitted by Lk. (7.36-50), or placed much earlier. It is greatly modified, the woman being called 'a sinner,' and is not being described as 'Simon, a Pharisee.' Mk. and Mt., however, call him 'Simon the leper,' and Jn. (12.1-7) suggests that the house belonged to Lazarus and his sisters. It is not impossible that the difference may be caused by some clerical error. Chajes, *op. cit.* 74 f., accounts for 'Simon the leper' by a confusion between *ἁγῖος*, 'the pious' = 'the Essene,' and *λεπρῶς*, 'the leper.' May there have been some further confusion between *λεπρῶς* and *λεπρῶς* 'Lazarus'? Jn. apparently guards the reader against supposing the woman to be a sinner, by telling us (11.1 f.) that it was Mary, the sister of Lazarus.³

(8) The Passover and the Lord's Supper.—The Synopists, and especially Lk., seem to represent the Crucifixion as occurring after, Jn. as occurring before, the Paschal meal. There are traces of a confusion in Lk. between the Day of Preparation and the Day of Passover. It was one thing to

11. In the Last Supper.

(Mk. 14.12 and Mt. 26) 'prepare to eat the Passover,' and another to (Lk. 22.8) 'prepare the Passover that we may eat it,' which Lk. substitutes for the former. Also Mk. 14.17, *ἀφ' ὧν ἕκαστος* (which Mt. adjusts to a different context, and Lk. omits) indicates that Mk.'s original tradition may have agreed with Jn.'s view: for no one would have been abroad at, or after, sunset, when the Passover meal was to be eaten. Though Mk. and Mt. in parts, unquestionably sanction Lk.'s view, they do not express it so decidedly as Lk., and they contain slight traces of an older tradition, indicating that the Last Supper was on the Day of Preparation.

1. Mk. 14.18, 'One of you shall betray me, he that cateth (*ἐσθίει*) with me,' was perhaps a shock to some believers, as indicating that Judas partook of the bread. Mt. omits the italicised words, retaining Mk.'s more general phrase, 'while they were eating.' Lk. omits 'eating,' having simply, 'the hand of him that is to betray me is with me on the table.' Jn. (13.18) quotes Ps. 41, 'He that cateth my bread . . . and specially mentions Judas as receiving the (13.26) 'sop' from Christ's own hands.

2. Mk. 14.20 (and Mt.), 'He that dippeth his hand in the dish with me' will be the traitor, is omitted by Lk. Jn. combines a modification of this with the foregoing; Jesus (13.26) 'dips the sop' and gives it to Judas.

3. Lk. differs from Mk. and Mt. in (1) mentioning the meal (apparently as (22.8), 'the Passover'; (2) mentioning a 'cup' which Jesus (*ib.* 17) 'received' before the meal, and bade the disciples 'distribute to one another'; (3) inserting the words (*ib.* 19), 'Do this as a memorial of me'; (4) mentioning a second cup, that was (*ib.* 20), 'after supper'; (5) speaking of the cup as (*ib.* 20) 'the new covenant.'⁴ In all these points

¹ Or the confusion may have arisen from a Hebrew original, in which the active voice was mistaken for the causative, a common error in *Q*, and one that may explain several deviations of Lk. from Mk.-Mt.

² Some have explained 'the' as meaning 'the branches of the (well-known) palm trees (of the neighbourhood)'. More probably Jn. meant 'the palm-branches, used in processions of welcome and religious triumph,' as when Simon (2 Macc. 13.51) entered 'the tower in Jerusalem' in triumph 'with praise and palm-branches (*αἰνέσας καὶ βῆλα*),' and as was the regular custom at the feast of Tabernacles (Lev. 23.40), in which the 'bundles' of palm-branches and other twigs were (*ib.* 11, *Hebr.* on Mt. 21.9) shaken formally during the recitation of certain parts of Ps. 118, and so closely associated with (Ps. 118.25) 'Hosanna,' that the bundle itself was sometimes called a 'Hosanna.' But cp. Hosanna.

³ Mk. says that Jesus said (14.6) *ἀφ' ἧς αὐτῆς*, 'Let her alone.' A very slight change (—e being often —a in MSS) would alter this to *ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῆς*—i.e., *ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῆς*, or *ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῆς* ('her sins) are forgiven her,' or 'she is forgiven'), which is what Lk. 7.48 has in the form *ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῆς*.

⁴ As regards (1), Lk. 22.15, 'I have desired (*ἐπιθυμῶ*) . . . to eat this passover,' might have been originally used (however interpreted by Lk.) of 'desire not destined to be fulfilled' (as in

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Lk. amplifies and dignifies, while Jn. appears to subordinate, the circumstances of the Last Supper. What Jn. had to say about the feeding on the flesh and blood of the Saviour, he placed earlier, in the synagogue at Capernaum. There, Jesus insists, (6.51) 'the words (*ῥήματα*) that I have spoken to you are spirit and are life,' and, 'the flesh profiteth nothing.' Now he reiterates this doctrine (13.10), 'ye are clean (*καθαροί*), but not all.' This, when compared with (13.3), 'ye are clean (*καθαροί*) because of the word that I have spoken unto you,' indicates that participating in the bread and wine and washing of feet was useless, except so far as it went with spiritual participation in 'the Word' himself. A climax of warning is attained by making Judas receive the devil when he receives the bread dipped in wine by the hand of Jesus.

4. Jn. avoids the ambiguous Synoptic word 'covenant,' 'will,' or 'testament (*διαθήκη*),' and makes it clear, throughout the final discourse, that he regards the Spirit as a gift (or legacy) that implies nothing of the nature of a bargain or compact.

5. Mk. 14.27 (and Mt.; but Lk. om.) 'All ye shall be caused to stumble; for it is written, I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad,' was likely to cause a 'scandal'—as though God could 'smite' his son. This may be seen from Barnabas, who gives the prophecy thus: (5.1 f.) 'When they (*i.e.* the Jews) shall smite their own shepherd, then shall perish the sheep of the flock.' Jn., while retaining Christ's prediction that the disciples should be (10.32) 'scattered,' effectively destroys the 'scandal' by adding that, even when abandoned by them, he would not be abandoned by the Father (*ib.*), 'And yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.'

(c) The Passion.—The facts seem to be as follows:—

1. Mk. 14.42 and Mt. place the words, 'Arise, let us go' at the arrival of Judas. Lk. omits all that intervenes between (a)

Mk. 14.42 'Watch and pray . . . temptation,' and (b) Mk. 14.42 'Arise, let us go,' having merely (22.45) 'Stand up and pray . . . temptation.' Now 'to stand (*ἵστημι*)' might also mean 'watch,' cp. Neh. 7.3. Lk. may have considered (b) a duplicate of (a), taking the meaning to be 'stand fast and pray.' Jn. places the words 'Arise, let us go,' at the moment when Jesus feels the approach, not of Judas, but of (14.30 f.) 'the prince of the world, who has just taken possession of Judas.'

2. Lk. omits all mention of the 'hiding' of Jesus. Yet early Christian writers (e.g. Melito) regarded it as a symbolical act, being performed in the case of the intended sacrifice of Isaac, the prototype of Christ (Gen. 22.9). Jn. inserts it (18.12), as does Mk. 15.1 (and Mt.).

3. Lk. speaks of (22.52) 'generals (*στρατηγούς*) of the temple,' Jn. says (18.12), 'The chiliarch, and the officers of the Jews.' Lk. has, loosely, (32) 'Annas and Caiaphas' as 'high priests'; Jn. says that (18.13) Caiaphas was high priest, and Annas his father-in-law.

4. According to Mk. 14.55-60, false witnesses asserted that Jesus had declared that he would destroy the temple. Mt. alters 'would' into *was able*, and implies that, though what had been previously testified was false, this may have been true.¹ Lk. omits the whole. In his time the destruction of the temple by the Romans was accepted by Christians as a divine retaliation, which might be regarded as inflicted by Jesus himself, so that he might wish to avoid saying that the testimony was 'false.' Jn. says in effect, 'Some words about destroying the temple had been uttered by Jesus (2.19); but they referred to "the temple of his body." And the Jews were the "destroyers."'

5. Mk. 15.6 (and Mt.) says that it was the custom to release a malefactor at the feast. Lk. omits this. Jn. not only inserts it, but adds that Pilate himself (18.39) reminded the Jews of it.

6. Mk. 15.15-20 (and Mt.) mentions the (purple or scarlet) robe; and the 'crown of thorns.' Lk. omits these striking incidents—for what reason, it is difficult to say.² Jn. inserts both of them.

7. Mt. 1.1-5, alone of the Synopists, mentions 'blows with the flat hand' (*γὰρ ἀπὸ χειρὸς*); in *Q*, only in Lk. 50c. Jn. also mentions them 19.3 (and cp. 18.22).

(f) Conclusion and Exceptions.—The instances above enumerated might be largely supplemented. The conclusion from them is that—setting

13. Conclusion. aside (1) descriptions of possession, and other subjects excluded from the Johannine province,³ (2) allusions to John the Baptist, (3) a few passages where Jn., accepting Lk.'s development,

Mt. 13.17 Lk. 17.22). Also (3) and (4) and (5) may be interpolations (but more probably early additions, made in a later edition of the work) from 1 Cor. 11.23-25, or (more probably) from tradition.

¹ D and Ss. destroy this possibility by reading 'two false witnesses.'

² Barnabas (7) connects them with the scapegoat. Possibly this connection may have seemed to Lk. objectionable.

³ The miracle (Mk. 11.13 Mt. 21.19) of the Withered Fig Tree may come under this head. It has a close resemblance to Lk.'s (13.6) parable of the Fig Tree. Cp. Fr.

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carries it a stage further, *Jn.* scarcely ever agrees with *Lk.*, as against *Mk.*, whilst he very frequently steps in to support, or explain, by modifying, some obscure or harsh statement of *Mk.*, omitted by *Lk.*

Two important exceptions demand mention:—

(a) *Mk.* 15:25, 'It was the third hour and they crucified him,' is omitted by *Mt.* and *Lk.*, and con-

14. Exceptions. tradicted indirectly by *Jn.* 19:14, 'It was about the sixth hour' (when Pilate pronounced sentence). *Mk.* may have confused *τρίτη* ('sixth') with *τρίτος* ('third'). [In 1 Mac. 6:37 the impossible 'two and thirty' may be due to a similar confusion.] Or the sentence may be out of place and should come later, describing the death of Jesus as occurring when 'it was the third hour from the time when they crucified him.' How easily confusion might spring up, may be seen from the Acts of John (12), 'when he was hanged on the bush of the cross in the sixth hour of the day (*ὑπὸς ἑσπέρην*) darkness was over all the land.' First, *ἑσπέρην*, 'sixth,' might be mistaken for *ἡ ἡμέρα*, 'from the' (or *ἡ ἡμέρα*); then a numeral would have to be supplied. Or *ἡ ἡμέρα* might be repeated (or dropped) before *ἑσπέρην*. In *Mk.* 15:33, D, which elsewhere gives *ἑσπέρην* in full, has an unusual symbol ζ .

The conclusion is that *Mk.* seemed to *Mt.*, *Lk.*, and *Jn.* to be in error, and that *Jn.* corrected by insertion what *Mt.* and *Lk.* corrected by omission.

(b) *Mk.* 14:30, 'Before the cock crow twice thrice thou shalt deny me,' is given by *Mt.* and *Lk.* with the omission of 'twice.' This is remarkable, because 'twice' enhances the miraculousness of the prediction. May not *Mk.* be based on a Semitic original, which gave the saying thus, 'Before the cock crow, twice and thrice' (repeatedly, see *Joh* 8:29 40:13)? *Jn.* (13:39) accepts *Lk.*'s modification of *Mt.*, but with a slight variation—'the cock shall not crow, until such time as thou deny me thrice (*ἕως ὅς ἀρῶν ἡ τρίς*).'

Here *Jn.* accepts, but improves on, the Synoptic correction of *Mk.*, who, though perhaps literally correct, does not represent the spirit of what Jesus said.

III. DOUBLE TRADITIONS.

The Double Traditions include what is common to

(i.) *Mk.* and *Mt.*, (ii.) *Mk.* and *Lk.*, (iii.) *Mt.* and *Lk.* The last of these is so much fuller than (i.) or (ii.) that it may be conveniently called 'The Double Tradition.'

(i.) *Mk.* and *Mt.*: *Jn.* in relation to *Mk.* and *Mt.*—

Much of this has been incidentally discussed above, under the head of the Triple Tradition; and what has been said there will explain why *Lk.* and *Jn.* omit *Mk.* 16:2 and 6:24-29 (accounts of the Baptist), 9:13 ('Elias is come already'), 15:34-36 ('He calleth for Elias'), 16:7-8 (Lk.'s omission of a long and continuous section of *Mk.* (6:45-8:21)—including (a), Christ's walking on the Sea, (b), the doctrine about 'things that defile,' and (c), about 'the children's crumbs,' (d), the feeding of the Four Thousand, (e), a comparison between this and the feeding of the Five Thousand, and (f), the dialogue (see § 39 n.) following the doctrine of 'heaven'—may indicate that *Lk.* knew this section as existing in a separate tradition, which, for some reason, he did not wish to include in his Gospel. Most of it may be said to belong to 'the Doctrine of Bread,' as taught in Galilee. *Jn.* also devotes a section of his Gospel to a 'doctrine of Bread' (but of quite a different kind from *Mk.*'s), concentrating attention on Christ as the Bread. *Lk.* also omits (*Mk.* 9:43-47) 'the cutting off of hand and foot,' and (*Mk.* 10:2-9) the discussion of the enactments of Moses concerning divorce—the former, perhaps, as being liable to literal interpretation, the latter, as being out of date. The ambitious petition (*Mk.* 10:35-40) of the sons of Zebedee, Christ's rebuke (*Mk.* 8:32 f.) of Peter as Satan, and the quotation (*Mk.* 11:27), 'I will smite the shepherd,' *Lk.* may have omitted, as not tending to edification. In the discourse on 'the last day' *Lk.* omits a great deal that prevents attention from being concentrated on the destruction of Jerusalem as exactly fulfilling the predictions of Christ; but especially he omits (*Mk.* 13:32), 'of this hour the Son knoweth not.'

¹ Attempts have been made, but in vain (see *Classical Review*, 1894, p. 243), to prove that *Jn.*'s 'sixth hour' meant 6 A.M.

² The parallel passages in *Mt.* can be ascertained by reference to Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*.

³ For the Withering of the Fig-Tree (*Mk.* 11:13-20) see § 13 n.

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It must be added that, both in this Double Tradition and (to a less extent) in those parts of the Triple Tradition where *Lk.* makes omissions, *Mk.* and *Mt.* generally agree more closely than where *Lk.* intervenes. The phenomena point to a common document occasionally used by *Mk.* and *Mt.*, and, where thus used, avoided by *Lk.* and also by *Jn.* The Walking on the Water is an exception to *Jn.*'s general omission. The Anointing of Jesus (since *Lk.* has a version of it) has been treated above as part of the Triple Tradition.¹

(ii.) *Mk.* and *Lk.*: *Jn.* in relation to *Mk.* and *Lk.* *Mk.* - *Lk.* is very brief. The larger portion of it relates to exorcism, *Mk.* 1:21-25 9:38-40 (and note the close agreement between *Mk.* and

16. Mk.-Lk. *Lk.* as to the exorcism of the 'Legion,' a name omitted by *Mt.* in his account of it). There are also accounts of Jesus (*Mk.* 1:35-38 45) retreating to solitude, and of people flocking to him from (33) Tyre and Sidon. A section of some length attacks the Pharisees, as (*Mk.* 12:37-43) 'devourers of widows' houses,' and prepares the (*Mk.* 12:39 = *Mt.* 23:6) way for (*Mk.* 12:41-44) the story of the widow's mite. In the later portions of the Gospel, *Lk.* deviates from *Mk.* (as *Mt.* approximates to *Mk.*), returning to similarity in the Preparation for the Passover (*Mk.* 14:12-15), but from this point deviating more and more.

Lk.'s insertion of what may be called the 'widow-section,' is consistent with the prominence given by him to women and to poverty (see below, § 39).

(iii.) *Mt.* and *Lk.*: or, 'The Double Tradition': (a) the Acts of the Lord, (b) the Words of the Lord.

17. The double tradition: (a) The Acts of the Lord are confined to (a) the details of the Temptation and (3) the healing of the Centurion's servant.

(a) *Mk.* gives no detailed account of a Temptation, but just mentions it, adding (11:3) 'and the angels were ministering (*δυναστεύοντες*) to him'—i.e., apparently during the Temptation; *Mt.* says that, after the departure of the devil, 'angels approached and began to minister (*ὑποτάσσοντες καὶ δυνάστεύοντες*) unto him'; *Lk.* mentions no 'angels.' *Jn.* omits all temptation of Jesus, but suggests (1:13) that 'angels were always ascending and descending on the Son of man,' and that, in course of time, the eyes of the disciples would be opened to discern them.

(b) As regards the healing, some assert that *Jn.* (4:46-53) does not refer to the event described by *Mt.* (8:5-13) and *Lk.* (7:1-9). But, if so, it can hardly be denied that he, *knowing their account*, was influenced by it in inserting in his Gospel another case of healing, resembling the former in being performed (1) at a distance, (2) on the child (apparently) of a foreigner, and (3) near Capernaum. *Mt.* and *Lk.* differ irreconcilably.² *Jn.*,

¹ Space hardly admits mention of the possible reasons for *Lk.*'s several omissions. Some of these passages (e.g., the practical abrogation of the Levitical Law of meats in *Mk.* 7:24-30) may have seemed to him to point to a later period, such as that in Acts 10:9-16, where Christ abrogated the Law by a special intimation to Peter. Again, in the Doctrine of Bread, while (*Mk.* 7:28) 'crumbs' and (*Mk.* 8:15) 'heaven' are used spiritually, 'loaves' and (*Mk.* 8:14) 'one loaf' are used literally; and this mixture of the literal and metaphorical may have perplexed *Lk.*, especially if he interpreted the miracle of the Fig-Tree metaphorically, and was in doubt as to the literal or metaphorical meaning of the Walking on the Water. Some passages he may also have omitted as duplicates, e.g., the Feeding of the Four Thousand. As regards 'heaven,' *Lk.*'s insertion (12:1) 'which is hypocrisy,' if authentic, is fatal to the authenticity of *Mk.* 8:17-20. Perhaps the original was simply 'Beware of heaven,' and the explanation, given after the misunderstanding, was 'Beware of the heaven of the Pharisees—i.e., hypocrisy.' The rest was evangelistic teaching ('How could Jesus mean real heaven and real bread when he could feed his flock with the heaven of heaven at his pleasure?') inserted first as a parenthesis (perhaps about the Son of man or the Son of God), and then transferred to the text in the first person. The variation of *Mt.* 10:9-12 from *Mk.* suggests that the words were not Christ's.

Jn. inserts the narrative of Jesus walking on the Sea, but adds expressions (6:15 21), borrowed from Ps. 107:23, 'go down to the sea' and (*Lk.* 30) 'the haven where they would be,' which increase the symbolism of a story describing the helplessness of the Twelve, when, for a short time, they had left their master. *Jn.* omits the statement (*Mk.* and *Mt.*) that Jesus constrained the disciples to leave him.

² The passages referred to in this section will be found in Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, arranged in *Mt.*'s order.

³ *Diatess.* omits *Lk.* 7:24 'Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee,' thus harmonising *Lk.* with *Mt.*, who says that the man *did* come to Jesus.

while correcting both Evangelists in some respects, and especially in tacitly (44) denying that Jesus 'marvelled', corrects Lk. more particularly, by stating (1) that the man came to Jesus, (2) that Jesus pronounced a word, or promise, of healing, (3) that 'he child was healed' in that hour, and (4) by making it clear that the patient was not a servant but a son.¹ In the first three points, Jn. agrees with Mt.; in the fourth, he interprets Mt.; in all, he differs from Lk.

(A) The Words of the Lord are differently arranged by Mt. and Lk. Mt. groups sayings according to their subject matter. Lk. avows in 18. Its 'Words.' his preface (13) an intention to write 'in (chronological) order,' and he often supplies for a saying a framework indicating the causes and circumstances that called it forth. Sometimes, however, he is manifestly wrong in his chronological arrangement, e.g., when he places Christ's mourning over Jerusalem (13.34-35) early, and in Galilee, whereas Mt. (23.37-39) places it in the Temple at the close of Christ's teaching.²

The Lord's Prayer (Mt. 6.9-13 Lk. 11.2-4). It was perhaps on the principle of 'grouping' that Mt. added to the shorter version of the Lord's Prayer the words, 'thy will be done, as in heaven so on earth,' as having been in part used by Jesus on another occasion (Mt. 26.41).³ Mt.'s other addition, 'Deliver us from the evil one,' is not indeed recorded as having been used by Jesus elsewhere, but it resembles the prayer of Jesus for his disciples in Jn. 17.15: 'keep them from the evil one' (and cp 2 Tim. 4.18). On Lk.'s changes, see LORD'S PRAYER; they adapt the prayer for daily use, and indicate that Lk. follows a later version of the prayer in his alterations, but an earlier version in his omissions.⁴

The exactly similar passages in the Double Tradition are for the most part of a prophetic or historical character. Some describe the relations between John the Baptist and Christ; another calls down woe on Chorazin; another, in language that reminds us of the thoughts, though not of the words of Jn., thanks God for revealing to babes what He has hidden from the wise and prudent; another pours forth lamentations over doomed Jerusalem. Others, such as, 'But know this, that if the Goodman,' etc., and 'Who then is the faithful and just steward,' etc., appear to have an ecclesiastical rather than an individual reference, at all events in their primary application. All these passages were especially fitted for reading in the services of the Church, and consequently more likely to have been soon committed to writing. On the other hand, those sayings which have most gone home to men's hearts and have been most on their lips, as being of individual application, seem to have been so early modified by oral tradition as to deviate from exact agreement. Such are, 'The mote and the beam'; 'Ask and it shall be given unto you'; 'Take no thought for the morrow'; 'Fear not them that kill the body'; 'Whoever shall confess,' etc.; 'He that loveth father or mother more than me,' etc.; and note, above all, the differences in the Lord's Prayer. As Lk. approaches the later period of Christ's work, he deviates more and more both from Mt. and

¹ Mt. 8.6 mentions *παῖς*, which may mean 'child,' but more often means 'servant' in such a phrase as *ὁ παῖς μου, αὐτοῦ* etc. See (RV) Mt. 12.14, 'my servant'; Acts 3.13, 'his servant (marg. or 'Child'). Lk. mentions (7.2) *δούλος* 'servant'. Jn. has repeatedly (4.46, 47, 50) *υἱός* 'son', but finally recurs to Mt.'s word (4.51), 'his child (*παῖς*) liveth' (the only instance in which Jn. uses *παῖς*).

² The reason for Lk.'s transposition is probably to be found in the last words of the passage, 'Ye shall not see me, until ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' words uttered by the crowd (Lk. 19.38) welcoming Jesus on his entrance into Jerusalem. Lk. probably assumed that the prediction referred to this particular utterance, and must, therefore, have been made sometime before it—i.e., before the entrance into Jerusalem.

³ Cp 1 Mac. 3.60 RV: 'As may be the will in heaven, so shall he do.'

⁴ Cp Lk. 9.23: 'If any one wishes to come (*εἰσέλθειν*) after me, . . . let him take up his cross *daily*, where Lk. substitutes the present infin. for Mk.'s and Mt.'s *ἐάθειν*, and inserts 'daily' in order to adapt the precept to the inculcation of the daily duty of a Christian.

from Mk., perhaps because there was a Judean as well as a Galilean tradition of the life of Jesus, and Lk., towards the close of his history, depended mainly on the former.

The Parables, owing to their length and number (and perhaps their frequent repetition in varied shapes by Jesus himself, and by the apostles after the resurrection), would naturally contain more variations than are found in the shorter Words of the Lord. The parable of the Sower, coming first in order, and having appended to it a short discourse of Jesus (Mk. 4.11 f.) that might seem intended to explain the motive of the parabolic teaching,¹ might naturally find a place in the Triple Tradition. But this privilege was accorded to no other parable except that of the Vineyard, which partakes of the nature of prophecy.²

The longer discourses of the Double Tradition show traces of a Greek document, often in rhythmical and almost poetic style. Changes of words such as *ἠδελφίστην* for *ἐπισημύσαν*, *βασιλεία* for *δικαίω*, *ἐκλαύσατε* for *ἐκοίμασθε*, *σποδοῦν* for *τροφήν*, *ἀπιστῶν* for *ὑποκριτῶν*, may indicate merely an attempt to render more exactly a word in the original; but such substitutions as (Lk. 11.27) *ἀδελφία* for (Mt. 7.2) *ἀγάπη*, and (Lk. 11.13) 'the Holy Spirit' for (Mt. 7.11) 'good things,' may indicate doctrinal purpose. The original of Lk. 11.11 was perhaps (i) *πάν ἁγίων* (as Jn. 1.17), (ii) *πᾶν ἁγίων* (as in Ps. 143.10 'thy spirit is good'), *τὸ ἅγιον* (Rc 1.11 *ἁγίων*). Lk. appears to have the older version when he retains (Lk. 14.26) 'hate his father,' Mt. (10.37) 'love more than me.'

Other variations indicate a corruption or various interpretation of a Greek original (not, of course, precluding a still earlier Hebrew one): e.g., Mt. 10.29 *δύο σπρωθία* *σάσαριον* was probably in Lk.'s text *σπρωθία* *βασσαριον* which he read as *βασσαριῶν*, i.e., 'for two farthings,' and then he added *ἑ* ('five') before *σπρωθία* to complete the sense. Perhaps a desire to make straightforward sense, as well as some variation in the MS., may have led Lk. to substitute *τὰ ἐνδοῦρα* for *τὸ ἐνός* in Mt. 23.29-30 Lk. 11.37-38. This last passage exhibits Lk. as apparently misunderstanding a tradition more correctly given by Mt. In Mt. it is part of a late and public denunciation of the Pharisees in Jerusalem; in Lk. it is an early utterance, and in the house of a Pharisee, Christ's host. Probably the use of the metaphor of the 'cup and platter,' caused Lk. to infer that the speech was delivered to a Pharisee, in whose house Jesus was dining. The use of (Lk. 11.32) *ὁ κριπτός* (see below, § 38) makes it probable that Lk.'s is a late tradition. Other instances of Lk.'s alterations are his change of the original and Judean (Mt. 23.34) *σοφοὺς καὶ γραμματεῖς* into the Christian (Lk. 11.49) *ἀποστόλους*. Lk. also omits the difficult (Mt. 23.34) *σπρωθίετε*. In Mt. 23.34, Jesus is represented as saying, 'Wherefore, behold I send unto you prophets . . . and some of them shall ye slay and crucify,' etc.; in Lk. 11.49, 'Wherefore also the Wisdom of God said, I will send unto them prophets . . . and some of them shall they slay,' etc., omitting 'crucify.' Here Lk. seems to have preserved, at least in some respect, the original tradition, whereas Mt., interpreting 'the Wisdom of God' (cp 1 Cor. 1.24 'Christ the Wisdom of God') to mean Jesus, substituted for it 'I.' Also Mt. retains an apparently erroneous tradition (23.35) which made 'Zachariah' 'son of Barachiah'; Lk. omits the error.

In the 'parables of exclusion'—e.g. the Wedding Feast, the Talents, and the Hundred Sheep—it may be said that Mt. lays more stress on the exclusion of those who might have been expected to be fit, Lk. on the inclusion of those who might have been expected to be unfit. Thus, in the Wedding Feast, Lk. adds (14.15-24) the invitation of 'the poor, the maimed,' etc.; Mt. adds (22.1-14) the rejection

¹ Cp PARABLES.

² Mk. 12.9 (also Mt. and Lk.) 'he will destroy the husbandmen . . . the Jewish nation.' The parable of the Sower may also be said to predict the history of the Church, its successes and failures.

³ 'Hebrew,' when used in the present article concerning the original tradition of the Gospels, means 'Hebrew or Aramaic,' leaving that question open. But see (Int. A. and C. Black, 1900).

⁴ Other instances are (Mt. 25.21) *ἐν πολλοῖς* 'over many things,' which might easily be corrupted into *ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς* 'over ten cities' (see Lk. 19.17, and comp. Mk. 5.20 *δυνατοῖς*, perhaps written *πολεῖς*, parallel to Lk. 8.30 *πολεῖς*). Also, in the Mission of the Seventy (Lk. 10.4 f.), *μὴ βαστάτε* . . . *ὑποδησάτε* *κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπαρτάτε* *εἰς ἢ δ' ἀν εἰσέλθῃτε αἰκίας*, is almost certainly (Abbott and Rushbrooke's *Common Tradition of the Synoptists*, p. xxxvii) a confusion of two details in the Mission of the Twelve (1) 'Take nothing for the journey,' (2) (Mt. 10.12) 'Salute the house.' The corruption of a Greek original is perhaps sufficient to explain this; but it is more easily explicable on the hypothesis of a Greek Tradition corrected by reference to a Hebrew original.

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of a guest who has no wedding garment, and, in the Talents (25:30), the casting out of the 'unprofitable servant.' In Mt. 22 to 13:47 the inclusion of *women* prepares for an ultimate exclusion. The conclusion of the Hundred Sheep is, in Mt. 18:12-14, 'It is not the will of my Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish'; in Lk. 15:7, 'There shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.' The single Traditions of Mt. and Lk., when examined, will be found severally to reveal the same tendency to dwell on exclusion and inclusion; and this will confirm the inference, in itself probable, that the hand of each Evangelist is apparent in the varying characteristics of the parables of the Double Tradition.

(iv.) *Jn. in relation to 'The Double Tradition.'* The discourses in Jn. have almost for their sole subject the Father as revealed through the Son, and he outside the province of the precepts, parables, and discourses of the Double Tradition. In the Synoptists, Jesus is a teacher of truth; in Jn., Truth itself.

The word 'light' (not used by Mk.) is employed by Mt. and Lk. (Mt. 5:14-15; Lk. 8:12-13; 9:35) to signify the light given by the teachers of the Gospel, or else the conscience. The Disciples themselves are called by Mt. (5:14) 'the light of the world.' Jn. introduces Christ as saying (8:12) 'I am the Light of the World.' Again, Mt. 7:13-14 and Lk. 13:24 declare that the 'gate' is narrow; Jn. implies that it is not objectively narrow, but only to those who make it so; 2 being no other than (10:3) Christ himself, through whom the sheep (10:3) 'go in and go out,' and 'shall find pasture.' Mt. 7:23 speaks of sinners as being excluded by *ανομία* (breaking the law of Moses), Lk. 13:27 substitutes *ἀδικία* (breaking the law of justice); Jn., not in his Gospel but in his Epistle (1 Jn. 3:4, cp with 5:17), appears to refer to some controversy about these words when he pronounces that *ἀμαρτία* is *ανομία* in the true sense, and that all *ἀδικία* is *ἀμαρτία*.

Though Jn. never mentions 'praying' but always 'asking' or 'requesting,' he nevertheless introduces Jesus as uttering, in his last words (17:1-15), a kind of parallel to the Lord's Prayer, of such a nature as to imply that *what the disciples were to pray to God for, as fathers, Jesus thanked God for, as past.*

It is true that prayer and praise are combined, and the words are wholly different: for example (17:1) 'the hour is come' has no counterpart in the Lord's Prayer. But (16) 'the hour,' in Jn., means (12:23-27) 'the hour of glorifying the Father through the Son,' that is to say, 'the hour of doing his will and establishing his kingdom'; so that, in essence, 'the hour is come' means 'Thy kingdom is already come.' So, too (17:1) 'I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou hast given me' means, in effect, 'Thy name hath been hallowed.' (c) The prayer that, as the Son has glorified the Father on earth, so the Father may glorify the Son in heaven (17:5 *παρά σέαυτο*) with the glory which he 'had before the world was,' means, in effect, 'Thy will hath been done on earth; so may it now be done in heaven as it was from the beginning.' (d) Also, remembering that 'the words' of God are the 'bread' of man, we find in 17:8 ('the words thou gavest me I have given them') an equivalent to 'I have given them day by day their daily bread.' (e) The declaration (17:11-15) that he has kept all except the Son of perdition 'in the name' given him by the Father, seems to mean 'I have prevented them hitherto from being led into temptation.' (f) Last comes the one prayer not yet realised (17:15), 'keep them safe from the evil one (*ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ*)' which seems to allude to the clause in Mt.'s version 'Deliver us from the evil one (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*).'

Possibly there is also an allusion to Mt. 10:34 Lk. 12:51, 'I have not come to bring peace' (not as though denying the truth of Mt. and Lk., but as though supplementing what, by itself, would be a superficial statement), in Jn. 14:27 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you,' and (10:33) 'These things I have spoken . . . that in me ye may have peace.'

Jn.'s agreement with Lk. 14:26 'hateth . . . his own soul (or life),' against Mt. 10:37 'loveh more than me' (omitting 'soul'), in Jn. 12:25 'he that hateth his soul in this world,' indicates Jn.'s belief that Lk. has preserved the older tradition. But Jn.'s addition shows his sense of the obscurity of Lk., who did not make it clear that 'father,' 'mother,' and 'soul,' are to be 'hated' only so far as they are 'in this world'—i.e., instruments of temptation.

More conjectural must be the theory of an allusion to the Double Tradition in Jn. 19:30 *κλίειν τὴν κεφαλὴν*, used of Jesus on the Cross. It is commonly rendered 'bowing' his head, but no authority is alleged for this.⁴ The expression is not found

¹ The relation of Jn. to the Double Tradition of the *Acts* of the Lord has been considered above, § 17. This section deals with his relation to the Double Tradition of the *Words* of the Lord.

² Comp. Clem. Alex. p. 79; *στενὴ ἐστὶ γῆς ὑπερῶς ῥομένη, πλατεία ἐν ὁράσει; προσκυνομένη.*

³ Even in this last clause Jn. implies partial fulfilment already: 'They have been delivered; now let them be *kept* in a state of deliverance.'

⁴ When Lk. means 'bowing' he uses *κλίειν τὴν κεφαλὴν* *καὶ τὴν γῆν*. And the word 'bow' is so common in the Bible

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in the LXX, and occurs in NT only in Mt. 23:35 Lk. 9:38, 'The Son of man hath not where to rest his head.' But there is pathos and power in the thought that the one place on earth where the Son of man 'rested his head' was the Cross, and the one moment was when he had accomplished the Father's will.

IV. INTRODUCTIONS (Mt. and Lk.)

(i.) *The effect of prophecy* in these is very manifest. The agreement of Mt. and Lk. in the introductions

21. Introductions: describing the birth and childhood of Jesus consists in little more than fragments from Is. 7:14, which, in the Hebrew, is, *Mt. and Lk.* 'A young woman shall conceive and bear a (or, the) son and shall call his name Immanuel,' but in G. 'The virgin (*παρθένη*) shall be with child and bring forth a son, and thou (*εἰς*), the husband shall call his name Immanuel.' This was regarded as having been fulfilled, not by the birth of Isaac's son recorded in Is. 8:1, (but cp IMMANUEL) but by the birth of the Messiah. In the earliest days of the Jewish Church of Christ the Messiah would naturally be described in hymns and poetic imagery as the Son of the Virgin the Daughter of Zion. In Rev. 12:1-6 'the Man Child' is born of a woman 'clothed with the sun,' who evidently represents the spiritual Israel. Eusebius (*HE* v. 145) quotes a very early letter from the church of Lyons where the 'Virgin Mother' means 'the Church,' and other instances are frequent.¹

(ii.) *Philonian Traditions* about every child of promise would tend in the same direction: (i. 131) 'the Lord begat Isaac'; Isaac (i. 215) 'is to be thought not the result of generation but the shaping (*πλάσμα*) of the unbegotten.' The real husband of Leah is (i. 147) 'the Unnoticed (*ὁ ἡσυχάζων*),' though Jacob is the father of her children. Zipporah is found by Moses (i. 147) 'pregnant, (but) by no mortal.' Tamar is (i. 598-9) 'pregnant through divine seed.' Samuel is (i. 273) 'born of a human mother' who 'became pregnant after receiving divine seed.' Concerning the birth of Isaac, Philo says (i. 148): 'It is most fitting that God should converse, in a manner opposite to that of man, with a nature wonderful and unpolluted and pure.' If such language as this could be used by educated Jewish writers about the parentage of those who were merely inspired by God's Word, how much more would even stronger language be used about the origin of one who was regarded as being filled with the Word, or the Word himself!

(iii.) *Justin and Irenaeus* confirm the view that prophecy has contributed to shape the belief in a miraculous conception. Justin admits that some did not accept it, but bases his dissent from them on (*Tryph.* 48) 'the proclamations made by the blessed prophets and taught by him (*i.e.*, Christ).' Irenaeus says that the Ebionites declared Jesus to have been the son of Joseph (iii. 21) 'following (*κατακολουθήσαντες*), those who interpreted 'virgin' in Is. 7:14 as 'young woman (*παρθένη*).' Prophecy will also explain the divergence between Mt. and Lk. Some, following the Hebrew, might say that the divine message came to Mary, the mother of the Lord, others (following G.) might assert that the message came to Joseph, Mary's husband. Lk. has taken the former course, Mt. (though inconsistently) the latter. Prophecy also explains Mt.'s and Lk.'s attitude toward

that the non-use of *κλίειν κεφαλὴν* to represent it throughout G. and NT makes it improbable that it would represent 'bowing' here.

¹ The name 'virgin' is sometimes ambiguous. Thus, when Abercius (A.D. 240-250) writes that 'the pure Virgin grasped the Fish' (the Fish meaning Christ), Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 481) hesitates between 'the Virgin Mary' and 'the Church,' but apparently inclines to the latter. Marcion is accused by Epiphanius of 'seducing a virgin' and being consequently excommunicated. But (1) neither Tertullian (an earlier but not less implacable enemy of Marcion) nor the still earlier Irenaeus, makes mention of any such charge; (2) Hegesippus (*Eus.* iii. 327) says that 'the Church remained a pure and uncorrupted virgin' till the days of Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, when *ἐκείνη* began. Marcion must clearly be acquitted; cp *Dionys.* ad *Jn.* οὐδὲ ἑὸν φθερείται ἀλλὰ παρθένος (the Church) πιστεύεται.

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the Messianic name 'Immanuel.' Jesus was *not* (any more than Isaiah's son) called by this name, and Lk. omits all reference to it. Mt. (or the author of Mt.'s Introduction), though he represents Joseph as receiving the Annunciation, represents *people in general* as destined to give Jesus this name, and alters the prophecy accordingly (Mt. 1:23), 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus . . . that it might be fulfilled . . . *They shall call his name Immanuel.*'

(iv) *Divergence of Mt. and Lk.* For the rest, Mt. and Lk. altogether diverge. Both the genealogies of

Jesus (according to all reasonable interpretation) trace his descent through Joseph, not through Mary,² and there survive even now traces of a dislocation between them and the Gospels in which they are incorporated.³ The Genealogies (for an account and analysis of which see GENEALOGIES II.) appear to have denied, the Gospels certainly affirm, a Miraculous Conception.

(a) Mt. 1:1, in its present text, has *Ἰ. δὲ ἐγεννήθη τὸν Ἰωσήφ* 'But *So*, has 'J. begat Joseph; Joseph, to whom was espoused Mary the Virgin, *begat* Jesus, who is called the Christ.' 'begat' is also retained by *a*, *b*, *Rohb*, and *S*. Germanicus, even though they make 'Mary' the subject.⁴ This indicates that the original had simply (a) 'James begat Joseph, and Joseph begat Jesus.' Then, when the belief in the Miraculous Conception arose, various corrections were made, such as (b) 'to whom was espoused, or betrothed, Mary the Virgin' or 'the husband of Mary', to indicate that the 'begening' was to be taken in a putative sense, or to refer the reader to what followed as a corrective of the formal genealogical statement. Then (c), 'Mary' was repeated as the subject of a new clause in the genealogy, but with the repetition of the now mis-phrased 'begat.' Then (d), some altered 'begat' into 'brought forth, others into 'from whom was begotten.'

(b) Lk. 3:23 (W11) has *καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡς ἑνὶν τριακοντα, ὃν υἱὸς ὡς ἐνομίσθη, Ἰωσήφ.* But *So* has, 'And Jesus, when he was about thirty years old, as he was called the son of Joseph, son of Heli,' etc., which is not a complete sentence. It has *ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ὡς ἑνὶν τριακοντα ἀρχόμενος ὡς ἐνομίσθη υἱὸς υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ*, etc., and just before, has (3:22) *ἐγὼ σήμερον γένημαι σε*: but both Clem. Alex. (407) and Iren. (ii.225) read *ἀρχόμενος* (for *ἀρχόμενος*), and interpret it as 'coming to baptism.' It may be interpreted to mean that Jesus, at the beginning of his thirtieth year, was (really), as he was supposed to be, the son of Joseph, but that, in the moment of baptism, he was begotten again by the Holy Spirit. *So* will have the same meaning if we insert 'was' as the missing verb, 'Jesus . . . [was], as he was called, the son of Joseph.'⁵ The *Acts* (Plat.) throw light on almost forgotten Jewish charges against Jesus that may have influenced some Evangelists, inducing them to lay stress on the fact that Jesus was really 'the son of Joseph' or at all events that Mary, at the time of the birth of her first-born, was 'espoused to Joseph.'⁶

¹ It is highly probable, on grounds of style, that the author of the Introduction is not the author of the whole of Mt.'s Gospel.

² D rewrites the earliest part of Lk.'s genealogy, partially conforming it to Mt.

³ This is all the more important if the tradition recorded by Clem. Alex. is correctly interpreted to mean that 'those portions of the Gospels which consist of the genealogies were written first' (see below, § 5).

⁴ Codex *a* (and sim. Bobb.) has 'J. autem genuit Joseph, cui desponsata Virgo Maria genuit Iesum'; *b* has 'Joseph, cui desponsata erat V. M., V. autem Maria genuit Iesum.' Later, *b* and Bobb. (*a* is missing) use 'pater' and 'peperit' of Mary, showing that 'genuit' is not an error here, but is a retention of the old true reading, inconsistent with the alterations adopted. Codex *d* (1) is missing; alters 'genuit' into 'peperit', but in other respects agrees with *a*. Corb. and Brix. agree with the Greek text. The Vat. MS. of the *Diataxa*, gives Mt. 1:16 thus: 'Jacob begat Joseph, the husband of Mary, who of her begat Jesus, the Messiah.' See the English translation by Hogg (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. v. 1, 127, p. 45, n. 6), who points out the possibility of confusion between 'who of her begat,' and 'from whom was begotten,' in passing from Syriac to Arabic.

⁵ *So*, however, has above (not 'This day I have begotten thee,' but) (Lk. 3:22), 'Thou art my Son and my beloved.' But this may have been taken as equivalent to 'I have begotten thee to-day as my Son.' Codex *b* has 'quod videbatur ei dicatur esse filius Joseph'; it follows D.

⁶ In *A. la P.* (A and B) 2:1, the 'elders of the Jews' say to Jesus, 'Thou art born of fornication' (II, 'of sin'), to which other pious Jews reply (i) (A), 'we know that Joseph espoused for betrothed (ἐκδοθήσασα) Mary, and that he is not born of fornication'; (ii) (B), 'we know that Joseph received Mary his mother in the way of espousals, to guard her,' of which another version is (3), 'His mother Mary was given to Joseph for

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As regards the childhood of Jesus, Mt. looks on Bethlehem (2:1) as the predicted home of Joseph and Mary, and mentions their going to Nazareth as a thing unexpected and (2:3) a fulfilment of prophecy. He also mentions (as fulfilments of prophecy) a flight into, and return from, Egypt, and a massacre in Bethlehem. Neither of these is mentioned by Lk., and the latter is not mentioned by any historian.¹ But a typical meaning is also obvious in both Mt.'s narratives. Jesus is the vine of Israel 'brought out of Egypt'. He is the antitype of Moses, who was saved from the slaughter of the children under Pharaoh. Lk. treads the safer ground of private and personal narrative, except so far as he has given trouble to apologists by his statement about an enrolment that took place under Quirinius, which was the cause why Joseph and Mary left their home in Nazareth in order to be enrolled at Bethlehem, the home of their ancestors.² Instead of prophetic there is contemporary and typical testimony:—Anna, the prophetess of Asher, representing the extreme north, the aged Simeon representing the extreme south, and Elizabeth and Zachariah, of the tribe of Levi.

As regards the Baptist, while omitting some points that liken him to Elijah, Lk. inserts details showing that, from the first, John was foreordained to go before the Messiah, not really as Elijah, but (i) 'in the spirit and power of Elijah'.

(v) *In relation to the Introduction* is apparently, but not really, negative. In his own person he makes no mention of Nazareth or Bethlehem. He

23. John's method. takes us back to the cradle (Jn. 1:1) 'in the beginning,' as though heaven were the only true 'Bethlehem (House of [the] Bread [of life]).' The fervent faith of the first disciples delays past prophecies about Bethlehem, and present objections as to Nazareth and Joseph, by admitting the apparent historical fact to be fact, and yet believing (1:45 f.): 'We have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, *Jesus, the son of Joseph, the man of Nazareth.*' When the objection is urged against (1:46) 'Nazareth,' faith in the personality of Jesus overwhelms the objector with the mystical reply (1:46), 'Come and see.'³ In Mt.

espousal, not in actual wedlock, but to guard (ἐκ μυστηρίου, οὐ γάμου, ἀλλ' ἐκ μυστηρίου). The first of these three versions defends Jesus against the Jewish charge, but surrenders the Miraculous Conception. The second is obvious. The third sacrifices the defence, but retains the miracle.

¹ Some attempt to explain the omission by other omissions of the crimes of kings by their *pangripts*; but *So* plans dwells on the history of Herod and his family, in order to show (Int. xviii. 5) the *retribution of Providence*.

² Quirinius was governor of Syria, A.D. 6, *ten years after this time*. The most plausible explanation suggested is, perhaps, that Quirinius was *twice* governor of Syria; but there is no direct, and scarcely any indirect, evidence to justify the belief. There is also no proof that Mary's presence was obligatory. That Lk. invented such an 'enrolment' is impossible; but that he antedated it is highly probable. Making (or revising) a compilation toward the close of the 1st century, he might naturally consider that the 'enrolment' supplied an answer to the difficult question, 'How came the parents of Jesus to Bethlehem at the time of the birth?' See CROOKS, *op. cit.*, also (Int. xviii. 5).

³ For the meaning of this Rabbinical formula, see Schöttg. and Hor. *Hebr. ad loc.*, and Westc. (on Jn. 1:42) who quotes, among other illustrations, Rev. vi. It introduces the explanation of a mystery. Note also a similar contrast between personal belief and pedantic unbelief in 7:45 ff.: 'Some . . . when they heard these words, said, This is . . . the prophet . . . but some said, What dost thou the Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David and from Bethlehem?' And compare the subordinate officers (7:46), 'Never man so spoke' with 'the chief priests and Pharisees' (7:52), 'Out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.' Westcott says, on Jn. 7:42, 'There is a tragic irony in the fact that the condition which the objectors ignorantly assumed to be unsatisfied, i.e. birth in Bethlehem, was actually satisfied. But are we to believe that Jesus knew that the 'condition' was 'satisfied,' and yet left the objectors in their ignorance, so as to keep back from them the fulfilment of God's word, making himself responsible for the 'magic' consequences? And in the face of such an objection, publicly and persistently made, is it credible that a conspiracy of silence should have been maintained by Christ's relations, friends, and neighbours? This, at all events, cannot be disputed, that Jn. represents the

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it is the fulfilment of prophecy; in Lk. it is the testimony of visions and voices pointing to John as the messenger of the Messiah, and to the Messiah himself; in Jn. it is (1:14), 'the glory as of the only begotten of the Father'—that constitutes the true testimony to Christ.

V. THE CONCLUSIONS.

The conclusion (Mt. Lk. and Mk. App.) in the present treat of Christ's resurrection. This the genuine Mk. does not describe, breaking off abruptly at (16:8), 'for they were afraid.'

1. *The Evangelists select their evidence.*—Mt. mentions two appearances. In the first, Christ appears to women who 'held his feet'; in the second, to the Eleven; but it is added that 'some doubted'. In Lk. Christ never appears to women. Indeed, Lk. almost excludes such an appearance by speaking of (24:23) 'a vision of angels,' which the women are reported to have seen, without any mention of Christ's appearing to them. In this omission he resembles Paul, who enumerates several appearances to men but none to women.² Now, in giving a list of the 'appearances' on which he had laid stress, an apostle might write thus in a letter to his own converts. But Lk. writes as a historian, giving Theophilus evidence that he might know 'the exact truth'. Him, therefore, we might reasonably expect not to omit any important testimony, known to him, concerning Christ's resurrection. His omission, in itself, disposes of the theory that the differences of Lk. from Mt. arise from mere haste or carelessness of observation, like those with which we are familiar in a court of justice. Like a glacier-worn rock, Lk. exhibits the signs of attempts to smooth away points of objection. Not, of course, that he invents. But while adopting old traditions, he accepts adaptations suggested in the course of new controversies. He shows a desire to prove, improve, edify, reconcile, select—motives natural, but not adapted to elicit 'the exact truth.'

(ii.) *The Period of Manifestations.*—Even for the coolest and most judicial historian, the difficulty of reconciling and selecting must have been very great. Jn., though he mentions only three manifestations, implies (20:30) that there were many more. Not improbably the period of appearances and voices was much longer than is commonly supposed.³ Mt. tells us, concerning the only manifestation that he records as made to the Eleven, that (28:17) 'some doubted,' while

disciples as believing in a 'Jesus of Nazareth,' whilst the unbelieving Pharisees demand a 'Jesus of Bethlehem.'

¹ For the evidence of spuriousness (largely increased by the discovery of the Sinaitic Codex of the Syriac Gospels) see WH 2 (notes), pp. 29-31.

² Cp. *Acta Pilati* (7) (V and sim. B), 'We have a law that a woman is not to come forward to give evidence.' Doubtless, such an objection was often heard by Christians from their adversaries.

³ The only evidence is Acts 13:30 *ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα*, where D reads, in different order, *τεσσαρὰ ἡμέρας* without *ἡμέρας*. In Hebrew 'days' sometimes means 'some, or several, days,' as in Gen. 40:4. They continued [for some] days (*ἡμέρας*) in ward. By corruption, or tradition, M (i.e. 'forty') might easily be added to *ἡμερῶν* (or *ἡμερῶν*) before or after it; and the number would suit OT traditions about Israel, Moses, and Elijah. The Valentianists supposed Christ to have remained with his disciples eighteen months: *Pistis Sophia*, ch. 1 mentions eleven years. Lk. indicates that the disciples were to remain (Acts 1:4) in Jerusalem till the descent of the Spirit, i.e. two or three days. Apollonius indicates (Eus. v. 18:14) 'from tradition,' a period of twelve years: Clem. Alex. (764) says, 'In the preaching of Peter, the Lord says to the disciples after the Resurrection, "I have chosen you twelve disciples, judging you worthy of me . . . that those who disbelieve may hear and testify, not being able to say in excuse, "We did not hear"; but, just before, (762) "Peter says that the Lord said to the apostles, . . . After twelve years go forth to the world, lest any should say, "We did not hear." Perhaps there was a confusion between "twelve years" and "twelve (really eleven) months." See *Beza* (18:14) for the evidence that Barnabas and Jn. disagreed with Lk. as to the day of the Ascension.'

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others 'worshipped' her manifestations were of the same kind, but differently. To each the resurrection was the special duty of an apostle, and such testimony was oral. The two earliest Gospels (even if we include Mk. App. as genuine) contain very much less about the resurrection than the two latest. When at last the apostles passed away, and it became needful to write something about Christ's rising from the dead, and to add it to the already existing manuals of his teaching, the writers might find themselves forced to choose a few typical instances that seemed to them most 'according to the Scriptures,' and best adapted for edifying the Church. At first they might be content (as Paul was) with bare enumerations; but, when the time came to fill in details, the narrators might supply them, partly from prose traditions, partly from the most ancient and popular of those hymns, which, as Pliny testifies, they sang to Christ as to a god, on the day on which they celebrated his resurrection, partly from the Scriptures on which the earliest witnesses for Christ's resurrection lay so emphatic a stress.

(iii.) *Traces of poetic tradition.*—In the more ancient traditions of Mk. and Mt., some details appear to arise from hymnal traditions.¹ Later accounts indicate an intention to convey either (as Lk.) 'proofs' of a historical fact, or

(as Jn.) 'signs' indicative of the real though spiritual converse held with the disciples by the risen Saviour.

(iv.) *Discrepancies.*—Mt.'s account appears to have been (in parts at all events) the earliest. The testimony

27. *Discrepancies.*—of the soldiers to the Resurrection (where note the words (28:5) 'to this day') was dropped in subsequent gospels, perhaps owing to the unlikelihood that Roman soldiers would risk their lives by a falsehood such as Mt. describes.²

Henceforth there was (Mk., Lk., Jn.) no 'guard'; the stone was not 'sealed'; there was no 'great earthquake'; an angel did not descend from heaven; the women came, not 'to look at the tomb' (for they had carefully 'looked at' it) before (Mk.

¹ It is impossible here to do more than indicate one or two traces of this. The earthquake, which Mt. alone reports, might naturally spring from Ps. 46:7, 'God is gone up with a shout,' and 'The earth melted' (*ἡ γῆ ἀλυσθη*, 'was shaken'). Mt.'s account of the resurrection of (27:52) 'many bodies of the saints'—a miracle, if authentic, more startling than the Raising of Lazarus, but omitted by the other Evangelists—was probably derived from some hymn describing how Christ went down to Hades and brought up to light the saints detained there. Mk. 16:7 says that the women came to the sepulchre when 'the sun had risen,' inconsistently with his own 'very early,' Lk.'s 'deep dawn,' and Jn.'s 'dark.' This becomes intelligible if tradition was variously influenced by hymns describing how (Mat. 4:2) 'the sun (of righteousness) had risen,' or by the prophecy (Ps. 40:5) 'and shall help her, and that at the dawn of the morning.' It is difficult for us to realise the probable extent and influence of metaphor in the earliest traditions of the Christian Church. The Logion of Pines, 'Raise the stone, cleave the tree,' is taken by many in a literal sense. But it probably means, 'Raise up stones to be children of Abraham; cut down and cleave the tree of Phariseism.' Christ never used such words as 'sowing' and 'ploughing' in a literal sense. If his own disciples misunderstood, for example, his use of the word 'heaven,' it is highly probable that the hymns of the first Christian generation might be so misunderstood as to affect the historical traditions of the second.

² Later writers modify Mt.'s account so as to soften some of its improbabilities. Pseudo-Peter makes the soldiers tell the whole truth to Pilate, who (at the instance of the Jews) enjoins silence. In some MSS of *Acta Pilati* (A) the soldiers try to deny the fact, but are supernaturally forced to affirm it. The retention of the story, with modifications, in apocryphal books of the second century that delighted in the picturesque, does not prove a late origin. Some have thought that Mt.'s tradition is proved to be late by the excess of 'prophetic gnosis' in it. But that, alone, is not a sure criterion. The difficulties presented by Mt.'s account of the 'dead bodies of saints arising,' and of the women 'grasping the feet of Jesus,' and the bald statement that 'some doubted,' all suggest early origin. The use of 'prophetic gnosis' depends in large measure not on the date but on the personal characteristics of the writer. For example, there is more in Mt. than in Jn. But the existence of 'stumbling-blocks' is a sure sign of an early date. In course of time, earlier and enclosed detected and exposed 'stumbling-blocks,' and subsequent evangelists adopted traditions that sprang up to remove or diminish them.

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with his flesh and spirit (or blood),¹ implying a close union such as binds each member of the Church to Christ in the one Body or one Bread, may very well be a part of the tradition (or of some comment on it) from which Ignatius is quoting. If so, the original (though not the Ignatian) meaning may be correctly expressed by the Armenian paraphrastic version, 'they believed, who (or, and they) were participants of the Eucharist (lit. communicated), and who (?) feasted before on his body and blood.' In other words, the disciples not only received a vision and an intimation of the Lord, but also were made one with the holy and spirit (or blood) of Christ and were raised above the fear of death by participating in the Eucharist and therein handling his flesh. These facts, being literalised in later narratives, may have given rise to the statements, made in good faith, that they had 'handled' Christ's 'body,' or that Christ had given them his 'body' to 'handle.'

(vii.) The historical estimate of Lk.'s Tradition must be lowered, (1) by evidence of his other errors and misunderstandings given above, (2)

30. Historical estimate of Lk. by the variations in the corresponding tradition quoted by Ignatius and Tertullian, (3) by the fact that, about A.D. 110, Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (of which city Luke [Eus. 3.46] is said to have been a native), wishing to attest the reality of the bodily resurrection of Christ, quotes from an unknown source a passage that omits all mention of 'eating.' Neither here nor elsewhere refers to the testimony of Lk. This certainly leads to the inference that Lk. had not, in the mind of Ignatius, that preponderant authority which a 'canonical' or even authoritative Gospel might be expected to have.²

Lk.'s evidence must not be dismissed without a reference to Acts 14, *συνάχουσιν*, which really meant 'assembling with,' but was probably interpreted by Lk. (as by patristic commentators, e.g. Clement, *Epist. to James and How.* 15.13) 'eating with,' cf. Acts 10.41: 'Not to all the people, but to witnesses, to those foreordained by God, namely ourselves, who (οἱ υἱοὶ) ate and drank with him after the resurrection from the dead.' This, when combined with Acts 14 Lk. 24.43 and Lk. 13.26 ('we have eaten and drunk in thy presence'), not in parallel Mt. 7.22 indicates a consistent interpretation of such a nature as (possibly) to convert metaphorical accounts of spiritual intercourse and revelation into literal accounts of historical 'proofs.'

(viii.) *Jn.'s view (signs).* In Jn., 'proof' is entirely subordinated to 'signs'—i.e., spiritual symbolism.

31. Jn.'s 'signs.' The first manifestation of Jesus is to a woman, who (20.16) does not recognise him till called by name. The Ascension is mentioned as impending and as (apparently) preliminary to being (20.17) 'touched.' In the second manifestation, Jesus conveys to 'the disciples' the Holy Spirit which (7.39) could not be conveyed till after the Ascension—a fact indicating that, in the interval between the two, Jesus had ascended. In a third (making the second to 'the disciples'), he offers himself to the 'handling' of the incredulous Thomas, and pronounces a blessing on those who have not seen yet have believed. In a fourth, (21.14 'the third' to 'the disciples'), he is in Galilee, directing the seven fishermen in their task of catching

ὄψρα το πᾶσα οὐρα καὶ ὅλη ὁ ὅλος καθὼς ἐκεῖθεν ἔρχεται ἡ ὄψρα. Codex A has 'Handle me yourselves' (reading αὐτοὺς for οὐρα in what precedes). In So the passage, which has been (142) scraped with a knife, runs thus, 'Behold, see my hands and my feet, and feel and see that it is I; for a spirit . . . flesh and bones. . . see me. . . When . . . not . . . were. Again he said unto them, 'Have ye here anything to eat?' Codices A B and Drix. omit 'me' after 'handle.'

The emphasis laid on 'bones' may have arisen from an allusion to Is. 66.14 (SBL 1901): 'Your bones shall spring up.' 'Blood' was omitted perhaps in accordance with a sense that it could not appeal either to sight or to touch. (Justin *Tryph.* 76) indicates something specially non-human about the blood of Christ.)

Apologists usually depreciate what they call 'a mere argument from silence'; but it has weight varying with circumstances. Here it is extremely weighty. The evidence is almost as strong as if Ignatius said expressly, 'I did not know Lk.' or else, 'I knew Lk., but did not believe it to be so authoritative as the tradition from which I quoted.'

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the one hundred and fifty-three 'fish in the net of the Church, and feeding them with the One Bread and the One Fish before they go forth to preach the Gospel to the world. Then, without definite demarcation of the period of manifestations and voices, the Gospel ends.

In all this, the difference between Jn. and Lk. is obvious. Take, for example, the first manifestation to the disciples. In Jn., the disciples are not (Lk. 24.37) 'terrified and affrighted'; they have received the message from Mary in which Jesus calls them 'brethren,' and when Jesus 'stood in the midst' of them,³ they 'rejoice' as soon as they see 'the hands and the side.'⁴ They do not (as in Lk.) suppose Jesus to be a 'spirit' (or, as Lk. 24.39); they require no appeal to sight or touch; nor does Jesus eat in their presence. The object of the first manifestation in Jn. is apparently not to prove the Resurrection but to convey the Spirit to the disciples. There is no explanation of prophecy; the Spirit is conveyed at once, not promised as a future gift. The appeal to touch comes afterwards. The incredulity of Thomas (absent on the first occasion) makes Jesus reproachfully suggest on a second occasion that the incredulous disciple may touch the wounds in his hands and side; but it is not indicated that Thomas does this. The words that follow suggest that it was not done: (20.29) 'Because thou hast seen thou hast believed': (it is not said, 'Because thou hast touched').⁵

The same spiritual (as distinct from Lk.'s logical) purpose pervaded Jn.'s sign of the 'seven'—who, if 'proof' and not a 'sign' had been intended, should have been 'the Eleven.'⁶ There is indeed some similarity between the words of Jesus in Jn. 21.5: 'Children, have ye any meat?' and those in Lk. (24.42): 'Have ye here anything to eat?' But how great a difference in reality! In the latter case the Messiah deigns to take food from the disciples in order to meet their (Lk. 24.38) 'reasonings'; in the former, 'the Saviour gives himself to the 'children' to strengthen them for the work of the Gospel.

(ix.) *Contrast between Jn. and the Synoptists.*—There

¹ For the symbolism of this, see below, § 47.

² This 'standing in the midst,' however, is from prophetic genius: see Ps. 22.22, quoted by Heb. 2.11 f. and by Justin (*Tryph.* 106); also cp. Lk. 24.39.

³ Not, as Lk., 'the hands and the feet.' In Jn., as in Pseudo-Peter, the feet are apparently regarded as bound, not nailed, to the cross.

⁴ In Jn., the first manifestation to the disciples seems to include a new and spiritual Genesis or Creation of man. The old Genesis (27) described how God 'breathed (*ἐνεπνεύσεν*) into the face (of man) the breath of life, and man became a living soul.'

The rarity of *ἐνφύσησις*, which occurs in NT nowhere except in Jn. 20.22, suffices to make the reference to Gen. 27 certain. Philo also frequently quotes Gen. 27 (with *ἐνφύσησις*) to contrast the 'earthy' or 'first' man with the 'spiritual' or 'second' man. Not improbably Jn. also has in mind that Ignatian tradition which described the apostles as 'mixed with his flesh and his spirit.' (Careful analysis of all the passages where Ignatius combines 'flesh and spirit' and 'flesh and blood' makes it probable that 'spirit' (not 'blood') is the correct reading. At the same time, if both traditions were prevalent, Jn.'s first manifestation to the disciples would express the 'being mixed with his spirit,' and the second (that to Thomas) the 'being mixed with his blood'.)

In any case, Jn. takes this historically sacred word, traditionally associated with the creation of man, and represents it as dramatised in an act, in which the Logos *remakes man in the Divine image*, 'breathing into' him that Spirit of himself which (as Paul says, 1 Cor. 15.45) was not only 'living (*ζῶν*)' but also 'life-giving (*ζωοποιούν*),' so as to enable the disciples to transmit life to others.

⁵ It is interesting to note here (in the light of Mk. 1.20-2) the difference between Lk.'s and Jn.'s Draught of Fish, which Lk. connects with the calling of Peter to be a Fisher of Men, but Jn. with an imparting of the One Fish and the One Bread to the 'seven' disciples—apparently as a preparation for their apostolic work. It will be found that Lk. differs from Mk. and Jn. in seven points:—(1) the boats are 'standing' by the lake; (2) there are two boats (the Jewish and Gentile Church); (3) all (Peter included) have given up fishing in despair; (4) Jesus enters one of the vessels; (5) the nets are 'let' asunder; (6) Peter fears and bids Jesus depart; (7) Jesus does not expressly bid any of the fishers 'follow' him. Jn. differs from Lk. in all these details: (1) It is Jesus (not the boat) who is standing by the sea; (2) there is but one vessel; (3) Peter has not given up fishing; (4) Jesus does not enter the vessel; (5) in spite of the multitude of the fishes (21.11) 'the net was not rent'; (6) Peter leapt into the sea and hastened toward Jesus; (7) Peter is bidden, after the Sacramental Feast, not only to feed Christ's sheep, but also to 'follow' him.

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is a curious contrast between the personal and as it were private nature of Christ's last utterances in Jn. and the public or ecclesiastical utterances recorded by Lk., Mk.-App., and the last verses of Mt.

33. Last words: Paul. In Jn., 'Hither, break your fast,' 'Lovest thou me?' 'Feed my sheep,' 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' In the Synoptists, either (Mk.-App.) the injunction to preach the Gospel, the prediction of condemnation for those who will not believe and be baptized, and the promise of signs such as the 'casting out of devils,' 'tongues,' 'lifting up serpents,' 'drinking poison, etc., and healing the sick; or else (Mt.) 'baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to keep all things as many as I commanded you,' and a farewell in Galilee, with an assertion that Jesus possesses all power, and a promise that he will be always present with the disciples; or, lastly (Lk.), an 'opening' of the disciples' minds to understand the Scriptures, and a long statement that the Scriptures 'must needs have been thus fulfilled,' and that there must be the preaching of repentance in his name 'with a view to the remission of sins to all the nations—beginning from Jerusalem,'² and then a promise, and a warning that they must remain in the city till the promise is fulfilled:—concerning all which utterances we are warned by our knowledge of the various accounts of Christ's revelations to Paul that we must accept none of them as necessarily representing the actual words of Christ himself, though (in various degrees, and subject to various qualifications) they may be regarded as revelations to the Early Church, conveyed, during the period of manifestations, to this or that disciple, in the same way in which the vision and the voice were conveyed to Paul at his conversion.³

¹ An interesting instance of the combination of (1) the historical, (2) the exaggerated, (3) the metaphorical. (1) The healing of diseases by the Christians was a historical fact; (2) the gift of 'tongues'—as we infer from Paul's Epistles—was a phenomenon remarkable, but not supernatural; (3) the 'taking up,' or, more probably, 'destroying' (*ἀποδοῦναι*) of serpents 'was probably a literalising of the promise in Lk. 10:19 that the disciples should 'trample upon serpents and scorpions and all the power of the enemy.'

² The text is doubtful.

³ *The Testimony of Paul*, in any full discussion of the Resurrection, would come first and claim a detailed consideration. Here we can only observe on 1 Cor. 15:35 that (1), among the earliest traditions communicated to converts, was a doctrine (probably oral, *παροιμία*) on the Resurrection of Christ; (2) in this tradition, 'accordance with the Scriptures' played a prominent part; (3) the manifestations of Christ were described by the word 'appeared' (*ἐφάνη*), a word regularly denoting visions (the only instance in which it is used in NT of the appearance of a material body is Acts 7:26); (4) Paul places first an appearance to Cephas, and last but one an appearance to James, neither of which is recorded in our canonical Gospels; (5) he excludes all appearances to women; (6) he places the appearance of Christ to himself on the same footing as those witnessed by the apostles; (7) he speaks of the risen body as 'a spiritual body' (on which, note that Clem. Alex. (970-972) says that every spirit has a 'body,' and that demons are called 'bodiless' only in comparison with the spirits that are destined to be saved), and as being (3) the same, in kind, for Christ, as for the faithful after death—i.e., as we should infer, not a tangible body. (8) The latest of Paul's speeches on his vision repeats, as from Jesus, a long discourse (Acts 26:14-18). It then continues (*ib.* 19) 'Whereupon . . . I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision.' But Paul's earlier speech (22) assigns to Jesus merely a portion of this discourse, while another portion (mentioning 'a witness' and 'sins') occurs (22:15 f.) in the report of a speech of Ananias to Saul, and another (mentioning 'the Gentiles') is uttered by Jesus indeed, but on a much later occasion (22:18-21) when the apostle was in a 'trance.' On the other hand, in the earliest account of the vision, the mention of Saul's mission to 'the Gentiles' is made by Jesus (9:15) not to Saul, but to Ananias; and Jesus is represented as saying to Saul no more than occurs in 22.

These facts lead to the following general conclusions:—(a) Words recorded as having been uttered by Jesus may really have been heard in the course of a 'vision.' (b) Words recorded as uttered in a 'vision' may have been heard in the course of a 'trance.' (c) The alleged occasion of utterance may really be a confusion of two or even more occasions. (d) Some of the words may have proceeded not directly from Jesus, but indirectly, through an inspired speaker.

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VI. SINGLE TRADITIONS.

(a) **THE FIRST GOSPEL.**—(i.) *Doctrinal and other characteristics.*—That Mt. was primarily intended for Jewish readers is suggested by the stress laid

34. Single tradition: Mt. on prophecy; the tracing of genealogy back to Abraham (not, as in Lk., to Adam; cp GENEALOGIES *it.*); the Sermon on the Mount corresponding to the Law given on Mount Sinai; the contrast between what had been said 'of old time' and what the new Lawgiver prescribed; the word 'lawlessness' (altered in Lk. 13:27 to 'iniquity'), used by Mt. alone, and the strong condemnation of him who (Mt. 5:19) breaks, or teaches others to break, 'one of the least of the commandments.'

Mt.'s parables point less to the inclusion of the Gentiles than to the exclusion of unworthy Jews. He alone has the saying (22:14): 'Many are called but few chosen.' He seems to move amid a race of backsliders, among dogs and swine unworthy of the pearls of truth, among the tares sown by the enemy, among the fishermen who must cast back again many of the fish caught in the net of the Gospel. 'The broad way' is mentioned by him alone, and the multitude of those that go thereby, and the guest without the wedding garment, and the foolish virgins, and the goats, and those who even 'cast out devils' in the name of the Lord and yet are rejected by him because they 'work lawlessness.' He alone introduces into the Lord's Prayer the words 'Deliver us from the evil (one).' Elsewhere he alone gives as a reason for not being distracted, 'sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' The wavering or retrogression of many Jewish converts when the breach between Jews and Gentiles widened, about the time of the siege of Jerusalem, may well explain the emphasis laid by Mt. on backsliding; and the condemnation of 'lawlessness' might refer to Hellenising Jews who considered that the new law set them free from all restraint, and who, in casting aside every vestige of nationality, wished to cast aside morality as well. Yet Mt. prefers (12:31) even open and consistent wickedness to the sin of the 'hypocrites' whom his Gospel continually denounced (the word occurs in Mt. 13 times, in Mk. 1, in Lk. 3, in Jn. 6); and he dwells more than the rest on the blessings of the meek, the merciful, and the little ones whose angels behold the face of the Father.

Besides the fulfilments of prophecy or type mentioned in his Introduction, Mt. sees several others not mentioned in the Triple Tradition.

Some of these, e.g. that relating to the (21:2-5) 'ass and the colt,' (27:9) 'the potter's field,' (12:40) the 'three days and three nights in the belly of the whale' as representing the time of Christ's remaining in the tomb, and the (23:35) apparently inaccurate reference to Zachariah the son of Barachiah, contain such obvious difficulties that they may be regarded as evidences of early, not of late composition,² and the same applies to (2:23) 'He shall be called a Nazarene,' which is found in no existing book of prophecy. See NAZARENE.

Apart from his account of the Resurrection, few new miracles are introduced by Mt. Two of these consist of acts of healing. Two are connected with Peter, (1) Mt. 14:28-33, the walking on the water, (2) Mt. 17:24, the coin in the fish's mouth. As to these, the omission of the former by Mk. and Jn., who record what precedes and follows, points to the conclusion that it is a poetic symbolism of Peter's lapse and restoration. A metaphorical explanation probably applies also to the latter.³

¹ Cp also *Proceedings of the Society of Historical Theology* (1897), 46 f., as to the seven beatitudes on character (omitted or altered by Lk.), the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer (where Lk. probably retains the original and shorter form), the seven parables in Mt. 13, the genealogy compressed into a triad of fourteen, and other numerical groupings that show Jewish influence.

² An authoritative and widely circulated Gospel stands in this respect on quite a different footing from an apocryphal and non-authoritative book. The former would be attacked by controversialists, and any difficulties contained in it would be exposed. Christians could not cancel the difficult passages without giving up the authority of the book. Consequently the difficult passages would remain in that Gospel, but would be quietly dropped by subsequent evangelists. Hence, as between our canonical Gospels, the presence of difficulties is a mark of early date. But this criterion does not apply to comparatively obscure works not so liable to attack.

³ See an extraordinary comment in Ephraem (p. 161) 'So when Simon . . . took his net and went to cast it into the sea, they also went with him' (cp Jn. 21:3, 'I go a-fishing. They say unto him, We also come with thee'). Also cp Philo (1499) on 'the holy dīdrachm,' and Clem. Alex. (947), where he says that 'the fish' limits at (αἰρίρε) God-given food, and that the stater might admit 'other solutions not unknown (ὅτι ἀποδοῦναι μὲν αἰετ) which implies a tradition of symbolism on this incident. For other traces of Philonian symbolism in the Synoptic Gospels, cp Mt. 13:33 and Lk. 13:21 on the 'leaven' which a woman 'hid' (ἐκρύβηκεν, ἐκρύβηκεν) in three measures (σάραι) of meal, 'with

(ii.) *Evidence as to date.*—When Mt. recorded the prediction that the apostles (10:23) would not 'accomplish the cities of Israel' until the Son of man had 'come,' must he not have assumed that, in some sense, he had 'come' already? If so, this will explain the difficult expression in 26:64, 'ye shall henceforth, or immediately (*ἀπ' ἀπρὶ*), see the Son of man, etc.'¹ It would seem that, as Jn. saw at least a primary fulfilment of Zech. 12:10 ('They shall look on him whom they pierced') in the moment when the spectators of the Cross gazed on the pierced side of Jesus, so Mt. regarded the 'coming of Christ with power' as commencing from the time of the sacrifice on the Cross, or of the Resurrection. But, whatever be the interpretation, the difficulty of this and some other passages leads to the belief that Mt. has in some cases preserved the earliest tradition. Other passages point to a very much later date—e.g., the name of the 'Field of Blood' borne (27:8) 'to this day,' the charge of stealing Christ's body repeated (28:15) 'to this day,' and the mention of 'the Jews' in the same passage as an alien race; also the recognition of (7:15) 'the false prophets' as a definite class to be avoided, and of (18:17) 'the church' as the arbiter in quarrels. Perhaps, too, when viewed in the light of the *Didachē*, the precepts (5:24) to be reconciled with a brother before 'bringing one's gift to the altar,' and (7:6) to avoid casting pearls before swine, indicate a time when the Eucharist had so long been celebrated in the Church as materially to influence the general traditions of the doctrine of Christ.

(iii.) *Jn. in relation to Mt.'s Single Tradition.*—Jn. often agrees with, but intensifies, the doctrine of Mt.

Mt.'s depreciation of (5:21-48) the teachers of old time is more strongly expressed in Jn.'s (10:24) 'thieves and robbers'; Mt.'s (11:30) 'easy yoke' is less strong than Jn.'s (8:31 f.), which implies that Christ's service shall deliver from every yoke; Mt. 12:57 'the priests profane the Sabbath' is not so clear as Jn. 7:22 'on the Sabbath ye circumcise a man'; and Mt.'s (12:34-35) 'offspring of vipers' and 'serpents' (Satan being 'the serpent') is less forcible than (Jn. 8:44) 'ye are of your father the devil.' Mt., alone of the Synoptists, describes the Pharisees as (15:14) 'blind,' and mentions (15:13) the 'rooting up' of Pharisaism, and (16:2) the rewarding of men according to their works; and similar thoughts will be found in Jn. 9:30-41 15:4-6 5:29. In a very few cases does Jn. appear to be tacitly correcting Mt.'s Single Tradition. Perhaps Mt.'s doctrine of 'little children' and the stress laid by him on 'meekness' appeared to Jn. liable to be perverted into a confession that Christianity was a religion of weakness and puerility.² At all events, though he alone of the Evangelists supports Mt. 21:5 in quoting Zech. 9:9 'Behold thy king cometh,' he omits 'meek (ἡπάει)';³ on which the Rabbis (Schöttg. 2:19171, etc.) laid emphasis; and, whereas Mt. immediately afterwards (21:15 f.) describes the testimony to Jesus as that of 'babes and children,' Jn. (12:42 f.) states that 'even of the rulers many believed on him.' In a few other passages (Mt. 26:22-25, Jn. 13:24 f.; Mt. 26:52 Jn. 18:11), though partly correcting Mt., Jn. appears to be rather supporting him against omissions or statements of Mk. and Lk.

(b.) *THE THIRD GOSPEL.*—(i.) *Literary form.*—(a) The Dedication of Lk.—The dedication (1:1-4) shows that we have passed into a new literary province. The Muratorian fragment calls attention to the fact that the author writes 'in his own name,' a novelty among evangelists. He also dedicates his work to some one who, if not an imaginary 'God-beloved,'⁴ would appear to be Philo (1:173) on 'the three measures (μέτρα) of the soul' that are to be 'kneaded' like cakes (*ἐκτροφέαι*) wherein the sacred doctrine 'must be *kudlen* (*ἐκτροφῆσαι*). After the destruction of the Temple, Vespasian compelled Jews in all parts of the Empire to pay the didrachm to the Roman Treasury. Among Christian Jews there may have arisen the question whether they, being no longer 'Jews,' were liable to pay it.

¹ Mk. 14:62 omits 'immediately.' Lk. 22:63 substitutes 'shall be' for 'ye shall see.' Cp also Mt. 16:28 'till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom,' Mk. 9:1 'the kingdom of God having come,' Lk. 9:27 'the kingdom of God.'

² Cp 1 Cor. 14:20 'the not children (*παιδία*) in mind; howbeit in malice be ye babes, but in mind be men' (see also 1 Cor. 3:1 13:1).

³ There may have been, however, controversial reasons for omitting that epithet.

⁴ Cp Light. *RE* 197. 'Theophilus, if a real person and not a *nom de guerre*, Theophilus, in itself, is not an unlikely

a patron, a man of rank. The apostles—the (12) 'eye-witnesses and ministers of the word'—appear to have 'delivered' their testimony by oral tradition (*παρέδοσαν*) and to have passed away. To supply their places (11) 'many' had 'attempted to draw up a formal narrative (*ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν*)' concerning the matters fully established in the Church. These writers had clearly not been eye-witnesses, nor were they, in Lk.'s judgment, so successful as to make unnecessary any further attempts. Apparently they had failed in the three points in which he hopes to excel: they had not (1) 'traced everything up to its source (*παρηκολοιθηκότι ἀνωθεν πάντων*),' and this (2) 'accurately (*ἀκριβῶς*),' and (3) they had not written 'in order (*κατ' ἑξῆς*).'

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All this affords an interesting parallel to the description of the collection of the Mishna by R. Judah (*Hor. Hebr.* 1:101). 'When he saw the captivity was (*sic*) prolonged, and the scholars to become faint-hearted, and the strength of wisdom and the cabala to fail, and the oral law to be much diminished—he gathered and scraped up together all the decrees, statutes, and sayings of the wise men.' For 'the captivity was prolonged,' substitute 'the Lord delayed his coming,' for 'sayings of wise men' substitute 'traditions (*παράδοσις*)' and 'narratives (*διήγησις*),' some of which were probably based on the Psalms of Israel and the hymns of the first generation of Christians—and we have the same phenomena introducing themselves. Catechumens were disturbed by the diversity of traditions; catechists and evangelists themselves found it hard to distinguish the genuine from the spurious; it was time to 'gather and scrape up together' the traditions—especially those upon the Resurrection and the Incarnation, and to do this with such exactness (*ἀκριβῶς*) that the catechist might 'know the certainty (*ἀσφαλείας*) about the points of Christian faith.'

(3) *Linguistic characteristics.*—As a corrector, in the Triple Tradition, Lk. has been shown above to be a linguistic purist, and his insertions often indicate a love of sonorous and compound words (18:22 17:33). But in his Introduction, when describing the days before the Nativity (as also when describing the first days of the church in Acts), the narrative takes an archaic and Hebraic turn. The vocabulary of Lk. is largely borrowed from the LXX, and in particular from the Apocrypha—e.g., *ἐπιβαλεῖν*, *ἀποσπασθέντων*, *ἐπιβάλλει* (in the sense of 'belonging'), *ἐπιστρίψαν*, the use of *ὕψιστος* for *ὁὐρανός*, *στιγμή*, *ἀντιβάλλειν*, *εἶδος*, *περισπάσθαι*, *καίρος ἐπισκοπῆς*, *δοχή* and *ἀντιλελεῖ*. Cp Lk.'s story of the rich fool (12:19) with Eccl. 11:18; Lk. 18:7 ('though he bear long with them [*μακροθυμῶν*] . . .') with Eccl. 22:22; Lk. 1:42 ('Blessed art thou among women') with Judith 13:16. Often there is an allusive use of LXX words. Cp Lk. 23:51 (about Joseph of Arimathea who had not 'consented to' the decision of the Pharisees) with Ex. 23:1, 'Thou shalt not consent with (*συγκαταθήσῃ*) the unjust'; Lk. 23:43 with Ps. 88:8 'Thou hast put mine acquaintances (*γινώσκους*) far from me'; and Lk. 20:22 *ἐγκαθίστη* with Job 19:12, 31:9; also Lk. 1:7 *προβεβήκατες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις* with Gen. 18:11 *προβεβήκατες ἡμερῶν*. It is difficult to decide whether those portions of Lk. which approach the LXX in name for a Jew. And the omission of *κράτιστε* in Acts 11 might be explained on the ground that Lk. thinks it in bad taste to be noble a young catechumen too much (Gust as Dion. Halic. *Orat. Antiq.* [Reiske, 5:445] begins and ends [6:1128] a treatise with *κράτιστε Ἀματία*, but interpreters [7:19] *τῷ φίλτρῳ* and [7:22] *βέλτιστε*). To use the term obtrusively is characteristic of 'the obsequious man' in Theophr. *Charact.* 5, *ἀνὴρ κἀκρίστητον εἶναι* (Jebb, 'after a large display of respect').

κράτιστε certainly cannot refer to moral qualities alone. This is proved (1) by Lk.'s use of the vocative in Acts 24:26-25 (and cp 23:26); (2) by 2 Mac. 4:12, Jos. *Ant.* iv. 28 (in the latter, vocatively), where it is applied to 'young men of distinction or nobility,' and cp Lucian 2:272 *Κρητῶν οἱ κράτιστοι*, . . . οὐχὶ οἱ ἰδιώται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ βασιλικωτέροι καὶ πρωτεύοντες (*ἐξιστύντες*). (3) Dion. Halic. seems (as quoted above) to distinguish between *κράτιστε* and *βέλτιστε*. (4) It seems highly probable that the author of the first part of the Epistle to Diognetus has Lk. in view when writing (§ 1) *ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁραὶ, κράτιστε διόγνητε*, where 'Diognetus' represents not a Christian, but an inquirer, and is probably a fictitious name. If so, this tends to show that he regarded Lk.'s 'Theophilus' as representing a typical catechumen, just as his own 'Diognetus' represented a typical inquirer. On the whole, the impression left by the use of the name is that it is typical of one who might be addressed in a twofold sense as (*Hamlet*, 1:5 p.) 'thou noble youth.' Philo undertakes a treatise on the Creation (1:1) 'for the sake of the God-beloved (τοῦ Θεοφιλοῦς)'. And does not Lk.'s (Acts 1:1) *τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποίησαμιν περὶ πάντων, ὃ θεόφιλε, σὺν ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, sound like an echo of Philo 2:44 *ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λόγος ἦν ἡμῖν, ὃ θεόφιλε, περὶ τοῦ . . .*? Tatian speaks of (12) 'interpretations (of Scripture) which being published in writing make those who give heed to them greatly beloved of God (*θεοφιλεῖς*)'.

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rhythm and vocabulary are translations from Hebrew documents, or imitations, conscious or unconscious, of the books of the LXX. But the use of ὁ Κύριος, 'the Lord'—in (7.11) the raising of the widow's son at Nain, (10.1) the appointment of the Seventy, (11.39) the rebuke of the Pharisees, (12.42) the preface to the parable of the faithful and just steward, (13.15) the healing of the daughter of Abraham bound by Satan, (17.5 f.) the parable of the sycamore tree, (18.6) the parable of the unjust judge, (19.8) the story of Zacchaeus, (22.61) Christ's looking on Peter, and the verse (24.3) where it is said that 'they found not the body of the Lord Jesus'—confirms the theory (which is also supported by internal evidence) that these passages in Lk. are translations. Another test-word is Ἱερουσαλήμ. Lk. uses Ἱερουσαλήμ about twenty-six times, Ἱερουσόλυμα only three times (22.19.28.237). The latter form is sometimes used geographically by writers who use the former rhetorically or historically; but it is remarkable that in 22.2 and 41 the two forms should be used, apparently in the same sense, ἀνῆγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα and ἐπορεύοντο . . . εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.² Cp. JERUSALEM, § 1.

(ii.) *Doctrinal Characteristics.*—The key-note of Lk.'s doctrine is touched in the song of Zacharias over the

39. Its spirit. Baptist, and struck more clearly in the song of Simeon over the child Jesus; proclaiming, in the first case, redemption for (1.77) 'God's people,' in the second, for (2.31 f.) 'all the peoples, a light for revelation of the Gentiles.'

The implied (4.16-30) rejection of the Jews in favour of the Gentiles at the outset of Christ's public life in Nazareth is a chronological error; but it indicates the tendency of the Gospel. When (Mt. 6.32) 'the Gentiles' are condemned as seeking pleasures, Lk. is careful to add (12.30) 'the Gentiles of the world,' i.e., those who are spiritually Gentiles; and Lk.'s 'seventy' missionaries are emblematic of the Gospel to 'the nations.' Mk. makes no mention of the Samaritans; Mt. has merely (10.5) 'Go not into any city of the Samaritans'; but in Lk. the sons of Zebedee are rebuked for desiring to call down fire on a Samaritan village; a just Samaritan shames both priest and Levite; and a grateful Samaritan puts nine Jewish lepers to the blush. As for the law, it is valid as long as Jesus is a child or (2.51) 'subject to' his parents; but as soon as he has been baptized, it is regarded as (4.18.16.16) superseded because fulfilled.

Lk.'s Gospel is abundant in contrasts. It couples 'blessings' with (Lk. 6.24-26) 'woes.' It proclaims a conflict pending—between God and Satan, forgiveness and sin, self-renunciation and worldliness—which is to culminate in the triumph of mercy imparting to the Gentiles (24.47) a message of 'repentance and remission of sins.'

When Satan departs from Jesus, it is only (4.13) 'for a time'; Satan binds a daughter of Abraham, is beheld by Jesus 'fallen from heaven,' enters into Judas, and demands the Twelve that he may 'sift' them. There is a sharp demarcation between rich and poor. It is 'the poor,' not (as Mt. 5.3) 'the poor in spirit,' that are 'blessed.' In Lk., Christ pronounces a woe upon them that are rich, rebukes the 'cumbered' Martha, exhorts the rich to entertain the poor, and dooms the rich fool to a sudden death, while Dives is consigned to unalterable torment. But, above all, Lk. contrasts 'repentance' with pride. If Lazarus is contrasted with Dives, the grateful Samaritan with the ungrateful Jewish lepers, the merciful Samaritan with the heartless priest and Levite, and the trivial anxieties of Martha with the simple devotion of Mary, much more does the publican find his foil in the Pharisee who prays by his side; the woman 'which was a sinner' and 'loved much,' in Simon the churlish host who loved little; the prodigal younger son in the envious elder son; and the penitent thief on the right in the impenitent thief on the left. All these stories, as well as that of Zacchaeus, and the lost piece of silver, must have appealed with great force to many who applied to themselves the words of Ephes. 2.1: 'And you did he quicken when ye were dead through your trespasses and sins'; they magnify the power of forgiveness—contrasting the instantaneous and complete victories of faith (for the most part 'without works') with the inferior results of a long life of ordinary and prudent respectability.

(iii.) *A manual for daily conduct.*—The insertion of

¹ The Gospel of the Hebrew always uses the form ὁ Κύριος, never ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

² Another test-phrase is εἰς τὴν δὲ, frequent in Genesis and the early part of Exodus, but rare or non-existent in later books. It does not occur in Mk. or Mt. In Jn. it occurs only (a) in the interpolated 8.11, the woman taken in adultery; (b) in 12.6 (where D transposes δὲ, and Ss omits εἰς τὴν δὲ ('Now Judas did not care'), the original probably being simply, 'But that Judas cared'); (c) in 21.23 οὐκ εἰς τὴν δὲ, where δὲ is supported by B¹⁸C and is perhaps genuine, meaning 'however.'

In Lk. (as also in Acts) it is frequent, mostly in his Single Tradition, but sometimes in the Double or Triple when he introduces words or arrangements of his own. In view of these facts, Mt. 12.47, bracketed by Tischendorf and placed by WH in marg., should be rejected as an interpolation.

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'day by day,' both in the Lord's Prayer and in the

40. Its aim. precept to 'take up the cross,' indicates a purpose in the writer to produce a practical Gospel. Lk. seems to see, as the main obstacles to the Faith, not 'hypocrisies' nor Jewish backsliding, but the temptations of wealth and social position acting upon half-hearted converts; and his sayings about 'building the tower,' 'putting the hand to the plough,' 'renouncing all one's possessions,' and 'hating' father and mother, are pathetic indications of what must have been going on in the divided household of many a young 'Theophilus.'

The important part played by 'devout women' in Acts prepares the reader for finding prominence assigned to them here. Lk. alone gives us the songs of Mary and of Elisabeth, and the testimony of Anna. The mother of the Lord (not Joseph) ponders in her heart the words of her Son, and her sufferings are made (2.35) the subject of prophecy; Lk. alone mentions the domestic anxieties of Martha and the devoted faith of her sister, the cure of the afflicted 'daughter of Abraham,' the woman who invoked a blessing upon the womb that bare Jesus, the story of her who 'loved much,' and the parable of the woman rejoicing over the lost piece of silver. Lot's wife is mentioned by him alone; nor do we find in any other Gospel the utterance of Jesus to the 'daughters of Jerusalem.' Mk. and Mt. concur with Lk. in pronouncing a blessing on the man who gives up father or mother or lands or houses for Christ's sake; but Lk. alone adds 'wife.'

Strangely incongruous with these sayings and with the great body of Synoptic doctrine, are the parables of the unjust steward, the unjust judge, and the friend persuaded by importunity. The moral of them appears to be 'Copy the world, only in an unworldly fashion.' Yet the thought, the style, and the language, make it difficult to believe that Jesus uttered these parables in their present shape; and the last two (as they stand) seem at variance with his command to remember that the Father knoweth what things we need before we ask for them. Everything points to the conclusion that we have here, and probably elsewhere in Lk., discourses, based indeed on Christ's doctrine but not containing his words or modelled after his methods and style. Else, why, in the parable of the Shepherd, do we find the dramatic element in Lk. 15.6 whilst it is absent in Mt. 18.13? and why do Lk.'s parables alone introduce the soliloquy—e.g., in the case of the rich fool, the prodigal son, the unjust steward, the unjust judge?

(iv.) *Evidence as to date.*—Lk., more clearly than Mk.-Mt., describes the fall of Jerusalem as the result

41. Its date. of a siege and capture. He also more

definitely sets a term for all troubles. Lk. alone has the exhortation to (21.38) 'look up.' Omitting the remarkable saying of Mk. and Mt. that the Son himself knoweth not 'the hour,' he declares that the trampling down of Jerusalem will be only till 'the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.' Then will come a time of 'distress'—not, however, now for Israel, but for the Gentiles—and amidst convulsions of nature the Son of man will come. In the hope of this coming, the disciples are to lift up their heads, remembering that, although some of them will be 'slain, not a hair of their heads will be injured.' The comparatively cheerful discourse on the Coming, combined with the joyful and triumphant tone of the Introduction, accords with the general tenor of Lk. when compared with Mt., and indicates as the author a Christian Gentile to whom (as to Barnabas) the fall of Jerusalem was an accepted and not unwelcome fact. Writing with recollection, but not under the present pressure, of persecution, when the Church was making rapid progress in the conversion, not only of the slaves, the poor, and the 'devout women,' but also of the higher and more educated classes in the Roman Empire, the Evangelist seems to be looking forward to the moment when 'the times of the Gentiles' would be 'fulfilled,' and the Son of man would suddenly 'come.' Such a date might be reasonably fixed at the close of Vespasian's or the beginning of Nerva's reign.¹ See ESCHATOLOGY, § 84 f.

¹ Acts 28.30 ('And he [Paul] abode two whole years [in Rome]') suggests, at first sight, that Acts—and, a fortiori, Lk. 1:1

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(v.) *Supernatural Narratives* peculiar to Lk., apart from the Introduction and the Conclusion, are: (1) the miraculous draught of fishes; (2) the raising of the widow's son at Nain; (3) the healing of the woman bound by Satan; (4) the cure of the dropsical man; (5) the appearance of the angel strengthening Jesus, and (6) the healing of the severed ear.¹

42. Its miracles. As regards (6), its omission by all the other Evangelists is, in itself, almost fatal to its authenticity, and it is probably to be explained as the result of a literary misunderstanding. There was probably some tradition—ambiguous, or obscure, and omitted by Mk.—that Jesus said (a) 'let it (i.e. the sword) be restored to its place.' This was misunderstood by Lk. as meaning (b) 'let it (i.e. the ear) be restored.' He therefore substituted (c) for (a), and amplified his narrative in such words as to leave no ambiguity.²

(vi.) *Lk.'s position historically.*—We are led to the conclusion that, although Lk. attempted to write 'accurately' and 'in order,' yet he could not always succeed. When deciding between an earlier and a later date, between this and that place or occasion, between metaphor and literalism, between what Jesus himself said and what he said through his disciples, he had to be guided by evidence which sometimes led him right, but not always.

In regarding the story of the fig-tree as a metaphor, and the promise about treading on serpents as a spiritual promise, and in placing the home of the infant Jesus at Nazareth, not at Bethlehem, he was probably right. The Feeding of the Four Thousand he may have rightly rejected as a duplicate of the tradition about the Five Thousand. But he himself seems to give in his Mission of the Seventy a duplicate of the Mission of the Twelve.³ His two-fold description of Jesus as mourning over Jerusalem, once (13.34) in Galilee, and once (19.41) near the city itself, seems an error of an inferential character (like his inference from the expressions 'cup' and 'platter,' that a certain discourse of Jesus was uttered at the table of a Pharisee).⁴ Again, Mk. and Mt. show traces of duplicate traditions concerning the insults offered to Jesus in the Passion; and these (combined with the Palmist's predictions about (Acts 4.26) 'The kings of the earth') may have led Lk. to adopt a tradition—mentioned by the other Evangelists—that Herod joined with Pilate to persecute Christ. In the journey to Emmaus and the Manifestation to the Eleven, it has been shown (§ 28. f.) that he seems to take metaphor for literal statement. Some textual ambiguity may have induced him to believe that the Nazarenes, instead of (as Mk. and Mt.) being caused to *stumble* in Jesus, tried to 'cause Jesus to fall' (down a precipice), and that the words uttered to the woman at the anointing⁵ were not 'Let her alone,' but 'Her sins are forgiven her.'

Lk.'s absolute omission of some genuine and valuable traditions—especially in connection with Christ's appearing to women after the Resurrection and with Christ's promise to go to 'Galilee'—though it may be in part extenuated on the ground of the need of selection, and in part almost justified on the ground of the obscurity of the original, nevertheless seriously diminishes the

'the former treatise,' i.e., Lk.—was completed during the apostle's life. But although Acts may incorporate documents written while Paul was living and left unaltered by the compiler, the compilation may have been made many years after the apostle's death.

Of these (3) and (4) demand no special mention; (1) must be classed (§ 32 and § 47) with Jn.'s draught of 153 fishes, which is symbolical; (2) will be discussed with the Raising of Lazarus (see below, § 53). As to (5) (described by VII as not a part of Lk.'s gospel, but as one of 'the most precious among the remains of' an 'evangelical tradition,' 'locally current beside the Canonical Gospels,' and as being 'rescued from oblivion by the scribes of the second century') see § 62 (4).

² The same word ἀνοκαθίσταται means 'restore' a sword in Jer. 29 (Heb. 47)⁹, and a limb in Lk. 6.10. The solution is unconsciously suggested by Ephrem (236.7): 'Justitiam (i.e. gladium) in locum suum reducit . . . Aurem in locum suum restituit.'

³ Cp Lk.'s accounts of the two Missions (a) 9.3-5 (b) 10.1-12 with Mt.'s account of the single Mission (Mt. 10.7-15), and it will be found that (b) is almost entirely made up of that portion of Mt. which does not occur in (a).

⁴ See above, § 19.

⁵ Confusion between a verb and its causal form produces many variations in the LXX (Gen. 32.23 Num. 20.27 Jer. 15.10 etc.), and probably explains many Synoptic variations; cp Mk. 2.10 Mt. 9.15 δύναται ὑποσχεῖν (Mt. πῶνθε) with Lk. 5.34 δύνασθε . . . ποιεῖν ὑποσχεῖσαι. Mk. 9.2 Lk. 9.22 Mk. 11.7 Lk. 19.35. A great many instances occur in Theodotion's and the LXX version of Daniel (15 [σῶσαι, σῶσαι] 11 21 16. etc.).

⁶ See above, § 10 n.

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value of his work. Every page of it shows signs of pains, literary labour, and good taste. It is by far the most beautiful, picturesque, and pathetic of all the Gospels, and probably the best adapted for making converts, especially among those who have to do with the life of the household. But, if bald bare facts are in question, it is probably the least authoritative of the Four.

Jn. often intervenes to describe facts mentioned by Mk.-Mt. and omitted by Lk. But, as regards facts mentioned by Lk. alone, Jn. is either silent or gives so different a version of them (as in the case of the Draught of Fishes) that many would fail to recognise an intention to describe the same event. On this point, see the next section.

(vii.) *Jn. in relation to Lk.'s Single Tradition.*—It is only where Lk. alters, or omits, some Synoptic Tradition, or where he attempts to describe the phenomena that followed the Resurrection, that Jn. (as a rule) steps in to correct Lk. The Fourth Gospel lies outside that large and beautiful province, peculiar to the Third, which deals with the welcome of repentant sinners; and some of the words most in use with Lk.—'repentance,' 'faith,' 'rich,' 'riches,' 'divorce,' 'publican,' and (in the words of Jesus) 'sinner'—are altogether absent from Jn.

Perhaps the only important point of doctrine in which Jn. may be thought tacitly to contradict the Single Tradition of Lk. is *prayer*, as to which Lk. encourages something approaching to importunity, while Jn. so far discourages it that he avoids the very use of the word, preferring 'ask' or 'request,' and everywhere implies that the essential thing is, not that the petitioner should be importunate, but that he should be 'in Christ,' in which case his petition *must* be granted.

Lk. aims at chronological order. Jn., while giving a new chronology, groups his history according to symbolical and spiritual principles. Lk. often removes from the old Tradition such words as Atticists might condemn; Jn. seems sometimes to prefer them, and always uses a vocabulary simple even to monotony. Lk. writes what 'eye-witnesses' have 'delivered,' Jn. (not here dissenting, but indicating superiority) writes in the name of eye-witnesses concerning (Jn. 1.14) that which 'we have contemplated (θεωροῦμεθα).'

So far, Jn. may be said to differ, without correcting; but on one or two points of Lk.'s Single Tradition he seems to write correctively. For example: Lk. 3.2 mentions 'Annas and Caiaphas' as 'high priests,' but Jn. 18.13 describes Annas as the father-in-law of the high-priest Caiaphas; Lk. 22.52 mentions 'generals of the temple,' but Jn. 18.12 'the chiliarch.' Lk., alone of the Synoptists, mentions Martha and Mary together. Mary, he says, was seated at Christ's feet; Martha was 'troubled' (ἀσθενῶσα, Lk. 10.41) 'about much service.' Jn. does not contradict this; but he presents us with a different aspect of Martha. Mary, he says, was sitting at home with the Jews; Martha went to meet Jesus, and made a confession of faith in him, and induced Mary to come forth also to hear him.

In two or three instances, Jn. represents as an *act* what Lk. represents as a *word*. E.g., Lk. 22.27 ('I am in the midst of you as he that serveth') is parallel to Jn. 13.5, where Jesus 'serves'; Lk. 22.32 ('I have besought for thee') seems parallel to the prayer to the Father in Jn. 17.15 ('keep them from the evil one'). Perhaps we may add Lk. 23.46 ('I commend my spirit') and Jn. 19.30 ('he delivered up [παρέδωκε] his spirit').

(c) THE JOHANNINE GOSPEL.—The Fourth Gospel has been the subject of various (i.) hypotheses of authorship. The internal evidence of these (apart from direct statements) is derivable from (ii.) names, allusions, etc.; (iii.) style; (iv.) structure.

(i.) *Hypotheses of authorship.*—The Gospel states that (21.20-24) 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' is the witness and writer² of 'these things,' adding 'and we know that his witness is true.' A comparison of several other passages leads (by a process of elimination) to the inference that the author—writing perhaps with some co-operation or attestation of others—was John the son of Zebedee. But the belief that the apostle originated the Gospel is compatible with a conviction that he did not compose or write it in its present shape.

¹ E.g. κἀββατος, καλαβιστης, πιστικός (as used in Mk. 14.3).

² The text is uncertain. There may have been originally a distinction between 'the witness' and 'the writer': 20.31 has simply 'hath been written,' and 19.35 simply 'hath witnessed.'

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For example, the teaching of the aged apostle may have been taken up by a disciple or 'interpreter,' and may have been ultimately published by the latter, as Peter's is said to have been recorded and circulated by Mark (see below, § 65). Peter's 'interpreter.' If, as Irenaeus says, John the apostle wrote the Apocalypse about A.D. 96, the difference of style between that and the Gospel would necessitate a very long interval to admit even a possibility that he wrote the latter. Suppose the apostle to have been ninety, or, say, only eighty-five, when he wrote the Apoc., and concede an interval of only ten years to allow him to learn a new kind of Greek, change his vocabulary, and adopt a new style, new thoughts, and a new tone, yet this brings us to 106 A.D. and the apostle to the age of a hundred or ninety-five. Is it probable that one so aged could retain powers of memory and expression sufficient for the mental construction, or even the literary expression, of a work in which, as will be shown, every word is weighed and every detail adapted to a spiritual purpose? The improbability is increased by the tradition (reported by Jerome) that towards the close of his life the venerable apostle had to be carried into the midst of the congregation and could do no more than repeat over and over again the injunction 'Love one another.'

If this was so, John's Gospel would nevertheless continue to be preached, probably by one or more of his 'elders,' preaching in his name, say from A.D. 98 to A.D. 110 or A.D. 115. Then it becomes easy to understand how the individuality of an 'interpreter' may have combined with the force of new circumstances—attacks from philosophers without, conflicts with incipient Gnosticism within—to mould the oral Johannine Gospel into its present shape, first without an appendix, and then, when the nominal author had passed away (say A.D. 108), with the additional chapter that, in effect, alludes (21-23) to his death. Who this 'Elder' or 'interpreter' may have been we cannot now discuss.² For the present it must suffice to point out that, as the Muratorian Fragment enrolls among the canonical books the *Wisdom of Solomon*, though admitting it to have been written not by Solomon but by Solomon's friends 'in his honour,' so a pupil and 'interpreter' of John, committing to writing a Johannine Gospel, might deem it a merit to ignore his own part in the composition, and to impute it as a whole to his master and teacher. The alternative was to do as I.k. had done; to use 'I' and 'me' in the preface, and to explain that the writer had received his doctrine from the apostle. That, however, was an innovation. The first two Gospels had given no signs of authorship. The Fourth Gospel differs from the Third in method, arrangement, and system, as well as in matters of fact and views of fact. I.k.'s novel precedent might even stimulate the Johannine 'interpreter' to merge his own authorship in that of the apostle, or, rather, in that of 'the disciple whom Jesus loved,' and whom he perhaps regards as a pattern and type of true discipleship.

Some of these points will be more fully discussed under External Evidence. What has been said above is intended to guard the reader against assumptions fatal to unprejudiced criticism.

For example, it is commonly assumed (1) that the author must be an eye-witness or a forger; (2) that if he knows *some* things not known to the Synoptists he must know *everything* known to an apostle and must be an apostle; (3) that the minute details with which the narrative abounds are signs of an eye-witness with a taste for the picturesque, and of an ear-witness with a keen sense of the dramatic.³ On the contrary, (1) if the writer is a disciple regarding himself as the pen of a teacher, he is not to be regarded as a forger; (2) if the writer received from John the apostle some things not known to the Synoptists, it does not follow that he received everything, still less that he must himself be an apostle; (3) if, among a vast store of details of name and number (such as might naturally drop from the lips of a very old man in oral accounts of reminiscences) he selected those which lent themselves to a symbolical meaning, it does not follow that he was an eye-witness or ear-witness; and it may even be that he would have regarded picturesqueness as an impertinence approximating to profanity in one who was attempting to write a Gospel that should be a New Testament 'Scripture.'

(ii.) *Evidence from Names, etc.*—Here we consider (a) Names, (β) Numbers, and (γ) Quotations. (a) Names

1 The Apocalypse contains much internal evidence (e.g. the reference to cheap wine and dear corn in Rev. 18) for placing at least part of the work in the reign of Domitian. The ancient external evidence for the Domitian date is singularly strong. Cp. APOCALYPSE.

2 See JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE. If it was John the Elder—a contemporary who, as Eusebius (iii. 39a) tells us, was confused with the apostle—the imputation of the Gospel to John the apostle might be more easily explained.

3 Some critics actually extend this last inference to the dialogue with the Samaritan woman at which no disciple was present!

4 In order to appreciate what follows, the reader must remember (1) that every name, number, detail, and even syllable in Scripture, was generally supposed in Rabbinical tradition to have some spiritual significance; (2) that this significance or symbolism was reduced to a system by the Alexandrian Jews (see Siegfried and Drummond on *Philo*); (3) that Jn. (as will be shown in foot-notes to this section) was familiar with the Philonian teaching.

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of places in Jn. divide themselves into two classes: first, the well known; second, the obscure and contested. Concerning the former, Jn. may be shown to write mostly from biblical, or literary, not from local, knowledge. The latter he mentions only when they are adapted for symbolism.

For example: (1) that Jesus (8a0) 'spoke in the Treasury' is an error (so far as we know) arising from a supposition that what held in the days of Nehemiah (10:37-39; and cp. Neh. 13:5) held also in the time of Christ; that the temple was built in (2a0) 'forty and six years' was a false inference² from Ezra 1:1 about the second temple. (2) That Jesus (18:1) crossed the Kidron may very well have happened; but the fact appears to be introduced as a parallel to David, who similarly (2 S. 15:23) crossed the Kidron in mourning to return in triumph. (3) The mention of the cornfields of Sychar, or Shechem, far from implying an eye-witness, might have been made by any reader of Philo (1471) familiar with Gen. 40:15. (4) Dialogues between a Samaritan and a Jew about 'this mountain' (Gertziim) as compared with Mount Zion, existed among the Talmudists, and it was the custom to place the scene at the foot of the former near Shechem.³ SYCHAR (9:14) appears to have been an opprobrious name for Shechem (see § 54, γ); it adapted itself to the dialogue on 'the living water.' (5) As for the alleged familiarity with Capernaum and its 'sea,' it reduces itself to this, that the writer knew Capernaum to be on the sea-shore, so that people would 'go down' to it, and knew that the sea was large enough to allow men to row—under stress of weather and not necessarily in a straight direction—for (6:19) 'twenty-five or thirty furlongs.'

Passing to 'obscure and contested' places, we find (6) in (3:23) 'Anon near to Salim' (the var. loc. 'Salim' is cited *i.e.*, *Fontaines* near to *Peace*), a reference to the Baptist's purification by water as a preparation for the higher purification of Melchizedek, king of Salem (or *Peace*)—*i.e.*, Christ. Cp. SALIM. As for (7) the corrupt passage⁴ relating to Bethesda, Bethzatha, or Bethesda, the most probable supposition is that Jn. wished to describe some place of bathing or purification in Jerusalem, that the Jews themselves (Weist. *ad loc.*) called a bathing place by the Greek-derived name *probate* ('sheep-pool'), and that a kindred name appeared to be applied to a pool in Jerusalem by Nehemiah.⁵ Lastly (8), the pool of Siloam, and its spiritual interpretation—which Jn. introduces in the healing of the man born blind, the type of the converted Gentile world—would be known to every reader of Is. 8:6.

(β) Numbers.—If the man at Bethesda represents sinful Israel, his 38 years of waiting might correspond to the 38 years that elapsed before Israel (Deut. 2:14) 'went over the Brook Zered.'⁶ The 153 fish, according to Philonian principles,⁷ would mean (as explained by Augustine) the Church as evolved from the Law and the Spirit. The 6 water-pots⁸ containing 2 or 3 firkins apiece⁹ (after the Jews' manner of purifying) represent the inferior dispensation of the week-days—*i.e.*, the Law—preparing

Further, how little security there is that names would be accurately preserved in passing from Hebrew to Greek (not to speak of the gulf dividing an oral tradition from Gospels written, say, A.D. 65-110) may be seen by comparing two books of *2b* in the circumstances most favourable to accuracy, viz., where both translate the same Hebrew original by which errors might be corrected. Cp. (a) 2 Ch. 35:15 with (b) 1 Esd. 10:15; (a) *λεηά* (b) *Λουαρος*, r. 15; (a) *Αιψαρ*, *Βελθου* (b) *Ζαχαρίας*, *Εδδουρος*, r. 15. Similar discrepancies abound in 1 Esd. and 2 Esd. It was inevitable that variations in obscure Gospel names should abound at the beginning of the second century, leaving it open to the writer to choose that form which seemed most suitable.

1 Neh. 10:39 might give the impression that 'the children of Israel,' when bringing their offerings into 'the Chambers,' were allowed to enter the treasure-house. Mk. 12:41 ('*ever against the Treasury*') is correct, and so is Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, 2, *Ant.* xix. 61). But no unofficial person was, in Christ's time, allowed 'in the Treasury.'

2 See the *Classical Review*, '94, pp. 80-93, and the *Chronology* of Eusebius (ii. 81). A pious Jew would regard Herod as repairing, not as 'building,' the temple. A historian would say, with Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 115), that Herod built his part of the temple 'in eight years.'

3 *Ilor. Hebr.* on Jn. 4:20.

4 The RV rendering 'by the sheep (gate)' is unsupported by any instance of a similar ellipse in Greek literature, and is indifferently condemned by Eusebius and Jerome.

5 See Neh. 3:15 *2b*, 'the pool of the flocks for the shearing of the king.' 'Sheep' in Philo (1170) represent the irrational passions. The sick man in Jn. typifies sinful Israel (Jn. 5:14) with no more waiting for the intermittent purification of the Law (typified by the intermittent pool).

6 'Thirty-eight' does not occur in the whole of the Bible except in these two places.

7 The Law=10 (the ten commandments); the Spirit (Rev. 1:4 3:1 etc.)=7. According to Philo (110), the fulfilment of any potentiality, say 3, is 1+2+3; the fulfilment of 4 is 1+2+3+4. The fulfilment of 10+7 (or 17) is 1+2+3+...+17, *i.e.*, 153;—absurd of course to modern readers, but a systematic result of Philonian interpretation, and not thought absurd by Augustine.

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the way for the perfect dispensation of the Sabbath—i.e., the Gospel—of which the wedding feast at Cana is a type. Peter (210) swims over 200 cubits, a number that represents (Philo on Gen. 5.22) repentance. The 'five porches' in Bethesda represent the five senses of unredeemed humanity—i.e., the unregenerate passions—and so the 'five husbands' of the Woman of Samaria represent what Philo calls 'the five seducers,' who lead the soul from its union with God.

(7) Quotations.—Quotations from OT (rare in the Gospel, and non-existent in the Epistle) are condensed and adapted to the context. Almost all differ both from the Hebrew and from the most part, Jn. quotes the OT as illustrating fundamental tendencies or pointing to types.³

48. Its OT quotations. The words (10.14) 'I said ye are gods' are taken to indicate that all men who have received 'the Word of God' are in some sense divine. (8.17) 'The testimony of two men is true' means that in the spiritual world, as in the material, experience is the test of truth; so that he who can produce the results he aims at is proved to be—so far as the province of the action extends—in the region of truth, having the testimony of 'two' (himself and God, or himself and Nature). From first to last this Gospel abounds in allusions to the OT and is permeated with Jewish tradition, but the author seems to have shared in the growing dissatisfaction felt by Jews with the LXX at the beginning of the second century, and to have been largely influenced by Christian traditions of free quotation.⁴

(iii.) Style.—The Fourth Gospel abounds in iteration—sometimes (a) double, sometimes (β) triple, sometimes

49. Its style. (γ) of the same statement expressed positively and negatively—quite different from anything in the Synoptists.

(1.20) 'He confessed, and (γ) denied not, but (α) confessed'; (3.20.7) 'everyone that doeth ill . . . cometh not to the light . . . but he that doeth the truth (γ) cometh to the light'; (10.7.9) 'I am the door of the sheep. . . I am (α) the door.' (α) In the Baptist's testimony, and at the beginning of the Gospel, the iteration (with or without slight variation) is often twofold—e.g., 1.31.33 'I knew him not' (twice), and cp 3.31.4.23.7.8.30.7.8.35.49 etc. (β) But not infrequently—with the aid of question and answer, or other slight variations, which have a meaning besides breaking the sense of monotony—the effect of a threefold iteration is produced, as when Jesus is predicting his Resurrection (16.16-19), where the words 'A little while and ye shall see me,' are repeated thrice, and 'a little while' seven times. So the words of Mk. and Mt. '(cometh) after me'—rejected by Lk.—are converted by Jn. (1.15.27.30) into a triple testimony from the Baptist to the pre-existence of Christ.

Westcott rightly calls attention to the triple repetition of 'these things' in 12.10, where the allusion is to an unconscious fulfilment of prophecy; but in fact the Gospel abounds with such instances (3.3.7.8.54.57.8.55.10.15-18.16.13-16.13.34.7); and sometimes the repetition refers not to words but to acts. Thrice did Jesus (7.23.37.12.44) 'cry aloud (*ἐκπαύει*)'; thrice (11.5.11.41.17) raise his eyes to heaven, and always as a prelude to some sublime mystery of act or utterance. The writer implies that Jesus manifested himself to the disciples after the Resurrection by many signs; but he selects three, and, of the last, he says (21.11) 'This is now the third time . . .'

Numerical groupings, in threes, fives, sevens, etc., are frequent

¹ For this mention of 6, in connection with 2 and 3, cp Philo 2.281: 'The number 6 . . . composed of 2 x 3, having the odd as male, and the even as female, whence originate those things which are according to the fixed laws of nature. . . . What the number 6 generated, that the number 7 exhibited in full perfection.'

² The number 200 occurs again (8.17) in the old tradition derived from Mk. 6.37: 'two hundred pennyworth of bread.' This is a good instance to show how Jn. may (as often elsewhere) have retained an old tradition that adapted itself to spiritual interpretation, as if to say, 'Not all the repentance in the world could suffice to bread to feed the Church; it must be received as the free gift of God.' On the other hand, in mentioning (12.5) 'three hundred pence' (see Philo on Gen. 6.15), Judas Iscariot unconsciously (like Caiaphas, 11.49), testifies to the completeness of 'the offering of sweet savour' which represents (as 300 does in Philo) the harmony between God and man, or the symmetrical body of Humanity, so that it is here appropriate to the perfect sacrifice of Christ, and the consequent unity of the Church in his body.

³ Jn. 10.24 appears at first sight to resemble Mt.'s quotations in being an instance of minute and exact fulfilment. But the 'vesture' is the Church, which is not to be 'rent,' and there is also a reference to the Logos, which keeps the Church together (Phil. 1.56). 'Nor shall he rend his garments' (Lev. 21.10), for the Logos of the spiritual Universe . . . keeps all its parts in union.

⁴ Perhaps also he did not know Hebrew enough to render the OT with that exact accuracy which was attempted soon after his days in the version of Aquila. That a writer might be familiar with Hebrew tradition but not with the Hebrew language, is proved by the example of Philo.

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in the Talmudists; and something similar has been indicated

50. Jn. a (8.34.36) as present in Mt. But in Jn. we find repetition rather than grouping. Now Jn. differs 'witness' from the Synoptists (and shows some resemblance to the Apocalypse) in being from first to last a 'witness,' whether from the Evangelist, or the Baptist, or the Son, or the Father; and it expressly distinguishes between (3.12) 'earthly things' and 'heavenly things,' to both of which Christ 'bears witness.' Hence we are led to ask whether Jn.'s twofold iteration may not be a kind of verbal image of the principle that 'The testimony of two men is true' (referring to the earthly witness of the Son attested by the co-operation of the Father). Again, the occurrence of threefold iteration in references to the Resurrection and other mysteries, recalls the mention (in the Epistle) of the 'Three that bear witness on earth,' (1 Jn. 5.7.8) 'the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood,' which three 'make up the one.' Here the witness, though 'on earth,' yet testifies to a 'heavenly' mystery, namely, to the essence and redeeming powers of Christ. Thus, once more, we are led to ask whether this juxtaposition of twofold and threefold iteration may be neither accident nor tautological blemish, but the result, partly of a style formed in the schools of Jewish thought, partly of a deliberate purpose to direct the spiritual reader to distinguish between the things of earth and those of heaven. And the question is almost changed into an affirmative inference, when we find Philo commenting on the distinction (1.24.7) between the Lord's speaking 'once' or 'twice,' and declaring—in allusion to Deut. 19.15 ('two witnesses or three')—that (1.24.3) 'A holy matter is proved by three witnesses.'¹ Probably, also, the combination of positive and negative was based on principles of Midrash.²

It may be objected that such a style would be highly artificial, whereas Jn.'s style is simplicity itself. But,

51. Its in the first place, what might seem artificial for us might be a second nature for those bred amid Jewish and Alexandrian traditions of the interpretation of the OT; and, in the second, though Jn.'s words are as simple as those of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, his style is not simple.

There are more ambiguities in Jn. than in all the rest of the Gospels put together,³ so that sometimes it might almost seem as if he intended to leave his readers to choose between several possible meanings, or even to decide, according to their impressions, whether the Evangelist or some other is speaking. Moreover he abounds in subtle variations—impossible to render in English, and wholly wanting in the Synoptists—between Greek words such as: (21.15.19) *φάω* and *ἀγῶμαι* ('Simon, . . .

¹ Cp *Hos. Hebr.* 184 for a quaint illustration of the 'twice' and 'thrice' (the 'twice' apparently denoting earthly confirmation, and the 'thrice' the 'holy matter'). Siegfried (p. 168) gives as a Philonian rule, that 'Scripture points to a deeper meaning by doubling an expression,' and adds that this is 'a principle of Midrash.' It might be a mere accident that Jn. rejects the Synoptic ('Jesus answering said' and always prefers 'answered and said.' But note that, in the Synoptists, Christ always says 'Verily'; in Jn., always 'Verily, Verily.' Both can hardly be right; for who can believe that Christ used sometimes one, sometimes the other, and that the Synoptists by a mere accidental coincidence, rejected all the sayings that contained the latter, whilst Jn. rejected all that contained the former? Yet, if Jn. added the second 'verily' without additional meaning, he was guilty of tautology, which Philo calls (1.520) the vilest kind of 'maculosity' (*μακρολογία τὸ φαυλότατον εἶδος, ταυτολογία*), denying its existence in the OT. Moderns may think this a trifle; but the question is, not what they think, but what was thought by a few A.D. 95-115. To him, no word in 'Scripture' could be trifling.

This distinction between the heavenly and the earthly, represented by threefold and twofold rhythms, is perceptible at the very outset (1.1.7), where the three clauses about the Logos, followed by their summary in one clause—suggesting the Three 'heavenly' Witnesses, who are One—are followed by the account of the 'man, named John,' of whom it is twice said that he (1.7.7) 'came to bear witness of the light.'

² On the Positive and Negative, see the Canon of *Sohar*, a treatise of suspicious origin but containing very ancient elements—(Grätz, *Hist.* 4.10), 'All laws of the Torah . . . resolve themselves into the mysteries of the masculine and the feminine principle (positive and negative). Only when both parts meet together does the higher unity arise.' As regards what may be called the Canon of the Twofold witness, see Schöttg. (2.362) (on Ex. 31.16): 'It (the Sabbath) is mentioned twice because of the Shechinah above and below,' i.e., in Johanneine language, to attest it in the name of the Son and of the Father; and see the comment on Gen. 1.1 (*ib.* 1.71): 'Behold two Adams are named in this section: one is the mystical celestial, the other is the mystical terrestrial.' So Philo (on Ex. 25.13.14) speaks of 'duo verba divina' or 'duplex mundi rationes.'

³ The first chapter alone suffices to prove this (1.3.5.9.15.16.50). Especially difficult is it to decide whether his verbs are used affirmatively, interrogatively, or imperatively (3.30.12.40.14.1.15.18.27.16.31.20.29); and his 67: may often mean 'that' or 'because' (3.41.5.40.7.52 etc.).

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lovest [ἀγαπᾷς] thou me?' followed by 'Simon, . . . art thou my friend [φίλος]?' and (ib.) οἶδα and γινώσκω ('Thou knowest [οἶδας] that I am thy friend [φίλος]' followed by 'Thou knowest [οἶδας] all things, thou understandest [γινώσκεις] that I am thy friend [φίλος]'). Similar distinctions are drawn between the meanings of οἶδα and γινώσκω, between θεωρεῖν, ὁρᾶσθαι, ἰδεῖν and βλέπειν, and between the aorist, and present, and subjunctives.¹ All these are natural in an Alexandrian Jew familiar with Philonian philosophy and so long habituated to Greek as to be able to play on its words and utilise to the utmost its minute differences of grammatical expression.

(iv.) *Structure.*—(a) *The Gospel, as a whole.*—The Fourth Gospel (Westc. on Jn. 12:1) 'begins and closes with a sacred week.' The 'week' has to be deduced from a careful reading of the context. But this is a characteristic of the Gospel, distinguishing it from the

52. Its systematic structure.

Apocalypse. In the latter, symbolism is on the surface; in the former, latent. The word 'seven' occurs about fifty-five times in the Apocalypse (e.g., 'seven spirits,' 'stars,' 'angels,' 'vials,' etc.); in the Gospel never. None the less, as might be expected in a work that opens with the words 'in the beginning,' so as to suggest a parallel with the seven days of Creation and Rest, the thought of the perfect 'seven' pervades all Jn.'s highest revelations of the divine glory.²

There are seven miracles or 'signs.' There is a sevenfold witness (West. xlv.) of (1) the Father, (2) the Son, (3) the Son's works, (4) Scripture (5) the Forerunner, (6) the Spirit, (7) the Disciples. In the final discourse—a Deuteronomy in which Jesus reviews his 'testimony,' the clause ταῦτα λέγαμεν ὑμῖν (which occurs nowhere else in the Gospels) is repeated seven times. So is the noun 'love' (which the Epistle mentions as the very Name of God).³ Lastly, the sacred words, I AM, used (89) absolutely to represent the eternal being of the Son, are combined with seven predicates, to represent seven revelations: (1) the Bread, (2) the Light, (3) the Door, (4) the Good Shepherd, (5) the Resurrection and the Life, (6) the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and (7) the true Vine.

(b) *The Details.*—(1) The Prologue is based on ancient traditions, describing⁴ Wisdom as having taken part with God from the beginning in the

creation, and predicting the accomplishment of God's 'truth and grace,' and the 'tabernacled' of his glory among men.⁵ These traditions Jn. concentrates on Christ. Only, instead of calling him Wisdom, he prefers the term Word,⁶ more commonly used in the OT.

The Synoptists begin their Gospels by saying in effect (Mk.) 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ . . . was John' (ἔγινετο ἰωάννης), or by tracing the descent of Jesus to (Mt.) Abraham, or (Lk.) Adam. Jn. goes farther back, saying that the Word 'was (ἦν) in the beginning, and . . . was God,' and that the 'man' John merely (Westc. on Jn. 1:6) 'arose, or came into existence (ἐγένετο).' He then turns to nature and history. 'What has been (ἔγενετο) in the Word,' he says, 'was (ἦν) Life,

¹ E.g. 10:38: ἵνα γινώτε καὶ γινώσκητε 'that ye may know and grow in knowledge.' A difference is also kept between πιστεύωσι and πιστεύσωσι.

² There are indications that Jn., in writing his Gospel about the New Genesis or regeneration of man, had in view the Great Announcement of Simon Magus, who (see below, § 91), allegorising the Pentateuch, discerned in the five books a reference to the five senses, and in the whole a description of the second creation. If so, it is to the point to remember that the Talmudists (Schöttg. ii. 363) found a mystical meaning in the sevenfold repetition of 'the cloud'—i.e., the Shechinah—in the Pentateuch.

³ Owing to the variation of MSS, it is impossible to speak with certainty as to the repetition of ὁ Θεός as the subject, representing the divine Creator. There is fair evidence, however, for its sevenfold repetition, and still better for that of ἐγώ in the words of Jesus, expressing the divine unity.

⁴ Prov. 8:1-36 Job 28:12-28. The latter declares that God alone 'hath seen and declared (εἶδεν καὶ ἐγγήσατο) wisdom.'

⁵ Mic. 7:20 Ps. 86:9-11.

⁶ Thus he leaves it an open question—to be answered in what follows concerning the person of Christ—as to the nature of the Word. 'Wisdom' would have closed the question by giving it a too narrow answer. Note that Jn., alone of the Evangelists, never uses the word 'wisdom,' though it is found (four times) in the Apocalypse. He regards God as a Spirit, permeating, attracting, and harmonising all that is, and especially all that is in the sphere of righteousness. To call such a being 'Wisdom' would be bathos. In the Epistle he prefers 'Love.'

⁷ WH, vol. ii., on Mk. 1:1, say that 'several fathers' connected the words thus, and this is by far the least harsh connection, whether the parenthesis (1:2) be considered genuine or not.

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and the Life was (ἦν) the Light of men.'¹ Alluding to the name by which the Jews called the Messiah (the Coner, ὁ ἑσπερός), Jn. tells us that the Light has been ever from the beginning (1:9) 'coming' to the world, but that at last, as the Psalmist had predicted, the Word 'tabernacled' among men, and they beheld his 'glory.' But what 'glory'? Not that of material splendour, but that of 'grace and truth.'² These words introduce a parallelism with the OT.³ The same Logos who has given light and life to men has also given 'grace' and 'truth' to Israel; (1:17) 'The Law was given through Moses, the grace (thereof) and the truth (thereof) were through Jesus Christ.'⁴ See TAUTIT.

Having prepared us by a parenthesis (1:14, 'the glory as of an only-begotten') to conceive of an 'only-begotten,' and of a 'glory' in the unity of divine love, exceeding all Hebraic notions of the splendour of prophetic signs or visions, and all Hellenic notions of wisdom, he now concludes by saying that it is not (as Joh had said) God who has 'declared' Wisdom, it is (1:14) the Only-begotten in the bosom of the Father who has 'declared (ἐγγήσατο) God.'

(2) *The Bridgroom.*—This section contains the Doctrine of Water: 1st, the Water of the Law superseded by the Wine of the Gospel; 2nd, the Water of Purification 'from above'; 3rd, the Water of Life that quenches the soul's thirst. The three scenes of these sub-sections are severally Galilee, Jerusalem, and Samaria.

(a) Galilee. After a period of (1:29-35:43-21) six days comes the wedding-feast at Cana,⁵ where Jesus, the unacknowledged Bridgroom of the Church, after first doing justice to the 'purification of the Jews,' bids his ministers draw forth from the well⁶ the water which the Governor of the Feast pronounces the best wine.⁷

(b) Jerusalem. The next act of the Bridgroom

¹ For the connection, cp Ps. 86:9, 'With thee is the fountain of life; in thy light shall we see light.' Also note the distinction between that which 'has been and is (ἔγενετο) in the Logos, and that which 'came into being (ἐγένετο) through the Logos. The former is permanent, the latter transient. This distinction is lost in the punctuation of the AV, 'was not anything made that was made.'

² Ps. 85:9-11, after mentioning 'glory,' 'tabernacle,' 'mercy' or 'grace,' and 'truth,' goes on to personify these virtues and to describe Truth as 'rising up' from the earth, and Righteousness as 'looking down' from heaven. This enables us to understand the spiritual meaning of (Jn. 1:51) 'the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of man.' They are 'grace and truth,' 'peace and righteousness,' looking down from heaven and rising up from earth. Thus was fulfilled the promise implied in (Gen. 28:12) the vision of Bethel when Jacob rested on the stone which was afterwards 'anointed (ἁγιασμένος), the type (τύπος) of Christ. Probably ὁ δόξα αὐτοῦ (for δόξα αὐτοῦ) should be read with the Valentinians (Iren. 1:85), cp Orig. Cels. 6:68, where the context necessitates δόξα, though the text has been conformed to T.R.

³ Light corresponds to 'truth,' as every Jew would feel who thought of the high priest's Urim and Thummim ('light' and 'truth'), and of Ps. 43:3, 'Send out thy light and thy truth.' Again, the life of man, says the Psalmist (90:3), is in God's 'favour (δωρεάν), more often χάρις.' Hence, what, from the point of view of nature, may be called 'light and life,' will be, from the point of view of the Law, 'truth, and favour, or grace (χάρις).'

⁴ Cp. Barn. 5:6, 'the prophet's having their grace from him, i.e., Christ.' For the curious expression (1:16) 'grace for grace'—i.e., apparently 'grace following grace,' i.e., one 'grace' or 'favour,' after another—cp Philo, 1:342, 'constantly bestowing his graces one after another (ἐχομενάς ἀλλήλων)' (possibly based on some Jewish tradition about the repetition of 'grace' in connection with [Zech. 4:7] 'the head stone,' ὁ ἱστόρη χάριτος χάριτα αὐτοῦ.)

⁵ Origen takes Cana(h) to mean 'purchased possessions'; but it might mean (αἰς) 'jealous' or 'zealous,' a word applied only to Yahweh as the husband of Israel. The meaning 'zeal' or 'jealousy' suits the context, and also (2:17), 'The zeal of thine house,' etc.

⁶ From the well, not from the 'vessels.' So Westc. ad loc.

⁷ Philo, 1:206: 'he that hath received from God, directly or indirectly, through an angel, draughts of wine (ἀσπάρτου), will not drink out of a cistern.' See also his comment on Gen. 18:7, and his description of the Therapeutae as (2:45) 'intoxicated (μεθύοντες) with the wine of the divine love of God. Add also (1:103) 'Melchizedek' bringing forth bread and 'wine instead of water,' and (1:83) 'the truly great High Priest, the Cupbearer of God, who, having received the draughts of grace, gives them in turn, pouring forth the libation in its fullness, namely himself.' For the 'six vessels and the two or three firkins,' see above, § 47. According to Westcott's view, adopted above, the water in the vessels remained water, but the water afterwards drawn from the well became wine; so that the filling of the vessels was a purely emblematic act. This fact, the context, the structure of the Gospel, and the traditions of Philo, combine to indicate that the whole of the narrative is spiritual and emblematic.

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is to attempt to win back and purify the unfaithful daughter of Jerusalem, typified by the temple. The Synoptists, from the human standpoint, describe the temple as 'a den of robbers'; Jn. 2:16, as a 'place of merchandise' (*ἐμποριον*).

Herein Jn. seems to be following the prophets, who called Tyre (Ez. 27:15, 23:17) 'a place of merchandise' (*ἐμποριον*) of the nations—i.e., as the Hebrew in the latter passage expresses it, she 'played the harlot'. To Jn. the greedy 'merchandise' of the priestly monopolists in the temple appeared a kind of 'idolatry' (cp. Col. 3:5)—i.e., unfaithfulness to the Bridegroom—and he represents Jesus as devoted by 'jealousy' (*ζηλος*) for the House of God—i.e., for the true Church (his bride and his body)—and as predicting that, even though men might destroy it, it should be raised up in 'three days'.

Closely connected with this attempt to purify Jerusalem (Ezek. 10:15-35), the harlot, comes the mention of a new birth by 'water and the Spirit'.¹ It is introduced as a doctrine of 'earthly things'—i.e., as a rudimentary one—and inculcating it Jn. seems to be *assuming* baptism with water, and *insisting* on baptism with the Spirit also. The full purification, which requires 'blood' (1 Jn. 5:6 'the Spirit and the water and the blood') is yet to come; but it is faintly suggested by the (24) 'hour,' and (8:14) 'the (brazen) serpent.'²

(7) Samaria.³ From unfaithful Jerusalem the Bridegroom passes to unfaithful Samaria (the woman with the 'five husbands'). She, too, like the House of Jacob of old (Jer. 2:13-25), had played the harlot 'with many husbands,' and had gone to the waters of Shihor⁴ to slake her thirst, having forsaken the Lord, 'the fountain of living waters.'

The dialogue takes place near Jacob's well. In Philo, the 'well' and the 'fountain' represent different stages of knowledge. The well of Agar represents a lower stage than that of Rebecca; Rebecca (124:55) supplies the camels from the 'well,' but the servant from the 'fountain,' because the latter is (135) 'the holy word.' The highest and best well of all is the Father of all, the Fountain of life, *ever-flowing* (*ἀίματος*).⁵ In Jn. we find a place called (45) Sychar or 'drunkenness,' probably an opprobrious name for Shechem (see § 46a), alluding to (14:28-17) the drunkenness of Ephraim, but in any case suited to the moral of the dialogue. It is (45) 'near the place that Jacob gave to Joseph his son.' This is explained by Philo. Shechem ('shoulder') has two meanings; in connection with Gen. 49:15, where 'a certain athlete' becomes a 'husbandman,' it indicates 'labour'; but when it is mentioned as *given to Joseph*, it means (192) 'the bodily things which are the objects of the senses.' Jesus (Jn. 4:6), 'wearied of his journey, sat thus at the well.' So Philo (189:7) says that Moses 'sat at the well'—not in a cowardly retreat, but 'like an athlete recovering breath' for a new attack—an interesting parallel to the position of Jesus before his attack on Samaritan unbelief. It was (46) 'about the sixth hour'—the hour described by Philo (on Gen. 1:4) as fittest for the revelation of divine truth. The woman of Samaria, coming to draw water from Jacob's well, received the rebuke from Jesus (4:18), 'Thou hast had five husbands, and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband.' Philo says (on Gen. 3:6) that woman is symbolically 'the sense (*sensus*),' and (131) 'There are two husbands of the senses, one lawful, one a seducer'; but he proceeds to say that 'the seducer' acts through the five senses; he also (156) connects 'having many husbands' (cp. Jer. 2:23, *πολυγαμία*) with 'having many gods,' and speaks of (160) those 'enamoured of many gods,' who know not the one Husband, namely God.⁶

¹ Cp the introductory words in the same passage of Ez. 16:1 f. 'Thus saith the Lord thy God unto Jerusalem . . . neither wast thou washed in water to cleanse thee; thou wast not salted.' 'Salt' is a symbol of the Spirit. Mk. 9:49 speaks of 'salting' with 'fire.'

² See Philo, 180, on 'the brazen serpent' (the enemy of the serpent that came to Eve); it is (*ib.* 315, 177) 'the strongest virtue.' For the apparently abrupt transition that ensues from 'the serpent' to 'the living water,' see Philo, 182; 'The one is healed by the brazen serpent, the other is caused to drink that most excellent draught, Wisdom, from the fountain which he brought forth from his own wisdom.'

³ The statement, that (Westc. Jn. p. 1x) 'there can be no question as to the individuality of the discourse with the woman of Samaria,' is perfectly true, if 'individuality' means unity of style and purpose. It is practically certain, however, that the dialogue did not actually occur in the exact words recorded by Jn. For (1) no disciple (48) was present; and, even if we assume that the Evangelist received an account of the dialogue from Jesus himself, (2) both Jesus and the Woman of Samaria talk in Johannine style. The same applies to the dialogue with Nicodemus.

⁴ I.e., 'the Nile.'

⁵ Cp a tradition on Joel 3:18, Schöttg. 1361: 'As the first cause caused a well to spring up, so shall a second cause waters to spring up.'

⁶ What is the sixth husband (Jn. 4:18), 'he whom thou now hast'? Philo speaks (26) of the 'six powers' of turbulence, namely, 'the five senses and uttered speech,' of which the last 'powers with unbridled mouth of countless things that should not

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The woman (Jn. 4:28) 'left her water-pot (*ὕδρια*) and departed' to carry news of the Messiah. Philo differs here, but in such a way as to show that the 'water-pot' is not a mere picturesque detail. He says that Rebecca (123) did not, like Agar, need the *ἀσπὶς*, leather skin—i.e., the body—to hold the water, but only the *ὕδρια*, 'water-pot,' which is a symbol of a heart that can hold the supreme draught. Jn.'s view may be that, as Rebecca needed not the *ἀσπὶς*, so the woman of Samaria, who had risen a stage higher, needed not the *ὕδρια*, having received the indwelling spring of living water.

The seed of the Gospel having been sown in Shechem, the associations of the place are changed. It is connected no longer with Jacob but with Jesus (or with Jacob in his higher stage, as a type of Jesus); no longer with 'the things of the senses,' but with 'the Husbandman.' Jesus bids the disciples 'lift up their eyes' to look on the fields 'white already' with the results of his husbandry. Immediately the harvest begins. The Samaritans come from the city. Some of them had believed in Jesus (4:39) on the testimony of the woman. But Philo says that it is characteristic of a false god to exist only 'by report and convention, and the report moreover of a woman' (123; *ἀκούει, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ὁμιλοῦνται, καὶ ἀκούει μὲν τοὺς γυναικείους*). Here it is added that afterwards the Samaritans (4:42) believed 'no longer owing to the speaking (*ῥημάτων*) of the woman,' but owing to the 'word (*λόγος*)' of Christ.

Jesus returns to Galilee and Cana. Thus the cycle of the Bridegroom ends in the place where it began, making way for the doctrine of Bread.

(3) The Bread of Life.² The healing of the sick man at Bethesda on the Sabbath, which represents the healing of Israel—not unaccompanied with (55) warning that the work might be undone—is followed by a statement³

that the Son does nothing but what he sees the Father do. Hence, when he 'lifts his eyes'⁴ before the eucharistic sign of the giving of the Bread, we are prepared to hear that what he gives, the Father is really giving. It is the bread from heaven.

By placing the giving of Christ's flesh and blood early in the Gospel, and by introducing, much later, the one commandment of love, fulfilled by Christ on the Cross, Jn. gives the impression of a desire to discourage materialistic views of the Eucharist (8:63) 'The spirit it is that giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken unto you, they are spirit and they are life.'⁵

(4) The Light.—The doctrine of Light, though enunciated in the Prologue, and touched on (apparently not by Jesus but by the Evangelist) in 56. The Light. 3:19-21, is not definitely set forth by Jesus till near the middle of the Gospel (8:12), 'I am the light of the world.'

This revelation is described as being followed by a more active hostility in the enemies who now (8:37-44) seek to destroy him, revealing themselves as the children of the Destroyer. The depth of darkness (8:48) 'thou hast a devil' draws out the fullest light: (8:58) 'Before Abraham was, I AM'. Then, upon

be uttered. If Jn. wrote in part with a view to contemporary heresies, he might very well include that of Simon Magus, who is said in Acts (8:11) to have held the Samaritans at a very early period bound in his enchantments. Justin Martyr testifies to his influence in Samaria in the first half of the second century. More probably, however, it means, primarily, religious pride and ambition (leading to hatred of truth and moral goodness), Rev. 18:3 'a mouth speaking great things,' which some might identify with Simon Magus.

¹ Philo, i. 22471, quoted above.

² For (Jn. 4:45-54) the healing of the nobleman's son compared with Mt. Lk.'s healing of the centurion's servant, see above (§ 17). *βασιλικός* may mean either 'king's servant,' or 'king-like,' 'princely.' Origen (perhaps reading *βασιλικός* with 13), regards the nobleman as representing Abraham, and the raising of the son as representing the action of the Logos in raising up Isaac, as if from the dead. If that is so, the three miracles of healing represent the action of the Logos (1) before the Law, (2) under the Law, (3) outside the Law. This 'sign' is wrought at Cana, and is (4:54) 'the second.' It terminates the section of the Bridegroom, and introduces that of health and food, or healing and the Bread of Life.

³ Philo says that (1414) the First-born imitates the Father's ways 'looking to his archetypal patterns.'

⁴ Jesus thrice lifts his eyes (8:51, 11:41, 17:1); when he (1) gives the Bread, (2) raises Lazarus, (3) offers the final sacrifice of praise and prayer to the Father.

⁵ Words—but words *received into the heart*—not acts, nor miracles, are the climax of Christ's life among his Disciples before the crucifixion. He washes their feet; but Judas, like the rest, is washed, and Judas is also expressly said by Jn. (not by the Synoptists) to have received 'the sop.' Neither act makes them (13:11) 'all clean.' They are 'clean' (15:3) 'because of the word' that he has spoken and they have received; Judas is not 'clean' because he has not received it.

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an attempt to stone Jesus, he 'was hidden (*ἐκρύβη*),¹ and went forth from the temple.' This and a second (12.9) eclipse are 'two witnesses' against 'the darkness' that will not (13) 'apprehend the light.'

Next comes the healing of the Gentile world, typified by the man who was blind from his birth.

As Naaman was sent to Jordan, so the blind man is sent to (97) the Pool of Siloam, which represents (1s. 86 f.) the worship of the true God as distinct from the worship of false gods (see also 1s. 73.22-24.30; *Her. Hebr.* 1305, 3222). The Judaizing inference that the Gentile world must be purified by Jewish waters—i.e., by the Law—is obviated by the statement—probably implying the supersession of the Law by (Gen. 49.10) 'Shiloh'—that Siloam means 'sent'.² This sign is altogether different from the healing of the man at Bethesda (Israel), who is never said to believe, and who is threatened with penalty in case of relapse. The Gentile world (9.13) 'believes', so that this sign includes the creation of spiritual, as well as material, light.

The section terminates with a denunciation of the 'abiding' sin of 'the blind' who profess to lead others and who say 'we see'.³

(51) The Life.—The mention of the 'blind leaders' leads to the mention of the ideal Leader who 'knows' (i.e. loves) a 'that are his, and that,

57. The Life. too, individually (10.3 *ἑκαστος* *κατ' ἑαυτὸν*), so that they are drawn towards him as the Good Shepherd who does not drive, but leads.⁴

All the shepherds and deliverers of the world that 'came' before the Logos are described as (10.8) 'thieves and robbers',⁵

¹ Westcott has no note here; but the second 'hiding (*ἐκρύβη*)' in 12.36 he translates 'was hidden' (not 'hid himself'), and declares it to be 'the result of the want of faith of Christ's adversaries; and he there refers to the present passage (8.50), as being apparently similar. The difficulty of this theory ('want of faith') here will be at once detected by embodying it in the context: 'They took up stones therefore, to cast at him, but Jesus was hidden from them as the result of their want of faith, and went out of the temple.'

Are there not two meanings: (1) one for spiritual readers (2) another for superficial? In (1), the meaning is that Christ was hidden from the *souls* of his enemies, in (2), that he was hidden from their *bodily eyes* by divine intervention. The former is *spiritual*, but gives us no clear explanation of the way in which Jesus escaped. The latter is *definitely miraculous*, but not necessarily spiritual. In seems to leave it to his readers to choose. Perhaps he is here (as often) expressing dramatically what I.k. expresses non-dramatically (I.k. 19.42 *ἐκρύβη* 'but now they are hid from thine eyes'). (The meaning 'hid himself', grammatically possible, is, from a Johannine standpoint, impossible.)

² Probably Jn. (as Grotius suggested) identified Siloam with the Shiloh of Gen. 49.10; cp. SITTICH.

³ Cp. Philo (1.322) on the two kinds of ignorance, of which the second fancies that it knows what it does not know, puffed up with a false notion of its own wisdom: this 'generates *deliberate evil-doing* (*ἐν προνοίας ἀδικήματα*). It is this proud, complacent, and deliberate evil-doing (implying hatred and scorn of goodness), and is, in the Synoptists, unpardonable, and, in Jn., the sin that 'abideth (*μένει*)—i.e., cannot be effaced. (For *μένει*: cp. Jn. 15.16 1 Cor. 13.13.)

⁴ The true Shepherd and the true Husbandman (or Vine-dresser) are connected by Philo (1.300-305) in a discourse about the husbandry, or tendance, of the soul. He distinguishes between the mere tiller of the ground (who is (16.301) a 'hireling') and the real husbandman (who prunes, or encourages growth, as the case may require). So (16.302) the 'shepherd' is distinguished from the mere 'keeper'. Poets, he says (16.305), call kings the shepherds of their people, but the title is rightly reserved for 'the wise'. The difference between Philo and Jn. is that the former makes no mention of 'laying down life for the sheep.'

⁵ If the text is correct, 'came (*ἦλθον*)' means (with allusion to the Comer, or Deliverer), 'came in the character of the ideal Deliverer'. Of Gideon, Barak, David, as of Abraham, Jn. would say that they (8.56) 'saw Christ's day'—i.e., they did not claim to be independent, but depended on the ideal Deliverer. But this does not explain *πρὸ ἐμοῦ* 'before me'. We should expect *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* 'from me', or 'setting themselves above me.'

A Hebrew original may have caused confusion between 'before (in time)', 'before (in estimation)', and 'in the place of.' (cp. Ex. 20.1 'before me' (mg.), 'beside me' *παρ' ἐμὲ*, Job 32.4 19 'before' (mg.), 'like'). Or an original Gr. tradition, *δοξάν* *ἐχούτες* *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ* *πρὸ ἐμοῦ* (cp. Mk. 10.42 *δοξούμενοι* *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ* with parallel) might mean 'before me' or 'above me'. Cp. Justin, 1. Apol. 12 (*ἀρχόντες* *πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας* *δοξάν* *ἐκείνων*). Since Christ is 'the Truth', *πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας* in Justin may represent a traditional version of the *πρὸ ἐμοῦ* in Jn. Many authorities omit *πρὸ ἐμοῦ* owing to the perversion of the words by heretics. Justin may have adopted a new interpretation of them.

Tatian (12 and 14), gives the name of 'robbers' to 'demons', and adds (13) 'the admirable Justin has rightly denounced them as "robbers"'. Either he did not remember it in the Gospel, or he did not, at the time of writing, recognise the

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because they did not understand that ruling implies serving and even dying. The Shepherd (10.11) 'layeth down his life for the sheep' (10.12) 'in order that it may be saved again.' In other words, the Resurrection, or attainment of life through death, is a law of the spiritual world, a part of the Father's will. Thus Jn. anticipates the objection that, if the Shepherd dies in conflict with 'the wolf', the wolf is victorious.

Later, the law is restated as the law of the Harvest: (12.24) 'Except it (the grain) die, it abideth alive, but if it perish it bringeth forth much fruit'; meantime, Jesus says (10.18) that he has power to take up his life as well as to lay it down, and these words naturally prepare us for a 'sign' of this particular 'power.' Such a sign is afforded by the Resurrection of Lazarus.

(6) The Raising of the Dead.—That marvelous cures (and, not improbably, revivifications) were wrought by the earliest Christians is indicated by the Pauline Epistles, by indirect Talmudic testimony, and by early Christian traditions. There are signs, however, of very early exaggeration arising from misunderstood metaphor.

For example, Apollonius (Eus. v. 18.14) alleges (170 A.D.) that John in Ephesus raised a dead man. How, we ask, did this escape earlier writers—Papias, for example, who records such an act of Philip, but not of John? The answer is to be found in Clem. Alex. (566), where the apostle, questioning an Elder about a young convert, receives the answer 'He is dead.' 'What death?' 'He has died to God.' The apostle converts the youth, who becomes 'a trophy of resurrection.' Similarly, whereas the churches of Gaul speak of recovered apostates as (Eus. v. 1.45) 'the dead brought to life' by the prayers of martyrs, Irenaeus (ii.31.3) says that, ere now, in the brotherhood, 'owing to sore need,' many have been raised by the prayers of the Church, and this, literally; and it seems highly probable that he has confused some metaphorical tradition.¹ The question arises, how early did such misunderstandings occur? 'The wicked,' says a Jewish tradition,² though living, are termed *dead*. 'Let the dead,' says our Lord, 'bury their dead.' In Christ's commission to the Twelve, Mt. (10.8) alone has 'raise the dead,' and afterwards (11.5) 'the dead are raised.' Yet Mt. describes Jesus himself as revivifying no one except the daughter of Jairus, concerning whom Mt. has written (9.24) 'she is not dead but sleepeth.' See JAIRUS. It is probable that Mt. has here given the actual words of Jesus, or the closest approximation to them; they were perhaps omitted by Mk. I.k. owing to their being first literalised and then regarded as difficult or erroneous. I.k. as well as Mk. records, it is true, (7.22) 'the dead are raised'; but he meets the possible objection, 'No dead have been raised,' by inserting the raising of a widow's son (7.11-17) immediately before. Including Jairus's daughter, he might now plead that the raising of *two* persons justified the plural 'are.' But—besides the suspicion attaching to the absence of this narrative not only from Mk. but also from the parallel Mt. which closely agrees with I.k.—the story suggests a misunderstanding of metaphor. In 2 Esd. 9.41, there is a vision of a woman (Sion) sorrowing for the death of her 'only son' (the City or Temple). Christians would assert that Christ (Jn. 2.19) 'raised up the Temple,' or, in the language of Christian psalms and hymns, that he 'raised up the only son of the sorrowing widow.'³ Thus the possible influence of symbolism combines with other causes⁴ to oblige us to reject as non-historical I.k.'s account of the raising of the widow's son. See NAIR.

Gospel as authoritative. The saying has affinities to the Greek notion that the only lawful kingdom is that of the wise man (see Philo 2.98).

(7) Eusebius, in quoting these words of Irenaeus, prefixes to them (v. 7.1) *ὅτι ἐπ'* 'that, as he says', which (though in ii. 17.6 it introduces a statement attested by 'the canonical Acts of the Apostles') may imply, according to context, an emphasis laid on the subjectiveness and doubtfulness of what is alleged (see iv. 15.45 v. 18.11); (2) the words 'owing to sore need (*διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην*)' apply very well to apostasy, but less well to literal death; (3) subsequently, Irenaeus (ii. 32.4) implies that, whilst healing of the sick still went on (*ἰατροί*), the raising of the dead was a thing of the past (*ἡνίκα . . . ἠνέπαυσαν*), and that, though they had lived for some time, *none were living when he wrote* (*καταγράφων οὐκ ἔτιν ἔσσαν ἱκανοί*). For the date of the Gallican letter, seventeenth year of Titus Antoninus Pius (not Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), see *Expositio*, 196 (p. 111 f.). The earlier date (by lengthening the interval between Irenaeus and the Gallican letter) facilitates the theory that Irenaeus misunderstood the metaphor. When Papias records similar acts, Eusebius, by the words (ii. 30.9) *θαυμάσιαν* and *παράδοξον*, appears to indicate his disbelief in them, at least if we combine them with the following (ii. 11-13) 'mythical,' 'not perceiving what was figurative and mystical,' of very limited intelligence.⁵ Bérakhoth, 18. Bérakhoth Rabbah, c. 20. The application is derived from Ezek. 21.25, 'And thou, O deadly wounded wicked one, prince of Israel.' The interpretation is applied to Eccl. 9.5, 'The dead know not anything.' See an article on 'The Raising of the Dead in the Synoptic Gospels' in *The New World*, 96, pp. 473-483.

³ So Lam. 1.1 'How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is she become as a widow!'

⁴ Lk. 7.14 f. says that Jesus (1) 'came near and touched the

(7) Reserving the historical question for special treatment (see LAZARUS) it may be said here that: in spite of Martha's inferential statement in 11:39

89. Raising of Lazarus. 'Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me,' imply that the 'hearing' was already past, and the life of Lazarus was in effect already granted to his prayers. We must, however, suppose that the narrative—though possibly based on one or more of Christ's actual works—is mainly allegorical. The great negative reason is the silence of the Synoptists¹ about Christ's greatest miracle, which was, according to Jn., the chief cause of both (a) the applause that greeted his entry into Jerusalem, and (b) the resolution of the priests to slay him.²

The positive reasons are: (1) Jn., adopting Philonian traditions of style and expression, and writing on the lines of the OT, might naturally subordinate the literal to the symbolical. For example, Philo calls the creation of Eve from Adam's rib (170) 'mythical (*μυθικός*)'. If such was Jn.'s view, he might well think himself justified in composing a single symbolical story that might sum up a hundred floating traditions about Christ's revivifying acts in such a form as to point to him as the Consoler of Israel, and the Resurrection and the Life of the world. (2) The name of Lazarus suggests symbolism. Another form of it is Eliezer, who is, in Philo (141), the type of a being 'liable to dissolution and (indeed) a corpse', but 'held together and kindled into life (*ζωοποιεῖται*) by the providence of God'. (3) Lk. and Jn. alone mention Martha and her sister Mary. They appear to differ in their views of the sisters; possibly they differ as to the brother Lazarus.³ Some early writers took Lk.'s Lazarus to be a real person;⁴ and it is easy to see that traditions about the Lazarus of Lk. may have prepared the way for the Lazarus of Jn. 'Jesus', it might be said, 'raised many from the dead; but concerning one, Lazarus by name, he said (Lk. 10:42): "If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe though one rise from the dead." The next step would be to say that this prediction was fulfilled: 'Lazarus was raised from the dead; yet the Jews did not believe.'⁵

(8) The Preparation for the Sacrifice.—We pass to the beginning of (12) the week before the Passover.

The anointing of Christ (12:1-8) is a kind of preparation of the lamb for the sacrifice, and the coming of the 'Greeks' to the New Temple is hailed by Jesus as a sign that (12:23) 'the hour' of 'glory' has arrived. The Voice from heaven, which the Synoptists place at the Baptism (where Jn. omits it), and also at the Transfiguration, is mentioned (12:29) here alone in this Gospel,⁶ as ratifying the act of Jesus

coffin, (2) 'the dead man sat up,' (3) 'he began to speak,' (4) Jesus 'gave him to his mother.' Similar details are found in (5) 2 K. 13:21 and 1 K. 17:22 ff., which describe miracles of revivification performed by Elisha and Elijah.

¹ Those who regard the speeches in Acts as historical would also have to explain how Paul, in mentioning the Resurrection, omits (17:3) the raising of any dead people by Christ, and, still more, how Peter (10:40), when emphasising his acts of 'healing,' makes no mention of revivification.

² This has never been explained. Some have suggested that the Synoptists kept silence to screen Lazarus. But how could they hope to 'screen' one who was known to all Jerusalem, not to speak of the multitude of pilgrims?

³ As regards the different delineations of the sisters, see § 44. In Lk. (10:39) Martha comes first as entertaining Jesus, apparently (or certainly, see v. 1) in her house; then Mary is mentioned, but Lazarus not at all. Jn. (11:1) mentions in order Lazarus, Mary, Martha. In Jn. Mary is (before the anointing is narrated) 'she who anointed the Lord,' which implies knowledge of only one anointer. But in Lk. (7:37) the only woman that anoints the Lord is 'a sinner.' Again, in Lk., the anointing is in the house of Simon the Pharisee; in Jn. in the house of 'Lazarus.' Lk.'s mention (10:23) of a Lazarus in connection with the life after death in 'Abraham's bosom' suggests that there is some confusion of tradition latent under these differences and similarities in Lk. and Jn. On the name Lazarus, see above, § 10, and cp LAZARUS.

⁴ Iren. iv. 24 (see Orabek's note), Tertull. *De Anim.* 7, and the Fathers generally, regard the story as history. Lazarus is placed by *Constit. Apost.* vii. 87 in the same category as John. But those who took this view, no doubt, distinguished the Lazarus of Lk. from the Lazarus of Jn.

⁵ A literal interpretation of the narrative is accompanied by many minor difficulties, such as the question why Jesus, after he had been informed of the sickness of Lazarus, remained beyond Jordan (11:6) 'two days.' From this and from 11:17 Lightfoot infers (*BE* 17:8) 'a journey which occupies three days,' Westcott (on Jn. 11:6) 'The journey would occupy about a day.' There is no solid basis for either conclusion. A full discussion of the subject would show the mystical meaning underlying these and other details.

⁶ Jn. takes pains to show that the Voice was not, in the popular and modern sense of the term, 'objective.' A 'multitude'

when he puts, and answers negatively, the question 'What shall I say? (Shall I say), save me from this hour?' By this act, he virtually fulfils the Law of Sacrifice, or the Law of the Harvest, which he has (12:24) just enunciated. (*Atter. Hbbr. ad L. 65*.) 'The prince of this world' is, in Jewish Tradition, the prince of the 'seventy' nations of the Gentiles, there is a peculiar point in the words that follow the introduction of the 'Greeks': (12:31) 'Now is the judgment of this world, now shall the prince of this world be cast out; and I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.' But as before (8:56), with this second manifestation of light comes (12:34) a second and final eclipse (*ἀσπυθῆ*).

The unstable *ἐκκλῆς* or 'multitude' of the Jews is now mentioned for the last time, quitting the stage as the devout Gentile world enters; and its last words are (12:34): 'Who is this Son of man?'

(9) The Deuteronomy.—The public doctrine of Jesus ends when he 'cries aloud' for the third time (see above, § 49), saying that his word will judge the world and that (12:35) his word is the word of the Father.

We are now transported to a higher sphere, to the inner teaching of Christ, the revision and summary of his doctrine, the giving of the One commandment, the promise of the Paraclete, and the prayer to the Father.

It is a Deuteronomy, full of mystical allusions in which a numerical symbolism—sometimes veiled, sometimes manifest, as in the seven times repeated refrain 'These things have I spoken unto you'—is prevalent throughout. As Abraham (Gen. 18:4) washed the feet of the Three Persons and gave them food, so now the Son, or Messiah (Schöttg. 2:61 f.), repays the debt to Abraham's children. The Talmudists, speaking in the spirit of the prophets, describe (Schöttg. 2:37-5) the 'mansions and habitations' of God as coming to man, and Philo speaks of the Divine word and Powers (i. 249-150) 'making their home in,' and 'sharing their table with,' the devout soul, and of (i. 643) God himself as 'walking in' the souls of the perfectly purified. So Jn. teaches that the Father and the Son will (14:23) 'make' their 'mansion' in the heart of the faithful.² As Philo, agreeing with the Talmudists, warns us that (1:457) 'place (*τόπος*) does not mean a region filled with matter, but God himself, the refuge of the Universe, so Jn., by his context, teaches us that the (14:2) 'place (*τόπος*)' which Jesus will 'prepare' for his disciples is a home in the bosom of the Father.

All these allusive iterations of ancient traditions, and all the lines of various doctrine, converge towards Christ in his threefold character of (11:6) 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

First, in the doctrine of the Way, the disciples are taught to pray in *his name*—a clause seven times repeated.³ Then the 'Truth,' or the 'Spirit of Truth,' introduced before, becomes the predominant element, leading to the threefold (10:8) conviction of the Spirit.⁴ The two sections of the Way (or Son) and the Truth (or Spirit) terminate with a prediction of victory because the Father is with the Son; so that the latter has, in effect, already (10:33) 'conquered the world.' Last comes the doctrine of the Father himself (the Life), called (17:1) 'Father,' (18:11) 'holy Father,' and finally (18:24) 'just,' or 'righteous' Father. Here '*my name*' ceases and '*thy name*' is introduced. Finally—with repeated references to the Church as being (17:26 f. 10, etc.) 'that which' or 'those whom' the Father hath 'given' to the Son—the Last Words terminate in an outpouring of the Son's devotion to the 'righteous Father,' wherein his 'name' is, in effect, revealed as 'love': (17:26) 'I have made known unto them thy name, and will make it known that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I in them.'

was present. Those who heard anything did not hear the true thing. They heard 'thunder' or 'an angel.' See Orabek, 2:341, for the decline of the authority of the Bath-Kol.

¹ Cp Lk. 10:18, 'I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven,' uttered on the return of 'the Seventy.'

² Cp Lk. 17:15.

³ 14:13-14, 26, 28, 30, 32, 36 (15:21 is obviously to be excluded).

⁴ The Paraclete or 'friend called in to help,' is connected by Philo sometimes (ii. 247) with the Elenchos, or Convicting Power, sometimes (ii. 155, 227) with the high priest entering God's presence to represent the Cosmos, but perhaps more often with the Spirit of the ideal Cosmos (the name Logos being given to the High Priest, see i. 501). Sometimes (ii. 227) the Priest appears as interceding with the Father of the Cosmos, but calling to his aid the Son of the Father. Philo does not bind himself to one form of expression. The Elenchos is called (ii. 247) Paraclete; (i. 210) God's own Logos; (i. 195) the ideal Man, or Man according to Truth (6 *προς ἀληθειαν ἀνθρώπος*). The whole of Jn.'s last discourse shows Philonian influence; but (as usual), whereas Philo regards the intellect, Jn. regards the heart—a consequence of the belief of the latter in the incarnate Logos.

⁵ *δικαίος* in Jn. and 1 Jn. 10:21, etc.—instead of having the narrow legal meaning implied in the Synoptists Mt. 19:18 Lk. 16 Mk. 2:17, etc.—means 'just' in the Platonic sense, and is the *climax* of the attributes of God and Christ.

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(10) The Passion (see above, § 12) —Space can be found here for only one or two points, not only peculiar to Jn. but essential to his purpose.

62. Passion. They are connected with Christ's last utterances on the Cross, and with what followed them.

The words 'Eli, Eli, etc.' recorded by Mk. and Mt. are said to have been misunderstood by bystanders at the time. Lk. omits them, and even Mk. and Mt. are at variance in the context.¹ In the corresponding passage Jn. has simply 'I thirst.'

Of course the first impulse is to take this, as the bystanders took it, in a purely literal meaning, and to say that it has no connection with Mk. and Mt. But in the Fourth Gospel the words 'bread,' 'water,' 'food,' 'eat,' 'drink,' 'feed,' and 'thirst' are hardly ever used by Jesus in the literal sense; *εἶναι*, when the disciples bring him food he replies that (4.34) his meat is to do the will of the Father and accomplish his work. This suggests that in Christ's last utterance the same spiritual standard must be maintained, so that, in effect, it was the expression of a 'thirst' for that final accomplishment of God's will which would enable him to say 'it is finished,' and then to break down the barrier of the flesh and to enter into unfettered communion with the Father (cp 15.33).

What Mk. and Mt. express in the form of (apparent) complaint, and what Lk. entirely omits (perhaps because of its difficulty), Jn. appears to express in the form of the highest spiritual aspiration. Not that he excludes the physical meaning, but (as always throughout the Gospel) he includes a spiritual meaning—that the Son of God, who is in the bosom of the Father, endured for our sakes to feel, for a brief space, as if, in a certain sense, he were not there, so that he 'thirsted' for the presence of God.

2. The spontaneity of Christ's death was not clearly expressed by the two earliest traditions.² Lk. inserts, as uttered by Jesus, the first half of the quotation that, to this day, terminates a pious Jew's confession on his death-bed (Ps. 31.5). Yet even this was liable to the Jewish objection that it implied, as the utterer, not a Redeemer, but one in need of redemption. No such objection applied to the tradition preserved by 1 Pet. 2.23 (*παρεδίδοται*, perhaps 'gave himself up as a sacrifice'; cp Gal. 2.20 Eph. 5.2). This word Jn. adopts. But he represents Jesus not as *saying* this, but as *doing* it: (19.30) 'he gave up his spirit.' See above, § 20.

3. The rending of the veil is omitted by Jn., partly perhaps because, in his view (1) Christ's body is the Temple, and the 'veil' is his flesh, so that the piercing of his side by the soldier's spear constituted the true and essential 'rending of the veil,' but partly because (2) Jn. may have considered the Synoptic tradition erroneous.

Jn.'s tradition here explains many difficulties. Death under crucifixion did not generally ensue till after two or three days; Mk. (15.44) mentions Pilate's 'surprise' (omitted by Mt., Lk.) at the speedy death of Jesus. Unbelievers, explaining Christ's resurrection as a fraud, might say, 'Pilate might well be "surprised," for death could not happen so soon.' Jn. steps in to say that it *did* happen, and to spiritualise the circumstances. The 'crucifragium' (see Cross, § 6), was performed, he says, on the two criminals; but this infliction (which would have violated the ordinance about the Paschal Lamb (Ex. 12.46)) was averted from Jesus by his death, and the death was attested by the piercing of his side; and thus two Scriptures were fulfilled.

It is more probable that the Synoptic account of 'the rending of the veil' should have sprung from a misunderstanding of the 'piercing of the side' than *vice versa*. In the earliest days of the Church, when it became customary to speak of Christ's flesh

¹ Mk. 15.36 supposes *ἀδελφὸν* to be addressed by the man with the vinegar to the bystanders, Mt. 27.49 supposes *ἀδελφὸν* to be addressed by the bystanders to the man. See *Exc.* ii. Aramaic (or, in D, Hebrew) is confused in all the MSS. Pseudo-Peter interprets the words 'My Power, my Power, why hast thou forsaken me?' Justin (*Tryph.* 125) translates *ἡλὰν* by *δυναμὶς*, Eusebius (*Dem. Ev.* x. 4.294; Robinson on Pseudo-Pet. 21) translated the word in the Psalm by *ισχύς*, and Aquila by *ὀργάνον*.

² The word *φωτίζειν*, in Mk.'s (16.37) *ἀφ' οὗ φωτίζειν μετὰ τὴν ἐξέρχουσαν* (where MSS might have *φωτίζειν μετὰ τὴν ἐξέρχουσαν*), seems to have been, in the corrected edition used by Mt., Lk., *φωτίζει μετὰ τὴν ἐξέρχουσαν* (from Mk.'s *ἐξέρχουσαν*) as object. This expresses somewhat more of voluntariness. Lk. (23.46) goes farther. Retaining *ἐξέρχουσαν* in the sense of 'breathing his last,' he adds an expression of trust on the part of Jesus.

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as 'the veil' (Heb. 10.20), it would be natural to describe the piercing of his body as the 'rending of the veil.' It is said (Joel's *Kriegsentscheidung*, 7) that the Jews believed the veil of the Temple to have been literally rent, shortly before the capture of the City. This may have helped to literalise the veil tradition. Christians would say to Jews, 'What you speak of, did not happen in the siege, or at least it did not happen only then; the veil was rent when our Lord was crucified by you.' Also, against the Synoptists, there is this consideration, that the 'rending of the veil,' if it had occurred, would probably have been kept a secret by the priests (who alone would know of it), and, if it was ever revealed by any of them, would probably have been revealed by zealous converts apt to make exaggerations and find coincidences.

4. The piercing of Christ's side takes us to the central thought of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle, namely, the love of God revealed in the blood of Christ the Paschal Lamb.

The Epistle to the Hebrews (9.16) recognises that the old way to God was through (Lev. 1.5) 'blood,' 'water,' 'scarlet wool,' and 'hyssop,' but asserts that the new way was (Heb. 10.19) simply 'by the blood of Jesus.' The Epistle of Barnabas (11.1-8), however, will not give up the old Levitical elements: it even adds the Levitical 'wool,' which it discerns in the Cross (*ἐκαστος*), and, though not without difficulty, it brings in the notion of 'water' by speaking of the Cross (*ἐκαστος*) as a 'tree,' past which flows the purifying stream of baptism. In the Gospels, the 'scarlet cloak' represents the 'scarlet wool,' and the cross the 'wood'; but the 'blood' that came from the mere piercing of the hands, or perhaps the hands and feet, might well seem insufficient to express the purifying blood of the Lamb; and there was nothing at all to indicate the 'water.' An early tradition inserted in Lk. (22.44) endeavoured to supply the 'blood of sprinkling' by relating how 'drops as of blood' streamed from Jesus in his agony; but still there was no mention of 'water.' Yet not only did the Levitical requirements mention 'running water,' but Zech. 13.1 mentions the opening of a 'fountain' against sin and uncleanness for Israel.³ It is in the piercing of Christ's side that Jn. sees a revelation of the opening of this purifying 'fountain.' This completes the three-fold sacrifice that Christ had made for men: (1) the invisible sacrifice of the breath, or spirit; (2) the human soul, visibly represented by the 'blood'; (3) the human body, visibly represented by water.⁴

Physically, that these details should have been seen by the eye of a disciple kept probably at some distance from the cross by a crowd of hostile spectators and soldiers, must be, if not impossible, at least disputable. But, whatever physical facts may have been seen, the essence of the narrative is a spiritual fact. A revelation is vouchsafed to the beloved disciple. His eyes are opened to discern the Fountain of Life.⁵ It may have

¹ In the Synoptists, the feet, too, are pierced, but not in Jn. and Pseudo-Peter.

² The LXX, however, reads *πηγή* 'place' for *πηγὴ* 'fountain,' so that Greek-speaking Christians would hardly be much influenced by this passage. Justin does not mention it, yet he quotes Lk.'s tradition, *omitting the word 'blood'*, and seeing in it a fulfilment of Ps. 22.14 'poured out like water.'

³ This symbolism seems to be in accordance with Philo (1.63) describing 'ashes and water' as 'the origin of man's generation' (*γενέσεως αἰ ἀρχαί*); and (2.51) the purification of the body with water as preparatory for the purification of the soul with blood. But Jn. may be also alluding to the 'mixed cup' of the Eucharist, which contained wine mixed with water. Irenaeus says that (5.1.3) the Ebionites (who denied Christ's divine nature and used water alone in the Eucharist) 'not receiving the combination of God and man into their soil,' rejected the 'mixing of the heavenly wine,' and did not 'receive God into their mingling (non recipientes Deum ad communionem suam)'; in other words he declares their rejection of the divine nature in Christ to be analogous to their rejection of the wine in the Eucharist. According to this view, the wine in the Eucharist, and the blood of Christ on the cross, would represent Christ's divine nature. But whatever reference Jn. may have had to Ebionism, or to a rising Hellenism that rejected Christ's human nature, it seems probable that his main object is to bear witness for the Church, to Christ's human nature as being completely real—in body and soul as well as spirit. Applied to the Eucharist, the Johannine view would recognise the body in the bread, the soul and spirit in the water and blood.

⁴ Cp 15.36: 'With thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light'—a passage closely connected with a key-passage in the Gospel (1.9): 'The life was the light of men,' and cp Rev. 21.6: 'I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.' Also cp Rev. 22.1: a 'river of water of life . . . proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.' It was a saying older than the Fourth Gospel, that (Barn. 8.5) 'The kingdom of Jesus is on a tree' (or cross, *ἐν ἔκαστῳ*; cp Justin, 1 *Apol.* 41, *Tryph.* 71). The Lord hath reigned from the tree'. So, in Jn., the Cross—being the place where Christ is 'lifted up' and where God is 'glorified'—is 'the throne of God.' In Barn. 11 as in Rev. 22 (imitating the pastoral picture of Ezek. 47.7 sq.), the Cross is also 'the tree (ἐκαστος) of life' whose leaves will heal the nations, and it is planted by the side of the river of living water. But there were varieties

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as possible, fact from not-fact. No criticism, however, ought to prevent us from recognising its historical value in correcting impressions derived from the Synoptic Gospels, and the epic power and dramatic irony with which it brings on the stage the characters and classes whereby the will of God is being continuously fulfilled, so that we find ourselves learning from Pilate to 'Behold the man,' and discerning with Cataphan that 'it is expedient that one man should die and not that the whole people should perish.' It often raises us above details of which the certitude will probably never be ascertained, into a region where we apprehend the nature and existence of the Word of Life, essentially the same in heaven and on earth, human yet divine, the incarnation of the concord of the spiritual universe. Yet, while no Gospel soars so high, it is more firmly, more practically, below.

In the fourth century, wrote five books of
ord's Logia.¹
as probably a 'setting forth'
it might include 'interpretation'.
ell.⁴ By 'Logia (oracles),' he
the Words (possibly also in-
clinging the Acts) of Christ as being
'secularly' applicable to the guid-
This title was already in use to denote,
aspect, the Scriptures of the OT, and
offers it to what he regards as the

ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ θεοῦ Πατὸς συγγραμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν
φέρειται, ἡ καὶ ἐκσυγραπταὶ Λογικῇ Κιριακῇ ἐξηγήσῃ (al.
·ων, Schwegl. con). etc).

²⁴ Lightfoot (AK 136-52) proves that Eusebius, but not that Papias (two centuries before), uses *ἔρμηνειν* to mean 'interpretation'. *Ἐρμηνεία*, in LXX and NT, means 'set forth' (not 'interpret'). In Jdg. 7.15 *ἔρμηνειν* = *ἀπαγγεῖλαι*, 'setting forth' is distinguished from *ἀπαγγεῖλαι*, 'interpretation'. Heretics are called by Irenaeus (Pref. ch. 1.3.4) 'interpreters'. *Ἐρμηνεῖς* (expositors) of things well said, because they 'set forth' (in *ἀπαγγεῖλαι*, sometimes 'forge', 'make false entries') the Scriptures, besides 'perverting' interpretations (*καταστρέφουσιν ἑρμηνείας*). For example, the Gnosticians are said to (ch. 1.8.1) 'transgress the order and connection of the Scriptures,' 'transposing and recasting' (*μεταναστεύουσιν*), and making anything out of anything (*ἀλλὰ ἐκ ὧν ἀναστρέφουσιν*). As an instance, they asserted that the anguish of Sophia was indicated by the word 'And when I shall say I know not,' which Irenaeus apparently regarded as 'a heretical *ἔρμηνειν*, or 'exposition', of Jn. 12.7. Similarly *καταστρέφουσιν* (Poly. *Pist.* 7) does not refer merely to (Lightf. ad loc.) 'perverse interpretations,' but to 'knavish tricks,' 'artful treatment,' in 'setting forth,' as well as interpreting.

The *ἰεργαὶ* of oracles in Lucian (ii. 255) deal with both *ἰεργαὶ* ('setting forth'), and *δαιμοναὶ* ('solution'): the pantomime makes his meaning so clear as to need (*ib. ii. 301*) *μυθῶν* *ἰεργῶν*, 'no one to set it forth in words.' In Aristotle's *Alexter*, ad Alex. (30, 31) *ἰεργαὶ* is perhaps a short version of facts, as compared with *διηγησις*, a long narrative. Apollo is called by Plato *ναυτοῖς* *ἰεργῶν*, 'the setter forth of the will of Zeus,' not because he *explained*, but because he *set forth* the Oracles, or *Logia*, of Zeus. In course of time, however, both among Christians and among Greeks, no new 'oracles' were forthcoming. Then the *εργαὶ* had to confine himself to explaining the old oracles; and so, by degrees, *εργαὶ* and *εργεῖα* assumed their modern meaning, which also prevailed in the days of Eusebius. This explains why the Alexandrine scribe altered *ἰεργαὶ* into *διηγησις* in *Judg. 7.15*.

It cannot be denied that a collection of the Lord's Logia might contain nothing but his words, like the *Oxyrhynchus papyrus*. It is true that Philo applies the term *Logion* even to a *historical statement* in the Pentateuch (e.g., Phil. 158 quoting Deut. 10 9; Phil. 155 quoting Gen. 4 15). But in the passage where (2163 f.) he speaks of 'all things written in the sacred books' as 'oracles (*apophoreis*)', he proceeds to say that they were 'oracularly delivered through' Moses, and then divides them into three classes according as they are uttered (1) in the person of God, (2) by question and answer, (3) in the person of Moses, under inspiration and control from God. This separates them, it would seem, from historical statements made by the historians themselves, in the books of Kings, Chronicle, Esther, etc. In the LXX the regular meaning of *Logia* is the Words of the Lord, regarded either as *commandments to be observed* (e.g., Phil. 350-1197 f.) or as *sure promises of deliverance* (e.g., Ps. 127 183 f. 105 f.) Prov. 80 5). In NT the 'living oracles' (*Arta* 7) are those delivered from Mount Sinai, apparently referred to in Rom. 8 2; and in the only two utter-

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(b) Papias' account of *Mk. and Mt.* is as follows: (Eus. iii. 39.15.1.) "Μάρκος μὲν ἐξηγήσατο τὸν Πέτρον, γινώσκων, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἑαυτῷ ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι ταύτην, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴν ἢ πρᾶξιν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν τοῦ Κυρίου,

instances (Heb. 5.12-1 Pet. 4.1) it means the moral precepts, or Law, of Christ. In the only two instances given in Otto's index to Justin, it means (1) *Apol.* 32) OT 'prophecy', or (*Tryph.* 17-18) prophetic denunciation of woe (where the Lord's Logia against the Pharisees are coupled with the prophetic Logia of OT). Eusebius perhaps expresses his view of the meaning of Logia (as signifying mainly discourses), when he says that (Eus. *HE* iii. 24.5) Matthew and John were the only apostles that left memorials of the Lord's διαβιβᾶν, a word that in sing. sometimes meant 'life' (Epict. ii. 16.20), but in pl. 'discourses' (Epict. iii. 24.5, etc.). Although the term Logia might include actions, in special circumstances, it is extremely doubtful whether Papias would have given the name, for example, to Mk. 8.14, 'And King Herod heard it, for his name had become known'; and he said, John the Baptist is risen from the dead, etc.' We must therefore be content to be uncertain how far, if at all, Papias embodied history in his 'setting forth' of the Logia, as distinct from the 'interpretations' and traditions which he may have added to them.

Papias calls them Κυριακά, rather than Κυρίων, for obvious reasons. Κυρίος is distinguished from ὁ Κύριος, in that the former often means 'God', whilst the latter means 'the Lord (Jesus)'. Λόγιον Κυρίου (ἐξηγήσας) might have meant 'Oracles of God'—i.e., the OT (as in *Iren.* Pref. 1). Τῶν Λόγιων τοῦ Κυρίου, it would be clear, but lengthy. Κυριακός, being applied to the Lord's Day as distinct from the Sabbath, was exactly the fit word to distinguish the oracles of the Law of Christ from the oracles of the Law of Moses.

ἐμνημόνευσεν may mean 'remembered'. But it may also mean 'mentioned'. In deciding the meaning, the usage of Papias elsewhere will be our best guide here. In § 68 below, Papias uses it twice; and there, Lightf. (*SK* 143) renders it first 'remember' and then 'relate'. That the same word should be used in two consecutive sentences to mean quite different things is, in itself, highly improbable; still more when Papias might have used μνησθῆναι for 'remember'. The meaning 'repeat', 'teach from memory', which is absolutely necessary in the second, is highly probable also in the first. When a convert had been taught the Logia, his business was (Heb. 5.12) to 'repeat' them to others. Hence, in § 63, Papias contrasts himself, as 'learning well and teaching (μνημονεύων) well' the traditions of the Elders, with the heretics who 'taught (μνημονεύοντες) alien commandments' and not those of the Lord. So *Iren.* i. 18.1 of the Valentinians *teaching* their dogma of the dead (μνημονεύοντες with gen.). Eusebius (iii. 24.12) describes the Syncretists as μνημονεύοντες (with accus.), co-ordinately with *ἵνα παραβιβῶντες*. It may be urged that, in the LXX, μνημονεύειν means 'call to mind'. There is close connection, however, between 'calling to mind' (e.g. Exod. 13.3, the deliverance of the Passover) and 'commemorating'. The two words are the active and causative forms of the same Hebrew verb (נָזַר) and renders both 'remember' and 'make mention' by the Greek μνησθῆναι and μνησθῆναι in Ps. 77.11. 1 Mac. 12.11 speaks of 'remembering' friends in prayers, sacrifices, etc. (cp. 2 Mac. 10.6), and 2 Mac. 9.21 (Tisch.), 'I would have remembered your good will', means, 'I would have acknowledged or recorded it by some act'. Similarly, in NT, Gal. 2.10, 'remember the poor' means, 'remember them in act'. So Heb. 13.7, 'remember them that had the rule over you, which spoke unto you the word of God', would, by itself, imply what actually follows, 'imitate their faith'. So the Ephesians are bidden to (Avis. 30.31.35) 'call to mind' Paul's life among them, and also 'the words of the Lord Jesus'. Col. 4.18, 'remember my bonds' (following Col. 4.1, 'praying for us that God may open unto us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds'), probably includes, or means, as in 1 Mac. 12.11, and as in later Christian writers, 'remember my bonds (in your prayers)'. (For the connection between 'praying' and 'remembering', see 1 Thess. 1.3.) In Mt. 16.9, μνημονεύετε τοὺς is probably a corruption of Mk. 8.16 μνημονεύετε ὅτι τοὺς. So far, in NT, with this exception, μν. takes the gen. or ὅτι; but in 1 Thess. 2.9 μνημονεύετε γὰρ τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν (best taken imperatively), the meaning is, perhaps, 'remind one another of (implying 'mention'), and, in any case, 2 Tim. 2.8 μνημονεύετε Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, following 2.2 ('the things which thou hast heard, commit to faithful men, who will be able to teach others), and preceding 2.14 ('of these things thou hast in remembrance'), almost certainly means 'make mention of, or teach, Jesus Christ'. We see, therefore, in the Pauline Epistles, a commencement of the later tendency to pass from the active to the causative meaning of the Hebrew נָזַר (μνησθῆναι, μνησθῆναι, ἀπομνημονεύειν, μνημονεύοντες), from mere 'remembering' to some practical way of remembering—e.g. in prayer, doctrine, preaching.

The ambiguity of the word has probably caused Clem. Alex. (following, but misunderstanding and modifying, Papias) to describe Mark as (Eus. *HE* vi. 14.3) 'remembering (μνημονεύων) Peter's words'. *Iren.* iii. 3.3 τοῦ Ἀπολ. Πάπιας μνησθῆναι (memini) must mean 'Paul makes mention of Ihus'. Justin, *Tryph.* 117 μνησθῆναι seems to mean 'a commemoration is made'. This (which is a very rare construction, if it occurs at all, in NT) appears to differ from τὰ λεχθέντα καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα, and to mean 'whatever originated from Christ, either discourse or action.'

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οὐτε παρακολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὅστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφη, Πέτρον, δε πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποίητο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς περ συνταξίν των γραμῶν ποιούμενος λόγων (v. τ. Λογιων), ὡς τε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε! Μάρκος, οὕτως ἐνία γραφῆς ὡς ἀπομνημόνευσεν, ἢ ἐνὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πρῶτον, τοῦ μὲν ὡν ἦσαν παραλήψεις, ἢ ψευδασμοὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἴστέον τῷ Πάπια περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἰρηται. 3 Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραῖος

In the light of what follows—about the contrast between (1) Peter, who 'adapted his discourses to the needs of the occasion, making no classified collection of the Lord's Logia', and (2) Matthew, who 'compiled the Logia'—he seems to mean that Peter neither confined himself to the Logia, nor attempted to group or classify them (as Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount), but taught all that related to Christ's life, 'whether spoken or done'—i.e., without distinguishing between his words and his deeds.

He 'committed no fault' (not, 'he made no mistake'). This must be the meaning, as the verb is invariably so used in NT and almost always (if not always) in OT. Cp especially Acts 25.1 Cor. 7.20, 'thou didst not commit a fault (οὐχ ἡμαρτε)', also 1 Cor. 7.30. See also Lucian, 2.172, τὰ μέγιστα ἁμαρτανῶν, tk. 176, τοῖς μὲν ἡμαρτανῶσι, etc., Phil. *Græc.* ed. Holden, 51, Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 1.40. Papias is defending Mark against the very natural objection that he did not do the apostle justice in writing down oral and casual (or at all events *ex te sponte*, *πρὸς τὰς χρείας*) teaching, unchanged, in a permanent book. The style that suits the former is often unsuitable to the latter. Lightfoot (*SK* 163) in calling this 'he did no wrong' a 'mistranslation' of the author of *SK*, must be thinking of the sense, not of the Greek. But, thus interpreted, it makes excellent sense.

ἀπομνημόνευσεν appears to be used by Papias as an emphatic form of ἐμνημόνευσεν (used above in the sense 'repeat, or teach from memory') and to mean 'repeat exactly from memory'. Cp another passage, generally admitted to be from Papias, in *Iren.* v. 33.3, 'As the Elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, repeated from memory (Lat. *meminerunt*)', where there can be little doubt that the Latin points to a Greek original ἀπομνημονεύοντες or ἐμνημόνευον. And a precisely parallel use occurs in the description given by Irenæus himself of the way in which Polycarp, the pupil of John and of the apostles (Eus. *HE* v. 20c), used not only to 'relate (ἀπομνημονεύειν) his intercourse with them, but also to repeat exactly from memory (ἀπομνημονεύειν) their words'. Justin goes a step further and apparently takes ἀπομνημονεύοντες to mean something distinct from teaching. Influenced by his belief that the ἀπομνημονεύματα were not about the apostles but from the apostles, he appeals to those who (1 *Apol.* 13) 'having, *corrected* (ἀπομνημονεύσαντες) all that concerned our Saviour Jesus Christ, have taught (διδάξαντες) it'. And subsequent passages show that he meant 'reordered in writing'. There is no doubt that he was in error. But his error strengthens the evidence that ἀπομνημονεύειν in Papias means something more than 'remember'. In *Justin*, 28, *ἐν ἀπομνημονεύματι* means to 'relate exactly, or in detail, some special instances'; (*ib.* 3.621) it is contrasted with 'disorderly (ἀτάκτως) speech, and seems to mean 'repeating what one has thought out'; (*ib.* 3.419) it describes one who not only knew the exact facts but also 'repeated from memory (or registered in memory) the exact words (ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἀπομνημονεύσαι)'. So Strabo 8.30, ἀπομνημονεύουσι τοῦ Φειδίου, introducing one of the sculptor's sayings.

As, therefore, Irenæus describes Polycarp, one of John's disciples, as 'repeating exactly from memory' John's doctrine about (Eus. *HE* v. 20c) 'the mighty works (δυνάμεις) and teaching (διδασκαλίαν) of the Lord, so Papias appears to be describing Mark, Peter's 'interpreter', first as 'repeating from memory (ἐμνημόνευσεν)', and then as 'repeating exactly from memory (ἀπομνημονεύειν)' the doctrine of Peter about Christ's discourses or actions, and as afterwards committing to writing what he (Mark) had thus 'repeated'.

Lightfoot translates ἀπομνημονεύειν here (*SK* 163) 'remembered'. And the word has this meaning in a few phrases such as 'bear a grudge against', etc. But (1) there is no notion here of 'grudge'; (2) the general usage, and (3) the context, favour the meaning 'recount'; and (4) besides the above-mentioned passage from Irenæus, and (5) that from Justin (meaning apparently 'recount', but at all events something more than 'remember'), there is also (6) Justin's frequent appeal to ἀπομνημονεύματα as 'written records'. These considerations, together with the kindred use of μνημονεύειν above mentioned, are conclusive in favour of the decision that ἀπομνημονεύειν here means 'recount' or 'repeat from memory'. There is a considerable probability that the word was in regular use to denote the Memoirs or Anecdotes about the apostles, first 'repeated' by their immediate interpreters or pupils, then committed to writing by some of them in the form of Gospels; and lastly accepted by Justin as Memoirs written by the apostles about Christ. Yet he seems to have retained the old title. As Xenophon's *Ἀπομνημονεύματα Σωκράτους* mean 'Memoirs of i.e., about Socrates', so *Ἀπομνημονεύματα Ἀποστόλων* would naturally mean 'Memoirs about the apostles', and about Christ's teaching through them. Justin appears to retain an old title but to give it a wrong interpretation.

Perhaps the use of ἀπομνημονεύειν was influenced by the use of the Hebrew *זָכַר*. This, meaning originally 'repeat from memory', came to mean 'teach the oral Law', whence came the word 'Mishna', the doctrine of the oral Law.

3 Is εἰρηται interchanged with the co-ordinate ἴστέονται for

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διαλέκτω τὰ λόγια συνγράψας, ἡγήμηνε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἢ δυνατόν ἔκαστος."

(c) The system of Eusebius.—In order to appreciate the negative as well as the positive value of the evidence of Papias, we must briefly consider the purpose of Eusebius, who has preserved it.

Eusebius promises (*HE* iii. 33) to record (1) the quotations of ecclesiastical writers from 'disputed books,'

(2) 'what they have said about the canonical Scriptures and the uncanonical as well' (τίνα τε περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθῆκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εἰρηται).¹ His promise to include the latter we have reason to believe that he faithfully keeps. But he gives no extracts from Papias about Lk. and Jn. It may be reasonably inferred that Papias was silent about them. The silence may have proceeded from either of two causes: (1) Jn. and Lk. may not have been recognised by Papias as on an equality with Mk. and Mt.; (2) though recognising them as authoritative, Papias may have had nothing to say about them.

(d) The silence of Papias on Lk. and Jn. —The latter of the alternatives just mentioned is highly improbable.

Papias dwells on the defect of 'order, or arrangement (τάξις),' in Mk., who, he says, never even contemplated an 'underlying treatise (σύνταξις)' of the Logia. Now Lk. avowed it as one of his objects to write 'in (chronological) order (κατά τάξιν), and Lk.'s 'order' differs not only from that of Mt., but also from that of Jn. It is hard to believe, then, that Papias would have nothing to say about Lk., if he recognised Lk. Again, as regards Jn., would not Papias have naturally added what the Muratorian Fragment says—that this want of order was corrected by Jn., who wrote 'in order (per ordinem)'? The Muratorian Fragment, Clement of Alexandria, and the anonymous tradition preserved by Eusebius (iii. 24.11) all have something of great importance to tell us about the original authorship of the 'spiritual' Gospel of John the disciple of the Lord; and what they say testifies to the interest taken in its origin by those ecclesiastical writers who were among the first to recognise it as apostolical. Is it likely that Papias, if he acknowledged it to be the work of the last of the apostles, knew nothing about it that he deemed worth saying?

These considerations point to the conclusion that Lk. and Jn. were not recognised by Papias as on a level with Mk. and Mt.²

If Papias did not recognise Lk. and Jn. as authoritative, it would seem likely that Jn.—though probably (*Eus. HE* iii. 24.1) it had been for some time taught orally, and though traditions from it may have been in use in Proconsular Asia—was not yet circulated in writing, or, if circulated, not yet acknowledged as apostolical, when Papias wrote his *Exposition*. Consequently the date of the *Exposition* becomes of great importance.

(e) The Date of Papias's Exposition. —There is no evidence of importance bearing on it beyond *Eus. HE* iii. 39.1-4f.

Τὸ δὲ Πωπίας συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ὃ καὶ ἐπιγράφεται, Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις, τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς μόνων αὐτῷ γραφέντων μνημονεύει. ὡς δὲ πῶς λέγειν: "ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Πάπιας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ὁκουστῆς, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐτοίρους

mere variety? Or as indicating a shorter statement? or as implying any doubt? In *Eus. HE* ii. 15.2, φασὶ καὶ ἱστορίῳ probably denote distinctions of historical certainty (c. below, § 83).

Lightfoot, who assumes that Papias must have said something about Jn., thinks it probable that (SA 207) the Muratorian writer borrowed from Papias 'his contrast between the secondary evidence of Mk. and the primary evidence of Jn.' But, in that case, how is it that Eusebius—who was bound to record whatever was said by ecclesiastical writers about canonical books—while inserting what was said by later writers, omits what was said by the earliest of all?

This might be regarded as almost certain but for one consideration. Eusebius has a contempt for Papias. Forced by his antiquity to devote a great deal of space to him, he does it with terms of disparagement, and (iii. 39.14-17, *Eus.*) 'confining himself to what is indispensable (ἀναγκαῖον).' Want of space, and contempt for his author, may have induced him to break the promise he made just before, and to omit what Papias may have said about Lk. and Jn., reserving it till he came to later ecclesiastical writers who borrowed from Papias. This is highly improbable. Eusebius is a most careful and conscientious writer. Though, for example, on one occasion he gives in his own words a tradition about Mk. at an early period in his history, and adds (214) 'Clement has quoted this story, and . . . Papias attests it,' this does not prevent him from giving the testimony of Papias in full, in its chronological order.

1 γινώσκων—i.e., 'pupils,' as in Origen, *Cels.* 2.13; Clem. Alex. 104 and 898; Epictet. *Passim*; and *Eus.* iii. 44, etc. It is equivalent to Papias's *παρηκολούθησας*.

2 Probably 'taught from memory,' or 'repeated.' See note above, § 65, n.

3 See above, § 65, n. Papias (1) 'set forth (ἐξηγίσθαι)' the Logia, (2) 'interpreted (ἐρμηνεύειν)' them, and (3) 'arranged along with them (συντάξαι)' illustrative traditions.

4 These bracketed words are perhaps to be omitted. See § 70 (3) below.

5 *E.g.*, he says that Luke had (*Eus.* iii. 4.1) 'diligently followed the rest of the apostles (besides Paul), but shows the source of his error by quoting Lk. 1.3, taking εἰς αὐτὸν ὡς μισθόν. He also (*epim.* 4.1 with iii. 39.1) takes Lk.'s *ἐκπαρὰ τοῦ λόγου* (the word) to mean ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου (the Word). These are such errors as the most honest and impartial historian might make.

6 This could be proved by a collection of Irenaeus's mistakes. And a comparison of the *evangelic* remarks made by Eusebius about other ecclesiastical writers with his general silence when quoting Irenaeus would indicate that, although he would by no means call the latter (as he calls Papias) 'a man of very little understanding,' he nevertheless thinks less highly of his power of weighing evidence than of his (v. 20.3) orthodoxy and high standard of carefulness in copying MSS.

7 *Eus.* iii. 39.5: διασπείλας τὸν λόγον.

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γινώσκων, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ. ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος ταῦτα, αὐτὸς γὰρ μὴ ὁ Πάπιας κατὰ τὴν προομίον τῶν αὐτοῦ Λογιῶν ἐκδοσθῆναι μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην εὐδαμῶς αὐτὸν γινέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφανεῖ, παρὰλλήλῃται δὲ τὰ τῶν πιστῶν παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνους γινώσκων! διδάσκει δὲ ὡς φησὶ Λέξις: "οὐκ ἀκρίτως δὲ σοὶ καὶ ὅσα ποτε παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσας," συντάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβιβαιομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀληθείας. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλά λεγουσὶν ἔαρον ὥστε οἱ πολλοὶ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰ ἀληθὴ διδασκούνσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίων ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πιστεὶ δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πορευομένης τῆς ἀληθείας. εἰ δὲ πού τις παρηκολούθησας τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὀνεικρίων λόγους—τί 'Ανδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ 'Ιακώβος ἢ τί 'Ιωάννης ἢ Μοῦσῆς ἢ τίς ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν, αὐτὸς 'Αριστὶν καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος 'Ιωάννης [οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ] λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τούτων μετ' ὧν ἐλεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζωῆς φωτὸς καὶ μυστοῦ.

68. Date of Papias.

1. Was Papias 'a hearer of John'? —Was Eusebius right in denying, or Irenaeus in asserting, that Papias was 'a hearer of John'? Here, and in what follows, we must distinguish the statements of Eusebius from his inferences. The former are almost always accurate; the latter are sometimes erroneous (though by giving us the grounds for them he enables us to avoid error). Even the inferences of Eusebius are probably more trustworthy here than the statements of Irenaeus.¹ Now Eusebius rejects the definite statement of the latter that Papias was a 'hearer of John,' on the ground that Papias himself makes in such claim in his preface, where he naturally, and almost inevitably, would have made it, if he could. He gives us the preface to speak for itself. He adds facts and extracts from the work of Papias, the whole of which was apparently before him. These convey no indication that Papias 'heard' John. That Irenaeus—influenced by the natural tendency of early Christian controversialists to exaggerate the continuity of Christian tradition, and by the fact that Papias lived in Polycarp's time and reported what John said—hastily declared Papias to be 'a hearer of John,' is more probable than that Eusebius, subsequently reviewing all the evidence, was mistaken in denying it.

The probable conclusion is that Papias was *not* a 'hearer of John.'

2 and 3. Was Papias 'a hearer of Arision and of John the elder'? And were they 'disciples of the Lord'?

2. Eusebius affirms that Papias did hear them, and he gives his reasons thus (iii. 39.7): 'He (Papias) confesses that he has received the words of the apostles on the one hand from those who had followed (παρηκολούθησας) them; but of Arision (and of the Elder John he says he was himself a hearer.' The context indicates that Eusebius is drawing this inference merely from the 'distinction' that Papias makes between the past and the present,— 'What (τὸ) Andrew, etc., said (εἶπεν), and the things that (τὰ) Arision and the Elder John say (λέγουσι)'—as though the two last were still living, so that Papias had probably consulted them; and the historian's habitual conscientiousness leads him (recognising perhaps the slightness of his grounds) to qualify his inference in the following sentence: 'At all events (γὰρ), making frequent mention of them by name in his treatise, he sets down their traditions.' He does not add 'and Papias states that he received them from their own lips,' and he appears to have no evidence beyond what he himself puts before us. But the change of tense from 'said' to 'say' is

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(Lightf. *SA* 150 n.) 'probably for the sake of variety,'¹ so that nothing can be inferred from it; and the mere fact that Papias 'sets down their traditions' and 'mentions their names,' by no means proves that he obtained his information from them, and not from 'those who had followed them.'

We conclude that (a) Papias is not proved to have been, and that (b) (so far as we can judge from Eusebius's production of inadequate, and omission of adequate, evidence) he probably was not, a 'hearer' of Aristion and John the Elder.

3. Again, the words 'disciples of the Lord' can hardly have followed 'Aristion, etc.' in the text used by Eusebius. For he regards Aristion as living at the time when Papias wrote. But that 'disciples of the Lord' should be living when Papias was making his investigations (Lightfoot, *SA* 150 n.) would involve 'a chronological difficulty.'

This Eusebius would probably have felt, especially as he apparently regards Papias as born too late to have been a 'hearer of John.'² Moreover, if Papias was a hearer of *any* 'disciple of the Lord,' this would contradict the spirit of Eusebius's inference that Papias drew his information about the apostles merely from their 'pupils.' Aristion and the Elder John, if 'disciples of the Lord,' could not be called 'pupils' of the apostles. This internal evidence that Eusebius did not find the words 'disciples, etc.' after 'Aristion, etc.' is confirmed by (1) their absence from the Armenian version, (2) the omission of it in several Greek MSS, and of *τοῦ κυρίου* by Rufinus, (3) the extreme harshness of (a) 'Elders,' (b) 'disciples of the Lord,' (c) the repetition of 'disciples of the Lord,' as though they were three classes,³ and (4) the ease with which the words can be explained as an interpolation.

4. Papias's 'Elders.'—It remains to consider who are 'the Elders' from whom Papias obtained his information.

There is no evidence to show that apostles were called 'Elders.' Yet Papias's words—*seem* to amount to this, 'If pupils of the Elders came, I used to ask about the words of the Elders, viz. Andrew, Peter, etc.'—appear, at first sight, to identify 'apostles' with 'the Elders.'

The truth appears to be that, in the days of Papias, the latter title was given to the *generation of Elders ordained by the 'disciples of the Lord.'* The next generation of Elders was not yet called 'the Elders,' but rather the 'pupils of (or those who had followed) the Elders.' The object of Papias was to get back to the teaching of the *disciples of the Lord*, whether through (1) 'the Elders' or (2) 'their pupils.' If, for example, Papias met (1) an Elder appointed by John the apostle, or (2) a 'pupil' of such an Elder, in either case his question would be, 'What said John?'⁴

The most probable conclusions, then, are that (1) Papias was not a hearer of John; (2 and 3) whether he was, or was not, a hearer of Aristion and the Elder John, the two latter were not 'disciples of the Lord'; (4) the Elders from whom he obtained his information were not apostles but Elders appointed by John or other apostles; and he supplemented this by information obtained from their followers and successors.

5. Papias's list of the apostles.—Why does Papias specially mention, as the disciples about whose sayings he made investigations, Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew? and why in this order? An answer is suggested by the context in the extract quoted above (§ 71).

¹ Note that in the same sentence *τινα* is varied with *αὐτά*. So Eusebius (quoted above, § 66) varies *τινα* with *οὐα*, where there is but a shade of difference in meaning.

² Eusebius might naturally assume that Papias—who tells us that he regularly cross-examined any who could tell him 'what John said'—would have questioned John himself had he been alive and accessible to questioning. Denying that he was a 'hearer,' he probably implies that he was too late to be one.

³ See *Expositor*, 4th ser. 3245. Papias probably wrote 'the disciples of the Lord . . . and Aristion and John their disciples.' Their, *αὐτῶν* (in *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν*, i.e. *αὐτῶν*), was changed into 'his (*αὐτοῦ*)' and *αὐτοῦ* replaced by *τοῦ κυρίου*. (For the frequency of *αὐτοῦ*, *τουτου*, etc., confused with *αὐτῶν*, *τουτων*, see Otto on Justin, *Tryph.* 106, p. 356.) Prof. W. F. Bacon has suggested that *οἱ κυριοὶ* was corrupted into *οἱ τοῦ κυρίου* before the time of Eusebius. This is very likely; cp. Judg. 424 *τοῦ κυρίου* II, but *Αὐτοῦ* (*αὐτοῦ*, *κυρίου*) *τουτου*.

⁴ This interpretation of 'Elders' is confirmed by the following consideration. Irenaeus, in passages where he is probably (Lightf. *SA* 22) quoting the substance, if not the very words, of Papias, speaks of the doctrine as that of (s. 51, 502) 'the Elders, the disciples of the apostles' (ib. 33 p. 1), 'the Elders who have seen John.' If these are the words of Papias, the fact that he uses 'Elders' there to mean 'the disciples of the apostles' makes it probable that he uses it in the same sense here, and that they represented the generation preceding his own.

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'Most people,' says Papias, took pleasure in 'voluminous (ῥῆ μαλὰ) falsehoods'; and he was driven to conclude that he would gain more profit from the living voice of tradition derived from 'the disciples of the Lord' than from 'the books' that attracted popular attention. In 'the books' he may have included Gnostic treatises, such as that of Basilides; but we must not exclude Christian apocrypha and 'disputed' books, and various versions of authoritative books.

For example, though Matthew had made a compilation of the Logia, it was variously 'interpreted'; and this affords a very good reason for the desire of Papias to ascertain 'what Matthew said,' in order to throw light on what Matthew wrote or was supposed to have written. Again, the Epistle of James mentioned by Eusebius (iii. 25) not as spurious but as 'disputed,' was probably current in the days of Papias; and we can understand that its existence may well have caused him to add his name to the apostolic list. Between 'Matthew' and 'James' comes 'John,' in whose name a gospel (preached perhaps in his behalf at Ephesus during his last years) may have been recently circulated as a tradition in writing; and this would account not only for the inclusion of John's name, but also for its position between that of James and Matthew. Apocryphal works were early current in the names of (Eus. iii. 25) Andrew, Peter (whom Papias himself mentions as the originator of Mk.), and Thomas (as well as John and Matthias). The inclusion of Philip (whose apocryphal Acts Eusebius does not mention) may be explained by his having resided in Hierapolis, where Papias was bishop.¹ As regards Aristion, Eusebius (iii. 39, 14) informs us that Papias inserted some of Aristion's accounts (*διηγήσεις*) of the words of the Lord (*ῥῆν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων*), and there is some slight evidence (Eus. i. 1891 b, p. 245) for regarding him as the author of Mk.-App. At all events, the fact that he wrote 'accounts' (*διηγήσεις*) of words of the Lord, presumably not found in Mk. or Mt., or else why should Eusebius mention their insertion?—would make it desirable to ascertain what Aristion was in the habit of 'saying.' Lastly, the two disputed Epistles of John (the Second and Third) are written by 'the Elder,' and may have been naturally attributed to the Elder John. And Papias, who (Eus. iii. 39, 17) 'makes quotations' from the First Epistle of John, may on this as well as on other accounts have made the traditions of John the Elder a special subject of investigation.

Thus, though there may be, and probably are, other local causes, unknown to us, for Papias's selection and arrangement,² the drift of evidence, external and internal, indicates, as our important cause, the uncertainty arising from spurious Christian literature, and the special importance of ascertaining what had been

¹ Among other things that came to him (Eus. iii. 39) 'as from tradition (*ὡς ἀπὸ παραδόσεως*),' Papias is said by Eusebius to have received 'a wonderful narrative (composition) by the daughters of Philip (*διηγήσιν παραλήφειν θυγαστῶν υἱοῦ τοῦ Φ. θυγατρῶν*). From this passage it is commonly inferred that Papias knew the daughters of Philip. But (1) *διηγήσεις* (not *παράδοσις*, see ib. 14 and vi. 139, both of which distinguish between *π.*, 'oral tradition,' and *δ.*, 'written narrative'), and (2) *υἱοῦ* (not *παρὰ* or *ἀπὸ*), and (3) *ὡς ἀπὸ παραδόσεως* and *παραλήφειν*, all imply that, though the narrative had been related by them, Papias did not receive it from them, but from others who handed it down and warranted its genuineness. This has an important bearing on the date of Papias. The words (Eus. iii. 39) *παρὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς γενόμενος*, following on *κατὰ τὴν ἱεραπόλιν* . . . *διαρρίψαι* must naturally mean that, whereas Philip and his daughters lived at Hierapolis, Papias was 'born among'—'he same (people)' (They can hardly mean that Papias was 'born during the time of the same people'—i.e., Philip and his daughters.)

² *αὐτοῦ* *μαρτυρίας*. We are not to infer that Papias mentioned John, or any one, as the author. Had he done so, Eusebius would probably have said, as he does of Irenaeus (Eus. v. 87), 'He also makes mention of the First Epistle of John, introducing a good many quotations from it, and likewise from the First of Peter.' From (1) this contrast, and (2) the early custom of quoting without names, we may reasonably infer that Papias did not mention John's Epistle. It is shown elsewhere (see Jones, *First Ep.*) that some so-called quotations from the First Epistle are probably mere quotations from floating Johannine traditions.

Why does Eusebius—who was not bound to tell us of quotations from *any* of the books—take up space by telling us that Papias quoted from (1) . . . the First Epistle of John? The answer is to be found in (1) the compilation of Eusebius's sentence (and from that of Peter likewise), partly (2) in the similar statement about (s. 82) Irenaeus. It is simply a quiet way of saying 'You see Papias and Irenaeus do not quote from the Second and Third Epistles of John, nor from the Second Epistle of Peter.' There were 'disputed works' of Eusebius is fairly bringing against them 'the account from tradition.'

³ For example, he places Andrew first of all with the leading part assigned to Andrew's 'Most true Friend' (see below, § 7) in original *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθινῆς φίλου*.

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said by those disciples of the Lord who were reported, truly or falsely, to have left *writings* also.

6. Papias's relation to Polycarp. — On this point, Eusebius affords the following indirect evidence.

He first (iii. 341-2) mentions Polycarpas 'the scholar (διδάσκαλος) of the apostles' — appointed to the bishopric of Smyrna 'by the eye-witnesses and ministers of the Lord' — in whose time flourished 'Papias (the, too, bishop of Hierapolis) and the world-famed (ὁ παρὰ πάντων) *vicar* (ἐπίσκοπος) Ignatius, second in succession to Peter in the bishopric of Antioch.'

73. His relation to Polycarp. — Then he (ib. 4-15) describes the Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp. Next he mentions (ib. 371) Quadratus and the daughters of Philip as being among those who 'occupied the first rank in the succession to the apostles,' adding that he has confined his mention of these to (ib. 374) such as have left extant records of apostolic teaching. Then, after (iii. 38 f.) going back to Clement of Rome to protest against spurious works attributed to him, he continues, 'Now I have (already) mentioned the works of Ignatius and Polycarp; of Papias five books are extant'; and he deals with Papias and his works in detail, denying that he was a 'hearer' of the apostles, which is equivalent to denying that he was one of those 'in the first rank in the succession to the apostles.' Some time after this (iv. 14 f.) comes Polycarp's visit to Rome and martyrdom. All this harmonises with the supposition that Papias was so much younger than Ignatius and Polycarp that he could not be reckoned in their 'rank of succession,' but that Eusebius was obliged to insert his name with theirs on account of the importance of his 'extant records,' which he compiled before the death of the aged Polycarp. His habit of speaking (in his *Evangelion*) in the name of 'the Elders that have seen John' may have led Irenaeus to the erroneous inference that Papias was 'a hearer of John and companion of Polycarp.'

(f) Summary of the Evidence relating to Papias. —

Reviewing the evidence, we are led to the following

74. Conclusions about Papias. —

negative and positive conclusions. Papias was not a 'hearer of John,' nor a 'companion of Polycarp,' nor did he 'hear' any 'disciple of the Lord.' He was not in the same 'rank of succession' as Quadratus and Philip's daughters. The daughters dwelt in Papias's native city and died (Lightfoot, *SK* 150) about 100-110 A.D. Papias records a narrative handed down by them but not (apparently) as coming to him from them. These facts suggest for Papias's birth a date about 85 A.D. When he reached early manhood (105 A.D.) the last of the apostles, if still living, was probably incapacitated by old age for teaching. The Johannine Gospel, though preached orally at Ephesus, was not yet published. Being probably (Lightfoot, *SK* 153) of Pagan origin, and (Eus. iii. 3912) given to literalise Jewish metaphor, Papias may have been perplexed by a comparison of Hebrew with Greek 'interpretations' of Christian traditions. He found current the Commandments (Eus. iii. 3913) 'given from the Lord to the Faith'; but he desired to add to these from the doctrine of the apostles, as repeated by the Elders whom they had appointed and by the successors of those Elders. He also mentions (1) the teaching of the apostle Peter, first 'repeated,' and then 'written,' by his 'interpreter' Mark, including the Acts as well as the Words of Jesus, and making no attempt at classifying 'the Lord's Oracles'; (2) a compilation by the apostle Matthew, in Hebrew, of 'the Lord's Oracles' certainly including Christ's discourses and probably giving some account of Christ's life. But this, instead of being circulated in Greek (as Peter's teaching had been) by our authoritative 'interpreter,' had received many 'interpretations.' About I.k. or Jn. for any

1 *i.e.*, Polycarp and Ignatius have phrases that suggest the authority of antiquity. Papias has none. Several MSS. very naturally interpolate a compliment to Papias's learning.

2 If we may judge from the order of the extracts, Papias placed *Mt.* before *Mk.* This is slightly confirmed by the fact that in the former extract Papias uses the longer title *εὐαγγέλιον λέγειν*, in the latter, the shorter *λεγοί*, a natural abbreviation when one repeats a title a second time.

3 The 'interpreter' (*ἑρμηνεύς*, on *Mt.* 10:28 and Wetstein on 1 Cor. 14:27) was the recognised attendant of the reader and teacher in the Jewish schools. When a Jewish apostle (*e.g.*, the author of the Apocalypse, which is composed in most barbarous Greek) preached, or wrote, to Greek congregations, an 'interpreter' may often have been in request. We have seen that Mark was called the 'interpreter' of Peter. It was an early belief (Eus. iii. 38) that Luke or Clement of Rome 'interpreted' the Epistle to the Hebrews from Paul's Hebrew into Greek. A

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other Gospel) Papias is silent, and we conclude that he knew neither, or ranked neither with Mk. or Mt. But the date at which he was investigating and writing (about 115-130 A.D.) and his quotations from a Jn. (which was certainly written by the same hand as the Gospel) combine to make it probable that Jn. must have been known to him, at least in parts, as a tradition. We are led to conclude that he was writing at the time when Jn. was attaining, but had not yet attained, recognition as an apostolic Gospel.

There were also current (as I.k. tells us), 'many narratives' of Christ's life, and (as Papias says) many diffuse writings, possibly including Gnostic gospels, and so called Apostolic Acts, Revelations, and Epistles. These appear to have prejudiced Papias against 'books,' and to have inclined him to go back as near as possible to the fountain-head. His attitude is so well described by the following words of Irenaeus that we can imagine Papias himself using them. (Iren. v. 201 f.) 'All these (heresies) are of much later date than the *bishops* to whom the apostles committed the churches. . . . Those who desert the teaching of the Church impugn the knowledge of the holy Elders.' To these 'bishops,' then, or 'holy Elders' — *i.e.*, to the Elders appointed by the apostles — Papias made it his first object to go. But we learn from Clement of Rome (ch. 44) that, as early as 95 A.D., some of 'the Elders appointed by the apostles,' and even some of those 'appointed' in the next generation (*μεταξὺ*) by men of note, had died. It is improbable that John, during his last years of disability, appointed any Elders; and it is reasonable to suppose that by A.D. 125-35 most of the Johannine Elders would have passed away. Hence, though Papias did his best to obtain information from them, he was glad to glean what he could from the next generation ('those who had followed them'), his question to an Elder's pupil always being, 'What said John (or this or that Disciple of the Lord) by whom the Elder (whom you "followed") was appointed?' In particular, having regard to the apocryphal literature circulated in the names of Andrew, Peter, Thomas, to the traditions current in Hierapolis about Philip, and to the better attested but disputed literature circulated in the names of James and John, to the great diversity of the 'interpretations' of the Logia compiled by Matthew, and to the objections brought against Peter's teaching as recorded by Mark — he made these Disciples of the Lord the special object of his investigations. It is, of course, possible, that Jn. may have been acknowledged as canonical in other churches before it was acknowledged

supposition that illustrates the early and familiar recognition of an 'interpreter' as a natural companion of an apostle. In the (Eus. iii. 3913) 'interpretations' that Papias inserted in his *Evangelion*, he may have included his own or other Greek versions, as well as explanations, of the Logia. From Acts 8:31 (διδάσκων) and from Ign. Phil. 6 (ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐρμηνεύων) we see how large a part of apostolic and presbyterial teaching would consist of 'interpretations' of OT in a Christian sense, and these might sometimes be 'interpreted' from the Hebrew. Soon, however, the word would be confined to 'interpreting' *i.e.*, explaining, obscurities in the Greek Logia. For the word thus used, see Orig. *Cels.* iii. 58, and quotations from Irenaeus given above, § 65 n.

1 The hesitation of Papias to accept Jn. may have been all the greater because (if we accept the theory that Irenaeus in his fifth book is quoting Papias in support of Millenarianism) he appears to have accepted the Apocalypse as John's on the authority of (Iren. v. 301) 'those who saw John face to face,' and to have habitually appealed to John in support of (ib. 331 f.) very materialistic views of the Millennium. A historian who believed (with Irenaeus) that the Apocalypse was written by the aged apostle about 96 A.D. might well hesitate to receive a work published as coming from the same pen, a few years afterwards, yet differing from the former in language so completely as almost to be in another dialect, and also absolutely differing from *Mt.* and from the 'interpreters of *Mt.*' in its representation of the Words of the Lord.

2 The teaching (Iren. v. 33. f.) about the vines each with *ἑκατὶ* branches, etc., is cited by Iren. as being taught by the elders who saw John according to Papias, helping us to understand how even Papias (*ὁ καθὼς μάρτυς τοῦ ποιοῦ*, Eus. i. 1) might feel unable to believe that the expositor of this teaching was the author of the Fourth Gospel.

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in Hierapolis;¹ but, so far as Papias guides us, we are led to the conclusion that, in 115-130 A.D., Lk. and Jn. were not yet acknowledged as on a level with Mk. and Mt., by the first Christian historian who gives us any account of the Gospels.

iii. JUSTIN MARTYR.—Justin Martyr (Lightfoot, *BE*

76. Justin 87, 145-49 A.D.), whilst quoting the Gospels under various titles, makes some incidental but very important statements about their composition.

(i) Justin's titles of the Gospels are adapted to his readers. In the *Apology*, addressed to Gentiles, he generally uses the term, 'Memoirs of the Apostles';² but in the Dialogue with the Jew, Trypho, he gradually subordinates 'Memoirs', and at last resorts to the Jewish authoritative form, 'it is written'.³

Like Lk. and Jn. (and perhaps Papias), though in a less degree, he avoids the term 'Gospel'. In the Dialogue, it is Trypho, not Justin, who first introduces it (*Tryph.* 10, 'the so-called Gospel, τὸ λεγόμενον εὐαγγέλιον'). Justin, replying, calls it (*ib.* 12) the 'teaching given (διδάχνη) by our Saviour'. In *1 Apol.* he does not use the word till toward the close, and then seemingly as a concession to popular language (66), 'Memoirs . . . which are (commonly) called (καλεῖται) Gospels'. The Memoirs (apart from 'Gospels') he generally quotes for the *fact* of Christ's life; but *sayings* are also quoted from them, twice from Mt., and twice from Lk. (One of the latter [*Tryph.* 103] agrees with D.) Christ's words, when introduced by 'he said', almost always agree with Mt.; they are called (*Tryph.* 100) λόγοι, when Jesus is predicting his sufferings, but (*ib.* 16) λόγια when denunciatory and when coupled with prophetic utterances. 'Teachings (διδάγματα) from Christ himself' (*1 Apol.* 14) refer to chastity and Christian love, and are from Mt. and Lk.; *1 Apol.* 53 speaks of Gentiles, 'men of every race, persuaded by the Teaching (διδάχνη) that came from his apostles'. This quotation (as well as *Tryph.* 18 and 10, cp also 33) indicates moral precepts, such as are in the *Didaché* and the Logia of Ithmesa. But *1 Apol.* 33, quoting Lk. with a clause from Mt., and describing the authors of the Memoirs as having 'taught' the Annunciation, and *1 Apol.* 66, stating that those who are to receive the Eucharist must first accept 'what is taught by us', indicate a catechetical 'teaching' of facts, different from the *Didaché*. Moreover, in *1 Apol.* 28 10, 'what Christ taught' or Christ's 'Teachings (διδάγματα)' refer partly to his predictions, partly to the punishment of the wicked in fire. Crescens is charged with (*ib.* 3) not having 'read' them, so that they must have been a book, or part of one.

(b) *Indications of Lk. as a recent Gospel*—In a few instances Justin appeals, as it were, beyond the Memoirs, to those who composed them; or else he introduces a personal quasi-protest of authenticity. 'I assert', 'I have learned', etc. (i) *1 Apol.* 33, 'As those who recorded (ἀπομνημονεύσαντες) all things about our Saviour Jesus Christ have taught', introduces Lk.'s Annunciation to the Virgin (with a clause taken from Mt.); (ii) *1 Apol.* 66, 'For the apostles, in the Memoirs made (γεγονότος) by them, which are called Gospels, delivered (παρέδωκαν) that Jesus had thus ordained' (to receive the Eucharist, including the words, 'Do this in remembrance of me', not found in Mk. or Mt., and regarded by W11 as an interpolation from 1 Cor. 11 25; (iii) *Tryph.* 88, 'Both (καὶ) fire was kindled (ἀνέφθη) in the Jordan . . . and . . . that

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(i) The *Shepherd* of Hermas is quoted once as 'Scripture' by Irenaeus, and frequently as a divine revelation by Clem. Alex. Yet the Muratorian Fragment decides that it is not to be read in the churches. Now the *Shepherd* and the Muratorian Fragment probably both originate from Rome, and the Muratorian writer shows familiarity with the authorship and recent date of the book. The more distant Fathers, Irenaeus and Clem. Alex., accept it; the author, who writes on the spot, rejects it. Similarly we shall find Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century making Ephesus the scene of a Dialogue—and speaking of John as (*Tryph.* 81) 'a man among us (παρ' ἡμῶν)—yet abstaining in a marked manner from quoting Jn., while freely quoting the Synoptists and occasionally using Johannine traditions.

(2) These he regards, not as Memoirs about the apostles and their doctrine, but as Memoirs about Christ composed by the apostles (*1 Apol.* 33, ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες παντὶ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰδόμενοι). See note above, § 65. (3) Cp Mt. 1 27, quoted in *1 Apol.* 13 ('Jesus . . . himself said') with Mt. 11 27 in *Tryph.* 100 ('it is written in the Gospel that he said'). If however writing is mentioned, the passage quoted is in Mt. (which Justin may prefer to quote as being the Gospel best known to the Jew Trypho).

(4) *Tryph.* 35, τὸν τοῦ διδασκῆτος λόγον, and *1 Apol.* 66, 'the prayer of the word that was from Christ' over the Eucharist.

(5) These Logia (*Tryph.* 17) are from Mt., supplemented by Lk. (as in D) in such a way as to suggest that Justin used a rough harmony of Mt. and Lk., or a correction (the former by the latter).

(6) *ἐνταλαῖαι*, middle; cp *Tryph.* 21 and 49, ἐνταλαῖαι ὁ δὲ.

(7) The rhythm demands ἀνέφθη. Ephraim (41) comments

(8) *ἐνταλαῖαι*, middle; cp *Tryph.* 21 and 49, ἐνταλαῖαι ὁ δὲ.

(9) The rhythm demands ἀνέφθη. Ephraim (41) comments

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the Holy Spirit as a dove hovered on him *has been written by his apostles* (the apostles I mean), of this our Christ (ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τοῦτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν), if the text were correct, would exhibit Justin stating a non-canonical event (the 'fire') as a fact on his own authority, and the canonical event as on the authority of the 'apostles';¹ (iv.) *Tryph.* 103, 'For in the Memoirs which I assert to have been composed (συντάχθαι) by his apostles and by those who followed (παροκολουθεῖν) them,' introduces 'it is written that sweat, as it were drops, streamed down from him while praying'—a passage found in some MSS of Lk. 22 44, but bracketed by W11 as not genuine² (and found in no other Gospel); (v.) *Tryph.* 105, 'As we have learned through the Memoirs,' accompanies the words, 'becoming a man through the Virgin' (from Lk., combined with Mt.), and is followed by (vi.) *Tryph.* 105, 'as also from the Memoirs we have learned this, too,' introducing an utterance of Christ on the Cross peculiar to Lk. 23 46.

All these passages reveal Justin as quoting with a special emphasis Lk.⁴—or a later version of Lk., including interpolated passages—as though protesting that Lk. is on a level with the Memoirs, and *was composed by apostles*.

(c) *The origin of Justin's view of the Memoirs*—We have seen (col. 1814, n. 1) that, in Papias, παρακολουθεῖν is the regular word for a 'pupil and successor.'

77. His use of 'memoirs.' Now Eusebius (iii. 46) misunderstands (Lk. 13) παρακολουθεῖν πᾶσιν as

meaning that Luke had been a 'pupil of all (the apostles),' and Justin might do the same. This enables us to answer the question, How (in Justin's opinion) was Luke taught the Miraculous Conception? Justin's view is that Christ (*1 Apol.* 67 and cp Acts 13), after his resurrection, 'appeared to his apostles and disciples and taught them' everything relating to himself (Acts 13 to 'the Kingdom of God').⁵ This 'teaching' would, therefore, apply (*1 Apol.* 33) to the Nativity and other mysteries, as well as to moral precepts, and Luke, as being 'a pupil of all the apostles,' would receive it. As regards the form of transmission, Justin begins with an ambiguous expression (*1 Apol.* 33), ἀπομνημονεύσαν, which may mean (1) 'remembered,' or (2) 'repeated from memory.' Adopting the latter meaning, he uses it, not (as Papias did) of the successors of the apostles, but of the apostles themselves. Then he gradually inclines, and finally commits himself, to the theory that this 'repetition' was not oral merely, but also in writing. Hence he allows himself to say 'the apostles wrote,'

on the 'fire' as part of the story. Both here and in *Tryph.* 103 Justin has, 'This day have I begotten thee' (as in Lk. 3 22), indicating that he had a text differing from ours, which may very well have included the 'fire' as 'written by the apostles,' equally with the 'dove.' The reading, 'this day,' etc., is now found only in some versions of Lk., but in *Tryph.* 103 Justin follows Mt.'s (not Lk.'s) order in the Temptation.

Some have inferred that, in (iii.), apostles must include 'John,' because only by including Mt. and Jn. can the plural be justified. Such an argument ignores (ii.), a passage also attributed by Justin to 'apostles,' yet neither in Mt. nor Jn.

In (iv.) γεγονότος and παρέδωκαν left a loop-hole for supposing that the apostles might not have written ἀπομνημονεύματα, but simply taught them. But here Justin commits himself to the statement that they 'wrote.'

² συντάχθαι (see that and kindred words used by Justin [*1 Apol.* 20 63, *2 Apol.* 1 15] to mean 'the composition of a book') represents the very act disclaimed by Papias for Peter and Mark (ὡς οὐ συντάξιν). Remembering that this 'assertion' of Justin's is preceded (a few lines before) by 'the Memoirs written by the apostles' (mentioning the words, 'This day have I begotten thee,' found now only in a v.l. of Lk.), we are led to infer that he is protesting against the statement of Papias or against similar statements made by others. Justin says, in effect, 'The apostles did write regular books,' and then half corrects himself: 'Or, at all events, they and their pupils wrote them.'

³ The interpolated Lk. has 'drops of blood.'

⁴ Lk. of course means 'the third Gospel as we have it.' The author need not be, and probably is not, 'the beloved physician,' the companion of Paul. The author of the Preface of the Gospel may have revised, re-edited, or re-written it, and may be a different person from the Pauline Luke.

⁵ φάσιν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς εἰδόμενοι ταῦτα, ἀπερ εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ ὅμιον ἀνέδωκαν. These words come at the conclusion of the *Apology*, just before Justin's first appeal to the Romans to accept the Faith, and they show that ταῦτα means the substance of the Christian faith, which Christ, after his resurrection, was supposed to have taught to the apostles, and which Justin has set before the Romans in his treatise. Clem. Alex. has it somewhat differently (Eus.

though he uses but *one* strictly apostolic Gospel (that of Mt.). Having these views about the apostolic *consensus* of the Memoirs, and having a preference for Lk.'s record of the Nativity and the Passion, Justin may naturally have recoiled from Jn., as being a new work, breaking this *consensus* both in style and thought, and especially unfavourable to the authority of Lk.¹

IV. MURATORIAN FRAGMENT — The Muratorian Fragment (about 170 A.D.) begins thus—

78. Muratorian fragment. Tertium Evangelium secundum Lucam. . . . The six words apparently referring to Mk. (on which supposition there is nothing extant about Mt.) appear to mean that Mark was present at only some of Peter's discourses.² Luke's disadvantages are dwelt on—it was not till after the Ascension that Paul took him as a companion; he 'compiled in his own name, on [his own] judgment, *ex opinione*,'³ he 'had not seen the Lord in the flesh'; he [set down facts] 'as far as he could ascertain them'. On the other hand, the Fourth Gospel was written by John, 'one of the disciples,'⁴ at the exhortation of his 'fellow-disciples and his bishops.' After a three days' fast 'it was revealed to Andrew,

ii. 14): 'To James the Just and John and Peter was the *cinatus* delivered (*παράδοκε*) by the Lord after the Resurrection. These delivered it to the rest of the apostles, and the rest to the Seventy.'

¹ Does Justin recognise Mk. as a distinct Gospel? See *Tryph.* 106, καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτῶν ἑκαστοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον καὶ τούτο, ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ ἀλλοῦ δύο ἀδελφῶν ἰουδῆ βαββαίου ὄντος, μετὰ τὸν ἀποστόλου τοῦ θεοεργεῖν (Mk. 3:17 alone). Here *ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι* (we set aside the interpretation, 'Memoirs of Jesus'), 'P' *τῶν* Memoirs, indicating (1) either that Justin accepted Mk. as, in effect, written by Peter, or (2) that he here, incidentally, would render the phrase, 'Memoirs about Peter.' (But *αὐτοῦ* (§ 70 f.) is repeatedly confounded with *αὐτῶν*.)

The passage is either tediously lengthy, or it distinguishes between what Christ *said* and what he *did*. 'He said that he changed Peter's name'; this is in Mt. 16:17-19 and nowhere else. 'It is written in the Memoirs [that he changed the name]'; this is in the triple tradition (Mk. 16:7 Lk. 9:14). This distinction would indicate that Justin was here quoting the Memoirs of Peter (our Mk.) in support of the Logia of Mt. (a view somewhat confirmed by the fact that, when Justin introduces quotation with '(Jesus) says,' he quotes from Mt.).

² This would indicate that Mark wrote after Peter's death. Otherwise Peter could have supplied him with the substance of the discourses at which the latter was not present. Papias also implies that Mark could not correct what he had written by reference to Peter. Irenaeus says (iii. 1) that Mark wrote after the 'decease (*ἐξόδου*) of Peter (but see § 75).

³ 'Nominis sui *ex opinione* conscripsit. Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne. *Ex opinione* may express an original *ἐξ ἁκόνος* 'from hearing,' not 'from sight.' (See West. *Canon*, 514-27, Lightf. *SA* 151 f.). But, in that case, should we not expect 'enim' instead of 'tamen'?' He wrote, not as an eye-witness, for he had not seen the Lord? Writing a Gospel 'in one's own name' was an innovation. Luke did it 'on [his own] private judgment (*ex opinione*)'—Lk. 1:3 'it seemed good to me.' How objectionable this may have seemed to some, is shown by the addition (Lk. 1:3 *codex b*), *placuit ei mihi et spiritui (sic) sancto*. The Muratorian writer contrasts this letter with the origin of the Fourth Gospel, which the Evangelist 'wrote down' ('descripsit,' not 'conscripsit'—i.e., wrote from knowledge, not from compilation) 'in his own name as the result of a divine revelation'; 'revelatum . . . m . . . Iohannes suo nomine cuncta describeret.' If this explanation is correct, 'sua' may have dropped after 'suo' ('Nominis sui *sua* *ex opinione*'), or 'opinio' may be used absolutely meaning 'private notion.' 'Enim' would imply a contrast between the boldness of Luke's innovation and the limitations of his knowledge.

⁴ Andrew is here called an 'apostle,' John a 'disciple.' Papias calls 'Andrew, Peter,' etc., 'disciples.' The *Didache* identifying (11:3-4) 'apostles' with 'prophets,' and specifying rules for them, which, if broken, stamp an 'apostle' as a 'false prophet'—suggests a time and place in which an 'apostle' was little more than a 'missionary.' It became a tradition to call John 'the disciple' (as Paul is peculiarly 'the apostle'). Polycrates of Ephesus, at the close of the 2nd cent., after mentioning (2) speaks of Philip (who was of the Twelve *apostles*), goes on to mention of apostleship. This may be explained by (1) uncertainty whether John (like Nathanael) was one of the Twelve, (2) a feeling that 'disciple' was a higher title than 'apostle,' or (3) a desire to describe the author of the Gospel as he described himself, (2) and (3) are the most probable.

(one) of the apostles, that, whilst all revised,¹ John should write all things in his own name.'

The writer admits that 'different catholic truths (*varia principia*) are taught' in the four Gospels; but he protests that there is 'one Catholic Spirit' (*unus de principalibus spiritus*) dictating the facts of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, intercourse of the Lord with the disciples, and the two Advents: 'What wonder then if John so persistently (*constanter*) sets forth each point in his Epistle, saying with reference to himself, "What we have seen with our eyes and heard with (our) ears and our hands have handled, these things we have written?" For thus he professes himself to be not only a seer but also a hearer, nay and a writer (too), of all the wonderful works of the Lord in order (*per ordinem*). In these words the writer meets objections probably urged against the Fourth Gospel. Though differing in facts and style from the Synoptists, it was pervaded, he says, by the same 'one Catholic Spirit.' Though written in the name of John, it had been revised and attested by the disciples and elders at Ephesus, and this in consequence of a special revelation, so that it might be said to come direct from Christ, and to represent, even better than the earliest Gospels, his exact teaching.

This theory of special inspiration was well calculated to facilitate the diffusion of a Gospel that seemed to supply just those things that were wanting in the Synoptists—a certainty not to be found in the 'various interpretations' of Mt., a fulness of doctrine to which Mk. did not pretend, and—in contrast with Lk.—the authority of a disciple, an eye-witness, and ear witness, who also wrote 'in order.'

V. IRENAEUS (about 185 A.D.) emphasises the unity of the Gospel as coming (in 1:1) from inspired

79. Irenaeus. apostles (who first preached it and then handed it down (*tradiderunt*) to us in Scriptures'), but touches also on the subject of distinctive authorship. He omits the various 'interpretations' of Mt. mentioned by Papias, and the disavowals of Lk. mentioned by the Muratorian writer. Mark is 'the disciple and interpreter of Peter'; Luke 'the companion (*σάκευς*) of Paul'; thus he implies that their gospels were, in effect, apostolic.

He places Mt. before Mk. as the Muratorian Fragment appears to have done. In it is placed after Lk., thus. 'Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also lay on his breast, he too published the Gospel (*καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*) while living in Ephesus of Asia'. Elsewhere (in 1:1) he says that John directed his Gospel against Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans. Matthew, he says (in 1:1), published his Gospel in Hebrew 'while Peter and Paul in Rome were preaching and founding the Church'; after their 'decease' (or departure, *ἐξόδου* but Lat. *excessum*—'death'), Mark (is known to have) handed down (perf. *παράδωκε*) in writing what Peter was in the habit of preaching (*κηρύσσόμενα*); Luke 'set down (*κατέθετο*) in a book what Paul was in the habit of preaching (*κηρύσσόμενον*).

¹ *Recognoscantibus*; Lightf. *SA* 189, 'certify'; but the word probably represents *ἀναγινώσκοντες*, 'read, revise.' Had the original been *ἀρταίοντες* or *επιμαρτυροῦντες*, we should expect *confirmare* or *testari*.

² Our writer has in view Ezek. 1:5-12, the 'four living creatures' (i.e., the Gospels) dominated by one world-wide or catholic (*principalis*) spirit. Irenaeus develops this, but hardly improves it; as there are (Iren. iii. 11) 'four *nomes*' and 'four world-wide winds (*principales spiritus*, *καθολικά πνεύματα*, capable of meaning "catholic spirits")', so there must be four Gospels corresponding to the lion (John), ox (Luke), man (Matthew), eagle (Mark), in Rev. 4:7. Irenaeus seems to have felt bound to keep the order of Rev. and yet to place John first; but the result is so strained that Jerome carried posterity with him in assigning the eagle to John and the lion to Mark.

³ *Pistulus* was used of a single letter (see Lightf. *SA* 190), a very free quotation from 1 Jn. 1:1.

⁴ I.e., not merely one of the exoteric spirit—of the mighty works of Jesus, but one of those privileged to 'hear' or 'hear from' (cp. the Talmudic *hoieve* from J. Jesus *sece* to be a disciple, and a transmitter of tradition. 'Seen' alone might not imply admission to the inner circle which was taught by Christ, according to Mk., during his life, and, according to Justin and Clem. Alex. (see § 77 n.), after his Resurrection.

⁵ Why does not the writer say that Luke, too, wrote 'in chronological order (*κατάχρονον*)'? Does he imply that Luke had failed?

⁶ There is no early testimony to any simultaneous presence of the 12 apostles in Rome except at the time of their martyrdom (see Eus. ii. 238, quoting Denysius of Corinth, *ἐκ τῶν Ἰταλιανῶν οὐκ ἔδειξε καὶ ἀποστόλων ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰσίων*). This

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80. **Clement.** — Clement of Alexandria (circa 195 A.D.) gives (Eus. vi. 13.5-7) a tradition of the earliest elders (τῶν ἀρχαίων προπαιδευμένων) that those portions of the Gospels which contain the genealogies (τῶν ἐναγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας) were written first.¹

Clement adds a tradition about Mk., apparently on the authority of the same Eilers, viz., that after Peter had "publicly preached the word in Rome and uttered (ἐκφώνησεν) the Gospel in the spirit (ἐν πνεύματι), his numerous hearers besought Mark to write out what the apostle had said; and that Peter, 'coming to the knowledge (ἐπιστάμενος) . . . of this, neither hindered nor stimulated him

Eusebius, however, earlier in his history, gives two other traditions about Mk. and appears to connect one or both of them with Clement. First he states in his own person, as a fact in the past, that (a) Mk. originated from the request (as above described) of Peter's hearers. Then he adds (8b. 2), 'But they say (οἱ λέγουσι) that the apostle, learning the accomplishment *ἡμεῖς τοις ἀποστόλοις* from a revelation of the Spirit, was pleased with their zeal and sanctioned the work for reading in (lit. for) the churches'. Comment in the sixth book of his *Outlines* has quoted the *1st fall¹ history* (see *corruption*), and his account is confirmed also by the Bishop of Thessalon called Pappas – and further, that Peter suffers from this in Clement's or Pappas's account and distinguishes fact from doubtful tradition. 'They say I have inserted a parenthesis, corrective of the latter, to the effect that Clement has given *'the full and true history'*, and that Clement's view (namely, that Peter was merely the origin, but not the suggester, supervisor, or authoriser of the work) was supported in substance by Pappas. If so, Eusebius, instead of committing himself to the view that Peter 'taught' Mk., compares the reader for finding it contradicted later.²

John, last of all, reflecting that the earthly aspect (*σαρκωτάτης*) had been set forth in the Gospels, at the instigation of his pupils (*συνωμωχοι*), by a special impulse of the spirit (*πνεύματος θεοφωρομένητα*), composed a spiritual gospel.³

VII. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE AS TO MR. AND MT. 4.—Papias apologizes for Mark ("he was not *in*

81. Summary; Mk. and Mt. *fol.* 1. The Munsterian Fragment appears to be apologetic. He was

Both imply that Peter was dead when Mark wrote, so that the latter could not be the apostle's supervisor. Irenaeus, though stating that Mark wrote after Peter's 'departure' (which probably meant 'death'), gives no indication that he did not adequately represent the apostle; and it is doubtful whether he did not misinterpret the word 'departure'. Chrysostom says that Peter lived to know what had been done by Mark, yet so far retains the apologetic as to add that Peter neither hindered nor incited the composition. Another tradition (apparently later) says that Peter was informed by the Spirit of the accomplishment of the book, and authorised

favours the rendering 'decease' for *efodou*, which has this meaning in Philo 2 pos. 1 k. 931 2 Pet. 113 Eus. v. 135 (*Letter of the Gallic Churches*).

Yet the inference from Acts 28.30 (referred to in Irenaeus, III) would be that I Acts 14) 'the former treatise' *ἡ ἀρχαία* was composed while Paul was living. Perhaps Irenaeus may be setting down an old tradition correctly which he and subsequent writers, taking ἐξόδου to mean 'departure (from Rome)' — interpreted incorrectly.

¹ I suspect, in its literary sense, means "not include, but contain as their substance," have as their content": Phil. 2: 6 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεοῦ ὄμοιον ᾗ ἐστίν, περιουσία καὶ πτωχὺς (τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μεθυστικός) (i.e., "have as their content"; cf. Euseb. II 41). The common phrase περιουσία γὰρ τροφῆς ("out of, outside, etc.") Marc. 7: 2 = Marc. 11: 22 means "as its substance" as follows. Cf. Hippolyt. 19: 14 περιουσίαν ἐπέκεινται "ἐπὶ τοῖς πάντοτε οὐραίοις," (my) book having as its content; i.e. entitled, "On the essence of the All." Hence, πτωχὸς ἐν εἰς ἡμᾶς (= and the meaning here is, "the reason that have the genealogies as their contents"). To place Lk. before Mk. would be inconsistent with all early tradition. See § 8.

2 The notion that Peter 'knew' of the composition of the gospel 'through the Spirit' (*πνεῦμα ἁγίου*) probably arose from Clement's *εὐαγγέλιον*, confused with *πνεῦμα* = i.e., *πνεῦμα ἁγίου*.

The Mural on fragment describes a 'revelation' to those who regard I do I write, Clement, a 'spiritual impulse' given John Henry.

4. As regards Mr. there is practically no evidence (under the name of 'Statements') beyond that which has been quoted above (see P. 104).

* See above p. 2.

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it for public use. Lastly Origen, unsurpassed by early Christian writers for honesty and intellect, says (Eus. vi. 25. 4. 5) 'from tradition' that Mark wrote as *Peter suggested* (ὡς π. ἐπέτυχαστο αὐτοῦ).¹ The investigation may stop here. Later writers have no further evidence, and can but exemplify the tendency of tradition, even among honest and able men, to exaggerate or to minimise, in the supposed interests of a good cause.

VIII. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE AS TO L.K. AND

JN. — (1) Papias (115-130 A.D.), recognising Mk and

82. Summary: Mt. as apostolic (but defective), did not do

Lk. and Jn. not thus recognise Lk. or Jn., though traditions bearing on Jn. were probably known to him. (2) Justin Martyr (150 A.D.) regarding

the Synoptic Gospels as Memoirs written by the apostles from the teaching of Christ, and showing a preference for I.k. (in an interpolated form), affords no trace of a recognition of a Gospel like Ju. outside the stream of the Memoirs.² (3) The Muratorian fragment (? 170 A.D.), welcoming the Fourth Gospel as supplying the deficiencies of the Three, meets any objection that might be raised against its divergence from the Synoptists (a) by an account of a special revelation to Andrew, in accordance with which this Gospel was written in a kind of joint authorship, though in John's name, and (b) by a protest that the Four Gospels are animated by One Spirit. (4) Irenaeus has no trace of the theory of revision or joint authorship of Ju. He compares the 'four Gospels' with the 'four winds' or the 'four living creatures' of prophecy, as being divinely ordained in number. (5) Clement makes no mention of a 'revelation' to Andrew or to any other of John's friends, but says that John himself received a 'divine impulse' to write the Gospel.³ From the time of Irenaeus the Gospel met with almost universal acceptance.⁴

¹ This may have been a misunderstanding of some such expression as 'in accordance with Peter's teaching.' But Origen's words cannot mean the latter.

31 For alleged quotations of Justin from In. see §§ 101-104.
32 Traces of the tradition in this form are retained by Theophilus (2.22 *ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως*) and Tatian (see § 105 f.). Eusebius, after recording (in 24.7-11) an anonymous tradition ('they say,' he says) that John supplemented the Synoptists by request of friends, says, expressly in his own person (cp in 24.14 and 16 from 24.6-8, *ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως*), that John³¹ began his theology from this *ἀποκαλύψεως*, since that had been reserved for him by *the divine Spirit* owing to his superiority to the other evangelists. This appears to be the source of the expression *ἀποκαλυφτικός*, a word that might originally have been extended to the

38. An important exception has been recently brought to light. See Rendel Harris, *Heracles in Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1896, pp. 11-157). Eusebius' phrases extracts from a dialogue against Proclus (a Montanist) written by Gaius (II, 25): 'an orthodox and learned [κατασκευασμένος], at the age of very great learning [ἀνὰ πάλαιαν ἀμύνην], who wrote during the bishopric of Zephyrinus [ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ Ζηφυρίνου] and whom passages from his writings indicate as resident in or near Rome'. In one of these extracts, Gaius attacks (II, 25-12) the notion of an earthly reign of Christ after the Resurrection, as well as the notion of 'pleasures' and 'wedding festivities' in Jerusalem, all of which he attributes to Cerinthus. Such an attack, even if it assailed the Johannine Apocalypse, would probably commend him to Eusebius. Now Eusebius, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, recorded that Hippolytus wrote a treatise called 'Heads against Gaius', and Dionysius of Laodicea quotes from this treatise (along with replies from Gaius) Hippolytus' objections to Gaius not only to the Apocalypse, but also to the *Four Gospels*. An inscription on the tomb of Hippolytus (c. 235) at Ostia reads: 'the bishop had before him the *Four Gospels* and the *Apocalypse* of the apostle John and the *Apocalypse*'. In defiance of the view according to which this treatise, or an epitome of it, was the 'Heads against

Eusebius, when mentioning (*III*, vi, 22) the work of Hippolytus (ten or eight in number) that had come into his hands, does not include the *Denique* of the Gospel of John, and the *Apocalypse*, and it is possible that his *Heads* against Gaius attacked some other work of Gaius unknown to Eusebius, of the Dialogue against Proclus. But the fact seems proved so strong that learned critics have described it as 'improbable that a writer of the Roman Church, described by writers at Antioch and Alexandria, and by Methodius, attacked the Fourth Gospel at the beginning of the third century'. The almost complete suppression of his book and of his literary career is complete that Bishop Lightfoot, till recently, maintained that there was a fictitious character in the Dialogue against Proclus, (he affirmed) was written by Hippolytus - shows how much it is for western critics to realize that at, and chiefly

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II. QUOTATIONS.

i. PAUL.—Paul quotes nothing that is found in our Gospels (Lk. 22, part of 19 and 20 being set aside as an interpolation) except the saying about

63. Quotations in Paul. (1 Tim 5:18) the 'laboure' worthy of his hire' (cp Mt. 10:10 'food,' Lk. 10:7 'hire'). But this is also found in the *Didache*, 13:1 ('food').

Other sayings of Paul are akin to sayings in the *Didache*: (a) Rom 12:9-10 'Miser that which is evil (το κακόν), cleave to (κατασπέρσας) that which is good (το ἀγαθόν) . . . Minding not lofty things (ὀψύχας), suffering yourselves to be carried away with the humble (ταπεινὰ);' *Did.* 3:1-9 'Flee from all evil (κακόν) and from all likeness of it. . . Thy soul shall not cleave (κατασπέρσας) to the lofty (ὕψος). But thou shalt be conversant with the just and humble (ταπεινὰ), where parts of the original might apparently refer; either to things or to persons'; (b) 2 Thess. 3:10 'If any will not work, neither let him eat,' *Did.* 12:3 ' . . . let him work and [on these terms] let him eat.'

Paul and *Did.* probably used an antecedent tradition. Rom 12:21 'Be not overcome by evil,' closely resembles Pseudo-Clement's (*Hom.* 11:12) 'Let not evil overcome us'; but the latter could not have borrowed from Paul, whom he bitterly attacks.

ii. JAMES.—The Epistle of James, which is of uncertain date, is permeated with doctrine similar to that of the Sermon on the Mount. It contains more and closer parallels, however, to the *Didache* and Barnabas.²

The passage that is closest to Mt. is that which forbids swearing by earth, heaven, or any other oath (Mt. 5:34-37 James 5:12); but Mt. says 'Let your speech be "Yea, yea," James (RV) says "Let your "yea" be "yea." The meanings are quite different. The former means "Say "yea" and nothing more than "yea," the latter, "Let your "yea" be also a "yea" of a truth." In the latter form it is (Weist. and *Hor.* *Hebr.* ad loc.) a common Rabbinical precept (apparently alluded to in 24.10.17). As it is also thus quoted by Justin and Clem. Alex., it was probably found in some versions of Mt., and therefore the Epistle may be quoting from Mt. But it cannot be regarded as proved. In its denunciations of 'the rich,' the Epistle resembles Lk. 6:24, but not so as to indicate borrowing.

iii. APPARENT QUOTATIONS.—Passages apparently quoted from the Gospels, in the Epistles of Paul and James, have been shown above (§ 83 f.) to be found in sources other, and probably earlier, than the Gospels.

85. Apparent quotations. There were probably many manuals of Christ's moral teaching (of which the Sermon on the Mount is one) as well as of his predictions concerning the last day; probably, too, collections of OT prophecies bearing on the Messiah, and perhaps accounts of the Passion showing how these prophecies were fulfilled. These, together with the 'narratives' of his life mentioned by Lk. 1:1, and the various interpretations of Mt.'s Logia mentioned by Papias, necessarily left their impress on the earliest Christian writers even after the Four Gospels were recognised as canonical, and still more before that time. Hence, it is unsafe to infer (without further consideration of circumstances) that 'Barnabas quoted Mt., or 'Clem. Alex. quoted Clem. Rom., or 'Justin quoted Jn. because of similarity, or even identity, in the quotations. For example, it has recently been inferred that the *Prison of Herod* must be later than is usually supposed, because it (17a. iv. 24) quoted Dan. 9:27 from the version of Theodot. (17a. vii. 1). But Heb. 11:33 appears to quote the same version. Moreover, Rev. 9:27 (137, etc.), resemble Theodot.'s version. It appears, therefore, that Theodot. incorporated in his version an earlier one, used by the authors of *Heb.* and *Rev.* (see *Paul of Christ. Ringer*, i. 10; Theodotian, and Rendel Harris's *Herodotus* in *Archaeol.* 25).

iv. LOGIA OF OXYRHYNCHUS. The Logia of after the first appearance of the Fourth Gospel, it may have been regarded with suspicion by orthodox, educated, and conservative Christians, such as Justin in the middle of the second century, and Irenaeus at the beginning of the third.

1. *ἀπο πατρὸς διδομένη λόγια*, a saying found in the Talmud (Tos. *Shab.* 12a. 1; *Shab.* 12b. 1; *Shab.* 12c. 1; *Shab.* 12d. 1; *Shab.* 12e. 1; *Shab.* 12f. 1; *Shab.* 12g. 1; *Shab.* 12h. 1; *Shab.* 12i. 1; *Shab.* 12j. 1; *Shab.* 12k. 1; *Shab.* 12l. 1; *Shab.* 12m. 1; *Shab.* 12n. 1; *Shab.* 12o. 1; *Shab.* 12p. 1; *Shab.* 12q. 1; *Shab.* 12r. 1; *Shab.* 12s. 1; *Shab.* 12t. 1; *Shab.* 12u. 1; *Shab.* 12v. 1; *Shab.* 12w. 1; *Shab.* 12x. 1; *Shab.* 12y. 1; *Shab.* 12z. 1; *Shab.* 12aa. 1; *Shab.* 12ab. 1; *Shab.* 12ac. 1; *Shab.* 12ad. 1; *Shab.* 12ae. 1; *Shab.* 12af. 1; *Shab.* 12ag. 1; *Shab.* 12ah. 1; *Shab.* 12ai. 1; *Shab.* 12aj. 1; *Shab.* 12ak. 1; *Shab.* 12al. 1; *Shab.* 12am. 1; *Shab.* 12an. 1; *Shab.* 12ao. 1; *Shab.* 12ap. 1; *Shab.* 12aq. 1; *Shab.* 12ar. 1; *Shab.* 12as. 1; *Shab.* 12at. 1; *Shab.* 12au. 1; *Shab.* 12av. 1; *Shab.* 12aw. 1; *Shab.* 12ax. 1; *Shab.* 12ay. 1; *Shab.* 12az. 1; *Shab.* 12ba. 1; *Shab.* 12bb. 1; *Shab.* 12bc. 1; *Shab.* 12bd. 1; *Shab.* 12be. 1; *Shab.* 12bf. 1; *Shab.* 12bg. 1; *Shab.* 12bh. 1; *Shab.* 12bi. 1; *Shab.* 12bj. 1; *Shab.* 12bk. 1; *Shab.* 12bl. 1; *Shab.* 12bm. 1; *Shab.* 12bn. 1; *Shab.* 12bo. 1; *Shab.* 12bp. 1; *Shab.* 12bq. 1; *Shab.* 12br. 1; *Shab.* 12bs. 1; *Shab.* 12bt. 1; *Shab.* 12bu. 1; *Shab.* 12bv. 1; *Shab.* 12bw. 1; *Shab.* 12bx. 1; *Shab.* 12by. 1; *Shab.* 12bz. 1; *Shab.* 12ca. 1; *Shab.* 12cb. 1; *Shab.* 12cc. 1; *Shab.* 12cd. 1; *Shab.* 12ce. 1; *Shab.* 12cf. 1; *Shab.* 12cg. 1; *Shab.* 12ch. 1; *Shab.* 12ci. 1; *Shab.* 12cj. 1; *Shab.* 12ck. 1; *Shab.* 12cl. 1; *Shab.* 12cm. 1; *Shab.* 12cn. 1; *Shab.* 12co. 1; *Shab.* 12cp. 1; *Shab.* 12cq. 1; *Shab.* 12cr. 1; *Shab.* 12cs. 1; *Shab.* 12ct. 1; *Shab.* 12cu. 1; *Shab.* 12cv. 1; *Shab.* 12cw. 1; *Shab.* 12cx. 1; *Shab.* 12cy. 1; *Shab.* 12cz. 1; *Shab.* 12da. 1; *Shab.* 12db. 1; *Shab.* 12dc. 1; *Shab.* 12dd. 1; *Shab.* 12de. 1; *Shab.* 12df. 1; *Shab.* 12dg. 1; *Shab.* 12dh. 1; *Shab.* 12di. 1; *Shab.* 12dj. 1; *Shab.* 12dk. 1; *Shab.* 12dl. 1; *Shab.* 12dm. 1; *Shab.* 12dn. 1; *Shab.* 12do. 1; *Shab.* 12dp. 1; *Shab.* 12dq. 1; *Shab.* 12dr. 1; *Shab.* 12ds. 1; *Shab.* 12dt. 1; *Shab.* 12du. 1; *Shab.* 12dv. 1; *Shab.* 12dw. 1; *Shab.* 12dx. 1; *Shab.* 12dy. 1; *Shab.* 12dz. 1; *Shab.* 12ea. 1; *Shab.* 12eb. 1; *Shab.* 12ec. 1; *Shab.* 12ed. 1; *Shab.* 12ee. 1; *Shab.* 12ef. 1; *Shab.* 12eg. 1; *Shab.* 12eh. 1; *Shab.* 12ei. 1; *Shab.* 12ej. 1; *Shab.* 12ek. 1; *Shab.* 12el. 1; *Shab.* 12em. 1; *Shab.* 12en. 1; *Shab.* 12eo. 1; *Shab.* 12ep. 1; *Shab.* 12eq. 1; *Shab.* 12er. 1; *Shab.* 12es. 1; *Shab.* 12et. 1; *Shab.* 12eu. 1; *Shab.* 12ev. 1; *Shab.* 12ew. 1; *Shab.* 12ex. 1; *Shab.* 12ey. 1; *Shab.* 12ez. 1; *Shab.* 12fa. 1; *Shab.* 12fb. 1; *Shab.* 12fc. 1; *Shab.* 12fd. 1; *Shab.* 12fe. 1; *Shab.* 12ff. 1; *Shab.* 12fg. 1; *Shab.* 12fh. 1; *Shab.* 12fi. 1; *Shab.* 12fj. 1; *Shab.* 12fk. 1; *Shab.* 12fl. 1; *Shab.* 12fm. 1; *Shab.* 12fn. 1; *Shab.* 12fo. 1; *Shab.* 12fp. 1; *Shab.* 12fq. 1; *Shab.* 12fr. 1; *Shab.* 12fs. 1; 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*Shab.* 12vr. 1; *Shab.* 12vs. 1; *Shab.* 12vt. 1; *Shab.* 12vu. 1; *Shab.* 12vv. 1; *Shab.* 12vw. 1; *Shab.* 12vx. 1; *Shab.* 12vy. 1; *Shab.* 12vz. 1; *Shab.* 12wa. 1; *Shab.* 12wb. 1; *Shab.* 12wc. 1; *Shab.* 12wd. 1; *Shab.* 12we. 1; *Shab.* 12wf. 1; *Shab.* 12wg. 1; *Shab.* 12wh. 1; *Shab.* 12wi. 1; *Shab.* 12wj. 1; *Shab.* 12wk. 1; *Shab.* 12wl. 1; *Shab.* 12wm. 1; *Shab.* 12wn. 1; *Shab.* 12wo. 1; *Shab.* 12wp. 1; *Shab.* 12wq. 1; *Shab.* 12wr. 1; *Shab.* 12ws. 1; *Shab.* 12wt. 1; *Shab.* 12wu. 1; *Shab.* 12wv. 1; *Shab.* 12ww. 1; *Shab.* 12wx. 1; *Shab.* 12wy. 1; *Shab.* 12wz. 1; *Shab.* 12xa. 1; *Shab.* 12xb. 1; *Shab.* 12xc. 1; *Shab.* 12xd. 1; *Shab.* 12xe. 1; *Shab.* 12xf. 1; *Shab.* 12xg. 1; *Shab.* 12xh. 1; *Shab.* 12xi. 1; *Shab.* 12xj. 1; *Shab.* 12xk. 1; *Shab.* 12xl. 1; *Shab.* 12xm. 1; *Shab.* 12xn. 1; *Shab.* 12xo. 1; *Shab.* 12xp. 1; *Shab.* 12xq. 1; *Shab.* 12xr. 1; *Shab.* 12xs. 1; *Shab.* 12xt. 1; *Shab.* 12xu. 1; *Shab.* 12xv. 1; *Shab.* 12xw. 1; *Shab.* 12xx. 1; *Shab.* 12xy. 1; *Shab.* 12xz. 1; *Shab.* 12ya. 1; *Shab.* 12yb. 1; *Shab.* 12yc. 1; *Shab.* 12yd. 1; *Shab.* 12ye. 1; *Shab.* 12yf. 1; *Shab.* 12yg. 1; *Shab.* 12yh. 1; *Shab.* 12yi. 1; *Shab.* 12yj. 1; *Shab.* 12yk. 1; *Shab.* 12yl. 1; *Shab.* 12ym. 1; *Shab.* 12yn. 1; *Sh*

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the words of the Lord Jesus which he spake') similar to that in Acts 20:35, which is prefaced to a saying not found in any Gospel. This confirms the view that Clement is referring to a Pauline manual of the Words of the Lord.

(b) Elsewhere Clem. Rom. (46) — in the same chapter in which he quotes 'cleave to the holy,' and is followed by Clem. Alex., both apparently quoting from some version of the Lord's Words — combines Mk. 9:42-10:21 and par. Mt.; and again Clem. Alex. (561) agrees with him. Clem. Rom. has 'Remember the words of Jesus our Lord, how he said, Wise unto that man. It were well for him if he had not (αὐτὸν) been born, rather than that he should come to stumble one of my elect. It were better for him that a mill-stone were put round him and that he were sunk in the sea, than that he should pervert (διαστρέφειν) one of my elect.' Clem. Alex. (561) has the same, substituting *μὴ* for *αὐτὸν*, and 'saith (φασί) the Lord' for 'remember . . . saith.' The reduplication of statement has a Hebrew sound, and it is probable (both because of Clem. Rom.'s preface, and because of the apparent borrowing from Logia in the same chapter) that the two authors are here, as above, quoting independently, from an ancient tradition of the Words of the Lord.¹

(c) Clem. Rom. 15 condenses Is. 29:13 similarly to Mk. 7:6 Mt. 15, omitting the bracketed words in the following quotation from the LXX: ἰσχυροὶ μοι ὁ ἄθεος ὄντος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χελεσίν αὐτῶν τιμῶσιν με (Clem. με τιμῶν, omitting αὐτῶν), ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει (Clem. ἀπέστι) ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. The bracketed words interfere with the antithesis, and Justin omits them (allusively) in *Tryph.* 27 and 80 (χελεσὶν ὁμολοῦντας τὸν θεόν, με αὐτὸς πέμψαν ἐν ὅσῳ τὴν δὲ καρδίαν πόρρω ἔχει [sic] ἀπ' αὐτοῦ). Yet in *Tryph.* 78 he quotes the passage quite differently, omitting ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χελεσίν αὐτοῦ, but taking ἰσχυροὶ μοι ὁ ἄθεος. *as it is in the original sentence*, so that the latter part preserves the antithesis. These facts, and the remarkable variations in the text of the LXX and in that of Mk. Mt., indicate that Clem. Rom. may be here quoting from some Christian manual of prophecy used also by other authors. Clem. Alex., who frequently quotes it, is said by Lightf. (Clem. Rom. 15) to 'follow' Clem. Rom. But this is not likely. For, in the only passage where he resembles Clem. Rom., Clem. Alex. (461) has *καὶ*, Clem. Rom. *ἀποστρέφει*. Now *καὶ* is the reading of 11 in Mt. 15 (adopted by Clem. Alex. also in 141). Probably, therefore, Clem. Alex. is following Mt. 15 (or some ancient version of it). Clem. Alex. has elsewhere (256) *φιλοῦσιν* for *τιμῶσιν*, and similarly 10 has *ἀγαπᾷ* for *τιμᾷ* in Mk. 7:6. Also Clem. Alex. has elsewhere (577) *ὁ ἔτερος* ἄθεος. The facts are conclusive negatively. The passage does not prove that Clem. Rom. is quoting from Mk. Mt.

No further quotations of importance are alleged. The conclusion is, that (1) Clem. Rom. is certainly not proved to have quoted from our Gospels; (2) in (a) and (b) he is probably quoting from Logia not now extant; (3) in (c) he may be quoting from our Gospels, but quite as probably from a Manual (or some Oral Tradition) of prophecy in Christian use.

vi. DIDACHE. — The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (280-110 A.D.) is a composite document. The earlier part (1-81), consisting of the Doctrine of the Two Ways, inculcates precepts of the Lord, without appeal to his 'words,' or 'Gospel'; the latter part appeals to both. The 'Gospel' meant is probably Mt. The addition of a doxology to the Lord's prayer, and the mention of (141) the Lord's Day,² indicate for the latter portion a date toward, or after, the close of the first century. There is no indication that Lk. was known to the writer, apart from supplements or correc-

passage twice: once (954), embodying in his own remarks (without indicating quotation) a free condensation of Mt. 7:1 f. Lk. 6:33; once (476), with the preface 'saith (φασί) the Lord,' quoting almost exactly as Clem. Rom. The variation may indicate that, in the latter instance, he is borrowing from some earlier tradition from which Clem. Rom. also borrowed (as above, in the saying about 'cleaving to them that are holy'). Similarly Clem. Alex., when he asserts (177) that *the Scripture says*, 'My son, be not a liar, for lying leadeth to theft,' is probably not giving the name of 'Scripture' to Hermas (*Hand.* 3), 'They therefore who lie . . . have defiled the commandment of the Lord and become defrauders of him,' but is quoting (what Hermas is trying to spiritualize) *Did.* 3:5, 'My child, be not a liar, since lying leadeth to theft,' or some book on which *Did.* 3:5 is based.

The words 'better . . . born' occur only in our Lord's utterance about Judas at the Last Supper. It seems very unlikely that Clem. Rom., even though he combines 11 passages in a very arbitrary way, would apply such words to quire a different matter, and that Clem. Alex. would follow him. The authority of some collection of the Logia seems needed to explain it, and to justify the two authors.

² The Lord's Day occurs in the Apocalypse (1:10), which — at all events so far as concerns the passage including the term — was probably written (as Irenaeus asserted) in, or a little before, 90 A.D.

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tions of Mt. in the Two Ways.¹ So far as this little book is concerned, the 'Gospel' to which it refers might consist of a version of the Sermon on the Mount and the Precepts to the Twelve. On the Second Advent, the writer mentions (166-8) 'the Signs of the Truth' with such apparent independence of Mt. as to make it doubtful whether, in the context, the resemblances to Mt. indicate quotations from Mt.

Of all the promises or blessings in Mt. 5:3-11, the earlier part of the *Didache* inserts only two. *Did.* 3:7, 'Be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth,' is based (as Mt. 5:5 is) on Ps. 37:11. *Did.* 1:5, 'Blessed is he that giveth in accordance with the commandment,' refers to 'the commandment' which the writer has just quoted (Mt. 5:42 Lk. 6:30), 'Give to every one that asketh thee, and ask not again.' But the Hebrew for 'give alms' is often represented by *εἰσέναι*, and 'alms' by *ἀεργασίαν* (cp. Acts), so that 'blessed is he that giveth' might be, in NT Greek, μακάριος οἱ εἰσέντας (or ἀεργήσας as in Mt. 5:7). It should be noted that Lk. omits both these passages.²

vii. BARNABAS. — The Epistle of Barnabas; assigned by Lightfoot (*BE* 91) to 70-79 A.D., but by others placed later.

(1) *Alleged Synoptic Quotations in Barnabas.* — (a) This Epistle is alleged to quote Mt. 22:14 as Scripture

89. Barnabas (Barn. 4:14): 'Let us give heed lest, as it is written, we be found . . . many called but few chosen.'

The application of the title 'Scripture' to NT before the end of the first century, if here intended, would be unique. But there are several reasons for doubting the intention. (1) In other allusions to Synoptic tradition, the author does not quote as from 'Scripture.' (a) He twice quotes Enoch, either as (164) 'Scripture,' or with 'it is written' (4:1): 'The last stumbling-block hath drawn nigh, concerning which it is written, as Enoch³ saith, "For to this end hath the Lord cut short the times . . ."' Now (1) these two passages agree with the one ruler discussion in treating of the 'last days,' on which subject 'Enoch' was an authority. Also, (2) in the last-mentioned passage, whereas he might have quoted Mk. 13:20 Mt. 24:22 (if known to him as canonically about the 'cutting short of the times,' he not only quotes Enoch instead and treats it as 'Scripture,' but also (5) appears to add words not now extant in Enoch ('For to this end, etc.'). (6) The book of Enoch, as we have it, is a composite work, and is likely to have existed in many forms. (7) If it originated for NT (or, at all events, anticipated) the phrases 'Mannion of unrighteousness,' 'Gehezeia,' 'the New Jerusalem,' 'the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory,' it had been good for him if he had not been born, for it is a very natural supposition that it may have contained the saying in question.

These considerations make it fairly probable that the author is either quoting the words from a version of Enoch, or confusing some tradition of the Words of Christ with a version of Enoch, and make either of these suppositions very much more probable than that he is quoting from Mt. as 'Scripture.'

(b) and (c) In Barn. 5:9 Christ is said to have chosen as his apostles 'men exceeding in lawlessness (ἀνομίατερον) beyond all sin, that he might show that he came not to call (the) righteous but sinners.' There is nothing to show quotation, but the words may come from Mk. 2:17 (or Mt. 9:13, Lk. inserts 'to repentance') or from some document, or tradition, used by Mk. (c) Among several quotations from unknown G4 110-121 'prophets' — Barn. refers to the New Creation of man thus (6:13): 'The Lord saith,

¹ *Did.* 10:1, though at first sight suggesting Lk. 12:35, is probably an allusion to Mt. 25:1 amplified by an allusion (to 'loins girt' in [Ex. 12:11] the first Passover) which became current in the Church (1 Pet. 1:13 Eph. 6:14). The latter part is more like a blending of Mk. 13:35 and Mt. 24:42-44, than like Lk. 12:35.

² Lk.'s omission of all the blessings pronounced on positive virtue ('meekness,' 'peacemaking,' 'purity,' and 'mercy' for 'almsgiving') is perhaps dictated by some doctrinal consideration. The same cause may explain why, in his parallel to Mt. 5:43, *τελειον* ('ye shall be perfect'), he preferred a tradition that gave (1:10-11) *ἀντιπαροῦς*, 'pitiful' (possibly a synonym for *ταπεινός*, or *εὐεικός* — MS form of *εὐεικός* — a corruption of *ταπεινός*). *ἀντιπαροῦς* (for which the Hatch-Redpath Concordance wrongly gives *ἀντιπαρὸς*) occurs thrice in Barn. (28).

³ The Latin substitutes 'Daniel' for 'Enoch' and takes the words, 'far to this,' etc., as coming from Barnabas.

⁴ See Charles (*Ev. ap. 2*, pp. 42-49), who traces its influence in almost every book of NT, and conspicuously in Heb. 4:13 (Enoch 95). 'All things are naked and open in thy sight, and thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from thee'), which some suppose to have been written by Barnabas. It has also influenced Irenaeus, Justin, and other early writers. The tradition of Papias about the vine with 10,000 branches comes, directly or indirectly, from Enoch 10:19.

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Behold I make the last as the first.' This may possibly be akin to the Synoptic (Mk. 10:31 and Mt. 18:18). The last shall be first; cp Mt. 20:14, 'I will give unto this last even as unto thee.'

(d) In 7:11 and 11:11 the author probably, but not certainly, assigns to Jesus words not in our Gospels. He (159) regards the Ascension as taking place on the day of the Resurrection.¹

(2) *Anticipations of Jn. in Barnabas.*—The special points of interest in this epistle are that (1) it was written

(Lightf. *BE* 91) 'before the Fourth Gospel'; (2) the latter resembles it in many points:—(a) (Barn. 11:11-12:5)

the juxtaposition of 'baptism' and the 'brazen serpent'; and the parallel between the serpent and Christ; (b)

(16) the application of Ps. 22:15 to the casting lots over Christ's vesture; (c) (79) the 'piercing (*κατακρυφ-σάμενος*)' of Christ; (d) (11:1) the connection between the Cross and Water, followed by a connection between the Cross and Blood; (e) (11:11) 'Whoever shall eat of these shall live forever'.

This means, 'Whoever, saith he, shall hear these things when they are spoken and shall believe, shall live for ever.'² It will be seen below (§ 101) that many of the so-called 'imitations of Jn. by Justin' might be called, less inaccurately, 'imitations of Barnabas.'

viii. SIMON MAGUS.—The *Great 'Apophasis'* of Simon Magus (Lightf. *BE* 105, 'probably composed some- where about the close of the first century, perhaps

before the Gospel of John was written, or at least circulated') twice uses the phrase (Hippol. 6:12:4) 'remain alone in potentiality' (*μονῶν ἐν δυνάμει*), and once (ib. 16) 'but if a tree abide alone

(*εἰ μὴ ὁ δένδρον ἴδιον*) to denote, as in Jn. 12:24, that which remains barren and which will perish with the world because it is not made fruitful by being 'likened to the (divine) image' of the Spirit.⁴ Simon's doctrine of three divine beings

(ib. 17) 'there are three that stand,' his allegorising of the Pentateuch in connection with the regeneration of man, the general tone of his materialism, and the wide scope of his influence, make it probable that Jn. had Simon in view when he composed his Gospel.

ix. IGNATIUS.—Ignatius (before 110 A.D.) mentions a 'Gospel'—which he compares with 'the Law' and 'the Prophets' in such a way as to indicate

that it was written—*Philad.* 5, 8, 9. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

10. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

11. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

12. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

13. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

14. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

15. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

16. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

17. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

18. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

19. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

20. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

21. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

22. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

23. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

24. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

25. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

26. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

27. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

28. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

29. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

30. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

31. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

32. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

33. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

34. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

35. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

36. Ignatius. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16]) a phrase peculiar to Mk. 9:43. He never quotes Lk.⁵

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The Gospel (*Philad.* 9, *Smyrn.* 7) is said to contain the Passion or Resurrection and also (*Philad.* 5, 9) the 'flesh' and 'personal' presence (*σώματος*) of Jesus, i.e. it brings Christ before us as in the flesh. But when he speaks of the Incarnation, Ignatius does not appeal to the Gospel, but speaks in his own name; describ- ing, for example, (*Eph.* 16) the 'star in the east' in language incompatible with any later acceptance of Mt.'s account, and actually saying, almost in the language of Simon Magus, that the 'Logos' (*Logos* 8) 'came forth from Silence'—a dangerous expression, hardly possible for any one who devoutly accepted

the Gospel.

The Ignatian passages commonly alleged to prove that Ignatius recognised Jn. as a Gospel simply prove that he knew the substance of some traditions incorporated in Jn. (a) *Philad.* 7, 'The Spirit . . . knoweth whom it cometh and whither it goeth, and revealeth the things that are secret,' is closer in thought (though not in word) to Jn. 8:14 than to Jn. 3:4. It is a tradition from Gen. 1:8, quoted by Philo 130 (and *Quaest. Gen.*), 'Constitution therefore, speaking to the soul, saith unto her, "Whence comest thou and where goest thou?"' Ignatius is closer to Philo than to Jn. (b) *Philad.* 9, 'the door of the Father,' may be traced to Clem. Rom. 43 and back to Ps. 118:19, 'It being a natural tradition that the "gate of righteousness" is "the gate in Christ," and that this leads to "life" and to "the Father,"' Lastly, such variations as (c) *Rom.* 7, 'bread of God' (only once in Jn.), (d) *Eph.* 17:19, etc. 'prince of this age,' and (e) *Magn.* 5, 'His living (το ζῶν) is not in us'—instead of the familiar 'bread of life,' 'prince of this world,' 'His life is not in us'—would be almost impossible, if the Fourth Gospel were familiar to the author as a gospel, but quite natural if he had a recent acquaintance with the substance of it as a recent doctrine.

The conclusions are that Ignatius (1) recognised Mt. and probably Mk. as a written gospel, but (2) did not recognise Lk. or Jn. The latter is confirmed by the fact that (§§ 29, 30) in order to demonstrate the reality of the Resurrection, he appeals, not to Lk. or Jn., but to an apocryphal tradition. The 'gospel' of Ignatius does not appear to have contained Mt.'s account of the Incarnation as we have it. The deficiency in Mt.'s account of the Resurrection he supplies from apocryphal sources.⁴ Though he does not acknowledge Jn. as a gospel, he accepts a rudimentary Logos-doctrine, and has an acquaintance (but not a familiarity) with Johanneine thought.

x. POLYCARP.—Polycarp (110 A.D.; see § 87) has sayings similar to those in the Sermon on the Mount (*Phil.* 2), and to the words of the Lord in Mk. 14:38 Mt. 20:41 (*Phil.* 7).

93. Polycarp. The former may be from a version of the *Didache*, but the latter indicates that, like Ignatius, he knew the 'gospel' of Mk. and Mt. (a) His omission (*Phil.* 2) of the words 'in the spirit,' in quoting Mt. 5:1, 'poor in the spirit,' resembles Lk. 6:20, but may only indicate that Polycarp and Lk. herein agreed in adopting the same version or interpretation of the *Logia*. (b) (*Phil.* 7) 'Every one that confesseth not that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is Antichrist,' resembles 1 Jn. 4:3, 'every spirit that confesseth not Jesus is not of God; and this is the [spirit] of the Antichrist'; but it much more resembles 2 Jn. 7 . . . they that confess not that

Lk. 8:14 ('pleasures of life'). But the phrase had been made popular by Euripides (*Hippol.* 33) *εἶναι ἡδονὰς πολλὰς βίον*. Of the two marked as 'quotations,' one (*Eph.* 14) 'the tree is manifest from its fruit' is more like Mt. 12:31 ('From the fruit the tree is known') than like Lk. 6:44 ('Each tree is known from its own fruit'); the other (*Smyrn.* 1) 'Take, handle me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon' has been shown to be not from Lk. (see § 20 f.).

1 (cp 2 Cor. 10:10, ἡ παρουσία τοῦ σώματος, 'his bodily presence').

2 The statement that (*Rom.* 2), as a martyr, he will be 'God's Logos,' but otherwise a mere 'sound,' is based on a distinction common from Aristotle downwards; Simon's *Apophasis* similarly distinguishes between (*Hippol.* 6:9) 'sound' and 'name.' Such a play on 'Logos' would be possible while the Logos doctrine was plastic; scarcely possible (because scarcely reverent) for one who had received as apostolic the Logos-doctrine of Jn.

3 See Hegesippus (Eus. ii. 238), 'What is the door of Jesus?' to which James replies apparently that 'the Saviour is the door' (*τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν Σωτήρα*), cp *Eph.* 2:18 Rev. 3:8 *Hebr.* 10:20.

4 *Smyrn.* 2 (saying that Christ 'raised himself up') seems incongruous with Mt.'s account of the descent of an angel to roll away the stone, but agrees better with Pseudo-Peter, who says (q) that 'the stone rolled away of itself,' implying, perhaps, that Christ caused it to roll away and arose by his own power (so that the angel descended merely to carry him up to heaven). The more orthodox account is that of Paul, and 1 Pet. 1:21 quoted by Polycarp, *Phr.* 2, 'believing on him who raised our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead.'

5 Ignatius' notes contains several Ignatian 'resemblances' to Lk. One of these is *Rom.* 1, 'pleasures of this life' resembling

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Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the *Antichrist*. Now a Jn. is a 'disputed' Epistle, so that if Eusebius believed it to be a quotation, he would be bound to call attention to it.¹ But he makes no mention of it, though he tells us that Polycarp (iv 14) quoted 1 Pet. It is probable, therefore, that he regarded the words, not as a quotation, but as a mere use of Johannine traditions in vogue during the conflict against Docetism.²

The conclusion, so far as any can be drawn from so short a letter, is, that Polycarp knew Mk. and Mt. but not Lk. or Jn., though he used a Johannine tradition embodied in 'a disputed epistle.'

xi. Papias.—Papias (120-30 A.D.) is probably (Lightf. *RE* 67) recorded by Irenaeus (iv 3612) to have

94. Papias. preserved a tradition of a saying of the Lord, 'In the region (*ἐν τοῖς*) of my Father there are many abiding places (*ποταμοὶ*).'³ Cp Jn 14:

The context indicates that Papias had one meaning and Jn. another. Papias (taking the word as used by Pausanias x. 317 'encampment,' 'halting place') means 'there are many stages on the journey upwards': viz. the New Jerusalem, Paradise, and Heaven. This explains why Papias has 'in the region,' while Jn. has 'in the house.' *ποταμοὶ* means 'stages' in the Petrine Apocalypse and in Clem. Alex. (opp. *her.* i. 6, 579 f. 645, 794), who also (p. 797) speaks of *the three ages* hinted at (*αἰετδορραὶ*) by 'the three numbers in the Gospel.' The 'three numbers' are explained by Papias as the thirty, 'sixty,' and 'hundred' of the Parable of the Sower.

The conclusion is that Papias is not quoting and misinterpreting Jn., but quoting, and interpreting in accordance with tradition, a Logion (illustrating the Synoptic Parable of the Sower) of which Jn. gives a different version.⁴ And this leads to the inference that, if Papias had Jn. in his mind, he did not recognise it as an apostolic gospel.

xii. Diogenetus.—The Epistle to Diogenetus, in its former portion (Lightf. 17-47 A.D.), while accepting a Logos-doctrine, accepts it (ch. 7) in a non-Johannine form (see Lightf. on (ol. 110): but phrases in ch. 6 f. 10 indicate a familiarity, if not with Jn., as a gospel, at all events with Johannine doctrine and method of expression.

The latter portion (Lightf. 150-210 A.D.), short though it is, yet contains (ch. 11) an apparent allusion to Jn. 10:10 'Now speakest thou clearly [*ῥαπαλαῖα*], which makes it highly probable that the author had read Jn. The late date, however, makes this testimony of little importance.

xiii. Hermas.—The Shepherd of Hermas (114-156 A.D.) contains no traces of recognised authoritative Johannine thought. The alleged similarities of language

96. Hermas. may generally be traced to common tradition based on OT—e.g., (*Sym* 9:2) the Rock and the Gate, (*As*) the Son a Fellow-counsellor with the Father in creation (cp *Ecl*us 24:9 with 1s. 9:6); (*Sym* 5:6) 'showed them the paths of life' (cp Ps. 119:11). *Mand.* 1 has no connection with Jn. 2:27. The Logos-doctrine (cp *Sym* 9:1) 'That Spirit is the Son of God,' and see *Sym* 5:6) is so strikingly unlike that of Jn. that the writer would seem either not to know Jn., or to reject it as non-authoritative.⁵

¹ See § 66 above. Eusebius's omission here is the more noteworthy because (though not bound to do it) he *could* as that Papias and Irenaeus quoted 1 Jn. Much more was I *well* bound to tell us that Polycarp, earlier than either of the 6, quoted both 1 Jn. and 2 Jn. Nor could it have escaped him in so short an epistle, Polycarp's only extant work.

² Besides the instances above-mentioned, Lightf.'s index mentions, as a 'resemblance' to Jn., *Phil.* 1:2 'that your fruit may be manifest among all.' Jn. 15:16 has 'that your fruit may remain,' but 1 Tim. 4:15 has 'that thy progress may be manifest' and the notions of 'fruit' and 'progress' are both Pauline (cp Rom. 6:22 'your fruit').

³ Clem. Alex. has (69) *ἐν τοῖς* to describe a saint's citizenship in the region of the Father. The primary meaning of *ἐν τοῖς* is 'at a man's place, property, or estate'; 'at his home' is only a secondary meaning.

⁴ Cp the Slavonic Enoch (Charles 612) 'Nor in the world to come . . . there are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, evil for the evil, many without number.' This may be one of several instances where the language of Enoch appears in the doctrine of Jesus.

⁵ No doubt many early authors (such as Tatian and Theophilus), though accepting Jn., may have retained for a long time traces of an older Logos-doctrine—sometimes more like that of Philo. But Hermas goes beyond any bounds consistent with acceptance of Jn. in *Sym* v. 6 'The Holy Spirit which pre-existed, which created all the creation, was caused by God to dwell in flesh [in] which he desired [in] to dwell. That [flesh] therefore . . . along with the Holy Spirit, he chose as a partner.'

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xiv. Basilides.—Basilides (117-138 A.D.) is frequently alleged to have quoted from Jn.; but (owing to the difficulty of distinguishing between quotations from Basilides and quotations from his followers, and the fact that Hippolytus and

97. Basilides. Clem. Alex. differ from Irenaeus in the exposition of his doctrine) the only ground for the allegations is in an extract (Clem. Alex. 499 f.), expressly quoting the 23rd book of his (*Agnetica*) which teaches that all suffering proves the sufferer to have sinned. Against this doctrine—not by any means peculiar to Basilides—Jn. protests when it states that (31) the man who was born blind was not born so because he had sinned. With that protest before him, Basilides could hardly have accepted Jn., in its entirety, as authoritative.

So far as it goes, then, the evidence indicates that Basilides did not accept Jn. as an authoritative gospel.

xv. Marcion.—Marcion is mentioned by Justin Martyr

98. Marcion. (150 A.D.), after the two very early heretics Simon Magus and Menander, as 'even now teaching' and as having gained followers 'in every race.'

This implies that Marcionism had been flourishing for several years, and points to 125-135 A.D. as the date for Marcion's gospel. Rejecting the OT and the God therein assumed, he was forced, if he adopted any of the four gospels, to make many changes and omissions—e.g., in 'I have not come to destroy the law but to fulfil' he transposes 'fulfil' and 'destroy.' His gospel is shown by extracts to agree largely with Lk., but to omit many passages peculiar to Lk. He did not call it by Lk.'s name, and may have regarded it as but one of many 'interpretations' of the Logia of Mt., more authoritative than most, and better adapted than our Mt. to express his anti-Jewish views. The omissions and alterations that he would have had to make in Jn. are trifling as compared with those which he was forced to introduce into Lk., and Marcion's alleged Pauline predilections hardly afford a satisfactory reason for his not selecting Jn.

The conclusion is that, in 125-135 A.D., Lk. had come into prominence as a recognised gospel in Marcion's region, but that Jn. was not yet equally prominent.

xvi. Valentinus.—Valentinus (141-156 A.D.) is assumed by Tertullian (*de Praescr.* 38) to use our gospels. Irenaeus says that his followers freely used the Fourth.

99. Valentinus. Hippolytus (155) gives, as from Valentinus himself, a quotation from Jn. 10: 'All that are come before me are thieves and robbers.' But Tatian has there a somewhat similar allusion (calling it on one occasion a saying of 'the most excellent Justin') (6 haps. 12 (14) 18), referring to 'demons' who have been 'robbers of deity' and have 'taken men captive.' As has been shown above (§ 57 n.), it is probably the Synoptic tradition about the contrast between the ideal ruler and the ruler of this world, thrown into a Johannine form, which found its way into Christian tradition before Jn. was generally recognised as authoritative.

xvii. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE BEFORE JUSTIN.

—Thus, up to the middle of the second century, though **100. Summary.** there are traces of Johannine thought and tradition, and immature approximations to the Johannine Logos-doctrine, yet in some writers (e.g., Hermas and Simon) we find rather what Jn. develops, or what Jn. attacks, than anything that imitates Jn., and in others (e.g., Polycarp, Ignatius, and Papias) mere war-cries of the time, or phrases of a Logos-doctrine still in flux, or apocalyptic traditions of which Jn. gives a more spiritual and perhaps a truer version. There is nothing to prove, or even suggest, that Jn. was 'recognised as a gospel.' Many of these writers, however, are known to us by extracts so short and slight that inference from them is very unsafe; it is otherwise with the writer next to be considered.

xviii. JUSTIN.—Justin Martyr (145-9 A.D.) has been found above (§ 75 f. 11) quoting freely from Mt. and Lk.;

101. Justin. (2) sometimes appearing to use a harmony of the two; (3) adopting Lk. by preference as to the Miraculous Conception and the Passion; (4) quoting (apparent) interpolations in Lk.; and (5) showing a disposition to maintain the claims of Lk. as a new but authoritative version of the Memoirs of the apostles. The instances given (§§ 75-77) to prove these conclusions will suffice to show Justin's attitude toward the Synoptists. It remains to consider his attitude toward Jn. as deducible from alleged quotations, or types, borrowed from it; or abstractions from quotation; agreements, or disagreements, with Jn.'s doctrine or statement.

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(1) Minor apparent Johannine quotations.

(a) *Tryph.* 123, 'We are called and are the true children of God, is alleged (Light, *RE* 88) to be from Jn. 12, and a Jn. 3:17 'that we should be called the children of God, and (so) we are.' Both Justin and Jn. are alluding, partly (1) to Jewish tradition about God's 'calling' Isaac to birth and thereby causing him to be (Gen 21:2 'In Isaac shall thy seed be called'; Rom 4:17 'called' the things that are not [τα καλεῖται] as though they were [ἐκ θεού]); partly (2) to the tradition that Isaac was 'called' from the dead (Heb. 11:19 'that God was able to raise [him] from the dead, to be compared with Josephus's comment on the sacrifice of Isaac [Ant. 1.12] 'that God was able to bring men into abundance of the things that are not [true one himself], and to take away the things that are'; partly (3) to Philonian traditions about God's creative 'call' (Philo 2:97 'He calleth the things that are not [τα καλεῖται] so that they are [ἐκ θεού]'; cp Philo 2:106); and partly (4) to a Stoic phrase 'I am and I am called' (Philo 1:137, Epict. Enchiridion 15 'they both were [ἦσαν] and were called [καλεῖσθαι] divine' (cp Phil. 2:10, 11:44). Heracles was believed to be the son of Zeus and he was [so]). So, here, Justin first shows that God was to (Jer. 31:27 and Is. 42:1) 'raise up a seed' to Israel; then asserts that he 'called' this people Israel and declared it his inheritance; lastly, in answer to Trypho's 'Are you [ὁὖτος] Israel?' he replies, 'We both are called and are the children of God.' (1) *1 Apol.* 6 'reason and truth' is an allusion not to Jn. 4:24, 'spirit and truth', but to what Justin has just said about the temper of Socrates 'in true reason, i.e. reasonableness, and is a play on the word *Logos*. (2) *Tryph.* 17, 'the only spotless and righteous [one], sent [ἀπὸ] light from God to man, implies a recognition of Christ as (Is. 42:1-4) 'I, the Lord, I have called him; a light to lighten, not only 'the Gentiles,' but the world; and an allusion to Jewish traditions (S. Hagg. 2:11:26) based on Ps. 43:3 'Send out thy light and thy truth.' (3) *1 Apol.* 60 ('If ye . . . believe, ye shall be saved'), hinting of the barren serpent, differs so much from Num 21:7-9 ('that every one that is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live') that it is urged (Light, *RE* 87) that the writer had in his mind Jn 3:14 f. ('that whosoever believeth in him have eternal life'). But Barn. (12:7 'let him hope and believe . . . and immediately he shall be saved') differs even more from Num. Justin is closer to Barnabas than to Jn., and appears to be condensing the former or some kindred tradition. (4) Justin accuses the Jews of cancelling (*Tryph.* 73) 'He shall reign from the tree' in Ps. 118:10; and some might infer that he borrowed this thought from Jn., who regards the Cross as a throne on which Jesus is 'lifted up' or 'exalted.' But see Barn. 8:51 'the reign of Jesus on the tree'.

The close and numerous resemblances between Barnabas and Justin in respect of prophecies and types prove that Justin followed either Barnabas or some tradition used by Barnabas, and go some way towards proving that, if he knew Jn., he preferred Barnabas.

(2) 'Except ye be begotten again.' *1 Apol.* 61, 'For in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the Universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, they then receive the washing with water. For indeed Christ said, *Except ye be begotten again ye shall not (οὐ μὴ) enter into the kingdom of the heavens.* Now that it is absolutely impossible for those once born to re-enter the wombs of those that bore them is evident to all.' Cp Jn. 3:1 f. 'Except a man be begotten from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' Nicodemus saith unto

him, 'The antithesis was naturally common after the persecutions of Nero. It may be illustrated by Mt. 22:14 'Many are called but few chosen,' but also by Epict. ii. 9:20 'When we see a man trimming, we are wont to say, "He is not a Jew, but pretends." But when he takes on himself the condition of the imbued and those (οἱ τοὺς βιβασμένους καὶ ἡμετέροισιν—i.e. the 'elect'), then he is indeed, *ὅστις ἐπὶ τῷ ὄντι καὶ καλεῖται*, a Jew'; where 'is . . . and is called' seems parallel to Justin's 'is called and is'.

(3) Justin (*Tryph.* 17) calls Christ 'the only spotless and righteous man (ὁ ἁγίστος), and then, repeating the phrase without 'man,' says that he was 'sent [ἀπὸ] light into the world.' Cp Wisd. 10:1 'Sent her forth from the holy heavens, and send her from the throne of thy glory,' where 'her' refers to Wisdom, (Is. 7:25) 'the pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty, the shining (ἀννύσασα) of the eternal light.' Both Jn. and Justin adapt Jewish tradition to the Incarnation; but Jn. (12:46 'I am come a light into the world' 3:19 [17] 19) speaks of the Light as 'coming' into 'the World.' Justin speaks of it as 'sent.' (The rendering 'spotless light' is an error; nor is there a play on the double meaning of *φωτός* 'man' and 'light'.) For the construction ('sent [ἀπὸ]') cp 1 Jn. 4:20 *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρόν*.

(4) For other passages in Justin and Barnabas resembling one another, and found also in Jn., see the connection of the Cross or 'tree' (*Tryph.* 86) with water (mentioned above, § 90) and the application of Ps. 22:18 to the Messiah (though here Justin [*Tryph.* 97] and Jn. [19:24] go a step farther than Barn. 6:2).

(5) *1 Apol.* 132 (RV) 'begat again.' The evidence from Jn.'s use of the word

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him. How can a man be begotten when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be begotten? Jesus answered . . . *Except a man be begotten of water and (the) Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*

Justin is here meeting heathen misrepresentations of the two sacraments, by showing that they are based on Christ's command and on reason, and that the heathen themselves have imitated them. As to the Eucharist, he gives (1) Christ's Words of Institution; (2) the Pagan imitation. As to baptism, since he gives the Pagan imitation later (2:64), he is (presumably) giving here what he regards as the words of Institution (for he gives no others). That they are derived from Jn. is improbable for many reasons. (1) Justin's tradition is thrown into the form of an *insigne* I precept ('thou shalt be baptized or thou shalt not enter it, Jn. 3:5 is a statement of a law. (2) Justin omits the two elements mentioned in the full form of the Johannine utterance, viz. 'water' and 'spirit.' (3) Justin, though familiar with the use of *ἀνωθεν* to mean 'from above,' and though he once actually uses *ἀνωθεν γεννησθαι*, here has *ἀναγεννησθαι*. (4) That Justin agrees with Jn. in connecting the doctrine of regeneration with words about the impossibility of re-entering the womb, is not indeed an accidental coincidence, any more than the somewhat similar coincidence in an utterance of Simon Magus (Hippol. 6:14). 'How, then, and in what manner, doth God shape men (in the new birth)?' to which Simon replies, 'Admit that Paradise is the womb, and that this is true the Scripture will teach thee, afterwards entering into minute materialistic details about 'the womb.' It is a connection so natural in controversy that it is easy to understand that it became a commonplace in Christian doctrine.

(3) Other alleged quotations.—(a) *Tryph.* 105, 'That this [man] was [the] only-begotten of the Father of the Universe (μονογενὴς γὰρ ὁν ὁ πατήρ τῶν ὅλων ὄντων), having become from him in a special way Word and Power (ὡς καὶ ἐκ αὐτοῦ λόγος καὶ ἐνέργεια γεννησθεὶς), and afterwards be coming man through the Virgin (καὶ γεννηθεὶς ἀνθρώπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου γέννησθαι), as we have learned from the Memoirs, I have shown above.' Lightfoot (*RE* 88), omitting the italicized words, infers that Justin refers to Jn. as a part of the *Memories* for the proof of the 'special' antemundane birth. But the words he omits indicate that Justin refers to *Tryph.* 105, where he shows this from the *Memories*, as an inference from Peter's confession. This resort to the *Memories* to prove what they could not prove, but Jn. could prove, indicates that Justin did not regard Jn. as authoritative. (b) Justin, against Marcion, is said to have

(3:1 19:1) and from Philo 1:42 2:141 4:141 4:141 (and cp Menander in Eus. 3:26 and Simon Magus in Hippol. 6:14), and from Epict. i. 13:1 (τὸς αὐτὸς ἀνθρώπος, ἀναβλάσας [ἀν-βλάσας]), is irresistibly in favour of the rendering 'from above.' *Ἀνωθεν* may mean 'again,' but only where the context clearly points to that meaning, as it does in Artemidorus (see Trimmis *Lexic.* 2), who says that a man who dreams of being born over again (*ἀνωθεν*) will have a son, because having a son is, as it were, a second birth.

Justin himself never uses the word to mean 'again,' but (1) 'from above,' of the Incarnation (*Tryph.* 6:14 *ἀνωθεν γεννησθαι* καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ ἀνθρώπου γεννησθαι), and also probably (against Marcion) *Tryph.* 6:14 *ἀνωθεν καὶ διὰ γυναικὸς ἀνθρώπος ὁ θεὸς . . . γεννησθαι* (2) *αὐτὸν ἐκάλει* (cp with *ἀναγεννησθαι* or *ἀπογεννησθαι*, *Tryph.* 24, 99 'from of old.' If Justin were here quoting Jn., he would be uttering a phrase that he himself used.

(3) Justin's words, 'In the name of the Father,' etc., show that he recognised the formula of Mt. 28:19 as binding in practice. So the *Diatheke* (7:1) recognises (but does not quote) it. Justin nowhere quotes Mt. for the facts of Christ's Resurrection, but only Lk. And Lk. omits the command to baptize.

(4) If it be urged that Jn. states the doctrine in two forms, and that Justin may have preferred the first ('begotten from above'), then, besides altering 'from above' into 'again,' he has altered 'see' into 'enter,' which occurs only in Jn.'s second form.

(5) It may be worth noting that Barnabas (10:6), as well as Simon Magus, introduces his explanation of regeneration (which he bases on the metaphor of temple) with a 'How?' (Cp Jn. 3:9 'How can these things be?'). In these two authors 'how' is rhetorical, in Jn. it is not; but the usage perhaps indicates a traditional way of stating and answering a perplexing question. Barnabas (like 1 Pet. 1:12) regards the 'begotten' as 'again' (not 'from above'), *ἀναγεννησθαι* καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ ἀρχῆς. Space does not permit of showing the important difference of the Johannine doctrine, which tacitly protests that 'second birth' is not the question. The question is, 'Is it from above' or (like some of the second births of heathen mysteries) 'from below'?

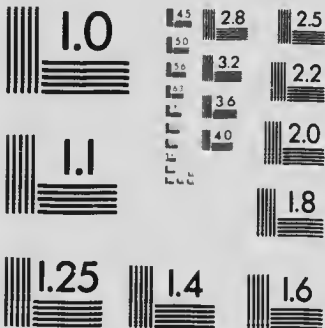
(6) *Tryph.* 105: cp 1 *Apol.* 22, *ὡς καὶ . . . γεννησθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγονος λόγον θεοῦ*. Jn. would not apply the verb *γεννησθαι* to the *Logos* except in connection with (14) 'flesh'; he frequently draws a marked distinction between the *ἀπὸ* of the Father and the *ἐκ* of human matter (1:12 f. 4:8 5:5).

(7) The words, 'But the only-begotten,' etc., may be those of Irenaeus, commenting on what he has quoted from Justin. (i) Eusebius (1:18), quoting, from Justin, this extract, stops



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written (Iren. iv, 62). 'I should not have believed . . . but the only-begotten Son came to us . . .'. Thus Lightfoot (BE 2.1) asserts to be based on Jn. 1.13. But, he sides the objection that many authorities, as W & H, read in Jn. 1.13 'God' for 'Son'. This assertion assumes that Jn. must have *preferred* this application of 'only-begotten', whereas in fact it followed *naturally* from the Logos-passage in 11.50, 7.22 describing the Wisdom of God as containing a Spirit 'only-begotten', and might be suggested by Ps. 22.1: 'Deliver my soul from the sword, mine only-begotten from the power of the dog.' Now in the *Apologies* and *Dialogue* Justin (so far as Otto's Index shows) never uses the word 'only-begotten' except in *Tryph.* 105, referred to above (6), where he supposed it by Ps. 22, and professed to have 'previously shown' it, the 'showing' being really a futile inference from the Membris. All this, so far from indicating a borrowing from Jn., proves that, if Justin knew Jn., he *refused* to have any statement on it: (c) *Tryph.* 88 has simply the Synoptic tradition of the Baptist, developed as in Acts 13.25 (with a tradition of Justin's own, *καθ' ἑαυτούς*, twice repeated in connection with the Baptist elsewhere, and with *εἰσα* adapted from Lk.), and *Tryph.* 87, as to the Manna, instead of alluding to Jn. 6.31, is a quotation from Ps. 78.25 with an allusion to Ps. 78.12 (cp. 1 Cor. 10.3 and also Wisd. 16.2), representing a stage of tradition earlier than Jn.; (d) *Tryph.* 64, 'those who were from birth and according to the flesh *ἀπο τῆς γενέσεως* (ἐκ γενεῆς)', is alleged by some² to refer to the healing of the man 'blind from birth', mentioned only by Jn. 9.1-14. But Justin speaks of these people in the *phōra*. Jn. 9.12 states that the healing was *αἰνῶντος*, 'enduring', 'from the beginning of the world'. Justin was probably quoting from some tradition earlier than Jn.; but in any case this instance tends to show that, if he knew Jn., he did not regard it as authoritative.³

Other alleged quotations, if examined, might be shown, even more conspicuously than those treated above, to fail to prove that Justin recognised Jn. as an authoritative gospel.

(4) *Abstinences from Quotation.*—It is generally recognised that the Synoptists do not teach, whereas Jn. and Justin do teach, Christ's pre-existence, the feeding on Christ's 'flesh and blood' (as expressed in those precise words), the application of the term 'only-begotten' to Christ, and the Logos-doctrine. When, therefore, we find Justin either not appealing to any authority in behalf of these doctrines, or appealing to pointless passages in the Synoptists instead of pointed passages in Jn., it is a legitimate inference that Justin did not recognise Jn. as on a level with the Synoptists.⁴

(a) *1 Apol.* 65, 'We have been taught that the food . . . is both the flesh and the blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.' In support of this, instead of quoting Jn. 6.54, along with the Synoptic words of Institution, Justin quotes the interpolated Lk. 22.19; (b) *Tryph.* 105, 'only-begotten' (see § 101.3 (d)); (c) *Tryph.* 48, the belief in Christ's pre-existence is based on what is

short before 'but the only-begotten'; (2) the part omitted by Eusebius contains words common in Irenaeus, but not in Justin, and (3) *his two allusions to Paul's Epistles* (to which Justin never alludes); (4) elsewhere Justin never uses 'only-begotten' apart from prophecy that justifies it. On the other hand, Justin might quote, to a Christian, authorities that he would not quote to a Jew, to whom everything needed to be proved. (In the words omitted by Eusebius [*... nos plasmavit ... venit ad nos ... firma est mensura eorum fides ... utraque Deo nobis praebente*]) the intrusion of the sing. [*mea*] would be strange, whether Justin or Irenaeus were the writer; but *ἡμῶν πιστις* may have been misread as *ἡ μου πιστις*. On the whole, the words are probably not Justin's.

¹ Acts ὑπονοεῖτε, Justin ὑπελάμβανον: Acts εὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγώ, Justin οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός.

² Not, however, by Lightfoot BE.

³ After quoting Is. 35.5 f., 'the blind (τυφλοὶ), deaf, lame, dumb, Justin asserts the healing of τοὺς ἐκ γενετῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα πηροὺς καὶ κωφοὺς καὶ χωλοὺς . . . τοὶ δὲ καὶ ὁρᾶν ποιήσας. Clearly πηροὺς includes, if it is not restricted to, those who are made 'to see'—i.e., 'the blind.' In his earlier work Justin (or a scribe?) appears to have correlated πηροὺς into πόνηρους (1 *Apol.* 22 χωλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικούς καὶ ἐκ γενετῆς ποιήσας). It looks as though Justin interpreted spiritually in the *1 Apol.*, but literally in the *Dialogue*, some old tradition about Christ's acts of healing. Hence the strange addition 'in the flesh.' He seems to mean 'not, as some say, spiritually, but physically' defective.

⁴ On this point 1 *Apol.* 46 is a key passage, 'We were taught that Christ is the *First-born* of God, and we indicated above that he is the Word wherein every race of men participated.' The doctrine of the First-born is *anthropos* 'a being', the Logos doctrine is the '*initiation*' of the *word*. On the rare occasions when Justin asserts (*Tryph.* 105) that he has 'shown' that Johannine doctrine is in the Membris, his 'showing', when analysed, amounts to (*Tryph.* 105) 'we have inferred (ἐκονκαμεν), supported by references to OT

'proclaimed by the blessed prophets and taught by him (Christ). On this Westcott (Jn. *Introd.* lxxxv) says that the Synoptists 'do not anywhere declare his pre-existence', apparently inferring that Justin must have Jn. in mind, though he never quotes Jn. But the italicised words (cp. 1 *Apol.* 2.10) simply indicate the general continuity between what Christ taught as the Logos, through the prophets, and what he taught as Jesus in the flesh. When Justin 'shows' the pre-existence of Christ from a *particular* passage, it is from the Membris, but in a most unsatisfactory manner (see last footnote). (d) *Tryph.* 86 says that 'the root' in OT is a type of the Cross, and that Moses, 'by means of this, *source* water that gushed from the rock'—i.e., from Christ—and (ib. 10.3) applies to Christ Ps. 22.14, 'poured out like water.' These words seem absolutely to demand some reference to that stream (if he knew of it) which the author of the Fourth Gospel alone records himself to have 'seen' flowing from Christ on the Cross. Yet Justin (ib. 10.3), instead of quoting Jn., quotes the interpolated Lk. 22.44, omitting Lk.'s mention of 'blood', so that the quotation accords with the Psalmist's 'poured out like water.' (e) *Tryph.* 97 follows Barnabas (6.6) in applying part of Ps. 22.14 to the 'casting of lots' for Christ's garments. But Justin goes farther, by quoting the *whole psalm*, which he mentions 'dividing' as well. Jn. also quotes the whole psalm, but goes farther still, seeing in it *two distinct and symbolical acts*. It is highly improbable that, if Justin had known, as apostolic, this warrant for a *twofold* fulfilment of prophecy, he would have omitted to refer to it. But he neither refers to it, nor even recognises two acts.² (f) *Tryph.* 110 says that the Vine is God's people, planted and pruned for its good by Christ, without reference to Jn. 15.1-2, where Christ describes himself as pruning the Church that the fruitful branches may bring forth more fruit. (g) 1 *Apol.* 63, 'The Jews are justly charged . . . by Christ himself, with knowing neither the Father nor the Son.' This ought to refer to such 'charges' as Jn. 8.19, 'Ye neither know me nor my Father.' Yet Justin quotes for it nothing but an ancient version of Mt. 11.27 Lk. 10.22: 'No one knoweth the Father, but the Son, or the Father, save the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal (him)', which is merely a general statement of the conditions of revelation. (h) *Tryph.* 49, 'The well-known lamb (προβάτου) that was commanded to be roasted *whole* (ἁλόν) was a type of the Cross.' Jn. alone describes the providential interposition by which 'not a bone was broken' of Christ, the Paschal lamb. Yet Justin, instead of referring to this, refers to the roasting of the two lambs on two spits, one across the other, which typified the Cross!

(5) *Inconsistencies with Jn.* mostly concern Justin's views of the origin of Christ, and the Logos-doctrine; but they also affect his views of God, and of theology generally.

Justin's view is that (1 *Apol.* 6) God has no 'name'; Jn.'s is that the Son came to declare the Father's 'name' and to keep them in that 'name'. The notion of a Trinity in a Unity of will, or love, is absent from Justin. Generally Justin shrinks from the phrase 'begotten of God'. According to him it is the Logos, or the Son, who 'begets' (*Tryph.* 135) 'the new race' or (ib. 63) the Church, his 'daughter' (cp. *Tryph.* 138, also 135, ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ λατρουμένης). Elsewhere he allows himself to say that God has begotten himself (*Tryph.* 61) a kind of Logos-power (λογικὴν τινὰ δύναμιν).³ Yet when he speaks of the Father as begetting the Son, he always inserts (ib.) 'by his will',⁴ or (ib. 105) 'coming forth by the power and counsel' of God, or, speaking of the birth of Jesus (ib. 73), he uses the middle γεννάσθαι, 'cause to be begotten'. In his

¹ Justin's may be the earlier form, to which Lk.'s 'of blood' may be a later addition. But in any case the argument remains that whereas Jn. fulfils Justin's requirements exactly, and the interpolated Lk. does not, Justin quotes the latter and not the former.

² It may be replied that Justin, understanding the nature of Hebrew poetry, perceived that only one action was intended; but *Tryph.* 53 accepts the 'cult' and 'ass' of Mt. 21.2 though rejected by the other Evangelists. The real explanation is that Jn. represents a later and more developed tradition than that adopted by Justin.

³ RV, 'No one knoweth the Son save the Father,' but quoted as above by Justin again (*Tryph.* 100), and by Clem. Alex., Origen, and Tertullian.

⁴ Thus, according to Justin, the Church (Ecclesia) and Man (Anthropos) are both begotten by Logos. So the Valentines taught that Anthropos and Ecclesia were the children of Logos and Zoe.

⁵ If λογικὴ means 'containing Logos, δυναμὶς λογικὴ means 'a Power containing Logos.' What is this 'Power'? Surely 'Thought' (Εννοια). Hence Justin implies that the Father beget 'Thought' (Εννοια), as the Arché, or Beginning, and that in this Arché, or Beginning, there was Logos. But this is formal Valentinianism. If Justin had recognised Jn.'s Logos-doctrine as inspired, would it not have protected him from thus laying himself open to the charge of adopting what he himself considered heretical doctrine?

⁶ Cp. Jn. 1.13, 'were begotten of God,' where Irenaeus and other authorities insert 'or voluntarily Dei' and apply it not to believers but to Christ. Tertullian (*De Carn. Chr.* 49) accuses

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anxiety to emphasise the supremacy and ineffability of the Father, he speaks of one (meaning the Logos) who is (*1 Apol.* 5) 'a different (*eripos*, not *αλλος*) God and Lord, under the Maker of the universe' (*1. 1 Apol.* 37, and similarly *2 Apol.* 11). The first Power, *in it to the Father*, 'fall'. This conveys the notion that the Logos is but one of many subordinate Powers. Also, the multiplicity of names given to the Logos (*1 Apol.* 56 for *πνεῦμα*, *Συν*, Wisdom, Angel, *πῶς*, Last, Sword, etc. — suggests, Philo (*1. 47*) 'many-named' Logos rather than that of Jn.; and when Justin quotes Dan. 7. 13, to lay stress on the 'as' in 'as Son of Man', and tells us that Christ was only (*1 Apol.* 71) *θεογενὴς καὶ γεννητὸν ἀβραάμ*, the word *θεογενὴς* seems anti-Johannine, and bordering on Deism.

(b) *Summary of the evidence about Justin* — It appears, then, that (1) when Justin seems to be alluding to Jn.,

104. Justin : he is really alluding to Cf or Barnabas, or some Christian tradition different from Justin's.

Jn. and often earlier than Jn.; (2) when Justin teaches what is practically the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel, he supports it, not by what can easily be found in the Fourth, but by what can hardly, with any show of reason, be found in the Three; (3) as regards Logos-doctrine, his views are alien from Jn. These three distinct lines of evidence converge to the conclusion that Justin either did not know Jn., or, as is more probable, knew it but regarded it with suspicion, partly because it contradicted Lk., his favourite Gospel, partly because it was beginning to be freely used by his enemies the Valentinians. (4) It may also be fairly added that literary evidence may have weighed with him. *He seldom or never quotes* (as many early Christian writers do) *from apocryphal works*.¹ The title he gives to the Gospels ('Memoirs of the Apostles') shows the value he set on what seemed to him the very words of Christ noted down by the apostles. Accepting the Apocalypse as the work of (*1 Apol.* 81) the apostle John, he may naturally have rejected the claim of the Gospel to proceed from the same author. This may account for a good many otherwise strange phenomena in Justin's writings. He could not help accepting much of the Johannine doctrine, but he expressed it, as far as possible, in non-Johannine language; and, where he could, he went back to earlier tradition for it, such as he found, for example, in the Epistle of Barnabas.

XIX. TATIAN. — Tatian gives evidence (150-80 A.D.) of special value because, being a pupil of the recently deceased Justin who does not quote Jn., he

105. Tatian wrote an *Apology* which apparently does quote Jn., or Johannine tradition; and, later, after he had become an Encratite heretic, he composed a Harmony of the Four Gospels, thereby accepting the Fourth as on a level with the Three. His *Apology* may throw light on the date, and perhaps on the reasons, of acceptance.

The alleged (12th c. *RE*) *εἰς* in the *Apology* are the following: (a) (*1 Apol.* 4) 'God is a spirit, not one that interpenetrates matter (*οὐ διεισχωρὶς διὰ τῆς ὕλης*). This is simply a negation of the Stoical dictum (Cicero, *Alex.* 672) that God is 'a spirit', but 'one that interpenetrates all being (*διεισχωρὶς διὰ παντὸς τῆς οὐσίας*)' (and cp Orig., *Cels.* 6. 17); (b) (*1 Apol.* 13) 'And this, you see, is the meaning of the saying (*τὸ εἰρημνεῖν*) "The darkness comprehended (*καταλαμβάνει*) not the light": for the soul did not itself preserve (*ἑσώσεν*) the spirit, but was preserved (*ἐσώθη*) by it, and the light comprehended (*καταλαμβάνει*) the darkness'. It is doubtful whether Jn. — who says that (1 Jn. 1. 5) 'God is light and in him

106. His Apology is the meaning of the saying (*τὸ εἰρημνεῖν*) "The darkness comprehended (*καταλαμβάνει*) not the light": for the soul did not itself preserve (*ἑσώσεν*) the spirit, but was preserved (*ἐσώθη*) by it, and the light comprehended (*καταλαμβάνει*) the darkness'. It is doubtful whether Jn. — who says that (1 Jn. 1. 5) 'God is light and in him

the Valentinians of substituting 'were begotten' for 'was begotten'.

The fact appears to be that, whereas preceding writers had laid stress on being 'born again', Jn. laid stress on the nature of this second birth, describing it as (1 Jn. 3) 'from God' (3. 3) 'from above'. Many took offence at this, as suggesting that man's second birth is of the same nature as Christ's incarnation (which indeed may have been Jn.'s meaning). Therefore, in the first passage where Jn. states the doctrine (re-stated in the Epistle too often to be changed), some ventured to change it. Cp Jn. 1. 18, 'By an act of will (*βουλή*) he brought us forth'. This explains the general mis-translation of (3. 3) 'from above', as though it must mean 'again'.

He uses, it is true, a corrupt text of the LXX, and refers to the *Acts of Pilate*; but he never quotes *Kneph* (as Barnabas does), the Gospels of the Hebrews, Egyptians, etc. Eusebius, who never bestows such praise on Irenaeus, praises Justin's (iv. 15. 1) 'cultivated intellect'.

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is no darkness — would accept the latter half of this antithesis. Paul's saying that Christ (Phil. 2. 10) 'comprehended' or 'encompasses' (for its good), the human soul is very different from saying that the light 'comprehends' the darkness.² Also the use of *καταλαμβάνει* — which applies to any sixth, and not specially to Scripture — coincides with the naturalness of such a 'saying' in Christian controversy to make it probable that Tatian is quoting a common tradition, and not Jn.; (c) (*1 Apol.* 13) 'Remembrance of me, and follow the only God. All things have, by him (*ἐκ αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτοῦ*, i.e. the Father), and without him (*ἐκ αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτοῦ*, i.e. the Father), made (*ἐγένετο*) anything'; cp Jn. (1. 3), 'All things were made (*ἐγένετο*) through him (i.e. the Logos), and without him (*ἐκ αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτοῦ*, i.e. the Father) anything'. The two sayings are quite distinct in meaning, but the verbal likeness makes it certain that Tatian must have known Jn., though he has either misinterpreted it or altered it (possibly to avoid polytheistic inferences).

(d) *Prices of Jn. as a recent "interpretation"*. Though the *Apology* teems with subtleties (drawn from Jn.) about matter and the Logos, and shows no recognition of the Johannine view of the spiritual unity of the Father and the Son, yet the above-mentioned allusions or quotations, occurring as they do in a very short treatise that contains hardly a single allusion to the Synoptists, indicate that Tatian attached considerable importance to a new method of stating the Christian case, such as he found in Johannine tradition or writings. Such passages as (*1 Apol.* 5) 'God was in the beginning; but the beginning, we have received by tradition (*παράδοξα*), is a Logos-voice (*λογου δυνάμει*), indicate what may almost be called an attempt to improve on Jn.'s 'the Word was in the beginning', so that we can hardly call them recognitions of Jn. as an authoritative gospel. And the following passage points perhaps in the same direction. Supporting his theory that evil spirits are from the inferior of 'two kinds of spirits', Tatian says (*1 Apol.* 13) 'These things it is possible to understand in detail for one who does not in empty conceit reject (*ἀπορριπτέως*) those most fitting interpretations which, in course of time, having been published in writing (read *βιβλίου* *ἐκείνων* *ἐκείνων* or *δ. γ. ἐκείνων*), have made those who give heed to them acceptable to God (*θεοφιλεῖς*). Now the only passage in NT that definitely and fully recognises Tatian's 'two kinds of spirits' — bidding the reader 'not believe every spirit', giving him a test by which he may 'know the spirit of God' and discern 'the spirit of truth and the spirit of error' — is 1 Jn. 4. 6. It seems probable, then, that Tatian is here referring to the Johannine Epistle and Gospel, which are obviously connected and are generally supposed to have been published together.

This would fit in with a good many facts. The word 'interpretations' was applied by Papias to the various 'versions' of Matthew's Logos. Mark was called Peter's 'interpreter', so that Mk. itself might be called an 'interpretation' of apostolic tradition. There is evidence to show that the Johannine Gospel was long preached orally before being published; and Tatian's words seem to hint at a deferred publication ('in course of time having been published in writing'). If it was 'interpreted' by an Elder of Ephesus, such as John the Elder, it might be known to Tatian as an 'interpretation'. Also, the clause about 'rejecting' implies that some had rejected, or were disposed to reject, the work in question — and this with contempt. Justin may not have gone so far as this. Tatian's respect for (18) 'the admirable Justin' is quite consistent with the hypothesis that he already dissented from his former master's cautious avoidance of Jn., especially if Tatian himself did not as yet rank it with the Synoptists.

(b) The *Diatesaron* gives us little help beyond the assurance that, when it was composed, Tatian ranked Jn. with the Synoptists. As handed down in Arabic, it differs, both in text and in arrangement, from the text commented on by Ephraem; and both of these differ from the text commented on by Aphraates.³

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107. Diatesaron arrangement, from the text commented on by Ephraem; and both of these differ from the text commented on by Aphraates.³

¹ Cp perhaps Philo 2. 415. If some were unable to comprehend (*καταλαβείναι*) God, yet Israel received a revelation, 'having been comprehended' (read *καταλαβόμενος* for *καταλαβόμενος*) — i.e., grasped and drawn towards God, because God 'wished to reveal his own essential being'.

² In NT *εἰρημνεῖν* is not used to introduce Scripture, except when (Lk. 2. 24; Acts 2. 13-14) accompanied by some qualifying phrase — e.g., 'in the Law', 'in the Prophets', etc. When not thus qualified, it must be rendered 'said', 'spoken', etc. Cp Rom. 4. 18 (RV), 'according to that which had been spoken' — i.e., to Abraham — not 'according to that which hath been said' in Scripture.

³ A complete collation of Aphraates, Ephraem, and the Latin version of the Arabic shows that there are no more than three or four passages — and these of little importance — where the three alleged representatives of Tatian's work agree against the modern text (as represented by WH): Mk. 9. 23 Mt. 6. 21 16. 25.

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This indicates—what of itself is highly probable—that at a very early period the *Diatessaron* was revised in the interests of orthodoxy, so as to leave few traces of the author's Eucharistic and other heretical tendencies.¹ What may be the correct inference from Theodoret's account of Tatian's exiles and of 'the mischievousness of the composition,' and what ought to be inferred from Eusebius's (*HE* iv, 29) (probably) contemptuous statement about the work, are questions that do not affect Tatian's recognition of *In*. All agree that before the end of his life—*scilicet*, about 170-180 A.D.—he recognised the Four Gospels as being of special authority, although his notions of authority may not have prevented him from handling them with considerable freedom.

As regards the date of recognition, Tatian's *Diatessaron* adds

B. HISTORICAL AND SYNTHETICAL.

What remains of the present article will be devoted to a brief statement and discussion of the principal hypotheses which have been at various times put forward as tentative solutions of the Synoptical problem. On the fourth gospel see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE.

I. TENDENCY IN THE SYNOPTISTS.

The question of tendency deserves the first place, for the more tendency can be seen to have been at work in the composition of the Synoptic gospels, the less room is left for the action of merely literary influences and the like. Now, tendencies of one kind or another in the Synoptists are conceded even by the most conservative scholars. Thus they find

108. Tendency in general in the Synoptists.

that Mt. wrote for Jewish Christians, or for Jews,² to prove to them from the OT the Messiahship of Jesus; this appears from Mt.'s numerous OT quotations, often even prefaced with the words, 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken' (*ὅτι πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν*; 1:22 etc.), Jerusalem is spoken of as simply 'the holy city' (15:27-28). Much space is given to the polemic against the Pharisees and Scribes. The contrast to Mt. presented by Lk. is striking. Here many speeches, which according to Mt. were directed against the Pharisees, are addressed to the nation in general (Lk. 11:15 f. 29:6-30:4) as against Mt. 12:43-45 15:1-14 7:15-23). In Lk. 3:7 (contrast with Mt. 3:7) we have the (surely impossible) story that the Baptist addressed the masses who desired to receive his baptism as a generation of vipers (§ 127 a, al.). The fact, too, that Lk. 3:34-38 carries the genealogy of Jesus back to Adam points to the conclusion that, in writing, he has Gentile Christians, or Gentiles, in his mind. The same inference can be made for Mk., who is at pains to explain Jewish words or customs (7: f. 11:34 3:17 5:41 15:42) and by frequently using Latin words (5:9 6:27 7:4 15:32) and forms of expression (3:6 5:23 14:65 15:15) and even explaining Greek by Latin phrases (12:42 15:16) shows that he was addressing readers who spoke Latin. Again, from the relatively small number of discourses of Jesus reported by Mk. we may perhaps conclude that he attaches less importance to the teaching than to the person of Jesus. It is the person that he desires to glorify.

Further, each evangelist in his own way is influenced by, and seeks by his narrative to solve, the apologetic interest. To meet particular objections, such as those preserved by Celsus (cp Mt. 28:13b), we find, for example, an assertion so questionable as that of Mt. 27:62-66 (the watching and sealing of the tomb, of which the other evangelists know nothing), or that of the bribing of the watchers (Mt. 28:11-13—a charge which, if actually made and believed, would certainly have involved their death; cp Acts 12:10). Once more,

¹ Dr. Rendel Harris says (*Ephrem on the Gospel*, 19), 'Bar Salibi seems to intimate that Tatian gave no harmonised account of the Resurrection. Every reader of Ephrem's text, as current in the Armenian, will have been struck by the poverty of the Commentary at this part of the Gospel.' But there is no corresponding 'poverty' now in the Arabic *Diatessaron*.

² In particular (see § 130a), for Greek-speaking Jews. It ought to be added, however, that Gentile Christians also were interested, or at least capable of being interested, in the evidences of Christianity derived from the OT prophecies.

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little to our knowledge, for by the time of its composition (about 100 A.D.), Irenaeus regarded 'four gospels' as no less essentially four than the 'four zones of the earth,' so that in Gaul the Fourth Gospel must have been recognised much earlier. But the importance of Tatian's testimony, following on Justin's, is that the two appear to fix the turning-point in sceptical criticism: the teacher favouring Lk. but rejecting *In*, whilst his pupil at first apparently took up *In* as a 'divine interpretation' specially adapted for a philosophic appeal to the Greeks, and before long placed it in a Harmony of the Four Gospels.

From this date investigation is rendered needless by the practically unanimous acceptance of the canonical Gospels.

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tendency appears also in another direction, the political—in the desire to make the Roman authority as little responsible as possible for the death of Jesus (Mk. 15:1-14 Mt. 27:1-23 and very specially Mt. 27:24); most strongly of all in Lk. 23:1-23, where Pilate even invokes the judgment of Herod, 17:6-10—certainly an unhistorical touch of which there is no hint in Mk. or Mt. (cp § 43; Acts, § 5, 1).

The very widely accepted view, that Lk. is of a specifically Pauline character, can be maintained only in a very limited sense.

(a) The mission to the Gentiles is brought into very distinct prominence by the evangelist (2:1 f.), not only in his own narrative but also in reporting the words of Jesus.

By Jesus, partly in express utterances (24:47), partly in the choosing and sending forth of the seventy (10:1), whose number corresponds to that of the heathen nations enumerated in Gen. 10, partly in his interest in the Samaritans, who were not regarded by the Jews as compatriots and who in the Third Gospel are, to all appearance, the representatives of the Gentiles. The word 'stranger' (RVmg. 'alien'; ἀλλογενής), used to designate the cleansed Samaritan leper (Lk. 17:15), is the *terminus technicus* used for all Gentiles in the well-known inscription marking the limits in the temple precincts which non-Jews were prohibited from passing, under penalty of death.¹ Lk. has no parallels to Mt. 7:6 (pearls before swine), 10:5 f. ('Go not into any way of the Gentiles'), 10:23 15:24 ('not sent but unto . . . house of Israel'). In Lk. 6:42 ('even sinners have those that love them') the persons spoken of with depreciation are not, as in Mt. 8:40 f., publicans and heathens, but sinners. In Lk. 5:1-11 (call of Peter) the mission to the Gentiles is hardly mistakable (§ 12, last footnote); the other boat which is summoned (7:7) to aid Peter in landing the multitude of fish, is that of Paul and his companions, whilst James and John (according to 5:10) figure as the comrades of Peter, and the astonishment and apprehension they share with him (5:8 f.), signify that until now they had not grasped the divine command of an extended mission. That they nevertheless took part in the mission to the Gentiles at the divine command (5:5, 'at thy word'; cp 24:47 'repentance . . . in his name unto all the nations') is in entire agreement with the representation in Acts 10 (see Acts, § 4).

(b) The reverse side is seen in the rejection of the Jewish nation, in great measure, or indeed, if the words be taken literally, altogether.

Cp 13:23-30 ('few saved? . . . Strive to enter . . . last . . . first and first . . . last'), 13:6-9 ('cut it down'), where the Jewish nation is intended by the fig-tree (see § 43), 4:1-30 (Nazareth synagogue).² The rejection of Jesus in his native *city* means that he met with no recognition in his native *land*, the word 'native place' (*πατρίς*) being ambiguous. The mention of mighty works wrought in Capernaum (4:23), where, according to Lk., Jesus had not yet been (he reaches it for the first time in 4:31), makes it evident that the narrative has purposely been given the earlier place by the narrator, though not in agreement with his sources, as a sort of programme expressive of the relation of Jesus to the Jews as a whole (§§ 39, 127 a, γ).

In an entire group of parables the whole point lies in the rejection of the Jews and the call of the Gentiles to salvation.

Thus the Gentiles are indicated by the third class of those invited to the royal supper—those compelled to come in from the highways and hedges (14:15-24; cp § 112 γ). Again, Mt.'s 125

¹ See TEMPLE.

² Exceptions such as 13:16 19:6 ('daughter' or 'son' of Abraham), 1:33 ('reign over house of Jacob for ever'), 5:4 ('holpen Israel his servant'), 7:7 ('salvation unto his people'), 2:25 ('glory of thy people Israel'), 35 ('redemption of Jerusalem'), which doubtless come from the author's sources, do not invalidate the above observation—all the less because they agree with what has already been observed under Acts, § 4.

14-20 purely ethical parable of the talent (receive, in Lk. 19:12 'for country', 'receive kingdom'), 14 ('citizens hated him'), 27 ('these nine enemies', 'slay them'), additions which give it a wholly different complexion. Here, the nobleman who goes into a far country and whose people, for declining his rule, are in the end put to death, was suggested by the well-known story of Archelaus, son of Herod the Great (see H. H. H. 2:1); but in the intended application of the parable the nobleman is Jesus himself and the 'far country' into which he travels is the region of the Gentiles; 14 the similar use of 'far' (*μακρὸν*) in 15:13 ('proceed'), 15:22-9 ('promise to all'), 16:13 ('I will send thee [Paul] far hence into Gentiles'), Eph. 2:14 ('once we were far off'), 17 (same). Even Lazarus, who in Lk. 16:19-20 comes into consideration only as poor and as suffering, must, in the addition in 17:27-31, be regarded as representing the Gentiles, the rich man and his brethren being characterised in the words 'they have Moses and the prophets' as representing the Jews. Cp also § 114.

(c) Against the work-righteousness of the Mosaic law we have the saying about the unprofitable servant (17:7-11), and the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (18:9-14), with regard to which, however, there is no reason to doubt that it was spoken by Jesus.

(d) In 18:17 we have a specifically Pauline expression—the designation of the Publican as 'justified' (*δικαιωμένος*); another in 8:12 'lest they believe and be saved' (*ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν*; cp 1 Cor. 1:21 'to save them that believe'); also 18:8 the claim that when Christ should return he would be entitled to find faith (*τὴν πίστιν*) on the earth; lastly the formula, 'thy faith has saved thee' (*ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε*); 7:50 (woman in Simon's house), 17:19 (Samaritan leper), 8:48 (woman with issue), 18:42 (blind beggar).¹ The same formula, however, occurs also in Mk. 5:34 (woman with issue), 10:52 (Bartimaeus), Mt. 9:22 (woman with issue). It is therefore not specifically peculiar to Lk.; and moreover a careful survey of all the passages cited does not show that Lk. has appropriated any specific doctrine of Paul, but only that he has made his own in all their generality the gains of the great apostle's lifework—freedom from the law, and the assurance that salvation is open to all.

The same conclusion is reached by examination of another parable—which also certainly was spoken by Jesus—that of the Prodigal Son who is taken back into favour by the father without anything being said of any sacrifice on his behalf such as Paul would certainly have regarded as necessary. The woman who was a sinner (Lk. 7:47-50) is saved not by reason of her faith alone but quite as much by reason of her love—just as Abraham and Rahab are in 1 Clem. Rom. 10:7, 12:1.

Over against what has just been pointed out we must set those ideas which Lk. has in common with what is

110. Ebionitic passages in Lk.

usually called the Ebionitic side of primitive Christianity.² (a) The poor are blessed because of their poverty, the rich condemned because of their riches (Lk. 6:20-25 'Blessed . . . Woe unto . . .'; 16:25 f., rich man and Lazarus; cp Jas. 1:9, let brother of low degree glory, 2:5 God . . . choose poor, 5:6 ye have killed . . . the righteous one; 1 Clem. Rom. 15:9 'possessions are in all cases sin; loss of them in any way is a taking away of sins'; *πάντα τὰ κτήματα ἀμαρτήματα ἢ τοῦτων ὅπως ποτὲ στήρσις ἀμαρτιῶν ἔστιν ἀφαιρέσις*). (b) Beneficence wins salvation (Lk. 11:41, give for alms . . . all things are clean [but see § 130 d]; 6:35, do good and lend; 16:9, make friends by mammon; cp Eccles. 3:30, alms an atonement; Tob. 12:8 f., 2 Clem. Rom. 16:4, Clem. Ep. ad Jacobum, 9; beneficence the ground of salvation, *εὐποία τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτία*). (c) God is to be stormed by earnest importunate prayer (11:8, 'because of importunity'; 18:1-8, judge and widow). Such thoughts, however, do not run through the entire texture of Lk.; they are confined to definite portions, among which the

¹ Other coincidences are seen also in 10:8 ('eat such things as are set before you'), 11:45 ('yourselves touch not the burdens'), 20:36 ('all live unto him'), when compared with 1 Cor. 10:27 ('whatsoever is set before you, eat'), Gal. 6:5 ('each bear own burden'), Rom. 14:8 ('whether live or die, the Lord's'). Cp Hawkins, 160 f.; also (but with caution), Evans, *St. Paul the author of the Acts and of the Third Gospel*, 1884.

² It is necessary here to give a note of warning against the usage of the Tübingen school, which simply made Ebionitism identical with uncompromising Judaism.

parable of the Unjust Steward, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Importunate Friend and the Unjust Judge, may be specially mentioned (§ 40, end). Indeed, the writer does not seem to have accepted them in their full extent, for by his appendix to the Rich Man and Lazarus (16:27-31 question of sending warning) he has given the parable quite another meaning (§ 104 b); similarly in the case of the Unjust Steward by the appendix 16:1-14 (little and much, one's own and another's (§ 128 d); and even in the last parable mentioned above, attention is directed from the Judge's unrighteousness by the addition of 18:8 ('faith on earth?').¹

In Lk. great care is taken to warn readers against expecting the coming of the kingdom as imminent

(21:6, end not immediately; 12, 'before all these things'; 24 f., 'until times of Gentiles fulfilled'; 17:20 f., 'not with observation'; 19:11, 'parable because supposed kingdom immediately'). The 'straightway' (*εὐθὺς*) preserved in Mt. 24:1 has disappeared in Lk. (21:23); so also (21:23 f.) the statement in Mt. 24:2 that the days preceding the end shall be shortened for the elect's sake, and (22:6) the announcement of the speedy (*ἄπρσι*) appearance of the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven (Mt. 26:64). The idea in Lk. (21:24 f.) that the preliminary signs of the end cannot appear 'until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled' rests upon the belief of Paul that before Christ's parousia the gospel must first be preached to all nations (Rom. 11:25-31). See, more fully, § 153.

(a) Just as in Lk. Ebionitic and Pauline ideas are found in juxtaposition and contrast, so in Mt. are universalism and Jewish particularism (15:24, lost

112. Special tendencies in Mt.

sheep of Israel; 19:28, twelve thrones; 10:5 f., not into way of Gentiles; 23, cities of Israel, as against 8:11 f., from east and west; 21:3-22:10, two sons; wicked husbandmen; royal marriage; 28:19, teach all nations; 21:14, preached in whole world [*οἰκουμένη*]; 26:13, whosoever preached in whole world, legal conservatism² and freedom from the law (5:17-20, not destroy but fulfil; 23:2 f., what they bid you do; 24:20, pray flight not on a Sabbath;—as against 5:32-19:8, divorce; 5:34, swear not; 39, resist not; 9:16 f., new patch, new wine; 12:7 f., Son of Man lord of Sabbath).

(b) On further investigation, it is manifest, in the case of two parables especially, that the rejection of the Jews and the call of the Gentiles to salvation was introduced only as an after-thought.

In the case of the royal supper, those first invited, after rejecting the invitation and slaying the messengers, are conquered in war and their city burnt (Mt. 22:7 f.); but in the original form of the parable their place was in the king's own city. After the military expedition the preparations for the supper remain just as they had been (22:4-6). 'The others' (*οἱ λοιποὶ*) too in 22:6 has a strange look coming after 22:5 ('they went their ways'). The insertion points unmistakably to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. as a punishment for the slaying of Jesus and his apostles, and serves to indicate the whole nation of the Jews as signified by those first invited. Had this been the original intention of the parable, it would not be easy to understand why Lk. (14:16-24) should have enumerated three classes of invited persons of whom of course only the third can signify the Gentiles. But conversely it would be equally incomprehensible how Mt. could have reduced the number of the classes to two had three classes been already mentioned in the original form of the parable as in Lk. Since there the heathen are the third class, if Mt. omitted that class he was obliged to transfer the explanation to the second class, which he could do only by inserting

¹ These remarks do not in any way contrail the fact that in Acts community of goods is an ideal with the author; for the idea of Community of Goods (7:27, § 5) is indeed related to the Ebionitic ideas of the Third Gospel, but is not identical with them. Further, it must not be forgotten that, though with Lk. this community was indeed an ideal for the past, it is quite another question how far he wished to see it realised in his own time.

² The whole journey of Jesus into foreign territory (Mk. 7:24-31) is set aside by the statement of Mt. 15:21 f. that the Canaanitish woman came out from the border of Tyre and Sidon to meet Jesus. Far-reaching consequences follow from this; see § 135.

224 f. The two forms of the parable are in no case independent of each other, for of the three excuses of the first invited two agree very closely in Mt. and Lk. We must therefore assume that the parable in its original form—in which we can, without any difficulty, attribute it to Jesus—distinguished only two classes of invited guests, as is now done in Mt., but that these were intended to denote, not the Jews as a whole and the Gentiles as a whole, as in Mt., but the esteemed and despised classes respectively, among the Jews themselves, as in Lk. Each of the two evangelists, therefore, has judged it necessary to bring some reference to the Gentile world into the words of Jesus which, as originally uttered, did not look beyond the Jewish nation, but each has carried out his object in a quite independent manner (§ 10, end).

With regard to the parable of the wicked husbandmen we are expressly told in Mt. 21:45, as well as in Mk. 12:12 and Lk. 20:19, that the hearers understood it as referring to the chief priests and Pharisees. Clearly, therefore, it is a later addition when Mt. (21:45) tells us that the Kingdom of God shall be given to a *parthou* bringing forth the fruits thereof—that is, to the Gentiles. Moreover, had it been genuine, this verse would have found its appropriate place before, not after, 21:42 ('Did ye never read . . .').

On the other hand, Mt. 20:1-16 has been left unchanged. The fact that here five classes of labourers in the vineyard are distinguished is enough to show that the reference cannot be to the Jews as a whole on the one side and to the Gentiles on the other. The distinction of two classes within the Jewish nation without any reference to the Gentiles, which has been shown above to have originally underlain the parable of the royal wedding, has been expressly preserved in the parable of the Two Brothers (Mt. 21:28-32), as also in that of the Pharisee and the Publican in Lk. (18:9-14).

(c) In two places in Mt. some critics have even detected a polemic against the apostle Paul.

(a) In 5:19, 'Whoever shall break . . . and teach . . . shall be called the least (Paul having called himself in 1 Cor. 15:9 the least of the apostles, *ἐλαχίστος τῶν ἀποστόλων*); (3) in 13:23 (the 'enemy,' *ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρώπου*, who sows tares among the wheat).

'Enemy' (*ἐχθρὸς*, with or without *ἀνθρώπου*) is, in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, a constant designation for Simon Magus, by whom is meant Paul (see SIMON MAGUS). Perhaps Paul himself in Gal. 4:10 ('Am I become your enemy?') is already alluding to the term 'enemy' (*ἐχθρὸς*) as having been applied to him by his Judaistic opponents. At the same time, however, it must not be overlooked that the First Evangelist himself does not share this view of the 'enemy' (*ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρώπου*); according to him (13:39) the enemy is the devil; it is only the author of the evangelist's source, therefore, that can have been following an anti-Pauline tendency here (cp. § 128 c). As for Mt. 5:19 f. ('till heaven and earth pass . . . shall he be called great in the kingdom of heaven') it is almost universally recognised that these verses interrupt the connection, and it therefore remains a possibility that they were not written by the author of the gospel but placed on the margin by a later hand (see § 128 c).

(d) As regards the remaining legal and Jewish particularist passages in Mt. (see above, a, b), on the other hand, it is not probable that they were first introduced after those of a universalistic character.

They are neither so few as to admit of being regarded merely as isolated and mutually independent interpolations, nor yet so numerous as to compel us to regard them as arising from a systematic redaction. True, it must be conceded that 10:5 f. (not into way of Gentiles), 23 ('cities of Israel'), also 23:23 f. ('Moses' seat, all . . . bid you, do), and (with special facility) 'neither on a Sabbath' (*οὐδὲ σαββάτω*) in 24:20 admit of removal without injury to the connection; but not 15:24 ('unto lost sheep'), 25 ('children's bread'), or 19:28 ('twelve thrones'). But precisely the 'neither on a Sabbath' (*οὐδὲ σαββάτω*) is quite certainly original if it comes from the 'little Apocalypse' (§ 124 b). As for the substance, we can more easily refer back to Jesus those utterances in which salvation is restricted to Israel. So far as the principles of Jesus are concerned they most assuredly contain within themselves no such limitation. Parity of heart, compassionateness, the childlike spirit, can be shown by the Gentile as by the Jew. The outlook of Jesus, however, seems still to have directed itself but little towards the Gentiles. He felt himself to be primarily a child

15:20 ('For I say . . . except your righteousness') would serve as giving the grounds (*γὰρ*) for 5:19 f. (one jot or one tittle) only if the Pharisees were open to the charge of denying validity to the minor precepts of the law. On the other hand, 5:20 would serve admirably as a ground for 5:17 (not to destroy but to fulfil) if by the word 'fulfil' (*πληρῶσαι*) Jesus wished to give to the law a fuller and more perfect meaning, far beyond the mere letter. Were 5:19 f. actually the ground (*γὰρ*) for 5:17, the meaning of 'fulfil' (*πληρῶσαι*) could only be that Jesus desired in his actions to follow the law down to its minutest details, and enjoined the same in others also. But this disagrees not only with 5:20 but also with 5:21-48 ('Ye have heard'); Mk. 2:27 f. ('Sabbath for man'); 7:1-23 (washing, corban); 10:1-12 (divorce), etc.—in a word, contradicts the whole attitude of Jesus towards the Mosaic law.

of his own people, and even as regards these the task he had in hand was a gigantic one. Mt. 15:24 (lost sheep) 29 (children's bread) as his first word to the Canaanitish woman (not as his last) is by no means incredible. He may very well have actually hidden his disciples' restraint their preaching to the Jews (10:5 f. 23) on account of the nearness of the end of the world. Mt. 19:28 (twelve thrones) also is perhaps only a somewhat modified form of one of his own utterances, even if it surely it was not spoken by way of answer to so mercenary a question as that of 19:27 ('what shall we have?'). In the mouth of Jesus perhaps the most difficult saying to understand will be the expression of friendliness to the Pharisees in Mt. 23:23 (Moses' seat), to which the words of 10:12 (Beware of the doctrine of the Pharisees), 23:4 (heavy burden), 11:29 f. ('my yoke is easy') are so directly contrary.

See, however, in general, § 120 c. At all events it is necessary to assume that the last redactor was friendly to the Gentiles—in other words, the canonical Mt.—dealt much more gently with his particularistic source than Lk. did with his.

(e) In spite of the 'straightway' (*εὐθέως*) of 21:29 Mt. is not altogether exempt from the tendency we have already seen in Lk. to postpone the date of the parusia; cp. 24:43 (my lord tarryeth), 25:5 (the bridegroom tarryeth), 25:19 (after a long time).

Of the three Synoptics Mk. is characterised least by definite tendencies. The traces of Paulinism which some

113. Special tendencies in Mk.

critics have found in Mk. are of the slightest. For example, 1:15 ('time is fulfilled' . . . 'believe in gospel'; Gal. 4:4, 'fulness of time'; 3:26, 'sons through faith'), 9:36 (1 Cor. 12:3), 10:44 (1 Cor. 9:16) are reminiscences of Paul, but they are not Pauline ideas. The mission to the Gentiles finds its place in 13:10 ('gospel . . . unto all nations'), 14:9 ('whosoever the gospel'); cp. also 'all the nations' (*πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι*) in 11:17 (house of prayer for all the nations), unless indeed this be merely a filling out of the citation from the LXX. Some aversion to Jewish particularism may be seen in the toning down of the answer of Jesus to the woman of Canaan (7:27, 'children first' inserted) as compared with the form in Mt. 15:26. Mk. also, like the others, seeks to postpone the date of the parusia. Instead of the 'straightway' (*εὐθέως*) of Mt. (24:29) he has (13:24) 'in those days,' and in 9:1 he does not, like Mt. (10:28), say there be some standing here that shall 'see the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom,' but only that they shall 'see the Kingdom of God come with power.'

On the whole, then, it would seem that such tendencies as have been spoken of manifest themselves only in a few parts of the three gospels. A

114. Conclusion as to tendency.

special warning must be given against seeking to find too confidently any such tendencies in the way in which the original apostles are mentioned whether as implying praise or blame.

It would be in accordance with the general character of Lk. if some aversion to the original apostles were held to underlie the censure of James and John for their proposal to call down fire from heaven upon the inhospitable Samaritan village (Lk. 9:54 f.); and it would be in accordance with the opposite character of Mt. if it made no mention of the hardness of heart with which the original apostles are charged in Mk. 6:52-8:17 f. But Mt. is precisely the one gospel which chronicles Peter's faith-heartedness on the water, and Mt. as well as Mk. has the speech in which Jesus addresses him as 'Satan' (Mt. 16:23-16:22 f., Mk. 8:32 f.). On the other side, it is precisely in Lk. (22:32) that we find the passage which, along with Mt. 16:18 f., could be inscribed in golden letters on the Church of St. Peter in Rome.

In another matter (should we be inclined to see here any 'tendency' at all)—the enlargement of the miracles of Jesus in number and character—all the evangelists have a share (§ 137).

Thus, most of the tendencies we have discussed are followed, not in the interest of a party, but in that of the church which was ever more and more approximating catholicism in character. But, further, the tendencies affect only a limited portion of the gospel material, and by far the larger part of this material does not admit of explanation by their means. In the sections referred to there are but two instances in which it has been claimed by the present writer that ideas have been clothed in narrative dress—those of Peter's draught

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of fishes and of the tares among the wheat; the other places in which this can be alleged are but few (§ 142, and Cf. 695), and even in these cases the symbolical meaning borne by the narrative arises almost always from an originally figurative manner of speaking being mistakenly understood as literal expression of a fact, not from deliberate and conscious invention for purposes of edification.

II. ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE SYNOPTICAL PROBLEM BY LITERARY CRITICISM.

In considering the attempts to solve the Synoptical problem by literary criticism we begin most conveniently with what, in appearance at least, is the simplest hypothesis: that of a primitive gospel handed down solely by oral tradition. By continual narrating of the gospel history, it is held, there came at last to be formed a fixed type of narrative, in Aramaic. Upon this each evangelist drew directly without any acquaintance with the written work of any other.

115. Oral tradition hypothesis.

(a) This hypothesis is an *asylum ignorantie*. It spares the critic all necessity for an answer to the question wherefore it was that one evangelist wrote in this manner and another in that—although the question presses for, and very often admits, a solution. If the Synoptical oral narrative was really so firmly fixed as to secure *verbatim* repetition of entire verses in three authors writing independently of one another, then the variations between the three become all the more mysterious, or else all the more manifestly due to tendency. Think only of the variations in the Lord's Prayer, in the words of institution of the Eucharist, in the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus. The coincidence appears, however, not only in the discourses of Jesus, where it would, comparatively speaking, be intelligible, but also in narrative, in quite indifferent turns of expression in which the same writers often also diverge very widely.

The doubly augmented form of the verb (*ἀπεκρεσάσθην*) in Mt. 12:13; Mk. 3:5; Lk. 6:10 cannot indeed be adduced as an example, for the double augment is met with also not only in Mk. 8:25 (*ἀπεκρεσθήν*) but often elsewhere outside the NT in the case of this verb (Winers, § 12, 7). But compare, for example, how Mt. 27:12, in the hearing before Pilate, and Lk. 23:9 (who here has no parallel), in the hearing before Herod, uses the middle aorist—met with in Mk. 14:61 in the hearing before the Synhedrium but very rarely elsewhere in the NT—‘he answered nothing’ (*οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο*), though immediately afterwards (Mt. 27:14) we have the passive (*ἰστέον ἀπεκρίθη*). Mk. also in the parallel passage (15:5) having this form; or the ‘Lord, Lord’ (*κύριε κύριε*) in the vocative of Lk. 6:49, retained from Mt. 7:21 (or his source), though in Lk.'s modified form of the sentence ‘why call ye me’ (*τί δὲ με καλεῖτε*) only the accusative (*κύριος*) would be appropriate. In one pair of parallels (Mt. 26:61—Mk. 14:59) the words of Jesus are reported as being to the effect that he would build the (new) temple ‘in the course of three days’ (*διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν*); in another (Mt. 27:40=Mk. 15:29) ‘in three days’ (*ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις* or *τρισὶν ἡμέραις*). Mk. 11:15 (cleansing the temple) coincides in the first half word for word with Lk. 19:45, in the second, almost word for word with Mt. 21:12. Further examples are given abundantly in Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 42-52 (99), or Wilke, *Der Evangelist*, 483-505 (38). How far this agreement goes, in the discourses of Jesus, can be observed, for example, in Mt. 3:9 f.=Lk. 3:8 f.; Mt. 6:24=Lk. 10:11; Mt. 7:35-7=Lk. 6:41 f.; 11:9; Mt. 8:20=Lk. 9:58; Mt. 9:37=Lk. 10:2; Mt. 11:49=Lk. 7:22 f.; Mt. 11:21-23=25 f.=Lk. 10:13, 15-21 f.; Mt. 12:41 f.=Lk. 11:31 f.; 31 or, for instances of coincidence between all three evangelists, Mt. 23:6-7a=Mk. 12:38-40=Lk. 11:43-20-40; Mt. 24:19=Mk. 13:17=Lk. 21:23; Mt. 24:34 f.=Mk. 13:30 f.=Lk. 21:32 f. Between Mt. and Mk. this close agreement is met with elsewhere mainly in the OT quotations (e.g., Mt. 15:8 f.=Mk. 7:6 f.; 10, Mt. 19:46=Mk. 10:6-9) and in the narrative of the Passion (e.g., Mt. 26:24-30=Mk. 14:26-28); of agreement between Mk. and Lk. Mk. 1:24 f.=Lk. 4:34 f. may be taken as examples. Instances of deliberate divergence in the midst of the closest verbal agreement can be pointed to in Lk. 11:20 (cast out devil) as against Mt. 12:28, or in Lk. 11:13 (to give good gift) as against Mt. 7:11 (§ 120 c). The artificiality and improbability which are seen to be necessarily inherent in the hypothesis under discussion is as soon as one tries to apply it in detail, come very clearly to light in Arthur Wright's *The Composition of the Four Gospels* (69), *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek* (69), *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (100), Veil, the most recent German advocate of the hypothesis (*Die*

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Apokryphen Parallelon, 97) has even found himself driven to the assumption that Jesus communicated his teaching to his disciples catechetically, in the form of continually repeated question and answer, as was the case in with the Rabbis.

(b) To many this hypothesis commends itself as an *asylum orthodoxum*. It dispenses with the necessity of assuming that original documents from which our gospels had been drawn—writings of eye-witnesses—have perished; also with the necessity of supposing that evangelists had deliberately—in other words, with tendency—altered the written text of their predecessors that lay before them. But such advantages are only apparent, not real; the variations are present, and they do not admit of explanation as due to mere accident.

(c) Nevertheless, inadequate though the unaided hypothesis be as a complete explanation of the phenomena displayed by our present gospels—and of course we have been here dealing with it in its purity and as unassisted by any other assumption—it is at the same time equally certain that it contains an essential element of truth. Unquestionably the formation of a gospel narrative was oral in its beginning. The opposite theory that a creative writer freely composed the entire material without any previous oral currency (Harnack, Bauer, Volkmar) may be regarded as no longer in the field. But, further, the propagation of the gospel story by oral tradition continued to be carried on for a considerable time even after the first written documents had taken shape, and thus was capable of exerting an influence even upon gospels of a comparatively late date (§ 119g, end).

The next hypothesis to rely upon very simple means is that the evangelist who wrote second in order made use of the work of the first, and the third used the work of one or both of his predecessors. To grasp this hypothesis in its purity we must put aside all idea of any other written sources than the canonical, and must keep out of account as far as possible the idea of any oral sources.¹

Of the six imaginable orders, two—viz., Lk., Mt., Mk., and Lk., Mk., Mt.—have long been abandoned. A third, Mt., Lk., Mk.—may also be regarded as no longer in the field. It relied specially on the observation that Mk. often makes use of two expressions for the same thing, for which in the parallel passages only one is found in Mt. and the other in Lk. But this phenomenon admits equally well of another possible explanation—that the diffuseness observable in Mk. (§ 4) gave Mt. and Lk. opportunity for condensation.² (Cp. Hawkins, 110-113, also 100-105; Wernle, 23 f. 151-154; Woods in *Stud. Bibl. et Eccles.* 200 f.)

Three orders still continue to be seriously argued for: Mt. Mk. Lk.; Mk. Mt. Lk.; Mk. Lk. Mt. In spite of the fact that every assertion, no matter how evident, as to the priority of one evangelist and the posteriority of another in any given passage will be found to have been turned the other way round by quite a number of scholars of repute,³ we nevertheless hope to gain a large measure of assent for the following propositions:—

1. At the same time, even when these are assumed as subsidiary to the hypothesis, the remarks we have to make will still apply of course at all points where borrowing, as between the three evangelists, comes into the question.

2. The hypothesis of Griesbach, also called the combination-hypothesis, but not happily, for evidently Mk. or Lk., if either had been the third to write, could also have combined the data supplied by his two predecessors.

3. In the passage most frequently cited (Mk. 1:2) it was even necessary, after ‘at even,’ to add, ‘when the sun did set,’ for according to Mk. it was the Sabbath day and before sunset it would have been unlawful to bring any sick. Yet Lk. (4:40) could omit the first of the two clauses without loss, and Mt. (9:1), as with him the events did not occur on the Sabbath, could drop the second.

4. Probably the most conspicuous example in point here is ‘the carpenter’ (*ὁ τέκτων*) of Mk. 6:3 as against ‘the carpenter son’ (*ὁ τοῦ τέκτορος υἱός*) of Mt. 13:55, or ‘son of Joseph’ (*υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ*) of Lk. 4:22. On the one side it is held that Mt. and Lk. are here secondary, because they shrink from calling Jesus an artisan; on the other, the secondary place is given to Mk. because he shrinks from calling Jesus the son of Joseph.

¹ Consult further, Wernle, *Die Synoptische Frage*, 81 (99).

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(a) A very strong argument for the priority of Mk. is the fact that, with the exception of some thirty verses, his entire material reappears both in Mt. and in Lk. — or at least in one or other of them, and that too — what is even more important — in both, or at least in one, in the same order as in Mk. The absence of the thirty verses admits of a satisfactory explanation (§ 118 *u*), whilst on the other hand the absence from Mk. of so much matter contained in Mt. and Lk. would be unaccountable. For details as to this, and especially also for the explanation of the marked divergences in the order of Mt. 8-12, we refer the reader to Woods, 63-78 and Wernle, 127-130.

For one example, see § 128 *g*. Mt. 13:11 *f*. (speaking in parables) comes before Mt. 13:44-52 (treasure, pearls, etc.) instead of after it.

To Mk. 6:45-8:2, there is no parallel in Lk. In § 15 above, this section of Mk. is derived from a separate tradition 'which he did not wish to include in his gospel.' Reasons for the omission in Lk. are in fact conceivable; for example, the discussion of the ceremonial law in 7:1-23 (washing, corban, etc.), it may have been thought, had little interest for Gentile Christian readers, or in the narrative of the Canaanitish woman Jesus may have seemed too Jewish; in other sections the omission is less easily explained. Others have accordingly conjectured that in the copy of Mk. which lay before Lk., 6:45-8:2 were accidentally wanting. This suggestion cannot be set aside by showing that in Lk. 11:15 (Lk. is not first washed 12:1 (beware of heaven) we have echoes of Mk. 7:2 (disciples unwashed but 1) 8:15 (beware of heaven), for Lk. may have derived these from other sources. The most important point is that at Lk. 9:12 (When do the multitude say that I am?), where after omission of Mk. 6:45-8:2, Lk. again begins to follow Mk., he gives an introduction which embodies distinct reminiscences of the beginning of the portion omitted, 6:45-47 (praying alone, etc.; *καὶ αὐτὸν, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, κτλ.* 6:46-47). If, therefore, the section of Mk. was wanting in Lk.'s copy, that copy must at least have contained Mk.'s three first verses, or the single words just cited must at least have been still legible in it. Through the immediate sequence of Peter's confession (Mk. 8:27-30; Lk. 9:18-21) on the feeding of the five thousand (Mk. 6:31-44; Lk. 9:10-17) it has also come about that Lk. transfers the scene of the confession to the locality of the feeding, that is, to Bethsaida (so according to Lk. 9:10; somewhat otherwise, Mk. 6:45), instead of placing it at Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8:27; cp § 135).

(b) Mt. is secondary to Mk.

In Mt. 14:5 Herod wishes to put the Baptist to death, and is restrained only by fear of the people; in Mk. 6:17, on the contrary, it is Herodias who wishes the death of John, whilst Herod hears him gladly. With this it agrees that in Mk. 6:26 Herod is sorry because he is bound by his oath to order the execution. But the same sorrow is ascribed to him also in Mt. 14:9. In Mk. 6:29 the Baptist is buried by his disciples; in Mk. 6:30 the disciples of Jesus return from their missionary journey and report the miracles they have wrought. The connection of the two verses is quite casual, the account of the Baptist's end being epistolical. But in Mt. 14:12 it is the disciples of John who not only bury their master but also bring their report to Jesus — the report, namely, of this burial. The report by the disciples of Jesus of their own return would, in fact, come in too late here, as they were sent out as early as 10:5 and their presence with Jesus again has been already presupposed in 12:1; but in 14:12 Mt. would not have had the least occasion to mention a report by the disciples of John to Jesus had it not been that the report of Jesus' own disciples had been mentioned in Mk. 6:30. In Mk. 10:17 *f*. the answer of Jesus to the question, 'Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' is 'Why callest thou me good? None is good, save God only.' In Mt. 19:16 *f*. the question runs: 'Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?' and the first part of the answer corresponds: 'Why askest thou me concerning that which is good?' Very inappropriate, then, is the second part: 'One (masc.) there is who is the good (ὁ ἀγαθός).' Had not Mt. here had before him such a text as that of Mk. and Lk. he would certainly, following his own line of thought, have proceeded 'one (neut.) is the good (ὁ ἀγαθός),' all the more because the immediate continuation also (Mt. 17:19), the exhortation to keep the commandments, would have suited so admirably. The question of Mt. 19:3 contains the words 'for every cause' (*κατὰ παντὸς αἰτίας*) as an exception (cp. 9:3). But in this form the question would have had no 'temptation' in it, for an authority so great as Rabbi Schammai had already laid down restrictions on the freedom of divorce. On the 'were amazed' (*ἐξίστασθαι*) of Mt. 12:23, as coming from the 'is beside himself' (*ἐξίστασθαι*) of Mk. 3:21, see § 2, middle, and Acers, § 17 *i*. On the first journey of Jesus into foreign parts, see § 112 *a*, n.; p. further § 137 *a*, § 140 *a*, b, and § 145 *c*, h; also Wernle, 130-173.

(c) Lk.'s secondary character in relation to Mk. is shown with extraordinary frequency, especially in the

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stylistic changes he makes while retaining individual words. Let a single example suffice.

According to Mk. 1:19 'the lusts of other things' enter into the man and choke the word of God. This 'entering in' (*εἰσπορεύονται*) does not suit the figure for the explanation of which it is used — the figure, namely, of thorns choking the good seed. Lk. (8:14) accordingly avoids the expression 'entering in,' yet does not fail to bring in the word 'going' (*παρουσιασθαι*), using it now, however, of men who in their walk (K.V. 'as they go on their way') are choked by cares and riches and lusts as if by thorns. The participle had in fact laid such hold on his memory as he read his model, that it came at once to his pen though in a new connection. Many other examples will be found in Wernle, 140; Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lukas*, 35-44 (94). One can also make use of the collections in Hawkins, 5301, though he himself prefers to infer from them 'oral transmission.' But in order to furnish also from Lk. an instance of a materially important and clearly intended, if not quite deliberate, distortion of an expression in his source into a very different meaning, as has already been done in the case of Mt. (1:11 *f*. 12:23; see above, *b*), and will be done in that of Mk. (3:24 *f*. see below, *d*), we point to his proceeding with the word 'table' (Lk. 24:6 'when he was yet in Galilee' as compared with Mk. 16:7 'goeth before you into Galilee' = Mt. 28:7; see § 2, beginning).

(d) While the preceding paragraphs seem to speak for the order Mk. Mt. Lk. (or Mk. Lk. Mt.) we must nevertheless go on also to say that Mk. is secondary to Mt. On Mk. 7:27a (children first), 13:24 ('in those days after that tribulation'), 9:1 (some not taste of death), see above, § 113.

In the parable of the wicked husbandmen Mk. mentions, on each occasion, only one messenger as having been sent, but finally, 12:5, in a quite unnecessary and even disturbing manner says that there were yet many others (in agreement with Mt. 21:35). Mt. says (12:32) that blasphemy against the son of man shall be forgiven, and only that against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven, and immediately before (9:31), that every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to men, but the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven. In place of these two sentences Mk. has only one (3:28, 29): 'all their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and their blasphemies; only not those against the Holy Spirit.' Thus he has retained the word 'son of man,' but made it plural and thereby set aside the sense which seemed offensive from the point of view of a worshipper of Jesus, viz., that blasphemy against Jesus can be forgiven. Cp. further, the examples in § 119.

If what has just been advanced is correct, it shows that the borrowing-hypothesis, unless with the assistance of other assumptions, is unworkable, if only for the

1 The attempt has often been made to invert the relationship of the two passages and make out that Mt. 12:31 is taken from Mk. 3:28, 29, and that Mt. 12:32 says the same thing and comes from Lk. 12:10, or rather from Lk.'s source. It is argued that the Aramaic expression 'Son of Man,' meaning any man whatever, as in Ps. 8:2, is rendered with justice *ad sensum* in Mk. by the plural, but in Lk.'s source was erroneously applied to Jesus. But since 'Son of Man' is the only, or almost the only, Aramaic expression for the idea 'man,' it is impossible that the first writers of Greek in primitive Christendom should not have had occasion, a thousand times over, to render it by 'man' (*ἀνθρώπος*). All the more inconceivable is it that precisely here they should have understood Jesus alone to be meant by it, if such an interpretation had not been absolutely certain. In their worship of Jesus it must have appeared to them in itself the greatest possible blasphemy to say that blasphemy against Jesus could be forgiven (§ 111). It is precisely Mk. who has allowed himself to be influenced by this consideration. He alone it is, further, who in 3:30 adds the remark that the reason why Jesus spoke of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit was because they had spoken of himself as possessed by an unclean spirit (3:22). But the accusation in 3:22 is not, as Mk. makes it appear, a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, but rather a blasphemy against the person of Jesus. Thus the saving to the effect that one blasphemy can be forgiven, another not, does not at all fit the context in the form it receives in Mk., and 3:30 is only an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Mk. to justify his addition. Mk. in so doing presupposes that Jesus had identified himself with the Holy Spirit. But the opposite view, that of Mt. and Lk., that he distinguished between Jesus himself and the Holy Spirit can have come only from Jesus himself. Moreover, it is to be observed that in Lk. this saying of Jesus stands in quite a different place (12:10) from that of the accusation (11:15, by Beelzebub, etc.), which according to Mk. (3:22-30) and Mt. (12:21-32) furnished the occasion for it. Now, precisely here (11:15-23) Lk. is drawing from the same source as Mt. (12:27 *f*. 30). In that common source, therefore, the two portions referred to were not yet in connection with each other; for in that case Lk. would certainly not have separated them here. We can attach all the less importance to their connection in Mk. if even their connection in Mt., though so much more suitable, is not original.

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reason that it is compelled in one and the same breath to say contrary things as to the relative priority of Mt. and Mk. Nevertheless it is impossible to doubt that the evangelists did borrow from one another; the only question is whether here it is only our present gospels, or not also other written sources, that have been made use of. For this reason we have hitherto refrained from expressing ourselves to the effect that Mt. (or Lk.) was dependent on Mk. (or *the text*), contenting ourselves with saying that the one was *secondary* to the other; we are thus led to consideration of the hypothesis of a written source or sources.

(c) Before passing from the borrowing-hypothesis, however, it will be well to illustrate by a definite example the various linguistic changes to which reference has been made in the preceding paragraphs (a to d). We select for this purpose the parable of the Sower and the interpretation it receives. The circumstantiality and diffuseness of Mk. appear in 41 (the thrice repeated 'sea' [θάλασσα], and the pleonasm 'by the sea, on the land'), in 42 ('he taught them . . . and said unto them in his teaching'), 45/ (the repeated 'and' [καὶ]—four times—and 'because it had not'—twice), 47 ('and it yielded no fruit'), 413 ('others are they that are sown among thorns; these are they that . . .'); an infelicitous manner of expression is in v. 15 'these are they where.' It is Lk. who has done most to smooth Mk. and turn it into idiomatic Greek.

For Mk.'s paratactic sentences Lk. substitutes participial constructions (Lk. 8:8=Mk. 4:9) or a gen. abs. (Lk. 8:4, Mk. 4:1); also he substitutes better Greek words (Lk. 8:8 ἀγαθή, ἐκατονταπλασίονα instead of Mk. 4:8 καλὴ, ἐν ἑκατόν; Lk. 8:12 διαβολὸς for σατανᾶς of Mk. 4:15; Lk. 8:14 δεχόμενοι for λαμβανόμενοι of Mk. 4:16; Lk. 8:15 ἀμύσσεται for σκαρδαλισσόμενοι of Mk. 4:17; Lk. 8:14 οὐ τηλεφρονεῖν for ἀκαρπὸς γίνεσθαι of Mk. 4:19; Lk. 8:15 καρπία καὶ ἀγαθὴ is ad libitum). In Lk. 8:14 he drops the Hebraism [arrest] of the world (τοῦ αἰῶνος); he uses prepositional phrases in Lk. 8:4 'of every city' (οἱ πάντα πόλιν) and 'by a parable' (διὰ παραβολῆς), and in Lk. 8:13 inserts the relative clause 'which, when they have heard' (οἱ ὅτε ἀκούουσιν) immediately after the antecedent 'Those upon the rock' (οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ) instead of at the end of its sentence as in Mk. 4:16. Lk.'s dependence upon Mk. is shown by the 'good ground' (καλὴ γῆ) of Lk. 8:15. Mk. 4:20 notwithstanding the substitution of a different adjective (ἀγαθὴ) in Lk. 8:8=Mk. 4:8 (καλὴ), similarly by his 'into' (εἰς) = Mk. 4:7 (418 'on to', ἐπὶ), and his 'are choked' (ἐκφυγεύουσιν) in Lk. 8:14=Mk. 4:19 'choke' (συνπνέουσιν) in spite of the 'united' (ἐν αἰσῶ) for Mk.'s 'into' (εἰς) and substitution of a different verb for 'choke' (ἀπενεύειν for Mk.'s συνεπνέειν) in Lk. 8:7. Mk. 4:7. In v. 12 Lk. reverts to the construction of Mk. (415) which he had avoided in 12a (= Mk. 4:15a). He is not felicitous in his substitution of 'rock' (86) for 'stony ground' (Mk. 4:5), for on the bare rock nothing can grow at all.

Mt. (13:23) also smooths and Grecizes.

Mt. (v. 23) omits the second 'sea' (θάλασσα) of Mk. 4:1 and in place of the third adopts a term of expression with 'beach' (αἰγιαλός). In v. 6 he makes use of the gen. abs., in v. 21 substitutes other connectives (ἕτερον καὶ for καὶ and for ἔτι). The Hebraistic 'make fruit' (καρπὸν ποιεῖν) cp. Gen. 1:11 he alters to 'give fruit' (καρπὸν δίδωσιν). At the same time Mt. 13:23 shows his dependence on Mk. by retaining 'make' (ποιεῖν) alongside of 'produce fruit' (καρποφορεῖν) and in 13:22 (just as Lk. 8:14) two of Mk.'s turns of expression (εἰς of Mk. 4:7 and συνεπνέειν as in Mk. 4:19), or in v. 26 the sing. 'crowd' (ὄχλος, cp. Mk. 4:1), although immediately before he has used his favourite form 'crowds' (ὄχλοι). That Jesus was sitting Mt. has already presupposed (v. 1), and he has therefore to repeat the expression in v. 2 from Mk. 4:1 after Jesus has entered the boat. In v. 19 Mt. has an infelicitous alteration to the effect that by the first sowing are intended those who do not understand the word, whereas we should think rather of those who easily allow themselves to be again robbed of it.

Though, from what has been said, Mk. appears to have lain before both Mt. and Lk. it is not possible to assign to him the priority at all points.

Mk.'s 'hearken' before 'behold' in 4:3 is superfluous and disturbing; in 4:5 Mk. (and with him Mt. 13:5) introduces an amplification of the description which has the effect of preparing for the explanation of the parable; it is absent in Lk. (8:4). The OT expression 'birds of the heaven' which all three evangelists give in the parable of the mustard seed (Mk. 4:32 Mt. 13:32 Lk. 13:19) has in the present case been preserved only by Lk. (8:5) as also the 'make fruit' (ποιεῖν καρπὸν) of 8:8.

(f) On the relation of dependence as between Mt. and Lk. see § 127. If the contention at the close of § 120 is correct, the borrowing-hypothesis when taken

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without regard to the limitations demanded by Simons (§ 127b) leads to insuperable contradiction. Here also as in the question of the interdependence of Mk. and Mt.

The hypothesis—especially associated with the name of Lachmann from 1794! of *an* Aramaic gospel, in which Lessing as far back as 1778 conjecturally recognised the 'Gospel of the Hebrews,' is in many points open to the same objections as that of an oral original, only with the difference that it explains the agreements in our gospels better, their divergences in the same proportion worse. Even the further assumption of various translations into Greek with addition of new material at each translation is far from supplying

needed explanation of the divergences, for it is not by any means the literary form alone that differs; the matter also, even the representation of the same matter, varies widely. The same thing has to be said of the hypothesis recently put forth anew by Resch (*Die Logia Jesu*, '98), who has even sought to restore to their presumed original Hebrew (not Aramaic) form the sayings of Jesus, along with a great number of narratives, including a history of the passion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Jesus (thus even going beyond B. Weiss, see § 126c, end), and moreover maintains that this original gospel was already known to Paul. The hypothesis of an original written gospel contains a kernel of truth, only in so far as it is certainly undeniable that some one who must have gone before the others in committing to writing the gospel tradition. But the fact of his having been first did not by any means necessarily secure for him exclusive, or even preponderating, influence over those who came after him; his production may have been promptly followed by equally important writings from other pens.

A special form of the hypothesis of an original written gospel is that set forth above in §§ 314, according to which the Triple Tradition was written in very curt and often ambiguous form, somewhat after the manner of a discussion on the Mishna or of a modern telegram, and was variously expanded and supplemented by the several evangelists.

The agreement of Mt. and Lk. against Mk., if the two former were not acquainted with each other, leads to the hypothesis that each of them had before him a Mk. in one and the same form though different from that which we now possess; this was used both by Mt. and Lk. whilst the canonical Mk. diverges from it. The superior age of the form of Mk. postulated by this hypothesis would gain in probability if the canonical Mk. were found to be secondary to Mt. and Lk. (see §§ 116 d, e, 119; for the other view see § 3, and, with reference to it, what is said in § 126 a). Hawkins (*Hor. Syn. App.* B) reckons some 240 instances of agreement of Mt. and Lk. against Mk. Each individual case may be unimportant and might in other circumstances admit of the explanation that Lk. of his own proper motion chose the same alteration of the canonical text of Mk. as Mt. had; but their large number forbids such an explanation here.

As for the extent of the original Mk. now conjectured, the difficulty with which the hypothesis can be made to work is increased if with Beyschlag we suppose it to have been nearly equal to the canonical Mk.; in particular, it then becomes difficult to understand why a new book differing so little from the old should have been produced at all. If, again, the original book is held (so Holtzmann) to have been longer than the canonical Mk. it becomes possible to assign to it a considerable number of paragraphs (now preserved to us only in Mt. and Lk.) not so easily explained as derived from Mt.'s and Lk.'s other sources (§ 122). If finally we think of the original Mk. (so Weizsäcker) as shorter, then the additions of canonical Mk. that can be pointed to are merely the verses (some thirty or so) peculiar to him, together with such individual expressions as have no parallels either in Mt. or in Lk.

117. The original written Gospel.

118 Original Mk.

These individual expressions are partly for the sake of more graphic description (17 bowing down, *ἐκβαλ*; 113 'she brake the cruse', see also 141 23f 1033f 1541; and the like), partly they give greater precision by giving names (214 317 1040 1521 4 161) or numbers (511 637 1145, esp. on the whole of this head Hawkins, 93-103, Wernle, 45-17; 2157). They do not give one the impression, however, of being interpolations of later date than the rest of the work, and they can more easily be supposed to have been dropped by the writers who came after Mk. as hardly interesting enough (Wernle, 23f, 157f) or fitted to cause offence (so for example 64 323f—that Jesus had no honour among his own kin and in his own house, and that they even said, 'He is beside himself,' see § 131). The entire verses, or narratives, on the other hand, which are peculiar to Mk. are much too inconsiderable to make it likely that a new book should have been judged necessary for their incorporation; here too their omission by Mt. and Lk. admits of some explanation—or it is possible to find traces of them in Mt. and Lk.¹

If the original Mk. is conceived of as having been materially shorter than the canonical Mk., the point at which this comes into consideration is when the origin of the latter rather than when that of Mt. and Lk. is being discussed, for we have no means of determining with precision the extent of the supposed original Mk. Particularly unpromising of any useful result must be any attempt (such as that made, for example, by Schoffen) to construct an original Mk. that shall be devoid of miracle. If Jesus did anything that seemed to men wonderful it would naturally be reported as in the fullest sense miraculous on the very day on which it occurred. In Acts 20:7-12 the eye-witness—that he was an eye-witness is not doubted—relates that Eutychus was taken up dead, though he also knows and tells us that Paul had said the young man's life was still in him.

If Lk. was acquainted with Mt., or Mt. with Lk., the need for postulating an original Mk. which has been spoken of in the preceding section seems to disappear; and in point of fact Holtzmann, when he accepted Lk.'s acquaintance with Mt. (*Jahrbb. P.T.*, 78, 553f.; *Theol. Lit.-Ztg.*, 78, 553) seemed for a time to abandon the hypothesis of an original Mk.

(a) The hypothesis nevertheless continues to be recommended by a number of secondary traits in canonical Mk. which do not indeed, like those mentioned in § 116*d*, prove dependence of Mk. on Mt. or on Lk. but still render it inconceivable that the canonical Mk. could have been the work which served Mt. or Lk. as a source. Of course there come into consideration here those places also in which Mt. and Lk. show no agreement against Mk.

To this category belong such additions as 'made with hands' (*χειροποίητος*) and 'made without hands' (*ἀχειροποίητος*) (Mk. 14:61 Mt. 26:64; not in Lk.), as also the sense-disturbing parenthesis (Mk. 9:12 Mt. 17:1; not in Lk.), 'And how is it written . . . set at nought?' (*καὶ πῶς ὑπεσώθη*) . . . (cf. *ἐξουθεῖται*), the remark, based on Roman law (Mk. 10:12 after 7:11 = Mt. 19:7; Lk. omits), that the woman also can put away her husband, and (12 Mt. 3; Lk. 3:4) the quotation from Malachi wrongly attributed to Isaiah. Conversely in 14:62 the 'henceforth' (*ἄρτι*), which Mt. (26:4) has, is omitted. 7:27a (children first); 9:1 (some standing by); 13:24 (in those days after that tribulation, see § 113) have been recast; and in 14:62 'I am' (*ἐγώ εἰμι*) is an elucidation of the obscure 'thou sayest' (*οὐ εἶπας*) of Mt. 26:4. In 4:21f. the sayings about the lamp and about the hidden thing which must be brought to light are, by the introduction of 'in order that' (*ὥστε*), adapted to the object for which they are here intended, namely, to say that if one happens to have found out the

¹ Mk. 4:20-21 (stages of growth) finds its parallel in Mt. 13:24-30 (tares) (see § 128 c). Mk. 7:11-17 (deaf and dumb) in Mt. 15:22-31 (multitudes diseased), Mk. 10:24 (answereth again and saith . . . how hard), in Mt. 19:24 (and again I say . . . easier for camel); the 'were amazed' (*ἐθαύμαζον*) of Mt. 12:23 arises from the 'is beside himself' (*ἐξουθεῖται*) of Mk. 12:21 (see § 8, middle), and Acts, § 17 f., the touching of the eyes of the blind (Mt. 20:34 929) from Mk. 8:23 (pat on his eyes, etc.).

meaning of any parable he is not to keep his discovery a secret, but this application of the two sayings is certainly not the original one (see § 114). In Mk. 3:16, when the statement that Jesus appointed the twelve is repeated, the designation of Simon as the first apostle is omitted, only his being surnamed Peter is mentioned. In 10:32 the expression 'they which are accounted to rule' (*οἱ ἀποκρίνεται ἀρχεῖν*) instead of the simple 'rulers' (*οἱ ἀρχεῖν*) of Mt. 20:25—is a mitigating reflection of the same kind as is frequently met with also in Lk. (the closest parallel in Lk. 8:13, 'that which he *thinketh* he hath'). In Mk. 12:14 the statement that 'no man after that durst ask him any question' is introduced at a quite inappropriate point (namely, immediately after the commendation of the discreet scribe); it is met with in its right place in Mt. 22:46 immediately after the discomfiture of the Pharisees by the telling answers of Jesus to their 'tempting' questions. In Mk. 11:25, we find 'the father who is in heaven' (*ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*), the only instance in Mk. of an expression which is characteristic in Mt. (cp also 9:50 § 3).

(b) It is open to us, no doubt, to try to account for these secondary passages by assuming that after the canonical Mk. had been used by Mt. and Lk. it was altered by copyists.

The additions in Mk. 14:50 ('made without hands') do not, in point of fact, reappear in 15:20 ('told at him, saying'), Mk. 9:12b ('how is it written, etc.') falls into place after 9:13 ('Fulfil is come') and perhaps was originally a marginal note on this verse by an early reader. 12 (quot. from Mal.) or even 12:3 (from Lk.) have often before now been thought to have been prefixed at a later date—especially 12, since only 23 comes from Isaiah while 22 on the contrary comes from Mal. 3 and moreover coincides *verbatim*, in spite of original Heb. and LXX, with Mt. 11:10 = Lk. 7:27 (44, n. 1). Should we be prepared to go further and agree to treat as the work of a later hand everything that could by any possibility be so explained, we should regard also the end of Mk. 12:5 ('and many others, beating some, and killing some,' discussed in § 116*d*), and the mention of the sisters of Jesus in 3:32 (against 27:31, 33), as having been introduced by an old reader (3:32, in anticipation of 7:35 'whoever shall do, etc.'); so also 11:2 ('whereon no man ever yet sat') and even 11:14 ('for it was not the season of figs'; see § 137*b*, β). And the gospel's in 8:13 10:23 may also be an addition; the words 'for my sake' make it superfluous. On the other hand, after *phesy* (*προφητεῖαν*) in Mk. 14:65, the words which Mt. (26:4) and Lk. (22:64) agree in giving, 'who is he that smote thee,' may have dropped out (§ 3, n. 2); so perhaps also 'to know' (*γινῶσκει*) after 'is given' in Mk. 4:41; it is found both in Mt. (13:11) and in Lk. (8:10). Cp Hawkins, 122. 'Henceforth' (*ἄρτι*), on the other hand, can have come into Mt. 26:4 from divergent oral tradition, the existence of which alongside of written sources must always be taken into account, especially when dealing with such important utterances of Jesus (§ 115 c).

(c) On the other hand, there are many places to which this explanation (later alteration of canonical Mk.) does not admit of being applied.

7:27a ('children first'), 9:1 (some standing by), 13:24 (in those days after that tribulation), 14:2f. (lamp), 10:42 (as counted to rule) are much too well conceived to allow of our resolving them into marginal glosses; so also Mk. 3:30 ('because they said') (§ 116*d*, n.) and the weakening of the statement in 14:4 as compared with Mt. 26:8 (that 'some,' but not 'the disciples,' complained of the waste of the ointment). That the cork crowed twice at Peter's denial of Jesus is stated not only in 14:30 but also in 27:68 and 72, and even if the statement must be traced to a misunderstanding (as in § 14), the misunderstanding must be imputed to the author, not to a glossator who would hardly be so very careful as to insert his note in three separate places. We should not be justified in setting down Mk. 14:50 (fire not quenched; salted with fire; salt is good) as a later addition simply because in this passage sayings are strung together without any inward connection with each other; for the same phenomenon can be observed elsewhere in the gospels (§ 131c).

(d) It avails little to seek to find in Codex D and the allied MSS an older text of Mk. as compared with which the present Mk. has been corrupted by transcribers.

In the first place, D but rarely presents different readings in those places where Mt. and Lk. offer a better text than canonical Mk. Moreover, when, for example, in Mk. 4:11 D has the 'to know' (*γινῶσκει*), the absence of which was noted above, this may be due quite as well to insertion from Mt. or Lk., or even to anticipation of the 'how shall ye know?' (*γινώσκετε*) of 4:13. In D there are manifold traces of a very independent mind. For this reason we cannot be perfectly confident that D's reading in 16, 'John was clothed in a camel's skin' (*ἐν ἄρῳ καμήλου*), is the original one, although the expression in canonical Mk. is different: 'John was clothed with camel's hair.' The 'camel's skin' may be a deliberate rectification of the text quite as well as that adopted in Mt. 3:4, 'he had his raiment of camel's hair.' For the same reason it would not be safe to lay stress on the fact that for Mk. 2:27f. D has only these words: 'But I say unto you, the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath,' or that Mk. 9:35 (if any man would be first) is altogether absent (cp § 128 [L]).

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(a) From the statement of Papias given above in § 65, Schleiermacher in 1832 first drew the inference that the apostle Matthew had made in Antioch a collection only of the sayings of Jesus. Whether this is what Papias really meant is questionable, for undoubtedly he was acquainted with the canonical Mt. and had every occasion to express himself with regard to this book as well as with regard to Mk. If he was speaking of Mt. then he was as much in error as to its original language as he was as to its author (see § 149); this, however, is conceivable enough. But by his *logia* Papias intended the whole gospel of Mt., although this contains not discourses merely but narratives as well, is not by any means impossible (see § 65, n. 3). In Greek, *logia*, it is true, means only things said (Arist. 3, the angel which spake; Rom. 32, 'oracles,' etc.), but if Papias took the word as a translation of *lib. de iud.* (§ 28) — which he may readily have done, on his assumption of a Semitic original—then for him it meant 'events' in general.¹

(b) The actual state of the case in Mt. and Lk., however, furnishes justification for the hypothesis to which scholars have been led by the words of Papias, even though perhaps only by a false interpretation of them. A great number, especially of the sayings of Jesus which are absent from Mk., are found in Mt. and Lk. in such a way that they must be assumed to have come from a common source. If these passages were found in absolute agreement in both gospels it would be possible to believe that Lk. had taken them over from Mt., or Mt. from Lk.; but in addition to close general agreement the passages exhibit quite characteristic divergences.

(c) In point of fact the controverted question as to whether it is Mt. or Lk. who has preserved them in their more original form must be answered by saying that in many cases it is the one, in many other cases the other.

Secondary in Lk., for example, are: 12.4 as against Mt. 10.28 (be not afraid of them which kill the body, U. 113 as against Mt. 7.11 (prayer for the Holy Spirit), Lk. 11.42 as against Mt. 23.21 (the generalisation 'every herb,' *πᾶν ἄνθος*), or, 11.44, the misunderstanding that the Pharisees are like sepulchres because they 'appear not,' and not because, as in Mt. 23.27 f., they are outwardly beautiful but inwardly noisome. In Lk. 6.27-36 = Mt. 5.38-48 Lk. makes love of one's enemy the chief consideration and introduces it accordingly at the beginning in 27. He betrays his dependence, however, by repeating it in 33 because in the parallel passage, Mt. 5.44 for in Mt. 5.44 (see) it is met with in that position. Cp. further, § 127 a. On the other hand Lk.'s representation in 13.26 (we did eat and drink) fits better with the Jewish conditions in which Jesus lived than does Mt. 7.22 (Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy?). In Lk. 20.21 the Hellenistic expression 'respect the person' (*ἀναβιβάζει πρόσωπον*; lit. 'accept the face') is retained, whilst in Mk. 12.14 = Mt. 22.1 the phrase is changed. On Lk. 8.5 (other fell on the rock) see § 110 f., end, on 11.35, § 140 a. In the Lord's Prayer the text of Mt. where Lk. has parallels is distinctly the more original; on the other hand, the clauses which are not found in Lk. may have been introduced afterwards (see § 12 and the maxim in § 145 c; also LORD'S PRAYER).

A similar conclusion—the existence of a source used in common by Mt. and Lk. but different from Mk.—is indicated by the doublets, that is to say the utterances which either Mt. or Lk., or both, give, in two separate places.²

121. Doublets and theory of two sources.

(a) In the majority of cases it can be observed that in Mt. the one doublet has a parallel in Mk. and the other in Lk. In these cases it is almost invariably found

¹ In what follows, we use the word 'logia' (because it has become conventional) in both senses ('sayings' alone, and 'sayings and narratives') throughout, even if the authors to whom we have occasion to refer prefer another word. This is especially desirable when they simply say 'the source,' for we must allow for the possibility of several sources for the synoptic gospels.

² In Mk. there are only two passages that can be called doublets—9.35 ('if any man would be first') and 10.43 f. ('whoever would become great') on which see § 128 1 f.; for 9.1 ('there be some here') and 13.10 ('gospel first preached') can hardly be so classed. For doublets cp. 11.14 (time 24-27; Weiland 111-113) (in neither is the enumeration complete).

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that in the parallel with Mk. not only the occasion but also the text is in agreement with Mk., and in the parallel with Lk. occasion and text are in agreement with Lk. Similarly Lk., where there is a doublet, is found to agree in the one case with Mk. and in the other with Mt. If it must be conceded that in many cases the agreement of text is not very manifest, this is easily accounted for by the consideration that the evangelist (Mt. or Lk.) in writing the text the second time would naturally recall the previous occasion—such it had been given.¹ The passages, however, in which the observation made above holds good are many enough.² To account for them without the theory of two sources would, even apart from these special agreements, be extraordinarily difficult, indeed possible only where an epigrammatic saying fits not only the place assigned to it in what is assumed to be the one and only source, but also the other situation into which the evangelist without following any source will have placed it.

In some places indeed this would seem to be what we must suppose to have actually happened, as we are unable to point to two different sources. So Lk. 11.14-18.14 (he who exorcist himself shall be abused); or the quotation in Mt. 5.6 (blessed is he who sacrifices) in Mt. 9.40, 12.7 (which, moreover, is not very appropriate in either case). It must be with deliberate intention that the preaching with which, according to Mk. 1.15 (at the time I repeat) Mt. 4.17, Jesus began his ministry is in Mt. 12.2 already assigned to the Baptist; or the 'And, and be ye not like unto Peter.' On the other hand, the answer 'I know you not' which follows the invocation 'Lord, Lord' in Mt. 7.22 f. (many will say) and 25.11 f. (five virgins) is associated with a different narrative in the two cases and cannot therefore, properly, be regarded as an independent doublet; so also with the threatening with fire (3.12, 13.1).

But, in other cases, such a repetition of a saying, on the part of an evangelist, without authority for it in some source in each case, is all the more improbable because Lk. often, and frequently also Mt. (see, e.g., § 128 [f, g], or the omission of Mk. 8.18 = Lk. 9.26 after Mt. 16.26 on account of Mt. 10.3), avoids introducing for the second time a saying previously given, even when the parallel has it, and thus a doublet might have been expected as in the cases adduced at the beginning of this section.

Were this not so, we should expect that Lk., having before him *ex hypothesi* the same sources as Mt., would in every case, or nearly every case, have had a doublet wherever Mt. had one; and *vice versa*. As a matter of fact only three or four sayings are doublets in Mt. as well as in Lk.; on the other hand, although the derivation of a passage from the logia is not always free from doubt, we are entitled to reckon that Lk. has seven doublets peculiar to himself, and Mt. twice as many.

(b) We are led to the same inference—that two sources were employed—by those passages common to the three Gospels in which Mt. and Lk. have in common certain little insertions not to be found in Mk.; as, for example, Mt. 18.6 f. (millstone) = Lk. 17.1 f. as compared with Mk. 9.42, or Mt. 3.11 f. (baptize with water) = Lk. 3.16 f. as compared with Mk. 1.7 f., at the close of which passage both even have in common the words 'and with fire' (*καὶ πυρὶ*). Another very manifest transition from one source to another is seen in the parable of the mustard seed. This is given in the form of a narrative only in Lk. 13.18 f.; in Mk. 4.3-9, on the other hand, in the form of a general statement. Now, Mt. 13.31 f. has in

¹ For example Lk. 11.33 (lamp under bushel) agrees much more closely with Mt. (under bed) than with its proper parallel in Mt. 10.35; but Lk. 8.16 agrees just as closely with its proper parallel in Mk. 4.21 as it does with Lk. 11.33. Cp. further, especially, Mk. 8.35 (save life, lose it) = Mt. 10.25 = Lk. 9.24, from which the other two parallels, Mt. 10.39 = Lk. 17.33, are distinguished in common only by the use of *καὶ* instead of *ἢ*.

² E.g., Mt. 13.12 (whosoever hath) = Mk. 4.9 (with Lk. 8.18-19); Mt. 25.2 (blessed every one that hath) = Lk. 19.20, or Mt. 19.25 = Mk. 10.21; Mt. 5.12 (gladly) = Lk. 16.13, or Mt. 16.26 = Mk. 10.21; Mk. 20.1 (last, first) = Lk. 13.30, or Mt. 21.21 = Mk. 11.23; Mt. 17.20 (faith as mustard seed) = Lk. 17.6, or Mt. 21.22 = Mk. 11.24; Mt. 7.7 f. (ask) = Lk. 11.9 f., or Lk. 8.17 = Mk. 4.22; Lk. 12.2 (covered up, revealed) = Mt. 10.26, or Lk. 9.25 = Mk. 8.34; Lk. 12.9 (denied, denied) = Mt. 10.31, or Lk. 9.23 = Mk. 8.34 = Mt. 16.24; Lk. 14.27 (bear cross) = Mt. 10.38.

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the one half narrative, in the other general statement.

In short, the so-called theory of two sources—that is of the employment by Mt and Lk. of Mk. (or original Mk.) on the one hand, and of the logia on the other—ranks among those results of gospel criticism which have met with most general acceptance.

If the original Mk. was more extensive than the canonical, possibly it contained things which, on another assumption, Mt and Lk. might be supposed to have taken from the logia. In particular this has been asserted of the centurion of Capernaum (Mt 8:5-13; Lk 7:1-10) of the detailed account of the temptation (Mt 4:1-11; Lk 4:1-13), and also of the Hypocrite's message (Mt 23:1-36; Lk 11:29-32), the logia being held to have been merely a collection of discourses. At present it is almost universally conceded that in any such collection the occasions of the discourses included must also have been stated in narrative form. This once granted, it is no longer possible to deny that, in certain circumstances, even narratives of some length may have been admitted, if only they led up to some definite utterance of Jesus. B. Weiss (§§ 125*d*, 125*e*), and, after him, Resch (§ 117), have even carried this thesis so far as to maintain that the logia formed a complete gospel with approximately as many narratives as discourses.

A definite separation of the portions derived from the logia might be expected to result from linguistic investigation. B. Weiss has in point of fact sought with great care to determine the linguistic character of the logia; but his argument is exposed to an unavoidable source of error, namely this, that the vocabulary of the logia can be held to have been definitely determined only when we have already, conjecturally, assigned certain definite passages to this source. In so far as this provisional assignment has been at fault, the resultant vocabulary will also have to be modified. Such a vocabulary can never be accepted otherwise than conditionally—for this reason, besides the reasons indicated above, that it would be necessary first to determine whether it is Mt. or Lk. that has preserved the logia most faithfully. The task, moreover, is rendered doubly difficult, by the fact that Mt. and Lk. by no means adopt their sources without modification; they alter freely and follow their own manner of speaking instead of that of their source, or allow themselves to be influenced by Mk. even in pieces borrowed from the logia; and *vice versa*.

It is specially interesting to notice that Titius, a disciple of B. Weiss, expressly acknowledges the unprovableness of his master's hypothesis as a whole. He calls it 'an equation with many unknown quantities.' Nevertheless he thinks he can prove it 'quite irrefragably' if it be restricted to the discourses. This has the appearance of sounder method, for greater unanimity prevails as to the extent of the discourses which belonged to the logia (Weiss, *op. cit.*). At the same time, even when this restriction has been made, the difficulties that have been urged hold good, and all the more so since Titius at the outset assigns too large an extent to the logia and also, what is more serious, in his verbal statistics makes a number of assumptions of a kind that are quite usual but also quite unjustifiable. It was therefore an exceedingly bold step when (amongst others) B. Weiss (*Das Markusevangelium*, 1872), Wendt (*Die Lehre Jesu*, First Part, 1886), Resch (*Die Logia Jesu*, 1887) and Blair (*Apostolic Gospel*, 1886) printed the logia, or a source similar to them, *verbatim*. Hawkins (33-39) came to the conclusion that by linguistic methods no trustworthy separation of the logia portions could be made. See further § 126*a*.

(a) The divergences between Mt. and Lk. in the passages common to the two but not shared by Mk. (§ 120*b*) are often so great that it becomes a question whether both have been drawing from one and the same source. If it be assumed that they were, then one or other of them, or both, must have treated the source with a drastic freedom that does not accord well with the verbal fidelity to their source elsewhere shown by them (§ 115*a*). It is the Ebionite passages, chiefly, that

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come into consideration here. According to § 110, Lk. derived them from some source. Now, this source must have had many matters in common with the logia—e.g., pre-eminently, the beatitudes (see also Lk. 6:20-26, beginning with nothing against 11:40 'give to alms'—12:31 'sell'—and 14:13 'alms'). In § 110 it has further been shown to be probable that it was not Lk. himself who was enmeshed of Ebionite ideas. All the more must they already have found a place in the edition of the logia which he had before him.

(b) The hypothesis of a special source for Lk. must not, however, be stretched to the extent of assuming that everything Lk. has from the logia had come to him only in Ebionite form. Much of his logia material is free from all Ebionite tendency, yet it is not likely that the Ebionite editor who often imported his ideas into the text so strongly would have left other passages wholly untouched. Slight traces of an Ebionite colouring perhaps can be detected in Lk. 11:42 ('whoever receiveth not all') 21:7 ('bring in the poor') (cp. c.), 14:12 ('the poor'), 6:10 ('merciful,' *eleēthēros*), 18:22 ('sell all,' *πᾶντα*), 19:8 ('half of my goods'). But that Lk. had access to, and made use of, the unreviced logia also can hardly be denied.

(c) All the more pressing are we confronted with the question whether the Ebionite source of Lk. contained also those passages which are peculiar to Lk. This is at once probable as regards the parables enumerated in § 110. In fact, for the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, at least in its Ebionite shape (i.e., 16:19-26 without the appendix 17:35-36; see § 109*b*), it is possible to conjecture an original form of a purely ethical nature which characterised the Rich Man as godless and Lazarus as pious, and thus had a place (along with the beatitudes) among the logia, and may have come from the mouth of Jesus. On the other hand, such pieces as the parable of the Prodigal Son (15:11-32), of the Pharisee and the Publican (18:9-14), of the unprofitable servants (17:35-40), on account of their wholly different theological complexion, cannot possibly be attributed to the same Ebionite source. For this reason alone, if for no other, it becomes impossible to suppose that Lk. had a special source for his account of the journey of Jesus through Samaria (9:51-18:14); this narrative, too, has some things in common with Mk., others with Mt. We are thus led to the conclusion, so far as Lk. is concerned, that he had various other sources besides Mk. (or original Mk.)—a conclusion that is, moreover, in harmony with his own preface.

(d) *Short Narratives.*—Going much beyond the results embodied in the foregoing section (§ 123), Schleiermacher, as early as 1817, assumed a series of quite short notes on detailed events which, founding (incorrectly) on

124. Minor Sources.

Lk. 1:1 (see § 153, n. 2), he called 'narratives' (*διηγήσεις*). On the analogy of OT criticism this might be called the 'fragment hypothesis'.¹ That our present gospels should have been directly compiled from such fragmentary sources, as Schleiermacher supposed, is not conceivable, when the degree in which they coincide in matter and arrangement is considered (§ 116*a*). As subsidiary sources, however, or as steps in the transition from merely oral tradition to consecutive written narrative,

¹ The two forms in which these are found admit of explanation most easily if we assume that 'in spirit' (*ἐν πνεύματι*; Mt. 5:3) and 'righteousness' (*ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*; Mt. 5:6) were originally absent. The Ebionite source—and, with it, Lk.—has in this case preserved the tenor of the words with the greater fidelity; but Mt., by his insertions, has better preserved the religious and ethical meaning in which unquestionably Jesus spoke the words—perhaps also by the addition of unambiguously moral utterances such as 5:8,7 (pure in heart, peacemakers) which with equal certainty can be attributed to Jesus, and 5:4,7 (mourning, merciful). Both these are wanting in Lk., although they are capable of being used in an Ebionite sense if he had chosen to take 'milk' (*γάλακτος*) in the sense of Ps. 37:9, 11, 20, and 'merciful' (*ἐλεητικός*) in that of Lk. 11:41.

² Cp. Harnack, *op. cit.*, § 23.

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the probability of such brief notes can by no means be disregarded (see § 120*d*). Still to show that they existed is by no means easy.

(b) *The little Apocalypse*. Nevertheless, the belief is continually gaining ground that into Mt 24 into Mk 13, and (only with greater alterations) into Lk 21 a work often called the 'Little Apocalypse' has been introduced.

The evidence of this is found in the first instance in the want of connection.

These things (viii. 16) in Mt 24 (= Mk 13.29=Lk 21.31), coming as the phrase does after v. 10, must refer to the end of the world, yet originally it must have meant the preliminary signs of the approaching end, for it is said that when the beholders see all these things, then they are to know that the end is 'nigh'. Therefore Mt 24.12 (= Mk 13.29=Lk 21.31) does not in its proper place here. On the other hand, Mt 24.14 comes appropriately enough after 24.11. Mt 24.24 (= Mk 13.24) speaking of a 'tribulation, does not come in well after the discourse about false Messiahs and false prophets in Mt 24.23 (= Mk 13.21) the parallel to which in Lk is actually found in another chapter (Lk 21.7) but would be appropriate after Mt 24.1-23 (= Mk 13.1-20=Lk 21.1-19), where the connection is excellent. Mt 24.14 (= Mk 13.24=Lk 21.12) occurs also in Mt 10.22, in a form which, as saying Jewish circumstances better (10.27, in their synagogues they will scourge you), must be regarded as the more original; it is to be regarded as out of place in chap. 24. On the other hand, the abomination of desolation (Mt 24.15 (= Mk 13.14), comes fittingly after v. 10 (= Mk 13.7=Lk 21.9-11). As far as v. 15 (= Mk 13.14=Lk 21.10), it belongs, so far as its substance at least is concerned, to the passage, v. 20-22, which we have already seen is out of place here. Lk 21.21 (= Mk 13.14=Lk 21.9-11) do not fit well with v. 15 (= Mk 13.14) where only a desecration, not a destruction, of the temple is thought of (otherwise in Lk 21.20 'when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed'—on which see § 150). Regarded as a unity, accordingly, the passage would consist of Mt 24.10-22 (= Mk 13.7-20=Lk 21.9-22). As a discourse of Jesus it is prefaced by v. 16 (= Mk 13.14=Lk 21.7) an introduction which anticipates v. 30, and if you will by v. 4 (= Mk 13.6=Lk 21.6), and it is brought to a close in v. 3 (= Mk 13.5=Lk 21.5).

In contents, however, the passage is quite alien from Jesus' teaching as recorded elsewhere, whilst on the other hand it is closely related to other apocalypses. It will, accordingly, not be unsafe to assume that an apocalypse which originally had a separate existence has here been put into the mouth of Jesus and mixed up with utterances that actually came from him. The most appropriate occasion for a prophecy concerning an abomination about to be set up in the temple (24.15) would be the expressed intention of the emperor Caligula—which in 40 A.D. threw the whole Jewish world into the greatest excitement—to cause a statue of himself to be erected there.¹ The origin of this apocalypse will best be placed somewhere between this date and the destruction of Jerusalem, which is not yet presupposed in Mt 24.15. Whether it was composed by a Jew or by a Christian is an unimportant question (see, however, § 145 [f]).

(c) *Anonymous Gospels*.—Of other minor sources that have been conjectured mention may here be made of the so-called anonymous gospel found by Scholten² in Mt. 37-1012 8.5-10 11.19-22 9.27-34 11.2-19,—in other words, in the main, the passages mentioned at the beginning of § 122,—and of the book which is held to be cited by Lk. (11.40) under the title of 'Wisdom' (*σοφία*, §§ 19-150).

(d) *Buddhist sources*.—Seydel (*Evangelium von Jesu*, 1882; *Buddhalegende*, '84; '97) has not actually attempted to draw up a gospel derived from Buddhist material; but the parallels he has adduced from the life of Buddha are in many places very striking, at least so far as the story of the childhood of Jesus is concerned,³ and his proof that the Buddhist sources are

¹ Tac. *Hist.* 5.9; Philo, *Leg.* 30-41; Jos. *Bell.* 10; *Ant.* xviii. 82-9. See Ixart, § 106.

² *Das altteste Evangelium*, I. end, p. 50f.

³ To the virgin birth (Mt. 1.18), the announcement to Mary (Lk. 1.26-38), the star (Lk. 2.1-12), the gifts (Lk. 2.25-39), the incident at twelve years of age (Lk. 2.41-50), must be added also the presentation in the temple; and here it is worthy of remark that such a presentation was not actually required either by the passage (Ex. 13.2-13) in Lk. (2.22-24) or yet by the other passages Nu. 3.40 18.15 Ex. 22.29.

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older than the Christian must be regarded as irrefragable.

The Synoptical Problem is so complicated that but few students, if any, will not be found who believe a solution possible by means of any one of the hypotheses described above without other aids. The need for combining several of them is felt more and more.

125. Combinations of hypotheses.

Most frequently we find the borrowing hypothesis combined with the sources hypothesis in one form or another, and, over and above, an oral tradition, not to all written sources assumed. Instead of setting together old accounts, we seldom graphic representation of some combinations which are not too complicated and which bring into characteristic prominence the variety that exists among the leading hypotheses.

(a) Hitzigfeld combines with the borrowing hypothesis the further assumption of a written original gospel in two successive stages: Hebrew and Greek (so also Holstein only with omission of the first stage).

(b) The simplest form of the two source hypothesis was argued for by Weiss in 1878, in 1886, however, he assumed an original Mk along with a Hitzigfeld logia.

(c) An original Mk alongside of the logia was postulated as a source (a) in simple form by Holtzmann down to 1878.

The borrowing hypothesis in its purest state—the theory, namely, that one canonical gospel had been used in the preparation of the other—(a) Holtzmann was thus (Oct. 1878) superseded (§ 118).

(b) As a more complicated form we single out that of Lipsius (as described by Feine, *NTT*, '82, p. 17). In addition to Holtzmann's scheme he assumed a borrowing from canonical Mk by Lk., and also an Ebionite redaction of the logia (§ 123).

(d) B. Weiss reverts almost to the hypothesis of an original gospel. He postulates for the logia (which he therefore prefers to call the 'Apostolical source'), as many narratives as discourses (§§ 122, 126 c).

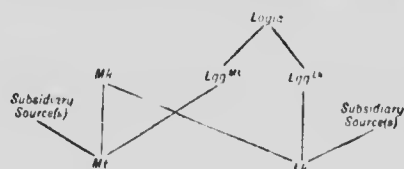
(e) Simons essentially simplified the theory of two sources by postulating (what all the hypotheses hitherto enumerated had avoided doing) a borrowing by Lk. from Mt. (§ 127).

(f) Holtzmann from 1878 combined this last with the hypothesis of an original Mk. (§ 119 a).

(g) The latest form of the two-source-theory is that propounded by Wernle. Whether Mt. and Lk. severally

¹ Only the parable of the Wicked Servant (Mt. 24.45-51) and, indirectly, the narrative of the end of the betrayer (Mt. 27.3-10) are affected by the resemblance to the story of Ahikar; cp J. R. Harris, *The Story of Ahikar*, in *f.* 'Did Judas really commit suicide?' in *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, 1900, pp. 490-513; and see ACHICARUS, 1.

used one or more subsidiary sources he leaves an open question. With regard to the logia he assumes that before they were used by Mt. and Lk. they had undergone additions, transpositions, and alterations—yet not to too great an extent—at the hands of a transcriber or possessor. The copy which Mt. used had been worked over in a Judaistic spirit (§ 129 *c*), that used by Lk. was somewhat shorter. Mk. was acquainted with the logia, but did not use them; he merely took them for granted as already known and on that account introduced all the fewer discourses (against this see



G. Wernle.

§ 148). Our present Mk. is different from that used by Mt. and Lk. but only by corruption of the text, not by editing.

It is the agreement between Mt. and Lk. as compared with Mk. that tries any hypothesis most severely, and it is with reference to this point that all the most important modifications in the various theories have been made. We proceed to test the leading hypotheses by its means—always on the presupposition that neither Mt. was acquainted with Lk., nor Lk. with Mt.

(a) The hypothesis of an original Mk. is in a general way very well fitted to explain the agreement in question in so far as canonical Mk. is secondary to Mt. and Lk. But if, on the other hand, our Mk. has elements of greater originality, as we have seen to be the case with many of his exact details, then one will feel inclined, in accordance with § 3, to suppose that it was a younger copy of Mk. that Mt. and Lk. had access to. In actual fact, however, sometimes the one condition holds good, sometimes the other. It is in this textual question, over and above the question already (§ 118) spoken of as to its extent, that the difficulty of the original-Mk. hypothesis in its present form lies.

(b) If certain passages which are found in Mk. occurred also in the logia, then Mt. and Lk. may have derived their representation, in so far as it differs from Mk., from the logia, provided that the logia was unknown to Mk. That there were passages common to Mk. (an original Mk. is not required when we approach the question as we do here) and the logia is at least shown by the doublets, and is by no means excluded even where there are no doublets (see § 121 *f* and Wernle, 208 *f*). One, however, can hardly help thinking that the great degree of verbal coincidence which nevertheless is seen between Mk. on the one hand and Mt. and Lk. on the other comes from oral tradition. Thus a very high degree of confidence in the fixity of the oral narrative type (§ 115) is required, and this marks one of the extreme limits to which such hypotheses can be carried without losing themselves in what wholly eludes investigation. But, moreover, the logia must be conceived of as a complete gospel if we are to suppose that it contained all the sections in which Mt. and Lk. are in agreement against Mk. Hawkins (pp. 172-176) reckons that out of 58 sections which almost in their whole extent are common to the three evangelists there are only 7 where Mt. and Lk. are not in agreement against Mk., and in 21 of the remaining 51 he finds agreements which are particularly marked and by no possibility admit of explanation as being due to chance.

(c) According to B. Weiss not only Mt. and Lk. but

also Mk. made use of the logia; Mk., over and above, drew upon the oral communications of Peter and was again in his turn used by Mt. and Lk. This hypothesis has the advantage of accounting for the secondary passages of Mk. as due to a more faithful reproduction of the logia by Mt. and Lk., and the fresher colours of Mk. as due to the reminiscences of Peter. It still remains surprising, doubtless, that Mt. and Lk. should have omitted so many of these vivid touches if they lay before them in Mk. The supposition that they did not regard Mk. as of equal importance with the logia is not in itself inherently impossible; but it does not carry us far, for they elsewhere take a great deal from Mk. Still more remarkable is it that Mk. should have omitted so much from the logia. The suggested explanation that in writing down the reminiscences of Peter he regarded the logia as only of secondary value is, in view of the number of passages which according to Weiss he took from them, still more improbable almost than that already mentioned.

As regards the coincidences between Mt. and Lk. against Mk., a very simple explanation seems to be found for them in the hypothesis of Weiss, viz. that Mt. and Lk. drew upon the logia with greater fidelity than Mk. did. This, however, can of course be claimed by Weiss only for those sections which he actually derives from the logia. Yet for one portion of the sections in which such coincidences occur (see above, *b*) he finds himself compelled by his principles to regard Mk., not the logia, as the source of Mt. and Lk. In this way, of the 230 coincidences enumerated by Hawkins, some 50—no inconsiderable number—remain unaccounted for. Nor can we overlook the improbability that the logia, as conceived of by Weiss, should have contained, as he himself confesses, no account of the passion.

In so far as the various hypotheses referred to in the preceding section are found to be insufficient, in the same degree are we compelled to admit that Lk. must have been acquainted with Mt. (or vice versa).

(2) Each of the two assumptions—partly without any thorough investigation and partly under the influence of a 'tendency' criticism—long found support; but the second (§ 157, A i, *c*) has at present few to uphold it. The other has for the first time been taken up in a thorough-going manner with use of literary critical methods by Simons (§ 125 *e*).

We begin with arguments of minor weight.

(a) Out of the selection of specially strong evidences in support of it given in Hawkins (174 *f*) we have already (§ 119 *b*) pointed out that Mt. 13:11 Lk. 8:10 (as against Mk. 4:11) and Mt. 26:8 Lk. 22:4 (as against Mk. 14:5) admit of another explanation. Similarly, the 'Bethphage and Bethany' of Lk. 19:29 may be sufficiently explained by assuming that originally only the first word stood in the text (as in Mt. 21:1) or only the second (as in Mk. 11:1), and that it was a copyist who, of his own proper motion, introduced the name he found lacking. Possibly we ought to trace to the source of Mt., rather than to the canonical Mk., such material divergences as we find in Mt. 21:17 Lk. 21:37 (that Jesus spent the night outside of Jerusalem, a statement not found in Mk. 11:19); in Mt. 21:23 Lk. 20:1 (that Jesus taught in the temple, as against Mk. 11:27 'he was walking in the temple'); in Mt. 26:50 Lk. 22:48 (that Jesus spoke to the betrayer in the garden—a statement not found in Mk. 14:45); in Mt. 28:8 Lk. 24:9 (that the women reported to the disciples the angel's message, whereas according to Mk. 16:8 they said nothing to any one; on this last point, however, see § 138 *c*). Similarly, the representation, the impossibility of which has already been referred to in § 113 (by which the Baptist is made to address the penitent crowds flocking to his baptism as a generation of vipers) is either due to an infelicitous juxtaposition of Mt. 3:5 (where it is said that the multitudes went out to him) and Mt. 3:7 (where the words in question are addressed to the Pharisees and Sadducees); or it may be due to use of Mt.'s source. Lk. appears to be dependent at once on Mk. and on Mt. (or Mt.'s source) when, in 4:2-13, he represents the temptation in the wilderness both as happening during the forty days (as in Mk. 1:13), and also as happening after their expiry (as in Mt. 4:2-11).

(B) Greater importance belongs to the verbal agreements. In Mt. 9:17 Lk. 5:37 'spilled' (*ἐκχέσθαι*) is used of the wine, 'perish' (*ἀπολλύσθαι*) only of the bottles; in Mt. 22:2 'perish'

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(ἀνάλυσθαι) is used of both. In Mt. 9.20 Lk. 8.44 the woman touches the hem of the garment of Jesus, in Mk. 5.27 simply the garment. In Mt. 14.1 Lk. 9.7 Herod Antipas is correctly called tetrarch, in Mk. 6.14 22.25-27 and also in Mt. 14.9 inexactly 'king' (βασιλεὺς). Mt. 19.24 Lk. 18.25 have 'manifold' (πολλὰ πλοῖα), Mk. 10.30 'a hundredfold' (ἐκατονταπλοῖα). In Mt. 26.75 Lk. 22.62 it is said of Peter 'he went out and wept bitterly' (ἐξελθὼν ἔβω ἑκαταυε πικρῶς); in Mk. 14.72 'he began to weep' (ἐπιβαλὼν ἑκάυε). In Mt. 27.59f. Lk. 23.53 it is said of Joseph of Arimathea 'he wrapped it in a linen cloth . . . and laid' (ἐρετύλεν αὐτὸ σινδῶν . . . καὶ ἔθηκεν), in Mk. 15.46 'he wound him in a linen cloth . . . and laid' (ἐνεύλησεν τῇ σινδῶν καὶ κατέθηκεν; ?WH ἔθηκεν). Mt. 28.1 Lk. 23.54 have, as against Mk. 16.2, 'it began to dawn' (ἐπιφωσκειν)—though, indeed, in a different connection. In Mt. 28.3 Lk. 24.4, as against Mk. 16.5, the countenance of the angel, or the apparel of the two angels, is compared to lightning. In Mt. 14.11 Lk. 9.10f., as against Mk. 6.32f., we find not only 'he departed' (ἀνεχώρησεν or ὑπεχώρησεν) instead of 'they went away' (ἀπῆλθον), but also 'the multitudes accompanied him' (οἱ ὄχλοι . . . ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ) instead of 'many outwent them' (πολλοὶ . . . προῆλθον αὐτοῖς).

A material divergence from Mk., but at the same time an approach to coincidence of expression, is seen in Lk. 22.70, where the answer of Jesus to the high priest is given in this form: 'Ye say that I am.' The first two words are a paraphrase of the 'thou hast said' (σὺ εἶπας) of Mt. 26.64; the remainder of the sentence is a repetition of the paraphrase in Mk. (§ 119a). For another material divergence from Mk. see Lk. 11.17—Mt. 12.25 as against Mk. 8.23 (Jesus knowing the thoughts of his enemies).

(γ) Specially important are cases in which a casual expression of Mt. is laid hold of. So, for example, in Lk. 9.34 ('while he said these things') as compared with Mt. 17.5 ('while he was yet speaking'), and as against Mk. 9.7. Similarly, Lk. (4.10-30) was able to find a justification for his erroneous statement, that Jesus had come forward in the synagogue at Nazareth at the very beginning of his public activity (cp §§ 39, 109b), in Mt. 4.13, where it is said that Jesus before coming to Capernaum left Nazareth (in Lk. 4.14 he comes to Capernaum from Nazareth). The scribe's question as to the greatest of the commandments is described not by Mk. (12.29) but only by Mt. (22.35) as having been asked for the purpose of 'tempting' Jesus. According to Lk. 10.25 the questioner asks what he must do to inherit eternal life. Nevertheless he too is represented as having sought to 'tempt' Jesus. Lk. 16.17 would be specially convincing on the present point if here a sentence had been taken over from the latest hand of Mt. (5.18). But the original text of Lk. probably said the opposite (see § 128c). On the other hand, we really have a sentence by the latest hand in Mt. 7.28 with which Lk. 7.1 betrays connection, for with the formula, 'When Jesus had ended all these words,' Mt. concludes his great speech-compositions not only here, but also in four other places (11.1 13.53 19.1 20.1). Moreover, Lk. also shares with Mt. the statement that the multitude heard the preceding discourse, though this is contradicted by the introduction to it in Lk. 8.20 as well as in Mt. 5.1. Mk. says in 12.18 correctly, 'There came unto him Sadducees, οἱ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι, who [as is well known] say that there is no resurrection'; Mt. 22.23 infelicitously reproduces this as 'there came unto him Sadducees saying (λέγοντες) that,' etc. Lk. 20.27 seeks to improve this: 'There came to him certain of the Sadducees, they which say (οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες) that there is no resurrection, and they asked him, saying.' The participle ought to have been in the genitive (τῶν ἀντιλεγουμένων). In the nom. (οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες) we seem to have an echo of Mt.'s 'saying' (λέγοντες). Lk. rightly inserts the article missing in Mt. The reference, however, must be to the Sadducees, not to 'certain' (τινές). The formula, 'while he was saying these things' (see above, Lk. 9.34), is met with also in Lk. 11.37, where Jacobson would derive it from Mt. 12.40 as also he would derive the statement in Lk. 12.1, 'When the myriads of the multitude were gathered together inasmuch that they trode one upon another' (which indeed does not fit well with what immediately follows: 'he began to say to his disciples') from Mt. 13.2. Jacobson considers that when he wrote these passages Lk. had reached, in taking what he has taken from Mt., exactly the neighbourhood of the two Mt. passages just cited (12.40 13.2). This, however, cannot be made evident.

(δ) On general grounds, on the other hand, the dependence of Lk. on Mt. (and, equally so, the converse) is very improbable. In each of the two evangelists much material is absent which the other has, while yet no possible reason can be assigned for the omission. Nay, more, the representations given in the two are often in violent contradiction. Even agreements in the order, in so far as not coming from Mk., almost always can be accounted for as derived from a second source—the logia. Simons has, therefore, in agreement with Holtzmann, put forward his hypothesis only in the form that Lk. regarded Mt. as a subsidiary source merely, perhaps, in fact, only knew it by frequent hearing, without giving to it any commanding import-

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ance. This is in very deed quite conceivable, if only he knew the logia, and was in a position to observe how freely Mt. had dealt with that material.

(ε) Soltan sought to improve the hypothesis of Lk.'s dependence on Mt. by the assumption that it was with the penultimate form of Mt. that Lk. was acquainted. That Mt. 1f. was still absent from Mt. when Lk. used it is an old conjecture. The pieces from the middle of the gospel which Soltan reserves for the canonical Mt. are of very opposite character (to it he reckons even the highly legalistic saying in 5.12f. and the strongly anti-Judaistic one in 22.6f.) and are attributed by him to very various motives. This indicates a great difficulty in his hypothesis. Nevertheless the suggestion is always worth considering that OT citations of the latest hand which are adduced to prove the Messiahship of Jesus (§ 108), and perhaps some other portions besides, did not yet lie before Lk. That there is no reason to shrink from a hypothesis of this kind, see § 129.

Let us now proceed to consider whether the possible origin from still earlier written sources of those consecutive books which were the last to precede our present gospels can be raised above the level of mere conjecture.

128. Sources of sources.

This of course can be done, if at all, only at a few points. To show that it has not unfrequently been affirmed, even though no very thoroughgoing consequences were drawn from the affirmation, we shall begin by giving three examples well known in the literature of the subject.

(a) Johannes Weiss (on Lk. 5.17, in Meyer's *Commentar*) says that the exemplar of Mk. used by Lk. underwent, after it had been so made use of, another revision, which we have in our Mk., and that it had been previously made use of by Mt. before passing into the hands of Lk. Here and in the following paragraphs (αα) let A, B, and C be necessarily different hands, and Aα, Aβ, Aγ, on the other hand, be such portions as may perhaps be due to one and the same hand but perhaps also proceed from different hands; similarly also with Bα, Bβ, Bγ, etc.; then the view of Weiss can be stated as follows. A is a written source on the healing of the paralytic without mention of the circumstance that he was let down through the roof. This source was drawn upon, on the one hand by Mt., on the other by B, who introduced the new circumstance just mentioned. B was drawn upon, on the one hand, by Lk., on the other by Mk. It is in this way that at the same time Johannes Weiss explains also how Mt. and Lk. coincide in many details as against Mk. B thus takes the position which original Mk. has in the usual nomenclature, not however—and this is the important point—being the old writing, but being itself in turn dependent on a source. For our own part we cannot regard this view as being sufficiently firmly based, since it has been shown in § 116b that it is Mt. who has greatly curtailed the narrative of the death of Herod; it is therefore conceivable also that in the passage before us he should have left out the detail about the roof also, his interest being merely in the miracle itself as proving the Messiahship of Jesus, not in any special detail of it such as this (cp Hawkins 127-129; and also Wernle, 156f. for similar passages).

(b) Woods, 86-88, assumes for the narrative of the Mission of the disciples two sources: one (which we shall call A) relating to that of the twelve, the other (B) to that of the seventy.¹ Mk. 6.7-11 and Lk. 9.1-5 drew only from A. A and B were both drawn upon by a third document (C) which was used in Lk. 10.1-12 as the sole source, but in Mt. 10.1-16 along with A. It will create no difficulties if we recognise in A an original Mk. (according to Woods 'the Marcan tradition'), in B the logia. Whilst, however, such critics as Bernard Weiss and Holtzmann are agreed that Mt. and Lk. 10 were drawn direct from the logia (as Lk. 9 was from Mk., or original Mk.), Woods has found it necessary to interpolate an intermediate stage (C) in which both these sources were already fused. One might even feel inclined to go a step further. Lk. in 10.7f. would certainly not have given the injunction to 'eat such things as are set before you,' first in speaking of a house, and then in speaking of a city, unless the one form had come from one source, the other from another. It happens, however, that neither of the two forms is found either in Mk. or in Lk.² Lk. 10, therefore, apart from the Mk. source (A), which is made use of, for example, in 10.1 (ἀνὰ δύο, 'two and two'), would seem to have had two other sources. In any case Woods' observation is correct, that Mt. has fused together all the sources that can be discovered in Mk. or in Lk. Whilst passing over the rest of Lk. 10, Mt. introduces the 'city' into 10.11 at the place where Mk. 6.10

¹ The main point is not affected if it be assumed that B also dealt with the mission of the twelve, and that the seventy were first introduced by Lk. (§ 109a).

² *Untersuch. u. d. synopt. Evang.*, 1883, 51f.

and Lk. 9.4 speak of the 'house'; the 'house' he introduces into 10.12 in the parallel to Lk. 10.5 which is absent from Mk. and Lk. 11. In 10.9 Mt. has 'silver' (*ἀργύριον*) with Lk. 9.3 (*ἀργύριον*), and also 'brass' (*ψάλλον*) as well (with Mk. 6.8). Similarly, with Mk. and Lk. 9 he has 'twelve' in 10.1, though he had not hitherto given the number of the twelve and has to enumerate them for the first time in 10.24. The injunction laid on the missionaries in 10.9 to 'acquire' (*ἐκτινέτε*) no money is to be explained from 10.8 as meaning that they are forbidden to take any reward for their teaching or healing on their journey ('freely ye have received, freely give'), whereas in 10.10 ('no scrip for the way,' *μη πῖπτον εἰς ὁδόν*) we are to interpret it as a prohibition against taking anything with them when they set out from home (as in Mk. 6.8=Lk. 9.3).

(c) Loman (*Th. T.*, '69, pp. 577-585) traces back to one original parable those of the Tares in the Wheat in Mt. 13.24-30 and of the Seed growing secretly in Mk. 4.26-29. However different they may be apparently, he urges, and however possible it might be to show that even such words in which they agree as 'man,' 'spring up,' 'fruit,' 'blade,' 'corn,' 'harvest' (*ἀνθρώπος, βλαστάν, καρπός, λότος, σῖτος, θερισμός*) belonged to two quite distinct parables, a common original form is betrayed by the word 'sleep' (*καθεύδεις*). Mk. would never have introduced any touch so self-evident as that of the man sleeping and rising night and day had there not lain before him something in which the sleep was spoken of. By the addition that the man awoke again daily the original meaning of the sleep is obscured.

If the two parables cannot be supposed to be of independent origin, it is at the same time only with great violence that we could derive Mk.'s from Mt. or Mt.'s from Mk. Mt.'s lacks the quality of a true original in so far as it is not an incident of ordinary life that any one should sow tares in another's field—and the other parables of Jesus are conspicuously taken from affairs of every day. Mk.'s lacks the character of an original in so far as its fundamental idea—that the kingdom of God comes to its realization without the intervention of God or of the Messiah (in other words, the precept of *laissez aller, laissez faire*) is quite a modern one, directly inconsistent with the conceptions of Jesus as disclosed elsewhere in the gospels.

Loman therefore supposes that Mt. 13.24-30 alone stood in a source A: after the seed had been sown, the tares grew up with it and the servants asked their master whence these came. The answer he takes from Mk. 4.28, but in the form: 'the earth brings forth the tares of itself.' With this the parable ended. That such a saying would be eminently appropriate in the mouth of Jesus he proves very aptly by Mt. 15.19 (out of the heart proceed evil thoughts). An anti-Pauline form of the parable, however, B_a, took Paul as the sower of the false doctrine which was supposed to be denoted by the tares. It therefore introduced Mt. 13.25 saying that the enemy (on this designation for Paul see § 112 c) had sown the tares, and it also, for the conclusion of the parable in A, substituted Mt. 13.28—the master's answer that the tares were sown by the enemy. B_b then added Mt. 13.29-30—signifying that nevertheless no attempt should be made to extirpate the false doctrine of Paulinism, that it should be left to the Final Judgment. The polemic against Paul here is thus milder than that of Paul against his Judaistic adversaries in 2 Cor. 11.13-15; Gal. 1.6 f., 5.12. Canonical Mk., further, was acquainted with A and B_a. In order to avoid the anti-Pauline meaning of B_a he left out the whole figure of the enemy (*ἐχθρός*) and consequently also the tares. He had therefore to take the answer of the master from A, not however of course in the form that the tares sprang up of themselves, but in the form that it was the good seed that did so. This last very modern idea accordingly did not find expression here out of the independent conviction of an ancient author, but arose from the difficulty in which Mk. found himself. The sleep of the master lost its original significance when the daily waking was added. From 4.29 it is clear that Mk. had also B_b before him, for he speaks of the harvest. Canonical Mt. expressly says in the interpretation of the parable attributed to Jesus (13.39) that the enemy is the devil. Either, therefore, he no longer perceives the anti-Pauline tendency of B_a, or like Mk. he deliberately seeks to avoid it, though he takes a quite different way to do so. There remains a possibility that he may have understood the Pauline doctrine to be meant by the false teaching introduced by the devil; but it is equally possible that he was thinking of some form of heresy.

This hypothesis of Loman combines with a literary criticism which has for its object the elucidation of the mutual relations of the various texts, also a tendency-criticism which postulates an anti-Pauline tendency in B_a. Even should one be unable to adopt the latter criticism, it is not necessary on that account to reject the former; it is open to any one to suppose that the 'enemy' (*ἐχθρός ἀνθρώπος*) may have been at the outset some form (as already indicated) of heresy.

(d) To the three examples given above we purpose to add a few others which, so far as we are aware, have not been previously employed in this connection.

In Lk. 16.1-9 the Unjust Steward is commended. He accordingly must be intended in the commendatory clause (v. 10a) which follows—'He that is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much'—not in the words of censure (v. 10b) 'he that is unrighteous in a

very little is unrighteous also in much.' And yet in 16.8 he is called 'the unrighteous steward.' In 16.11 we read further 'If ye *then* (*οὐν*) have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon' and so forth. By the 'very little' in which one is to show fidelity we must accordingly understand Mammon. Where then are we to look for the steward's fidelity as regards Mammon? According to the parable, in this—that he gave it away. Unfaithfulness accordingly would manifest itself if one were to keep Mammon to oneself. The steward, however, did not keep Mammon to himself and yet was called 'unrighteous' (which of course is not to be distinguished from 'unfaithful'). We see accordingly that the terminology in 16.10-12 is in direct opposition to that of the parable itself. Further, the contrast in the parable is not in the least between fidelity and its opposite. What the steward is commended for is his cleverness; the opposite to this would be want of cleverness. Thus 17. 10-12 are an appendix to the parable by another hand. Taken by themselves their meaning would be simply an exhortation to fidelity in money matters. Here, however, they are brought into connection with the parable of the steward, whose relation to Mammon is represented as one of fidelity. Their fundamental idea accordingly is just as exactly Ebionitic as that of the parable itself. Thus two Ebionitic hands can be distinguished, and distinct from both is that of Lk. himself who has added yet another transformation of the meaning,—in v. 14 f., where he declares the parable to have been directed against the Pharisees and their covetousness.

(e) According to § 112 b d we may take it that the final redaction of Mt. was made in a sense that was friendly to the Gentiles and thus attached no value to compliance with the precepts of the Mosaic law. Unless then Mt. 5.18 f. be a marginal gloss (see § 112 c), it must have been introduced not by the last, but by the penultimate hand, and its context comes from a source of an antepenultimate hand.

5.18 itself rests upon Mt. 24.34 f. or the source in which this originally stood. The close of 5.18, 'till all things be accomplished,' does not amalgamate easily with the beginning of the verse, 'Till heaven and earth pass away [one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away]. Moreover, it is difficult to see why the law should cease to have validity the moment it is fulfilled in its entirety. But the closing sentence in 24.34 is perfectly intelligible: 'This generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished.' 'All these things' means here the premonitory signs of the end. 24.35 proceeds: 'Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away.' Marcion has the same thought in his redaction of Lk. 16.17: 'It is easier that heaven and earth should pass away than that one tittle should fall from my words.' For this, canonical Lk. has 'than for one tittle of the law to fall.' But this can hardly have been what Lk. intended to say, for this verse stands between two verses which accentuate with the greatest possible emphasis the abolition of the law. The conjecture of Lipsius therefore is very attractive—that Lk. wrote 'than for one tittle of my law to fall' (*ἢ τοῦ νόμου μου μίαν κεφαλαίαν περὶ εἶναι*). Here, on account of his antipathy to the idea of law, Marcion substituted (but without altering the sense) 'words' for 'law' (*ἢ τῶν λόγων μου μίαν κεφαλαίαν περὶ εἶναι*). But a very old transcriber of Lk. took the word 'my' (*μου*) for a wrong repetition of the second syllable of 'law' (*νόμου*); he therefore omitted it and thereby changed the meaning of the sentence to its opposite. This nomistic meaning is reproduced in Mt. 5.18 f.

One sees how many the intermediate steps must have been before these two verses could have received their present form. Still, as already said, 5.18 f. may possibly be a marginal gloss.

(f) In Mk. 9.33-42 and parallels (Mt. 18.1-6 Lk. 9.46-50), very diverse things are brought into combination. First, the account of the disciples disputing with one another as to precedence (9.33 f.), then the story of Jesus placing a little child in their midst with the exhortation to receive such in his name (9.36 f.); next, the exhortation (9.38-40) not to forbid other miracle-workers; further, the promise (9.41) that even a cup of water given to a follower of Christ shall by no means lose its reward; and lastly (9.42), the threatening against those who cause any of the little ones that believe in Christ to stumble.

The dispute about precedence is answered according to Mk. (7: 35) by the saying of Jesus, 'If any man would be first, he shall be last of all, and minister of all.' This is not found in Lk. except in the place (22: 26) where it occurs as a parallel to Mk. 10: 41. Besides giving it in the same parallel to Mk. 10: 43 (Mt. 20: 27), Mt. has it again, only in a quite different place (23: 11); and yet neither Mt. nor Lk. would have omitted it in the parallel to our present passage. Mk. 9: 35, had they found it there. For indeed it is very appropriate to the matter, whilst the mention of the child by no means serves to settle the dispute, for the child is not brought forward as an example of humility but as a person to be 'received,' and not for the sake of his attributes as a child but for the sake of the 'Name of Christ.' Mt. felt this want of connection, and in order to represent the child as an example he says in 7: 1 that the disciples did not discuss the question among themselves but referred it to Jesus, who answered by placing the little child in their midst. Between this act and the exhortation based upon it he inserts further his third verse, 'Except ye be converted and become as little children ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven.' This he borrows from Mk. 10: 15, as is made unmistakably clear by the fact that in the parallel to this passage, viz., in Mt. 19: 13-15, he omits it, so as to avoid a doublet. Mt. 18: 3 is also in substance a very fitting settlement of the dispute between the disciples, and would not have been passed over by Lk. had it lain before him. The exhortation to receive such a child is in Mt. 18: 5 in the same degree inappropriate to the context. Mt. therefore interpolates between the two distinct thoughts his fourth verse: 'Whosoever shall humble himself like this little child, the same shall be greatest in the kingdom of heaven.' But even this insertion does not fill the hiatus between 7: 3 and 7: 5.

The exhortation in Mt. 18: 5 to receive the little child is immediately followed (7: 6) by the antithesis, 'But whoso shall cause one of these little ones to stumble.' This fits well enough, on the assumption that children are intended by the 'little ones.' In Mk. and Lk., however, the two thoughts are separated very unnaturally by the account of the miracle-worker 'who followeth not with us,' and in Mk. 100 (9: 1), by the promise of a reward for the cup of cold water—a promise which Mt. (10: 42) gives in a quite different connection, and there, moreover, using the expression 'these little ones,' by whom, however, he understands (differently from 18: 6) grown-up persons of low estate. To this promise there is appended in Mk. 9: 42 the threatening against him who shall cause one of these little ones to stumble, quite fittingly—only, however, on the assumption that by 'these little ones' we are to understand grown-up people of low estate, not children, as in Mt.

Let us now endeavour to trace, genetically, the origin and growth of this remarkably complicated passage. In a source A were combined only those two parts which are common to all three gospels—to wit, the statement of the dispute among the disciples and of the placing of a child in the midst with the exhortation to receive him. But no connection between them had been as yet established. This (primitive) form is found with least alteration in Lk. 9: 46-48a; in Mk. it is represented by 9: 33 f. 36 f. in Mt. by 18: 1 f. 5. B₁ added to it the promise of reward for the cup of water to a disciple (Mk. 9: 41). B₂ further added the threatening against him who shall cause a little one to stumble (Mk. 9: 42).¹ C interpolated the story of the miracle-worker who followed not with the disciples. Its distinctive character forbids the obvious course of assigning it to B₁. Now, in Mk., only 9: 38 39 f. 40 answers to the form of the story in Lk. 9: 49 f. The form of the whole pericope which arose through addition of this piece (without Mk. 9: 39 b), thus takes the place which in the usual nomenclature is given to original Mk. But on this occasion 'original Mk.' has had not one literary predecessor merely, but two, or, should B₂ be separated from B₁, three; and these write not, it is to be noted, independently of each other; the one was continually making use of the other.

Canonical Mt. rests upon A + B (or at least B₂, but

¹ Since Mt. 18 offers parallels only to what we have attributed to A + B₂, one might be inclined rather to attribute to B₂ the addition of Mk. 9: 42 and to B₁ that of Mk. 9: 41. If this were done it would have to be presupposed (what was left open, above, under a) that B₁ and B₂ mean two different authors. We should then have the advantage of being able to suppose that Mt. was acquainted with B₁, but not with B₂. At the same time, however, we should have to attribute Mk. 9: 41 in that case rather to C, for on the previously mentioned presupposition it must remain equally possible that B₁ and B₂ together mean only one author. The hypothesis would, therefore, only become more complicated. Further, it is not probable that Mk. 9: 42 should have been introduced earlier than 9: 41. It is simpler, therefore, to suppose that Mt. knew B₁ + B₂—in other words, Mk. 9: 41 as well as Mk. 9: 42; but that he dropped 9: 41 because he had himself already reproduced the same thought in 10: 42 (cp § 121 a).

surely also B₂: see last footnote). Mt. then, as stated above, changed the introduction in 7: 1, and added his own 7: 3 f., so as to bring into mutual connection the dispute about precedence and the precept about receiving the child. Mt.'s 7: 6, through its direct contiguity with 7: 5 (instead of with 10: 42 which here ought to have been repeated as parallel to Mk. 9: 41), underwent a change of meaning, to the effect that children, not grown-up persons, were meant. Lk. rests on A + C. He added 9: 42 b, 'he that is least among you all, the same is great.' This does not, indeed, come in appropriately after the precept about receiving a child; it would have found a place with greater fitness before this precept and after the statement of the disciples' dispute, in other words between 7: 47 a and 7: 47 b—i.e., at the very point where Mk. 9: 35 introduces the same thought. Mk. rests upon A + B₁ + B₂ + C. He adds on the one hand his 7: 39 b, which Lk. would certainly not have passed over had he known it, and on the other hand his 7: 35, containing so excellent a settlement of the precedence-dispute. Neither Mt. nor Lk. was acquainted with the verse or (as already said) they would not have omitted it or introduced something like it at a later place, as in Lk. 7: 43 b.

It is certainly worthy of notice that Mk., by the insertion of 7: 35, has produced the only doublet which he has (§ 121 a, n. 1). The circumstance that Jesus calls the disciples to him in 7: 35 whilst in 7: 33 f. he has already been questioning them, points also to the conclusion that the passage is composed from various pieces.

(g) The successive contents of Mk. 4: 1-34 and parallels (Mt. 13: 35; Lk. 8: 4-18) cannot possibly have been set down in any one gospel in their present order at one writing. Let us examine them. After the parable of the Sower, Jesus is alone with his disciples (Mk. 4: 10 = Mt. 13: 10 = Lk. 8: 9); so also when he explains the parable (27: 13-20 = Mt. 13: 18-23 = Lk. 8: 11-15). Nor is any hint given of his again addressing himself to the people; yet we read in Mk. 4: 33 f. that he spoke openly to the people in parables (so also Mt. 13: 34), and that he gave his explanations to the disciples in private. There is ground, therefore, for supposing that in one source, A, there stood an uninterrupted series of parables, viz., all those which have parallels in Mt. (Mk. 4: 1-9 26-29 30-32—in an older form as regards 26-29; see above, c); also the conclusion 7: 33 f. B₁, on the strength of the concluding statement that when they were alone Jesus expounded all things to his disciples, introduced Mk. 4: 10 13 14-20; B₂ the verses 21-25 to the effect that one ought not to keep back knowledge once gained of the meaning of a parable, but ought to spread it freely. C introduced 4: 11 f. These verses to the effect that the parables were intended to conceal the meaning they contained from the people are in contradiction alike to 7: 33 f. and to 27: 21-25, and are, moreover, impossible in the mouth of Jesus. What pleasure could he have had in his teaching if he had to believe his God-given task to be that of hiding from the people the truths of salvation? It is, therefore, utterly futile to make out forced connection between Mk. 4: 10 and Mk. 4: 11 f., by interpreting to the effect that Jesus, when asked as to the meaning of the parables, in the first place, said, by way of introduction to his answer, that to the disciples it was given to apprehend the meaning, and then went on to tell them what it was. Moreover, Mk. 4: 13 does not fit in with this connection. The verse is clearly a question in which Jesus expresses his astonishment at the small understanding of the disciples: 'How? you

¹ In Mk. 4: 10 the disciples ask concerning 'the parables.' The plural carries us back to what is said in Mk. 4: 2 that Jesus spoke several. The sense, therefore, can very well be that which Lk. (8: 9) expresses more clearly though with reference to one parable only: they asked about the meaning of these parables. Were it the intention of Mk. to say like Mt. (13: 10) that they asked about the purpose of the parables, then we must suppose that only Lk. has rightly preserved the thought of the source B₂.

do not understand this parable; how then shall you know all the parables?' This astonishment again is out of place if Jesus in *v. 11 f.* has found nothing to be surprised at in the circumstance that the disciples needed to have the meaning first of all imparted to them. The question is appropriate, therefore, only as a direct reply to *v. 10*, and furnishes a very good occasion for Jesus to decide to give them the interpretation (cp. further, § 129 *h*, n.). Here also, as under (*f*), C takes the position which elsewhere is appropriate to original Mk., and here also there are two or three antecedent literary stages. D inserted the parable of the leaven (Mt. 13:31 = Lk. 13:20 f.).

Each of the three canonical gospels then rests upon A+B+C;¹ Mt., too, upon D. Mk. did not change the extent of *vv. 10-13* (perhaps it was he who left out the *γυναι* from *v. 11*; cp. RV with AV), on the other hand he gave to *vv. 21 f.* a form which suits the application here made of the saying better than does that of Mt. and Lk. (see § 119 *a*). Mt. and Lk., on the other hand, in order to be able to retain from C, Mk. 4:11 f., deleted the surprised question of Jesus in Mk. 4:13 (from B), because it was inappropriate after this insertion.

Moreover, Mt. has also so altered the question of the disciples (who in Mk. 4:10 and Lk. 8:9 ask as to the meaning of the parable) as to make it suit the answer which was first brought in from C: 'to you it is given to understand the parables, but to the multitude it is not given.' It now runs in Mt. (13:13): 'Why speakest thou to them in parables?' But such a form of the question cannot have been the original one—for this reason, if for no other, that according to it, Jesus would have had no occasion to expound the parable to the disciples. Further, Mt. has in 13:12 introduced a saying which in B⁵ at first came after the interpretation of the first parable. We further see that he must have found difficulty in the assertion that the purpose (*ἵνα*, Mk. 4:12) of the parables was to conceal the meaning they contained. He substitutes therefore: 'For this cause do I speak to them in parables, because (ὅτι) they see not and hear not.' He thus puts in the foreground the defective understanding of the multitude as a fact with which Jesus must reckon. By what follows, however (*v. 14 f.*), taken from Isaiah, he gives it clearly to be seen that he had before him an exemplar in which their not being understood was alleged as the purpose of the parables (see the 'lest perchance,' *μή ποτε*, in 13:15). Finally perhaps it was Mt. himself who added the interpretation of the parable of the Tares (not immediately after the parable, but at the end of the whole section that is parallel to Mk. 4:1-34; cp. § 116 *a*), and also the other parables 13:36-52; possibly also *v. 35*.

Still it is also permissible to suppose that only Mk. 4:1-9:33 stood in A, but this makes little change in our construction as a whole; it only becomes necessary in that case to postulate that B⁵ added Mk. 4:25-32.

On the other hand, the mutual relation of sources can become still somewhat more complicated if Loman's hypothesis regarding *vv. 25-29* (see above, *c*) be combined with what has just been elaborated about Mk. 4:1-14. Yet it is possible to do this without multiplying the number of sources. We therefore refrain from introducing the hypothesis in question, all the more because it might, as being of the nature of tendency-criticism, call forth special objections.

(*h*) Finally, it has to be pointed out that even the doublets might be used to give probability to the composite character of the logia. In § 121 *a* they have been employed to show that Mt. and Lk. alike draw from two sources. For the most part these were, on the one hand Mk. (or original Mk.), and on the other the logia. Only, it happens by no means infrequently that both places in which Mt. has the same saying are generally traced to the logia. What would seem to follow for this would be that the writer of the logia himself made

¹ As regards B⁵—i.e., Mk. 4:21-25—it is possible to suppose that Lk. (8:15) may have omitted *v. 24 b* because he already had it in 6:39, and that Mt. may have omitted all these verses because he also had them all elsewhere in one place or another (5:15 10:25 7:26 33)—the last, in particular, in the very pericope with which we are now dealing (13:12).

use of two sources. Now, we are not inclined to carry back Mt. 7:16=20 to two sources from which the logia drew, but prefer to regard the repetition as an express and deliberate accentuation of the statement upon which stress is here laid. But we do in all seriousness adduce Mt. 10:15=11:24 ('more tolerable for Sodom'), 7:17=12:13 (the tree and its fruits), as well as the utterances of John which are also afterwards put into the mouth of Jesus (37=23:33, 'ye offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape'; 3:10=7:19, 'every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire').

What has been said above as to sources of sources has far-reaching consequences.

(*a*) If it holds good even partially, then most of the hypotheses hitherto put forward as to the origin of the gospels can no longer be maintained.

129. Inferences for gospel-criticism.

For, in that case, in original Mk., or the logia, or whatever be the name given to the sources immediately preceding our canonical gospels, we are no longer dealing with the earliest written compositions each produced by a writer working independently without written sources, and the canonical authors were not dependent (as used to be supposed) on these writers alone, but had at their disposal also the sources of these sources. It is no longer possible to control them in every detail, to ask what exemplar they had and why they made this, that, or the other change. On the other hand, the thesis that an ancient-seeming saying if it occurs in a writing that can be shown to be relatively young can have its origin in an early origin, must be wholly given up.

The first impression one derives from the new situation thus created is, that by it the solution of the synoptical problem which appeared after so much toil to have been brought so near, seems suddenly removed again to an immeasurable distance. For science, however, it is not altogether amiss if from time to time it is compelled to dispense with the lights it had previously considered clear enough, and to accustom itself to a new investigation of its objects in the dark. Possibly it may then find that it has got rid of certain false appearances under which things had formerly been viewed. In this particular instance, it finds itself no longer under compulsion to assign a given passage to no other source than either to the logia, or to original Mk., or to some other of the few sources with which it had hitherto been accustomed to deal. The great danger of any hypothesis lies in this, that it sets up a number of quite general propositions on the basis of a limited number of observations, and then has to find these propositions justified, come what may.¹

(*c*) On the other hand, signs have for some considerable time not been wanting that scholars were on the way to recognition of the new situation just described. It is not only Scholten and Wittichen who have postulated a tolerably complicated genealogy for the gospels, with Proto-, Deutero-, Trito-Mk., and the like; even those critics also who are confident in the adequacy of the usual hypotheses are often found reckoning with the possibility—or even probability—that writings like original Mk., or the logia, whether in the course of transcription, or at the hands of individual owners, may have received additions or alterations whenever any one believed himself to be acquainted with a better tradition upon any point. The possibility is taken into account, in like manner, that canonical Mk. in particular does not lie before us in the form in which it lay before those who came immediately after him; possible corruptions

¹ Let one example suffice. Mk. 4:13—the verse which was found so helpful in § 128 *g*—is regarded by Feine and others as an addition by canonical Mk., because it is in point of fact inconsistent with 4:11 f., and these two verses, since they occur in all three gospels, must be ascribed to the 'source'—that is to say, to the only source with which one allows oneself to reckon, whether we call it with Feine, 'original Mk.', or, with B. Weiss, 'logia.' If one could only tell how it was that canonical Mk. came to add this verse!

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of the text,¹ glosses and the like, have to be considered. Another element in the reckoning is that already our oldest MSS of the gospels have latent in them many examples of transference from the text of one gospel into that of another, examples sim. to those which we can quite distinctly observe in many instances when the TR is confronted with these same witnesses.

It may be that an older form of Mk., or of original Mk., or of the logia, whose differences from our present gospels are so limited in range and so little intended, can hardly, strictly speaking, deserve the name of a special source, the general contents and arrangement being so much alike; yet the effect, in its bearing on the character of the text in its details, is precisely the same as if we actually were to assume such a source. For in particular cases it is not possible for us to rely upon a text as lying before us or as capable of being more or less easily reconstructed, and so to judge of the changes that have been made by the canonical evangelists; we have to reckon with an immense range of possibilities and thus security of judgment is lost.

Lastly, scholars are also beginning to remember that the evangelists did not need to draw their material from books alone, but that from youth up they were acquainted with it from oral narration and could easily commit it to writing precisely in this form in either case—whether they had it before them in no written form, or whether they had it in different written form. In this matter again we are beginning to be on our guard against the error of supposing that in the synoptical problem we have to reckon merely with given quantities, or with such as can be easily ascertained.

(d) From the point just reached to the recognition of sources of sources differing not only in text but also in extent, order, and tendency is always, it is true, a real step. Yet the distinction is after all but fluid one. By mere additions it is possible to give a wing a tendency, which without these does not exist in it (§§ 109 b, 110, 112). It is essentially by the introduction of additional touches that, as we have seen in § 128 a-g, the highly-complicated production, the disentanglement of which now causes so much difficulty, was produced out of a simple combination of related, or at least not mutually inconsistent, pericopes. And each intermediate stage in the process at one time had currency as a gospel writing and served as a basis for further developments. But if this consideration is taken seriously, it becomes increasingly impossible to hold—what any one occupying the standpoint of c would wish to hold in spite of every concession to the actual state of the facts—namely, that the man to whom, whether by tradition or by the voice of some scholar, the authorship of the latest recognisable form of such a pre-canonical writing is ascribed, can also be regarded as the author of the earliest of these forms. Of the man who has made such manifest changes in the few places that still allow us to follow him in the process, it will be only safe to assume that he treated other passages also in the same way, only that we no longer have the means of detecting it. In that case, however, and still more certainly where there is individual 'tendency,' his writing must be regarded as a new work in so far as in this class of literature 'newness' can be spoken of at all; it cannot be treated as merely another form of its predecessor. From this point of view we shall be able to give its full force to Lk.'s prologue, according to which many authors had already undertaken in an independent way to draw up in writing (this is the force of the expression ἀναράσταται, cp § 153, n. 2) an account of the life of Jesus. But Schleiermacher's view of the 'narratives' (διηγήσεις) (§ 124 a) also in this way comes to its rights; for doubtless there must have been quite short notes also as well as narratives of a more comprehensive character (§§ 37, 64, 85), and yet these also can have had their influence on the subsequent form of individual pericopes. The reconstruction of original Mk. and of the logia, of

¹ For example, that Lk., according to 9.7 ('it was said by some'), still read in Mt. 6.14 εἰς αἰῶνα instead of εἰς αἰῶν (the present reading), while Mt. already, on account of this last reading, regarded Mk. 6.16 as a mere repetition and therefore left it out.

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their arrangement and even of their very words—to which so much acuteness has been devoted—loses greatly in interest as soon as these writings are regarded, not as the earliest, but only as intermediate steps. In the same measure does one gain insight into the difficulty of the problem, and the lesson of caution in dealing with it. For further reasons for the view here taken of the situation see §§ 148 f., 153.

(e) On the other hand, however, certain difficulties become easier to deal with. We can now, for example, offer an explanation of the passage in Mt. 23.23a, so friendly to the Pharisees, and of all the Jewish-particularistic passages in § 112 a, d, which it is impossible to ascribe to Jesus, and also even, whatever the intermediate stages may have been, of the legalistic Mt. 5.19 f. (§ 128 c); they are attributable to a Judaistic redaction which the logia underwent before they were made use of, and (according to § 112 b) altered to an opposite sense, by Mt. The character of the original logia becomes in this way more uniform and more in accordance with the free attitude of Jesus towards the law, and one can understand better how it was that this attitude of his was successfully transmitted, whereas all record of it might very easily have dropped out of sight had the first transmitter already been so Judaistically minded.

By way of appendix the question of late so keenly discussed—viz., as to the influence which the undeniable

fact that Jesus spoke Aramaic may have had upon the formation of the gospels—may here be appropriately considered.

(a) If Papias was right in his assertion regarding Mt. (see § 65), this influence would have been very great. But our gospels were from the first written in Greek—even the genealogy in Mt. 1.1-17, as well as that in Lk. 3.23-38, which contains (7.36) the name of CAINAN (γ. 2. 2), met with only in the LXX. In fact, even in what we find reason for tracing back to the logia, the quotations are, at least in a quite preponderating number of cases, taken from the LXX (cp especially 4.4 where the original in Dt. 8.3 supplies no basis for φῆναι). It is precisely the author of canonical Mt. who oftenest gives the quotations from the Hebrew (Hawkins, 123-127), and who could not have given such quotations as, e.g., 2.15-23 8.17 27.9 f. after the LXX at all; but the allegation that his book is a translation from a Semitic original breaks down on the fact that it also nevertheless follows the LXX, and that, too, exactly in passages which would not have been available had the Hebrew original been followed.

Only the mistranslation 'virgin' (παρθένος, cp MARY (MOTHER OF JESUS)) made it possible to adduce (in Mt. 1.22 f.) Is. 7.14; only the omission of the second member to 'in the desert' (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ) in the Hebrew parallelism in Is. 40.3 (B) made it possible to bring these words, in Mt. 3.3, into relation with what precedes instead of with what follows, and thus to find in the words a prediction of one crying in the wilderness, though in Isaiah the crier is of course not in the wilderness, where no one could have heard him, but in the midst of the exiled Israelites in Babylon. In Ps. 83 it is only the LXX that 'speaks of praise' in the sense in which Mt. 21.16 finds it here. Further 'Hosanna' (ὡσαννά) in 21.9 with the dative is regarded as a cry of devotion—'Praise,' 'Vivat'—which is not reconcilable with the true understanding of the original passage (see HOSANNA; cp Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1180-1182).

(b) The language of Mk. Hebraizes still more strongly than does that of Mt. Nevertheless, the combinations of Allen (*Expos.*, 1900, 1436-443) do not prove that the evangelist wrote Aramaic, but only that he wrote a kind of Jewish Greek that he had derived from a reading of the LXX. Lk. also has Hebraisms, not only in chaps. 1 f. but elsewhere as well, and not only where he is dependent on Mk. or Mt. but also where he had no exemplar before him (as, for example, often 'and it came to pass,' καὶ ἐγένετο; see Hawkins, 30), and yet no one holds Lk.'s writing to be a translation of a Semitic original. Is. 40.3 (Mk. 13) could not possibly be cited in an Aramaic writing (see above, a).

¹ See Allen, *Expos.* 7, 90, pp. 135-137. Against his further assertion that the genealogy was constructed by the author of the entire Gospel, see, however, MARY (MOTHER OF JESUS).

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Just as little can the very small number of variants—partly Lucan in character—in D and old Latin translations, which Blass (*Phil. of Gospels*, '98, pp. 190-213) does not regard as traceable to transcribers, be held to show that the entire gospel of Mk. was written in Aramaic and translated into Greek in different ways, or even—as Blass formulates the hypothesis—that Luke, the companion of Paul, himself before he wrote the third gospel, revised and published a bad Greek translation of the Aramaic Mk., on which account it was that afterwards he omitted much of it from his own book, not wishing to exceed the ordinary limits of a papyrus roll. Elsewhere (see ACTS, § 17) it has been shown with what independence the text has been dealt with in D and its allied MSS. Least of all can Blass's hypothesis seek support in the contention that Lk. shows little verbal coincidence with Mk. This fact (so far as it is a fact) can of course be sufficiently explained by the linguistic character of Mk., which Lk. regarded as admitting of improvement. Whether Mk.'s linguistic imperfections are due to translation from the Aramaic is a quite separate question. Finally, there are no grounds for the conjecture of Blass that the Aramaic original document dealing with the earliest history of the church in Jerusalem, which is held to have been used by Lk. in Acts 1-12 (on this point, see ACTS, § 17 [4. col. 59]) was written by Mark, and that he will on this account have written the gospel also in Aramaic—notwithstanding that, according to Papias, he was Peter's interpreter and that he has so many Latin words (§ 108).

(c) A written source still older than the logia or Mk. (or original Mk.; see § 148, end) may have been written in Aramaic. A writing in Hebrew (§ 117) is not wholly impossible but certainly quite improbable. There seems to have been a Hebrew original in the case of the Psalms of Solomon (see APOCALYPTIC, § 83). But here the ruling pattern may have been that of the OT psalms, and perhaps also in Pompey's time Hebrew was somewhat more generally in use than it came to be 100 years afterwards. It is not very helpful to suggest that people would have been naturally inclined to treat of the sacred subjects of the gospel history in the sacred language. The masses did not understand Hebrew (see ARAMAIC, § 5), and yet gospel writings, unless they were to miss the purpose for which they were written, had to be adapted to the intelligence even of the least instructed.

(d) The gain from recourse to the theory of such an original is in the first place this, that certain Greek expressions will then admit of explanation as being errors of translation. Once made, such errors could very well pass on without change from one Greek writing to a second and to a third. But it will be at once obvious that such an explanation can have importance only in regard to particular passages, not in regard to the origin of the gospels as complete books.

Nor even for this purpose is it necessary to aim at retranslation of whole sentences, a process which will always offer room for new error; all that will be required will be that we should discover the individual words or expressions from which the error can possibly have arisen.¹ As an instance we may point to Wellhausen's 121 (Lk. 11.41), which may equally as well mean 'purify' as 'give alms,' *δοτε ἑλεημοσύνην*; the sense will then be the same as in Lk. 11.39, and in the parallel Mt. 23.25 f., and thus the character given to the passage in § 110 will be changed.

(e) Another advantage will be that the consideration of an Aramaic or Hebrew original will aid in determining as to the meaning and use of important or difficult words and ideas in the NT. A very familiar example occurs in the *תורה* which Jerome found in the gospel of the Hebrews for *ἐπιούσιος* in Mt. 6.11, and which is assuredly right (see Winer², § 16, 3d; and cp LORD'S PRAYER). But it must be said that the recent recourse had to Aramaic in this field of research has already had some very infelicitous results.

Thus Lietzmann,³ Wellhausen,³ and others assert that Jesus used the word 'son of Man' only in the sense of 'man' generally (cp § 116d, n.), but did not apply it to himself in that of 'Messiah'; in this last sense, they maintain, it was only taken by the evangelists from the Apocalyptic literature, and so came

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to be introduced into the gospel history.¹ But Dalman in his turn (p. 159) disputes the genuineness of the words 'not the son but only the Father' (Mk. 13.32; cp Mt. 24.36), on the ground that in the time of Jesus these expressions were not customary without additions such as 'my [son]', 'of God', 'my [Father]'. As if the meaning they express could not possibly, nevertheless, have come from Jesus, and only the form of expression be due to the later use assumed by Dalman (cp § 139).

III. CREDIBILITY OF THE SYNOPTICS.

The investigation of the mutual relationships between the synoptic gospels has in itself a scientific interest

and can therefore be carried on with interest even by the student for whom the credibility of the gospels is a matter of comparative indifference. Still, in the end the answer to this question is the goal of every research in this field. The question is often, however, still handled quite unscientifically. Thus, many still think themselves entitled to accept as historically true everything written in the gospels which cannot be shown by explicit testimony to be false. Others pay deference at least to the opinion that a narrative gains in credibility if found in all three gospels (as if in such a case all were not drawing from one source); and with very few exceptions all critics fall into the very grave error of immediately accepting a thing as true as soon as they have found themselves able to trace it to a 'source.'

Once we have freed ourselves from the dominion of such fallacies it cannot but seem unfortunate that the decision as to the credibility of the gospel narratives should be made to depend upon the determination of a problem so difficult and perhaps insoluble as the synoptical is. It would accordingly be a very important gain if we could find some means of making it in some measure at least independent of this. Such means have already been hinted at above (§§ 27, n. 1, and 34, n. 2).

The examination of the credibility must from the beginning be set about from two opposite points of view. On the one hand, we must set on one side everything which for any reason arising either from the substance or from considerations of literary criticism has to be regarded as doubtful or as wrong; on the other hand, one must make search for all such data, as from the nature of their contents cannot possibly on any account be regarded as inventions.

When a profane historian finds before him a historical document which testifies to the worship of a hero unknown to other sources, he attaches first and foremost importance to those features which cannot be deduced merely from the fact of this worship, and he does so on the simple and sufficient ground that they would not be found in this source unless the author had met with them as fixed data of tradition. The same fundamental principle may safely be applied in the case of the gospels, for they also are all of them written by worshippers of Jesus. We now have accordingly the advantage—which cannot be appreciated too highly—of being in a position to recognise something as being worthy of belief even without being able to say, or even being called on to inquire, whether it comes from original Mk., from logia, from oral tradition, or from any other quarter that may be alleged. The relative priority becomes a matter of indifference, because the absolute priority—that is, the origin in real tradition—is certain. In such points the question as to credibility becomes independent of the synoptical question. Here the clearest cases are those in which only one evangelist, or two, have data of this class, and the second, or third, or both, are found to have taken occasion to alter these in the interests of the reverence due to Jesus.

If we discover any such points—even if only a few—

¹ See on the other side Schmiedel, *Prot. Monatshefte*, '98, pp. 252-267, 291-308; Muirhead, *Exp. T.*, Nov. '99, pp. 62-65; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1. 191-219.

¹ Cp. Wellh. in *Nachr. d. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, '95, pp. 11 f.; Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, '96; Nestle, *Philologia Sacra*, '96.

² *Der Mensch Jesus*, '96; also *Theol. Arbeiten aus dem Rheinischen wissenschaftl. Predigerverein*, neue Folge, Hft. 2, '99.

³ *JfG* 381; and *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 6, '99, pp. 194-215.

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they guarantee not only their own contents, but also much more. For in that case one may also hold as credible all else which agrees in character with these, and is in other respects not open to suspicion. Indeed the thoroughly disinterested historian must recognise it as his duty to investigate the grounds for this so great reverence for himself which Jesus was able to call forth; and he will then, first and foremost, find himself led to recognise as true the two great facts that Jesus had compassion for the multitude and that he preached with power, not as the scribes (Mt. 9:36-7:29). Let us, then, proceed to test in the two ways indicated some of the leading points in the synoptic gospels.

The chronological framework must be classed among the most untrustworthy elements in the gospels. Not only are the data often quite vague—a defect for which we could not blame the evangelists if they had no precise information; often also it is impossible

132. Chronological framework.

to have any confidence, when Mt. so frequently says 'then' (τότε), 'on that day' (ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ), or the like, or when Mk. says 'straightway' (εὐθὺς), that the event really followed on what immediately precedes it in the narrative. Were we to take the evangelists literally, an enormous number of events would have to be compressed within the limits of certain days (e.g., Mt. 12:15-13:52), and there would be only a very moderate number of days of the public ministry of Jesus with regard to which any events are recorded at all. Of the six time-determinations in Lk. 3:1 f.—manifestly brought together with great care—only the first three can be regarded as free from exception. Philip ruled over Trachonitis and other territories, but only over a small portion of Ituræa. The office of high priest was never filled by two persons at the same time; it is Caiaphas who ought to have been named, whilst Annas held the office from 6 to 15 A.D. On LYSANIAS see that article. The statement about the census of Quirinius in 21 f. is quite erroneous (see CHRONOLOGICAL, § 59 f., QUIRINUS, also above, § 22, last footnote). But the data are often even in direct contradiction to each other. In Mt. 8:12 especially, matters stand in a quite different chronological connection from that which they have in Mk. and Lk. (§ 116 a). Or the mother and brethren of Jesus come, in Mk. 3:31 and Mt. 12:46, after the discourse about Beelzebub, in Lk. 8:19 after the great parable-discourse (see further § 18, begin.).

The case is no better with the order of the narratives.

(a) A large number of sayings of Jesus have been placed together by Mt. in five longer discourses which on each occasion he closes with the formula referred to in § 127 (a, γ). Among these are included, for example, a series of seven woes upon the Pharisees, 23:13-36, a series of seven parables, 13:1-52, and a series of six theses in correction of the law (5:21-48; § 34, n. 1; Hawkins, 131-135). Lk. has arranged in two similar large groups—the so-called small and large interpolations, 6:20-8:3 and 9:51-18:14—material partly the same as, and partly different from, that of Mt.

The greater interpolation—the narrative of what is known as the Samaritan journey—can make no claim to historicity. In the midst of it we find (10:1 and 17) the mission of the seventy and their return, (13:31) the warning against the plots of Herod Antipas, who ruled over Galilee only, not Samaria, (14:1) a feast in the house of a Pharisee, who can hardly have lived in Samaria, and (17:11) the statement that Jesus was on the borders of Galilee and Samaria, which yet he had already passed (9:51) in his journey to Jerusalem.

(b) But even outside of these compiled discourses the order of narration is often such as to suggest the suspicion that it has been determined by the nature of the contents. The rubbing of the ears of corn and the healing of the man with the withered hand (Mk. 2:23-36) are related the one immediately after the other, only because both occurrences showed Jesus in conflict with the law of the Sabbath. Or are we to believe that the two or three men—the whole number

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recorded in the gospels (Mt. 8:19-22 Lk. 9:37-62)—who asked of Jesus to be admitted to the number of his disciples, all presented themselves at one and the same moment—viz., when he was about to take ship across the Sea of Galilee, or, according to Lk., at one and the same point in the journey through Samaria? Compare, further, the wholly different order in which the events in Mt. 8:12 (§ 116 a) are given as compared with Mk. and Lk., with the result that (e.g.) the choice of the apostles comes to be placed immediately before their sending-out (10:2-4), and the series of miracles before the arrival of the messengers from the Baptist (§ 137 a).

(c) In many cases it is not so much for the sake of the order, but simply for the sake of a word, that certain sayings of Jesus are brought into contiguity with others; thus, Mk. 9:42-48 are brought together only by the idea of 'stumbling-block' (σκανδαλίζειν), 22:43 and 49:2 only by that of fire, 22:49b and 50 only by that of salt, Lk. 11:33-36 only by that of light, 13:24 f. only by that of the door. But what is said with regard to these things is in each case quite different, and he does no honour to Jesus who believes himself in duty bound to prove that the Master gave forth in one breath utterances so utterly disconnected.

(d) In other places there is manifest lack of clear appreciation of the situation. The prohibition—which certainly comes from Jesus himself and is no mere invention of the evangelists—against making known a deed of healing wrought by him, a prohibition still found in Mt. 8:4-9:30, would be utterly futile if, previously (§ 123 f.) and simultaneously (§ 935), Jesus had healed whole crowds of sick persons. In 12:16 the prohibition is laid even upon a great multitude of persons healed at one and the same time. But we find the same thing also in the parallel Mk. 3:12 and even in 1:34 = Lk. 4:41; and here also follows the same prohibition laid upon individuals (Mk. 1:44 = Lk. 5:14 Mk. 8:26).

(e) In Mk. one is very willingly disposed to recognise an appropriate arrangement of the events of the public ministry of Jesus as a whole. It is certainly the fact that his first chapter gives the impression that the public activity of Jesus may actually have begun in the manner here related. But so far as the rest of the gospel is concerned, little confidence can be placed even in Mk.'s order. In saying this, we lay no stress on the assertion of Papias (see § 65) that he set down the deeds and words of Jesus without order; for Papias may very well have been judging of that order with Mt. as his standard. Nor can we accept the view of B. Weiss, that Mk. intended by his frequent use of the imperfect to convey that he is narrating not individual deeds of Jesus but only the sort of things that he was in the habit of doing, as for example in 4:2.¹ The whole sum, however, of separate events in Galilee (miracles, discourses, and the like) has so comparatively little that is characteristic, and their order—for a writer who wrote only for the glorification of Jesus and not for a laboriously exact account of his biography—was of so comparatively little importance, that it would not be safe for us to rely on them with any confidence whatever. In one point Mk. has a superiority over Mt. and Lk.; in 7:24-31 he records a journey of Jesus to Tyre and Sidon, in other words, a long distance abroad. So also the journey to Caesarea Philippi recorded by him (8:27) in common with Mt. (16:13) signifies for him a noteworthy epoch in the public life of Jesus (§ 135). See further § 145, f.

The alleged situations in which the recorded utterances of Jesus were spoken can by no means be implicitly accepted. Was the Lord's Prayer given in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 6:9-13), or at the special request of the disciples (Lk. 11:4)? Did Jesus deliver the Sermon on the Mount to his disciples (Mt. 5:1

¹ As against this view of B. Weiss see Feine, *NTZ*, '87, pp. 43-57, 57 f., 100, pp. 405 f.; Holtzmann, *ibid.*, '78, pp. 168-171, with Weiss's reply, pp. 583-585.

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Lk. 620), or was it heard by the multitudes (Mt. 723 Lk. 711)? For a whole series of utterances of Jesus Lk. has assigned occasions of which Mk. and Mt. know nothing (e.g., 913 1129 37 1241 1323 1415 25 151 f. 175 37 1911). Even where an utterance of Jesus recurs more than once in the gospels—and we may be certain that he repeated himself much oftener than is recorded (§ 145 a)—they yet afford us not the slightest guarantee that the repetition took place precisely at the point at which they place it.

The saying about the light under a bushel is found in three different connections. In Mk. 421 and Lk. 816 the light is the interpretation of the parables Jesus had spoken (see § 113 a)—manifestly a very special application of a thought of very much wider scope. In Lk. 1131 the saying comes after the sentence which affirms that in the person of Jesus a greater than Jonah is present; here, then, the light can only be Jesus himself. In this connection, however, it is impossible to carry through the most obvious meaning of the saying that one ought not to put the light under a bushel. Moreover we find in 1134 a saying added only on account of the verbal suggestion (§ 133 c)—that the light of the body is the eye. Once more, then, it is not likely that the saying belongs to this place. In Mt. 514-16 two different representations are combined; the disciples are *exhortated* to let their light shine, the city set on the hill on the other hand shines of itself. By the light the disciples are here meant, but the opening words, 'ye are the light of the world,' can easily have been framed on the model of the preceding sentence, 'ye are the salt of the earth,' and that, too, for the first time by Mt., for the two sentences can hardly have stood together in one source since in Mk. and in Lk. they are given in two quite distinct places. This is in no passage have we any security that we are in possession of the original connection of the saying, and it would be just as conceivable that it may have been spoken by Jesus when one of his followers, concerned about his safety, had besought him, as Peter on one occasion (Mt. 1622) did, to spare himself and not expose himself to danger—in fact very much as in Jn. 94 f., only without the specifically Johannine meaning of the word. See, further, Hawkins, 129-131; Wernle, 210 f.

In the case of an eye-witness the recollection of an event associates itself readily with that of a definite place, but for those who are not eye-witnesses this has much less interest. In

135. Places and persons.

Lk. 913 Peter's confession is not made at Caesarea Philippi; indeed, the evangelist knows nothing about a journey thither at all (§ 116 a, end). The leper was cleansed according to Mt. 81 f. after Jesus had finished his Sermon on the Mount, but according to Lk. (512) a considerable time before that, when Jesus was 'in one of the cities,' similarly as in Mk. 140.

On the return from his first journey abroad (to Tyre and Sidon) Jesus, according to Mk. 731, arrives at the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, according to Mt. 1529 (if we are to take the most obvious meaning of the words), at the western. After the feeding of the 4000 both evangelists agree in saying that he crossed the lake; but according to Mk. 810 the crossing is to the west shore, according to Mt. 1539 it is to the east. Then follows a new crossing, after which the apprehension about want of bread arises in Mk. 813 f. on the eastern shore, in Mt. 165 on the western. The two routes coalesce according to Mk. 827 Mt. 1613 only when Caesarea is reached—unless we are to assume that Mt., in what precedes, means the same localities as Mk. and has only expressed himself misleadingly (cp § 112 a).

As for persons—neither the names of the women at the cross (see CLOPAS, § 2) nor even the names of the twelve disciples (Mt. 102-4 Mk. 316-19 Lk. 614-16) are given in two places alike (see APOSTLE). On the divergence between Mt. 90 on the one hand and Mk. 214 and Lk. 527 on the other, see LEVI and MATTHEW.

Several of the reported sayings of Jesus clearly bear the impress of a time which he did not live to see. The

136. Conditions belonging to a later time.

precept about taking up one's cross and following Jesus (Mt. 1038 1624) is certainly not to be explained by pointing out that the sight of condemned persons carrying their crosses to the place of execution was a familiar one; for in that spectacle the most important element of all was wanting—that of innocence. The words in question cannot have taken their present shape till after the death of Jesus. Exhortations as to how to behave in times of persecution (Mk. 139-13) he can hardly have found it necessary to give so early, for, however numerous his followers may have been, he formed in his lifetime no definite community outside the bonds of the Jewish religion, and

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still less a church. It was therefore also in the lifetime of Jesus hardly possible that his followers should be expelled from the synagogue in the manner spoken of in Lk. 622, and still less so that they should be expelled on account of the name of 'Christian' (see CHRISTIAN, § 1).

The graduated order of procedure against an erring brother (Mt. 1815-17) is much more easily explained when transplanted to a later time. In the mouth of Jesus it is, at all events, intelligible only if by *ecclesia* (*ἐκκλησία*) we understand not the Christian but the Jewish local community. But also the authority conferred in the verse immediately following (1818), 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,' could never have been given by Jesus either to the apostles or, what the context leaves open, to his followers in general, still less to Peter to whom it is limited in 1619 (cp BINDING AND LOOSING). Still more 1618 is open to serious question, quite apart from other reasons, on account of the word *ecclesia*, and because the verse is wanting in Tatian's *Diataxaron*. Into the discourse on the occasion of the mission of the disciples special precepts have been introduced, of a sort which can only owe their origin to later missionary practice taught by painful experience (e.g., Mt. 1011 13). The baptismal precept to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (Mt. 2819) is questionable, not only because, according to the older accounts, the risen Jesus was only seen, not heard (§ 138 d), but also because, according to the NT throughout, baptism was only in the name of Jesus (Rom. 63 Gal. 327 Acts 238 816 1043 195 1 Cor. 611 113; even in Irenaeus also; Irs. iii. 73). The Trinitarian formula is met with first in Justin (*Apol.* 161) and in the *Didachè* (71). So also, if Jesus had enjoined the mission to the Gentiles on the original apostles, as is stated in Mt. 2819, it would be a practical impossibility to understand, how they, or their followers, could have withstood Paul so hotly upon this very point.

It would clearly be wrong, in an investigation such as the present, to start from any such postulate or axiom as that 'miracles' are impossible. At

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the same time, on the other hand, some doubt as to the accuracy of the accounts cannot fail to arise in the mind even of the stoutest believer in miracles when he observes such points as the following:—(a) How contradictory they are. In Mk. 13234 all the sick were brought to Jesus and he healed *some*; in || Mt. 815 they brought *many* and he healed *all*; in || Lk. 440 they brought *all* and he healed *all*, as also in Mt. 124. In Mk. 37 f. 10 a *great multitude* followed him and he healed *many*; in || Mt. 1215 *many* followed and he healed *all*. According to this the view of the evangelist must have been that he was followed exclusively by sick persons. According to what is said in § 133 d not only the early date but the historicity altogether of those healings *en masse* must be held to be doubtful.

Before the feeding of the 5000, in Mk. (634) Jesus teaches the multitude; in Mt. (1414) he heals their sick; in Lk. (911) he does both. At the beginning of his journey to Jerusalem, according to Mk. (101), Jesus *teaches* the multitude; according to Mt. (192) he *heals* them. According to Lk. (721) Jesus heals a number of sick—possessed and blind—in the presence of the messengers of the Baptist, and immediately before this he raises the widow's son at Nain (711-171); Mt. knows nothing of this, and Mk. as little (the message of the Baptist is wholly wanting in Mk.). But on the other hand Mt. records as before this date not only the healing of a leper (814) and of a paralytic (91-8), as does Mk. 140-212=Lk. 512-26, but also the raising of the daughter of Jairus (918-26), and the healing of two blind men (927-31), and of a dumb man possessed with a devil (*κωφός*: 932-34)—healings which in Lk. are all brought in as having been wrought after the message of the Baptist

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(8.40-56 18.35-43 11.14-16). Thus each of the two evangelists secured that the messengers of the Baptist should be able to hear of miracles of most various kinds as wrought by Jesus (Mt. 11.5 = Lk. 7.22);¹ but each has done so in a different way. After the cleansing of the temple, Jesus, according to Mt. (21.14), heals blind and lame there; of this Mk. and Lk. know nothing. Similarly in 28.52 f. he alone reports the resurrection of many dead persons on the death of Jesus. On the other hand, Mt. (26.17-23) describes the preparation of the Passover meal without presupposing any supernatural knowledge on the part of Jesus as is done in Mk. (14.12-17) and Lk. (22.7-14). Lk. alone knows not only of the miracles reported in 7.11-17 21, but also of the healing of the woman with the spirit of infirmity, of the man with the dropsy, of the ten lepers, and of the high priest's servant's ear, as also of the fact of Peter's miraculous draft (13.10-17 14.1-6 17.11-19 22.50 f. 51-11). In the last two cases the silence of Mt. and Mk. is all the more significant as they give a quite precise account of the very occurrences in the midst of which a miracle, according to Lk., was wrought, and in Gethsemane all the apostles, and at the call of Peter at least he and some others, were present (Mk. 14.47 = Mt. 26.51-54; Mk. 1.16-20 = Mt. 4.18-22; cp § 32, n. 5, § 42). Only Mk., again, knows of the healing of a blind man in two successive stages, by application of spittle and by laying on of hands (8.22-26). Instead of the one man, deaf and with an impediment in his speech, who is healed by Jesus in Mk. (7.32-37) by the same means, in Mt. 15.30 f. a whole multitude of lame, blind, and dumb are healed. At Gerasa Mk. (5.2) and Lk. (8.27) make mention of one demoniac, Mt. (8.28) of two, and that too (v. 29) with clear divergence from || Mk. 5.7 = Lk. 8.28, and dependence on the words of the demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum (Mk. 1.24 = Lk. 4.34), all mention of which has been wholly omitted by Mt. At Jericho Mk. (10.46) mentions one blind man as Jesus was leaving the city, Lk. 18.35 one as he was entering, Mt. 20.29 f. two as he was leaving. The man who in Lk. 11.14 is dumb is also blind in Mt. 12.22.² According to Mk. 5.23 the daughter of Jairus is at the point of death, according to Lk. 8.42 she is a-dying; in Mt. 9.18 the father's statement runs, 'my daughter is even now dead,' whilst in Mk. 5.35 and Lk. 8.49 this announcement is brought to Jesus only after the healing of the woman with the issue of blood which has been wrought in the interval. To the number 5000 as well as to the 4000 of those who were miraculously fed Mt. adds in each case (14.21 15.38) 'besides women and children.' In Mk. 11.20 the fig tree is found to be withered away on the morning after the curse has been pronounced; according to Mt. 21.19 it withered away immediately. Whilst in Mk. 1.10 f. it is Jesus who sees the heaven opened and the spirit descending and hears the voice, so that one is able, if so disposed, to take the whole passage as describing an inward mental experience, with regard to which the disciples had derived their knowledge from himself alone, Mt. 3.16 f. represents the opening of the heavens as an objective occurrence and gives the voice in the third person and thus not as for the hearing of Jesus alone, whilst according to Lk. 3.21 f. the Spirit even descends 'in bodily shape.' As for the narratives of the nativity and childhood see MARY (MOTHER OF JESUS) and NATIVITY. We pass over the numerous other minor differences in the accounts of miracles in the gospels, in order to touch upon:—

(b) Two cases in which even one strongly predisposed

¹ It must be granted that in Mt. 9.32-34 *αἰῶνες* means a dumb, and in 11.5 a deaf, person. But the two infirmities so often go together that this difference of meaning cannot be held to invalidate the statement in the text, which in all other respects is absolutely exact.

² These two passages must be regarded as parallel because in each there follows this detailed examination of the criticism that Jesus cast out demons by Beelzebub (Mt. 12.24-32 = Lk. 11.15-23). A second parallel to Lk. 11.17 is Mt. 12.24-34, which agrees in its details with Lk. more exactly.

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to believe in miracles would find it difficult to accept a narrative of this kind on account of the time to which it is assigned. (a) Lk. 23.44 f. expressly, and Mk. 15.33 Mt. 27.45 also to all appearance, allege an eclipse of the sun, a celestial phenomenon which, however, is possible only at the period of New Moon—i.e., shortly before the 1st of Nisan—and cannot happen on the 15th or 14th of a month. To save for the narrative some relic of credibility the suggestion has even been made that it is in fact an eclipse of the moon that is recorded. But in offering this explanation it was forgotten, not only that at midday such an occurrence would not produce darkness, but also that the shadow of the earth falling upon the moon is visible only from the side of the earth that is turned away from the sun, in other words, during the night, not in the middle of the day from 12 to 3.

(β) As for the fig tree (Mk. 11.12-14 20-25 Mt. 21.18-22), it is certainly the fact that its fruits begin to form before the leaves unfold—approximately about Easter-tide. But at this early stage they are still exceedingly small and quite uneatable. The first ripe figs are gathered in the end of June, most of the rest in August, and some not till so late as February. Some do not reach their development at all in the year of their formation, but only in the following spring. Fruits of this last-named class might therefore have been found by Jesus on the tree; but they are in no sense a characteristic mark of a good tree; the characteristic of such a tree is its young freshly-produced figs. But with figs of this last kind Jesus could not have satisfied his hunger; the narrative would have been possible at any time from June to February; but, placed at Easter, it is not so; and yet it belongs so definitely to the Easter season that it would be indeed a bold thing to say that it is true in itself but wrongly dated. The only really pertinent remark is that of Mk. (11.13): it was not the season of figs. This is so contrary, however, to the whole of the rest of the narrative that Scholten thought himself justified in setting it down as a marginal note by a foreign hand (§ 119 d). Thus, even where there is not the slightest shadow of aversion to miracles as such, there is nothing to surprise us when these two narratives are declared to be unhistorical. See FIG TREE.

(c) Taken as a whole the facts brought forward in the immediately preceding paragraphs show only too clearly with what lack of concern for historical precision the evangelists write. The conclusion is inevitable that even the one evangelist whose story in any particular case involves less of the supernatural than that of the others, is still very far from being entitled on that account to claim implicit acceptance of his narrative, just in the same degree in which those who came after him have gone beyond him, it is easily conceivable that he himself may have gone beyond those who went before him.

With reference to the resurrection of Jesus (a) the most credible statement in the Synoptics is that of Mt.

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(and Mk.) that the first appearances were in Galilee. The appearance in Jerusalem to the two women (Mt. 28.9 f.) is almost universally given up—not only because of the silence of all the other accounts, but also because in it Jesus only repeats the direction which the women had already received through the angel. If the disciples had seen Jesus in Jerusalem as Lk. states, it would be absolutely incomprehensible how Mk. and Mt. came to require them to repair to Galilee before they could receive a manifestation of Jesus. The converse on the other hand is very easy to understand; Lk. found it inconceivable that the disciples who, according to him, were still in Jerusalem, should have been unable to see Jesus until they went to Galilee. In actual fact the disciples had already dispersed at Gethsemane (Mk. 14.50 Mt. 26.56), this Lk. very significantly omits. Even Peter, after he had perceived,

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when he denied his Master, the dangers he incurred, will hardly have exposed himself to these, gratuitously, any longer. At the cross only women, not disciples, were present. Whither these last had betaken themselves we are not told. But it is not difficult to conjecture that they had gone to their native Galilee. The angelic command, therefore, that they should make this their rendezvous, may reasonably be taken as a veiled indication that they had already gone thither. The presupposition made both by Mk. and Mt. that they were still in Jerusalem on the day of the resurrection is accordingly erroneous. It was this error of theirs that led Lk. to his still more erroneous inversion of the actual state of the facts.

(b) The second element in the synoptics that may be accepted with confidence is the statement that it was Peter who received the first manifestation of his risen master. All the more surprising is it that it is only Lk. who tells us so, and that only in passing (24:34). It is the chief point in the statement of Paul, 1 Cor. 15:5-7. This passage must be regarded as the earliest account of the appearances of the risen Jesus; unquestionably it goes back to the communications made by Peter during the fifteen days' visit of Paul, three years after the conversion of the latter (Gal. 1:18).

(c) Not only is it a mark of inadequacy in the gospels that they have nothing to say about the greater number of the manifestations here recorded; it also becomes necessary to withhold belief from what they actually do relate in addition. Paul would certainly not have left it out had he known it; the duty of bringing forward all the available evidence in support of the truth of the resurrection of Jesus as against the Corinthian doubters was of the most stringent kind.

(d) Thus, on the one hand, the statements that Jesus was touched, and that he ate (Lk. 24:39-41), are seen to be incredible. But these are precisely the statements which make it possible to understand why the evangelists should pass over the mere appearing of Jesus (ὡφθη) to which the statements of Paul are confined, inasmuch as they believed they could offer proofs of a more palpable character.

In criticism it was a great error to believe that by the expression 'was seen' (ὡφθη) Paul was characterizing the appearances as unreal. It is indeed true that in the NT this expression with one exception (Acts 7:26) is applied to visions; but, unless he be a thoroughly modern person well versed in philosophy and science, the visionary is under a psychological necessity to regard as real the things which he sees in vision even though he distinguishes between them and the objects of ordinary sight. The only thing that would prevent him from doing so would be if the vision offered that which according to his ideas was utterly impossible. But in the case before us this is far from being so. In the NT the resurrection of a man—e.g., of the Baptist or of Elijah—is supposed to be thoroughly possible (Mk. 6:14, 16; Mt. 14:2 = Lk. 9:7; Mk. 9:11; Mt. 17:10, 11, 14).

What the expression 'was seen' (ὡφθη) proves is, accordingly, rather this—that in no description of any appearances of the risen Lord did Paul perceive anything by which they were distinguished from his own, received at Damascus. With reference to this he uses the same expression; he therefore characterizes it as a 'vision' (ὁπτασία), and, as he still distinguishes from this the 'revelation' (ἀποκάλυψις) in 2 Cor. 12:1, we shall have to take the word literally and interpret it as denoting seeing, not hearing.

(e) The statements as to the empty sepulchre are to be rejected; Paul is silent regarding them, and his silence is very strongly reinforced by Mk. 16:8 which says the women told no one anything of what they had seen. This failure to carry out the angel's bidding is quite unthinkable, and one readily understands why Mt. and Lk. should say the opposite, though this is probably the most violent change they have anywhere made on their exemplar. (The word 'fear', φόβος, in Mt. 28:8 shows that he had before him the 'were afraid', ἐφοβούτο, of Mk.) The statement of Mk. is intelligible only if we take him to mean that the whole statement as to the empty sepulchre is now being promulgated for the

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first time by the publication of his gospel. He cannot intend to say that the women held their peace for a short time only, for the general belief is that Jesus appeared very soon after his resurrection, and every delay on the part of the women would have put back the time at which the disciples could arrive in Galilee and behold the promised appearing of the Lord. If Mk. is understood in the sense we have indicated, then in him we have a virtual admission, veiled indeed, yet clear, that all statements as to the empty sepulchre were innovations of a later time.

(f) Nor, as against this, will it avail to urge the inherent likelihood that the sepulchre must without fail have been visited.

Here the assumption is that forthwith on the resurrection day the tidings of the empty sepulchre became known in Jerusalem. But this supposition has been shown to be groundless. Yet even had the tidings been brought forthwith to the Christians in Jerusalem, and even if they had thereupon at once visited the sepulchre, their evidence would not have proved more than did that of the women. Only an examination by opponents could have claimed greater weight. But it is hardly likely that the tidings reached their ears forthwith. Yet, even had this happened and the sepulchre been found empty, the fact would have been capable of being explained by them as due to a removal of the body. The (unhistorical) statement of Mt. as to setting a watch over the sepulchre (28:12) had in fact just this very purpose in view—to exclude the possibility of any such removal. But after the visit of the women the watch was not continued even in Mt. Further it has to be borne in mind that according to Jewish belief a body did not remain recognisable for more than three days (see JOHN, SON OF ZENOBEE, § 20 a). Had a body, therefore, really been found, it would no longer have been possible to identify it as the body of Jesus.

This comes yet more strongly into view if we picture to ourselves the order of events in the way in which, in all probability, they actually happened. The first belief in the resurrection of Jesus arose through the appearances in Galilee on the third day after his death, or later. The disciples believed in them and therefore felt themselves under no necessity to assure themselves by examination of the sepulchre. Even if the tidings of the Galilean appearances had been brought to Jerusalem forthwith, not even so would they have given occasion for such an examination. It was unnecessary: the followers of Jesus believed them without further evidence; his enemies laughed them to scorn. One knew that the emptiness of the sepulchre after so long a time could prove anything just as little as could the production of a no longer identifiable body. It is unnecessary to enter more fully into the almost incredible variations in the accounts of what happened at the sepulchre, after what has already been said (see, for enumeration, § 27).

(g) The conclusion of Mk. (16:7-20) is admittedly not genuine (see W. and H., Appendix, and above, § 4, n. 2). Still less can the shorter conclusion printed by W. and H. lay claim to genuineness. Should it be found that the longer, in accordance with an Armenian superscription found by Conybeare (*Expos.*, '93, pp. 241-254), was written by the presbyter Aristion—the name in the inscription is Ariston,—then a very unfavourable light would be shed upon this 'disciple of the Lord,' as Papias calls him. Almost the entire section is a compilation, partly even from the fourth gospel and Acts. At the same time the words 'for they were afraid' (ἐφοβούτο γὰρ, 16:8) cannot have been the close intended by the author, especially seeing that appearances in Galilee are announced (16:7). The suggestion that the author was interrupted as he was finishing is a mere makeshift. It cannot be urged in support of it that in Mt. and Lk. no traces of the conjectured genuine conclusion of Mk. are to be found. We could not be sure whether at least Mt. has not drawn from it, especially as he coincides entirely with Mk. 16:6f. But deliberate divergence from the (supposed) conclusion of Mk. would also be very intelligible, for Mt. and Lk. have already, as against Mk. 16:8, said the opposite of what lay before them in their exemplar. The fact that the last leaf of a book is always the most

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able to get lost can suffice to explain how the close of Mk. should have disappeared without leaving any trace. Yet a deliberate removal of it is also conceivable, and it did not answer the demands which had already come to be set up in the time of Mt. and Lk. Nothing can be conjectured with any certainty, except that it described an appearance of Jesus to the disciples. The fact that Peter is also individually named in 16:7 may perhaps be held to indicate that the conclusion contained also an appearance to Peter alone.

The foregoing sections may have sometimes seemed to raise a doubt whether any credible elements were to be found in the gospels at all; all the more emphatically therefore must stress be laid on the existence of passages of the kind indicated in § 131. Reference has already been made to Mk.

139. Absolutely credible passages: (a) About Jesus in general.

10:17 f. ('Why callest thou me good? none is good save God only'), as also to Mt. 12:31 f. (that blasphemy against the son of man can be forgiven),¹ and to Mk. 3:21 (that his relations held him to be beside himself; cp § 116 b d). To these, two others may now be added: Mk. 13:32 ('of that day and of that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son but the Father'; the words 'neither the Son' (οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός) are absent from Mt. in many MSS and the whole verse from Lk.; cp § 130 c); and Mk. 15:4 Mt. 27:46 ('My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?')—an utterance which Lk. has wholly omitted.

These five passages, along with the four which will be spoken of in § 140, might be called the foundation-pillars for a truly scientific life of Jesus. Should the idea suggest itself that they have been sought out with partial intent, as proofs of the human as against the divine character of Jesus, the fact that all events cannot be set aside that they exist in the Bible and demand our attention. In reality, however, they prove not only that in the person of Jesus we have to do with a completely human being, and that the divine is to be sought in him only in the form in which it is capable of being found in a man; they also prove that he really did exist, and that the gospels contain at least some absolutely trustworthy facts concerning him. If passages of this kind were wholly wanting in them it would be impossible to prove to a sceptic that any historical value whatever was to be assigned to the gospels; he would be in a position to declare the picture of Jesus contained in them to be purely a work of phantasy, and could remove the person of Jesus from the field of history,—all the more when the meagreness of the historical testimony regarding him, whether in canonical writings outside of the gospels, or in profane writers such as Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny, is considered.

(1) According to Mk. 8:12 Jesus emphatically declined to work a 'sign' (σημεῖον) before the eyes of his contemporaries; 'there shall no sign be given unto this generation.' In Mt. 12:39 16:4 and Lk. 11:29 this saying is given in the enlarged form, 'there shall no sign be given to this generation but the sign of Jonah (the prophet)'. Unless here the meaning intended be the exact contrary of what is said in Mk., the 'sign of Jonah' cannot be really a 'sign,' but rather the opposite of one.

To illustrate how, notwithstanding, it was possible for Jesus to express himself so, let us put an imaginary parallel case. A conqueror, without receiving any provocation, invades a country. Its inhabitants send an embassy to ask of him what justification he can show for his aggression. He gives the answer: 'You ask me what I can allege in justification? I shall give you no other justification than that which my sword gives.' The situation in the gospel is quite similar.

The one thing which Jesus has hitherto done, and, if he refuses to work signs (σημεῖα), the one thing which

¹ Lk. also as well as Mk. has his share in the weakening of this sentence, the verse he gives immediately before it being (12:9), 'he that denieth me in the presence of men shall be denied in the presence of the angels of God.'

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he can continue to do, is to preach. The main activity of Jesus also in like manner consisted in preaching. By the sign of Jonah accordingly is meant the opposite of a sign—viz. preaching like that of Jonah. This is shown also by the immediate sequel: 'the men of Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonah.' Next follows the example of the Queen of Sheba who came to hear the preaching of Solomon (Mt. 12:4) f. = Lk. 11:31 f.).

It is only in Mt. (12:4) that this good interpretation is broken by the interpretation that the sign of Jonah means his three days' sojourn in the belly of the whale, and that by this is signified the three days' sojourn of Jesus in the heart of the earth. But even apart from its breaking the connection, this verse, which rests only on misunderstanding of the ambiguous utterance in Lk. 11:31, is quite unsuitable for a 'sign' of course makes its impression only when it can be seen. The people of Nineveh could not discern the emergence of Jonah from the place of his sojourn, nor indeed have they stood at the door when he came to hear the preaching of Solomon (Mt. 12:4) f. = Lk. 11:31 f.).

(2) According to Mk. 6:5 f. Jesus was able to do no mighty work (save healing a few sick folk) in Nazareth and marvelled at the unbelief of its people. This then is the reason why he was unable. Mt. 13:8 is a manifest weakening of this: 'he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief.'

(3) In Mk. 8:14 the disciples, in the crossing of the lake, which has been touched on in § 135, are represented as having forgotten to take bread with them. Jesus says: 'Take heed, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod' (in Mt. 16:6: 'of the Pharisees and Sadducees'). This exhortation the disciples take as a reproach on them for their forgetfulness. But Jesus rebukes them for their little understanding, and reminds them of the feeding of the 5000 and of the 4000. The conclusion is given fully on by Mt. (16:11 f.), but unquestionably in the sense of Mk., 'How is it that ye do not perceive that I spake not to you concerning bread? . . . then understood they how that he bade them beware of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees.' Both evangelists have previously related the feeding of the 5000 and the 4000 as facts.

If Jesus reminds them of this, the consequence must of course be that they should think of material leaves as being what they are to beware of. In reality, however, the deduction is quite the opposite. This is possible only on one assumption—if the feeding of the 5000 and the 4000 was not a historical occurrence, but a parable having this as its point that the bread with which one man in the wilderness was able to feed a vast multitude signifies the teaching with which he satisfied their souls. On this view the closing statement of the narrative first finds its full explanation; mere bread remains over than was present at the beginning; truth is not consumed when it is communicated to others, but only serves to awaken in them ever new thoughts and an ever-growing power to satisfy in their turn the spiritual hunger of others. It is exceedingly surprising, yet at the same time evidence of a reproduction of earlier materials, that Mk. and Mt. should give the present narrative at all—a narrative which in their understanding of the miracle of the feeding is so meaningless.

Mt. has made some attempt, albeit a somewhat feeble one, to bring the two narratives into harmony. With him Jesus (16:6) reproaches the disciples for their little faith. Similarly Mk. at an earlier place (6:52), the wording of which recalls that of the present passage, alludes to the miracle of the loaves and implies that the disciples ought to have learned from it implicit faith in the supernatural power of Jesus even in the storm. All the more important is it to notice that in the passage of Mk. now before us (8:14-21) Jesus blames them, in the only fitting (and therefore the only original) way, for their little understanding; and Mt. by taking up this reproach in 16:11 shows that the other, that of unbelief, is not the original one.

(4) In Mt. 11:5 Lk. 7:22 Jesus sends an answer to the Baptist that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. As has been shown above (§ 137 a), both evangelists have seen to it that all the miracles mentioned have taken place, either at an earlier date, or before the eyes of the

Baptist's messengers. All the more remarkable therefore is it that the list should close with what is not a miracle at all. It would be impossible to counteract the preceding enumeration more effectively than by the simple insertion of this final clause. The evangelists therefore cannot have added it of their own proper motion. Neither could Jesus have neutralised the force of his own words—if we assume miracles to be intended—in such an extraordinary way. On the other hand the clause in question fits admirably, if Jesus was speaking not of the physically but of the spiritually blind, lame, leprosy, deaf, dumb. This is the meaning, too, which these words actually have in the OT passages, Is 35:5 f. 61:1, which lie at the root of this, and it also fits very well the continuation in Mt 11:6 Lk 7:21, which reads, 'Blessed is he who is not offended in me' (i.e., in my unpretentious simplicity). Here, therefore, we have a case, as remarkable as it is assured, in which a saying of Jesus, though completely misunderstood, has been—in its essence at least—incorporated with verbal accuracy in the gospels.

Jesus, then, declined to work signs (*σημεία*), and that, too, on principle. Mk 8:12 (and parallels) is not a saying of a kind that he could have uttered one day and broken the next;

141. Inference as to 'signs.' moreover he expressly says that no sign should be given to 'this [whole] generation,' because as a whole it was wicked and rebellious against God. Now the word *γένεσις* does not denote any kind of wonder, but only a wonder of the kind which serves the end of showing the power of him who works it—as, in the present case, the Messiahship of Jesus. But, so far as the reported miracles of Jesus have this end, they are, if this saying of his is to be accepted, no longer to be taken to be credible; either they never happened at all or (at least), if historical, they were not miraculous.

This applies very conspicuously to the withering of the fig-tree. Apart from the motive mentioned in § 137 f. β, this particular miracle is rejected by many theologians on the ground that such a deed, having no manifest saving purpose, appears to them unworthy of his character. The same principle will apply also, at least to the stilling of the storm and the walking upon the water, and likewise to the stater in the fish's mouth, even though, strangely enough, it is not expressly said anywhere that this miracle was actually carried out.

(α) As for the feeding of the 5000 and the 1000, so also for the withering of the fig-tree, we shall find a clue to the way in which the narrative arose

142. Origin of miraculous narratives in figurative speech. out of a parable. The narrative in question is not found in Lk., and this is, doubtless correctly, explained from the supposition that Lk. considered his parable (13:6-9) of the fig-tree—or

rather the unspoken sequel to the parable, that the tree had at last to be cut down after all—as identical with the narrative. By the fig-tree, in this view, was meant the nation of Israel, and that which we have seen to be impossible if the story is taken as a relation of actual fact (§ 137 f. β) becomes very effective as soon as the symbolical interpretation is adopted. At the close of his ministry, at his last passover festival, Jesus utters his curse upon the nation that has borne no fruit.

Figurative forms of expression, which could give rise to the story of the feeding, are also to be found in Mt 5:6: 'blessed are they that hunger,'¹ for they shall be filled,' and the verse which in Mk. (6:34) stands before the miraculous narrative, to the effect that Jesus taught the multitude, embodies in reality the substance of that narrative. For Peter's draught of fishes, cp Mk. 1:17 and Mt. 13:47-50.

It is not difficult to conjecture expressions made use of by Jesus out of which the narrative of the walking on the water and the stilling of the tempest could be framed, somewhat after the analogy of Mk. 11:22-24 and Lk. 17:6: 'if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, then shall ye be able to com-

mand the storm and it will obey, and ye shall be able to walk unharmed upon the troubled sea (of life).' Indeed even the words which actually stand in the passages last cited might have given occasion to the formation of miraculous narratives: 'If ye shall say to this mountain, Be thou cast into the sea, or to the sycamore tree, Be thou transplanted into the sea, so shall it be done.' But literalism of this sort even in those days had its limits.

(β) The same explanation is capable of being applied also where deeds or words attributed to Jesus himself are not concerned. It is very easily conceivable that a preacher on the death of Jesus may have said, purely figuratively, that then was the veil of the temple rent in twain (Mk 15:38 = Mt. 27:51 = Lk. 23:45). What he meant to say was that by the death of Jesus the ancient separation between God and his people was done away. By a misunderstanding, this saying could easily be taken up as statement of a literal physical fact. So also, if another preacher said, using figurative language, that at the death of Jesus the graves had opened (Mt. 27:52), or that darkness (of sorrow) had spread over all the earth (Mk. 15:33 = Mt. 27:45 = Lk. 23:44). Cp also § 26, n.

(γ) In the present connection we need not do more than allude very briefly to what by Strauss was regarded as almost the only source of origin for such miraculous narratives as had no real foundation in fact—namely,

143. Influence of OT passages. passages of the OT. These may very well have contributed to the shaping of such narratives, even though we do not assume that they originated them. For the raisings of the dead cp. 1 K. 17:17-24 2 K. 4:17-17; for the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, cp Ex. 16:1-18 Nu. 11:4-9 2 K. 4:42-44; for the walking upon the water Ps 77:20 [10] Is. 43:16 Job 9:8; for the stilling of the storm, Ps 107:23-32; for the healing of the withered hand 1 K. 18:36; for the healing of the dumb man, Wisd. 10:21.

(δ) Apart from the miracles, there is one OT passage which has very clearly influenced the form of the gospel narrative in Mt 21:7. It is impossible to deny Mt.'s representation here to be that Jesus rode into Jerusalem upon two asses. Even if one chooses to interpret the words as meaning that he sat upon the garments and not upon the animals the sense is substantially the same, for the garments were laid upon the asses. The misunderstanding rests only upon a too literal interpretation of the prophecy in Zech. 9:9, which is not shared by Mk. and Lk.

So also the number thirty (unmentioned in Mk. 11:11 Lk. 22:5) given to the sum received by Judas, as also the casting away of the money into the temple (Mt. 26:15 27:5), would seem to come not from tradition but from the passage in Zechariah (11:12 f.) expressly cited in Mt. 27:9 f. Upon Bethlehem, as the birthplace of Jesus, the virgin birth, the Magi, the flight into Egypt, the massacre of the innocents, see MARY [MOTHER OF JESUS] and NATIVITY.

According to Mk. 6:5 f. (see § 140 β) we are to understand that Jesus healed where he found faith. This

144. Miracles of healing. power is so strongly attested throughout the first and second centuries that, in view of the spiritual greatness of Jesus

and the imposing character of his personality, it would be indeed difficult to deny it to him. Even the Pharisees do not deny his miracles of healing, though they trace them to a compact with Beelzebub (Mk. 3:22 Mt. 9:34 12:24 Lk. 11:15). According to Mt. 12:27 = Lk. 11:19 the disciples of the Pharisees also wrought such miracles; the man who followed not with the disciples of Jesus cast out devils (Mk. 9:38-40 = Lk. 9:49 f.); the same is said of those whom in Mt. 7:22 f. Jesus rejects in his final judgment. Paul asserts that a like power was possessed by himself (2 Cor. 12:12 Rom. 15:16), and by other Christians (1 Cor. 12:3-11 28); Justin mentions castings-out of devils (*Apol.* 26 *Dial.* 30, 35, 39, 76, 85); so also Tertullian

¹ On the earliest text see § 123 α n.

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(*Apol.* 23), Irenaeus (2.11 f. *Eus.* III. 57), and Quadratus (*Eus.* III. v. 32).¹

That Jesus demanded faith is frequently stated (Mk. 9.21 f. Mt. 9.22), as also that he was approached with faith (Mk. 2.5 = Mt. 9.2 = Lk. 5.20; Mt. 8.10 = Lk. 7.9; Mt. 15.27 f. = Mk. 7.28 f., see § 109 d), and that he prayed.

Many of the accounts contain particulars that could hardly have been introduced at will merely for effect. Thus in Mk. 5.7-10 the devil does not leave the demoniac of Gerasa at the first adjuration; Jesus must first, just like a modern alienist, enter with the man into a conversation in which he elicits from him what his hallucinations are. In Mk. 9.14-29 all the symptoms shown by the boy, except the falling into the fire, can be paralleled from the descriptions of epilepsy in ancient medical writers (Kienke, *Beitr. zur Aufhellung der Gesch. u. d. Begriffe d. Paulus*, 2. Aufl. pp. 30-3).

Of course we must endeavour to ascertain how many, and still more what sorts of cures were effected by Jesus. It is quite permissible for us to regard as historical only those of the class which even at the present day physicians are able to effect by psychical methods,—as, more especially, cures of mental maladies. It is highly significant that, in a discourse of Peter (Acts 10.38), the whole activity of Jesus is summed up in this that he went about doing good and healing all those that were oppressed of the devil. By this expression only demoniacs are intended. Cp also Lk. 13.32. It is not at all difficult to understand how the contemporaries of Jesus, after seeing some wonderful deed or deeds wrought by him which they regarded as miracles, should have credited him with every other kind of marvellous power without distinguishing, as the modern mind does, between those maladies which are amenable to psychical influences and those which are not. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the cure may often have been only temporary. If there was a relapse, people did not infer any deficiency in the miraculous efficacy of the healer; they accounted for it simply by the return of the demon who had been cast out. On this point Mt. 12.43-45 is very characteristic. Perhaps also Lk. 8.2 may be cited in this connection, if the seven devils were cast out of Mary Magdalene not simultaneously but on separate occasions.

Most obscure of all are the two accounts, found only in Mk. (7.32-35; 8.22-26), according to which Jesus made use of saliva to effect a cure. Precisely in these two cases it is extraordinarily difficult to believe in a cure whether by this or by psychical methods.

(d) Even if the public ministry of Jesus had lasted for a few months only, he must have uttered a thousandfold more than all that has been recorded in the gospels. His longest discourse would, if delivered in the form in which it has come down to us, not have taken more than some five minutes in the delivery.

However self-evident, this has been constantly overlooked by the critics. They are constantly assuming that we possess the several words of Jesus that have been reported approximately in the same fullness with which they were spoken. For the parables perhaps (apart, of course, from the manipulations pointed out above, in §§ 109 d, 112 d, 128 c d) this may be to a certain extent true. Of other utterances, we have traced in Mt. 11.5 = Lk. 7.22 and Mk. 8.14-21 = Mt. 16.5-12 (§ 140 c d) one or two which must have been preserved almost *verbatim*. In what remains, however, it can hardly be sufficiently emphasised that we possess only an excessively meagre *fracture* of what Jesus said, namely, only so much as not only made an immediate impression when first heard, but also continued to survive the ordeal of frequent repetition (for much of it possessed too little interest for those who had not been actual ear-witnesses). In this process not only was an extraordinary number of utterances completely lost, but a

¹ As for Josephus, cp *BJ* ii. 8.6 vii. 6.3, *Ant.* iii. 11.4 viii. 2.5 and c. 19.131; for Pliny, *NH* 80.2; for Lucian, *Philop.* 16 f. According to Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.81), Vespasian effected several miraculous cures (cp above, col. 1456).

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large number of the sayings of Jesus now received for the first time that consecutive and pointed form which made them seem worthy of further repetition. Without doubt Jesus must very often have repeated himself, but what he assuredly often repeated in many variations has been preserved to us only in a single form. One may perhaps venture to compare the process with that of a photographer who prints from many negatives of the same individual on the same paper. There is produced in this way an 'average' likeness which when viewed from some distance seems satisfactory enough, but when it is more closely viewed the vagueness of its contours is at once discovered.

(e) The context in which we now find the sayings of Jesus must never (from what has been said in § 134) be taken as a trustworthy guide in determining what the original meaning may have been. In every case the context tells us only what the evangelists, or their predecessors, found it to mean; indeed in many cases it is impossible to believe that even for them the place where they introduce the saying is intended to convey any hint as to the meaning. A source like the *logia* had naturally very little stress upon this point. The greater number of the utterances of Jesus are like erratic blocks. All that one sees with perfect clearness is that they do not originally belong to the place where they are now found. What their original position was is unknown. The observer has to rest satisfied if in spite of its removal to a new site the real nature and quality of the stone can be made out; and this is happily very often the case.

On the other hand, a wholly mistaken line is taken when, for example, the attempt is made to base conclusions on any such assumption as that Jesus was apt to give forth parables or sayings in pairs. The parable of the leaven which in Mt. 13.31-33 and Lk. 13.20-21 immediately follows on that of the mustard seed is still wanting in Mk. 1.9-12. In Lk. 8. source as well as in Mk. 8. the sayings about the salt and about the light were still separate (not as connected as we now see them in Mt. 5.13-14). Equally futile are discussions as to the order in which Jesus may have beatitudes after hearing them (now he would be sure of retaining the original order). We cannot expect those who heard Jesus, in the Sermon on the Mount, to be so heedless as to ask whether it was heard by the disciples, or whether it was intended for the one or for the other. It is equally needless to ask whether it was heard by the multitude as well (§ 114). It is equally needless to ask whether it was intended for the one or for the other. Little of what is found in Mt. 5.7 recurs in Lk. 11.40-41. On Mt. 5.19 to see § 114, on 5.27-28 see § 145 c. In chap. 6, a really good connection is found only within each of the following groups: 6.1-6 with 6.10-12; 6.13-14; 7.1-5; 7.7-11; not between these groups reciprocally, nor yet between them and the other sayings contained in these chapters. Nay, there is not the least ground for supposing, because they are three in number, that Jesus enumerated immediately in succession these things in which according to Mt. 6.16-18 hypocrisy is to be avoided, quite apart from the fact that the enumeration is disturbed and broken by 7.1-5.

(f) Words of such pre-eminent importance as the Lord's Prayer or the words of institution of the Eucharist, or the description of a scene so unforgettable as that in which the sign is given by which the betrayer is made known (Mk. 14.18-20; Mt. 26.21-25; Lk. 22.21) are given in a very conflicting manner. Of the words uttered on the cross, Mk. and Mt. have only one, which in turn is omitted by Lk., who, however, gives three others. In this last case, however, one may be sure that Mk. and Mt. are in the right (§ 139); and to the three previous ones one may safely apply the maxim that additions are more likely than omissions; omissions would in fact be difficult to account for (§ 120 c). Mk. 14.22-24 accordingly, with omission of 'take' (*λάβετε*), may be regarded as the relatively (not absolutely) oldest form of the words of institution of the Eucharist. (Against the deletion of Lk. 22.19-20 see Schmiedel in *Hand-Commentar* on 1 Cor. 11.24.)

(g) While in the case of the Eucharistic words only Lk. is dependent on Paul, Mt. and still more Mk. avoiding his novelties, Paul in 1 Cor. 7 to f., as against all the synoptists, exhibits the earlier form of the prohibition of divorce. This we infer from the fact that it is he who gives the strictest form of the prohibition. Subsequent

relaxations in view of the difficulty in working the severer form, are intelligible, increases of stringency are not; especially would these be unintelligible in the case of Paul, who actually finds himself constrained (1 Cor. 7.15) on his own responsibility to introduce a relaxation of the law. Even the Epistle of James, although it already omits (5.12) Jerusalem as an object by which one can swear (§ 150), gives an older form of the precept against swearing than is found in Mt. 5.37; namely, 'Let your yea be a (simple) yea, and your nay a (simple) nay'.

(e) As for the substance of the sayings of Jesus, it has already been pointed out in §§ 109 f., 111, 112 f., 136 how little credence we can attach to the historicity of the sayings attributed to Jesus about the call of the Gentiles, the baptismal formula, the later conditions of the primitive church, and the postponement of his parousia. Here it may be added that in Mk. 14.9 a saying which certainly was originally the closing remark of a preacher on the mounting at Bethany is given as a word of Jesus. In Mt. (26.64) it is still further altered by the addition: 'Whoever *this* gospel shall be preached, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of.' As regards a passage of such great importance as Mk. 10.45—Mt. 20.28 ('to give his life a ransom for many'), judgment can be given only in accordance with the following considerations. It can be accepted as genuine if Jesus spoke of his life as a ransom in no other sense than that in which he did so at the last supper—i.e., as an offering not for sin but for the immunity of his followers, after the manner of the Passover lamb in Egypt, or for ratification of their covenant with God as in Gen. 15.10-17 Jer. 31.48 Ex. 24.8, and if he did so at a date not too long before his death. Otherwise the doubt will have to be expressed, that the sentence comes from the Pauline theology. In any case it is noteworthy that it is absent from Lk. 22.27.

That Jesus had in view the possibility of his death some considerable time before it came upon him is not unlikely. But the very precise predictions of it with their various details are open to the suspicion that they took shape at a later date in accordance with the facts of history, and least of all is it credible that Jesus should have put forth such a prediction directly after Peter's confession Mk. 8.31 Mt. 16.21 Lk. 16.22. This confession must have been one of the supreme moments in the consciousness of Jesus—the discovery that he was finding recognition as the Messiah and was winning his battle. Suffering and death are the very opposite of all that is looked for in the Jewish Messiah, and of what Jesus at that moment could have looked forward to for himself.

(f) From the eschatological discourses disappears everything specifically apocalyptic concerning the signs of his parousia, if the separation of the 'little Apocalypse' as made in § 124 f. is correct. This does not, however, by any means imply the elimination of all eschatological utterances whatsoever. On the contrary, there still remain to be attributed to Jesus the words in Mt. 16.27 f. 26.29-34 (ultimately also 10.21 19.28 f.; see § 112 d) in which he prophesies his return with the clouds of heaven, and the like. This is in fact quite intelligible, and even necessary, if he held himself to be the Messiah; in such a case it would have been impossible for him to believe that God would allow him and his work to go to ruin through the persecutions of his enemies. The failure of these prophecies to come to fulfilment ought in no case to lead to any attempt to make out that they were not uttered by Jesus, or to interpret them in such a sense as causes their inconsistency with the facts to disappear. As has been shown in §§ 111, 112 e, 113, the evangelists found that much trouble was required in order to tone down this inconsistency; they had not the least occasion, therefore, to invent such predictions or to heighten them; the prophecies must have lain before them as quite fixed elements of tradition.

Another question is whether Jesus foretold the destruction of the temple as in Mk. 13.2 Mt. 24.2 Lk. 21.6. If the 'little Apocalypse' (Mk. 13.1 Mt. 24.1-2) or Rev. 11.1 f. is from a Christian hand, the answer can hardly be affirmative, for a Christian writer could hardly have presumed the continued existence of the temple in contradiction to Jesus' own prophecy. Both these

pieces, however, may be Jewish; and Jesus could have foreseen the destruction of Jerusalem even without supernatural knowledge. In no case, however, ought we to lay weight on the circumstance that he connects it with the end of the world, for this arises from the fusion of the (certainly vacillating) tradition regarding his own words with the 'little Apocalypse' (§ 124 f.). Therefore, also, we must refuse to entertain the conjecture that in reality he prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem only, and that his alleged prediction of the end of the world rests on a misunderstanding of the disciples. According to the same mode of reasoning, he cannot have prophesied his resurrection alone without adding a prediction of his second coming from heaven; for this, according to the general and most ancient belief, which makes no mention of an ascension also (1 Cor. 15.4-12 Rom. 8.34 Eph. 1.20 2.6, Acts 2.32-35 Heb. 1.1 10.12 12.1 13.20 Rev. 1.13) i. Pet. 3.18-22 Eph. 4.9-10, carried him direct to heaven; but there was quite as general a belief that as Messiah his work of setting up the kingdom of God upon earth required his presence here.

Of all these predictions it is possible to deny that they were uttered by him only if it be at the same time denied that he held himself to be the Messiah. But in that case it will be impossible to explain how the disciples, who had been thrown into the utmost depths of despondency by his death, nevertheless came to be able to believe in his resurrection. Those theologians who go so far as to remove all the utterances of Jesus to the effect that he was the Messiah, hardly continue to hold that the belief in his resurrection rests on anything more real than the visions of the disciples which arose out of their subjective mental condition. All psychology, however, affirms that visions arise only when that which is seen in the concrete has previously taken firm and living hold on the soul of the visionary. The belief is therefore inevitable that the disciples had already, in the lifetime of Jesus, held him to be the Messiah. They could not, however, have done so without acquainting him with this belief of theirs; and if he had denied it, it is impossible to understand how their respect for his authentic declaration should have permitted them to go on believing the opposite. As regards the date of his second coming, the statements in Mt. 16.28 (that it would be before the then living generation had passed away) and in 26.64 (that it would be immediately, ἀπ' ἀπρὸς) have a like claim to probability. Whatever he may have said as to this, it is most certain that he also declared that 'none knoweth of that day or of that hour' (Mk. 13.32 Mt. 21.36).

(g) It would be quite out of place to look in the gospels for direct statements as to any development in Jesus during the period of his public activity. The latest date at which reverence for him would have allowed a conception of anything of the kind to be assigned is that of his temptation (Mt. 4.1-11 Lk. 4.1-13) before his ministry began. It could only be from unconscious touches of theirs that we could be led to conjecture any development later than this. Yet such a conjecture we may venture to make, for example, as regards Jesus' freedom of attitude towards the Mosiac law. What he says in Mt. 5.21 f. about murder, or in 5.27 f. about adultery, may be easy enough to reconcile with his declaration that he is not come to destroy the law (5.17); but the case is otherwise with the sayings immediately following, upon divorce (5.31 f. 19.1-9), upon swearing (5.33-37), upon retaliation (5.38-42), upon love of one's enemy (5.43-48), as also upon the laws about foods (Mk. 7.1-23 = Mt. 15.1-20), and about the Sabbath (Mk. 2.23-36 and parallels). If the first-mentioned conservative saying (5.17) is to be held genuine, we must assign it to the first period of the public activity of Jesus. It is in fact quite credible that Jesus, who unquestionably was a pious Jew, at first saw in the Mosiac law the unalterable will of his Father, and regarded the errors of the Pharisees as consisting only in a too external apprehension of it. But it is equally intelligible that in the course of his controversy with them, he should have become convinced how many precepts the law in point of fact embodied which were antagonistic to the spirit of religion as it had revealed itself to him. It was one of his greatest achievements that he sacrificed the letter of the law to this and not this to the letter of

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the law; but we may be sure that it cost him many a hard struggle.

(h) Another point in regard to which we may venture to conjecture some development in Jesus during his public life is his Messiahship. As late as on the occasion of Peter's confession we find him commanding his disciples to keep this a secret (Mk. 8.30 Mt. 16.50 Lk. 9.21). With this it agrees that in Mk., before this date, he applies the designation 'Son of Man' to himself only twice¹ (2.10, 2.20). In Mt., on the contrary, he does so very often, and, besides, the significance of Peter's confession is completely destroyed by 14.33, where already all the apostles have been made to declare him to be the Son of God. In Mt., accordingly, this trace of development in Jesus' thinking is obliterated.

(i) It is when the purely religious-ethical utterances of Jesus come under consideration that we are most advantageously placed. Here especially applies the maxim laid down in § 131 (end) that we may accept as credible everything that harmonises with the idea of Jesus which has been derived from what we have called the 'foundation pillars' (§ 139 f.) and is not otherwise open to fatal objection. Even though such utterances may have been liable to Ebionitic heightening, and already, as showing traces of this, cannot lay claim to literal accuracy—even though they may have been unconsciously modified into accord with conditions of the Christian community that arose only at a later date—even though they may have undergone some distortion of their meaning through transference to a connection that does not belong to them—the spirit which speaks in them is quite unmistakable. Here we have a wide field of the wholly credible in which to expatiate, and it would be of unmixed advantage for theology were it to concentrate its strength upon the examination of these sayings, and not attach so much importance to the minute investigation of the other less important details of the gospel history.

IV. AUTHORS AND DATES OF THE GOSPELS AND THEIR MOST IMPORTANT SOURCES.

Evangelion means originally (and still continues to do so in 2 S. 4.6) the reward given for a piece of good news,

146. Title of the gospels.

(εὐαγγέλιον) in 2 S. 18.20, 27. For religious tidings we have the verb (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι) in 1s. 61.1, cited in Lk. 4.13. The NT has the substantive also in this sense. It was a serious error on Origen's part when (ap. Eus. *HE* vi. 256) he took the Gospel of Lk. to be meant where Paul speaks of 'my Gospel' (Rom. 2.16 2 Tim. 28). In the *Didaché* 15.4 also, *evangelion* still signifies the substance of the gospel history without reference to the book in which it was written; so too in 8.2, 'the Lord says in his gospel'; so too in Irenaeus when he describes the gospel as fourfold (iii. 11.1[8]); so too even in the Muratorian fragment (l. 2: *evangelii libri*). But here we already find also (l. 17) *evangeliorum libri*; similarly Justin (§ 76) speaks of the '*memorabilia* of the apostles which are called gospels,' and Claudius Apollinaris says in the *Chron. Pasch.* στασιασέν δοκεῖ τὰ εὐαγγέλια (ep JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 4.2, 5.4), 'the gospels seem to contradict one another.' Thus it was not till the middle of the second century that the word came to signify a book, and, even after that, till the end of the second century, it continued to bear its original meaning as well. The titles 'Gospel according to Matthew,' 'to Mark,' etc., accordingly do not, linguistically considered, mean 'the written Gospel of Matthew,' etc.; still less, however, 'written Gospel based on communications by Matthew,' as if the very titles

¹ We firmly hold that by this name he means to designate himself as the Messiah—and that too even in Mk. 2.10, 28, although these are the two places in which there is most justification for the attempt to make it mean 'man' in general. Cp § 139 c; also SON OF MAN.

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conveyed that Matthew, Mark, and the others were not the authors, but only the guarantors for the contents of the books. The inscription means simply 'Gospel history in the form in which Matthew put it into writing.' In Mk. 1.1 the expression 'the Gospel of Jesus Christ' seems already to designate a book; but at the same time it teaches us that the writer of these words cannot have set down as title to the whole book the words 'Gospel according to Mark' (εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον). Thus also in Mt. and Lk. etc. the titles (εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μ., κατὰ Λ.) do not come from the authors. In fact the writings bore no superscription at all.¹ Every one who possessed any book of this sort will have called it 'the gospel' (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), just as in the case of Marcion the gospel of Lk. which he caused to be used in his congregations was called simply 'gospel' (εὐαγγέλιον). The additions with 'according to' (κατὰ) became necessary at a later date when people began to possess several such books either separately or bound together in one volume. If, therefore, it should prove not to be the case that our gospels were severally written by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the statements that they were do not arise from falsification on the part of the actual authors, but only from error on the part of the church fathers, such as Papias or the person upon whom he relied.

Besides the statements of Papias (§ 65), at most those only of the church fathers of the close of the second and the beginning of the third century referred to in §§ 75-82 can come into consideration here. How small, however, is the confidence that can be

147. Statements of the church fathers.

placed in the authors of these will at once be evident when it is remembered that Irenaeus (and similarly Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 4.2) declares Luke to have committed to writing the Gospel preached by Paul. The details of the life of Jesus had so little interest for Paul that, for example, in 2 Cor. 8.9 in order to induce the Corinthians to contribute liberally to the collection for the poor in Palestine he is able to adduce no other feature in Jesus as a pattern than the fact of his having become man. As his explicit declarations in 2 Cor. 5.16 1 Cor. 1.23 Gal. 3.1 tell us, he preached extremely little to his congregations about the earthly life of Jesus. The whole attribution to Paul of the gospel of Lk., which, according to Origen, the apostle even refers to in Rom. 2.16 as 'my Gospel' (§ 146), is only an expedient which the church fathers adopted to enable them to assign a quasi-apostolic origin to the work of one who was not himself an apostle.

For this reason suspicion attaches also to the statement that the gospel of Mk. rested upon communications of Peter (§ 148), especially as it is accompanied with an elaborate apology for Mark's undertaking.

The statements of the church fathers, moreover, are not in the least consistent among themselves. According to Irenaeus, Matthew wrote his gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome—thus somewhere in the sixties,—while according to a tradition in Eusebius (*HE* iii. 246) he wrote it before his departure from Palestine into foreign parts, that is to say, much earlier. Again, according to Irenaeus, Mark wrote after the death of Peter and Paul, while according to Clement of Alexandria, Peter lived to see the completion of Mark's gospel. Nay, more,—the two statements as to Peter's attitude to this gospel which Eusebius (*HE* ii. 17.2 and vi. 14.6 f.) takes from Clement (§ 80) are in conflict with each other, quite apart from the question whether Clement did not also regard the Gospels that had genealogies as older than those which had not. In short, all that can be said to be certain is this, that it is vain to look to the church fathers for trustworthy information on the subject of the origin of the gospels.

¹ Βιβλος γειώσεως in Mt. 1.1 could, at a subsequent date, be regarded as such after the analogy of Gen. 2.4; after that of Gen. 5.1 it originally referred only to the genealogy of Jesus, Mt. 1.1-17.

According to Papias (see § 65), and also his authority, the second gospel was written by MARK (7.7.). Mark is known to us from Acts 12:12-13.

148. Author of Mk.

There is also an inclination to identify him with the young man who left his garment in the hands of his pursuers in the garden of Gethsemane (Mk. 14:51 f.). This conjecture, however, has no value, of course, in the way of proof either that the young man was Mark, or that he was the author of the second gospel; he need only be one of the chief vouchers for its contents. In what Papias says the important point is not so much the statement that Mark wrote the gospel as the further statement that Peter supplied its contents orally. If the student interprets the narratives of the feeding of the five thousand and of the four thousand, of the stilling of the storm, of the walking upon the water, of the withering of the fig-tree, and so forth, in the manner that has been indicated in preceding sections of this article (§§ 137, 140-143), then the supposition that the gospel is essentially a repetition of oral communications by Peter, will at once fall to the ground. But even apart from this, the compass of the entire work is far too short.

It is hardly felicitous to say in reply to this that Mk. repeats so few of the words of Jesus because he was aware that the others were already known through the logia (§ 125g). Why, in that case, then, does he fill some seven of his sixteen chapters with these? As for what Mk. tells us about Peter personally, it certainly is true that the statements concerning him in which Mk. is richer than Mt. (his walking upon the water, 14:28-31; the promise given him, 16:17-19; the sinner in the fish's mouth, 17:24-27) can make no claim to historicity. But the statements in which, e.g., Wernle (p. 197) recognises the leading position of Peter (he finds it necessary to add also 'and of the sons of Zebedee'), are found with trifling exceptions in Mt. and Lk. also. Only Mk. 1:36, 13:3, 16:7 are wanting in both the others; Mk. 3:16, 5:37 is wanting also in Mt. only, and Mk. 14:33, 37 in Lk. only. Peter's leading position in the gospel, in any case corresponds to the actuality. But precisely for this reason the statements regarding it are all the less conclusively shown to be derived from Peter personally.

Whether it was original Mk. that arose in the manner described by Papias will be differently judged according to the various opinions that are held regarding that writing. No answer to a question of this sort, however, can be of any real service to gospel criticism, for we no longer possess original Mk. Should Mark have written in Aramaic then he cannot be held to have been the author of canonical Mk., which is certainly not a translation (see § 130b), nor yet, in view of the LXX quotations which have passed over into all three gospels, can he be held to have been the author of original Mk., but only to have been the author of the source from which the last-named writer drew.

The employment of various sources (amongst others, of Mk., or original Mk.), the characteristic difference of the quotations from the LXX and the original (§ 130a), the indefiniteness of the determinations of time and place (§§ 132, 135), the incredibilities of the contents (§§ 108, 137), the introduction of later conditions (§ 136), as also the artificial arrangement (§ 133a), and so forth, have long since led to the conclusion that for the authorship of the First Gospel the apostle Matthew must be given up.

All the more strenuously is the effort made to preserve for Matthew the authorship of the logia. From the contents it is clear that one must assign to the logia many things which no ear-witness can have heard from the mouth of Jesus. This is the case even if only discourses (for examples, see § 136 and also § 150) are sought in the logia, or if it is assumed that the legalistic and Jewish-particularistic passages were first introduced in the course of a revision (§ 129c). If one derives most of the narratives also from the logia, the considerations against their apostolic origin already adduced in § 148 become still more cogent. That the apostle Matthew should have been the author of a still older writing is not excluded. On this supposition the statement of Papias—that he wrote

in Aramaic—becomes also possible, which cannot be said of the logia according to § 130a. But there remains this difficulty, that according to the prologue of Lk. no eye-witnesses of the life of Jesus took pen in hand—none at least appear to have produced any writing which Lk. would have called a 'narrative' (διήγησις) (§ 153, n. 2).

In Mt. 5:21 f. the Jewish judicial procedure is still presupposed; in 5:23 f. the sacrificial system; and in

150. Date of logia.

5:35 Jerusalem is referred to as still a city while in Jas. 5:12 the swearing by Jerusalem is significantly omitted; it was certainly no longer in existence then. While it is not practicable to prove by means of these passages that Mt. was composed before 70 A.D. (see § 151), they strongly tend to establish that earlier date for the logia.

Mt. 23:35 is in the highest degree remarkable. Zachariah the son of Berechiah is the well-known prophet of the OT, who did not suffer martyrdom. But, according to 2 Ch. 24:20 f., Zachariah the son of Jehoiada did so suffer. This was about 750 B.C., so that he certainly cannot be called the last martyr, and least of all can he be so called merely because Chronicles is the last book in the OT. From Josephus (*H. J.* iv. 5.4, § 343) we learn that in the year 68 A.D. Zachariah the son of Baruch (Νικόμαχος, βασιλίου, βασιλίου) was put to death ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἵεροῦ. The conjecture is a very obvious one that the author had this event in his mind. If it be correct, the date of composition will have to be placed considerably later than 68 A.D., as the writer could not, very shortly after this event, easily have confounded this Zachariah with some other who had lived before, or in, the time of Jesus. It must not be overlooked, however, that according to Lk. 11:49-51 the source of this narrative is the *Sophia* of God, that is to say, according to the most probable conjecture, a book distinct from the logia which either bore on its title the words 'Wisdom of God' or introduced the Wisdom of God as speaking. It is doubtful therefore whether the passage is to be assigned to the logia.

For the earliest instance in which a passage is quoted which now is to be found in our canonical Mt. (Epistle of Barnabas) see § 89. It is not permissible to infer a date earlier than 70

151. Date of canonical Mt.

A.D. either from the 'straightway' (εὐθέως) which Mt. 24:29 has retained from the 'little Apocalypse' (see §§ 111, 124b) or from the other indicia adduced in § 150. In Mt. 22:7 the destruction of Jerusalem is clearly presupposed as already past (see § 112b). The church-conditions also, as well as the postponement of the parusia (see §§ 136, 112c), point to a later date. It is not practicable to separate these passages as later interpolations, and thus gain for the Gospel as a whole the earlier date. They are much too numerous, and many of them—as, for example, precisely 22:6 f.—much too closely implicated with a tendency which pervades the entire work (§ 112ab). On the other hand, it is quite open to us to regard some of them as interpolations: for example, 16:17-19, or the baptismal formula 28:19, or the appearance of Jesus to the women 28:9 f., or also chaps. 1 f. Substantially, these are the leading passages on account of which many are disposed to bring down the date of the entire gospel as late as to 130 A.D. The fact that it was used, as well as Mk. and Lk., by the author of the Fourth Gospel would not forbid this late date (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 49-52). Probably, however, its main contents must have been in existence at an earlier period if they were known to Lk. (§§ 127, 153), and even the most of chaps. 1 f. is presupposed to have been in existence if it can be shown that in 119 A.D. a final addition was introduced into it. This has been suggested as regards the story of the Magi: a Syriac writing, ascribed to Eusebius of Caesarea, which was published by William Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1866, pp. 117 ff. and discussed by Nestle¹ and Hilgenfeld in *ZWT.* '93, 1, pp. 435-438, and '95, pp. 447-451, makes the statement, which can hardly have been invented, that this narrative, committed to writing in the interior of Persia, was in

¹ The heading of the whole tractate is, according to Nestle, *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Magier: zeigend, wie und durch was die Magier den Stern erkannten und dass Joseph Maria nicht als sein Weib nahm.*

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119 A.D., during the episcopate of Nystus of Rome, made search for, discovered, and written in the language of those who were interested in it (that is to say, in Greek).

As regards canonical Mk. we possess a datum for fixing its date only if we assume it to have been the book that was used by Mt. and Lk.

152. Date of canonical Mk. If we find ourselves unable to do this it is open to us to suppose that it may have received its final form later than Mt. and Lk.

It is not, however, justifiable to find a proof of this in the fact that in 11 it designates the public appearance of the Baptist as the beginning of the gospel of Jesus. Some scholars have detected here a silent polemic against those gospels which begin with the narratives relating to the nativity of Jesus. The significant avoidance of the 'straightway' (*εὐθέως*) of Mt. 21:29 in Mk. 13:24 (§ 113) certainly points clearly to the period after the destruction of Jerusalem. On Mk. 16:7-20, see § 138g.

If Luke, the companion of Paul, cannot have been the author of Acts (see ACTS, §§ 9-15), neither can he have been the author of the Third Gospel. That both works are from the same pen may be regarded as quite certain.

153. Author and date of Lk.

The weightiest evidences of the employment of Josephus by Lk. are seen in Acts (see ACTS, § 16); yet tolerably many are found in the gospel also. In that case the year 100 A.D. will be the superior, and somewhere about 110 A.D. the inferior, limit of the date of its composition, since there must have been a considerable interval between the production of the gospel and that of Acts. The very precise description of the destruction of Jerusalem in Lk. 19:41 f. 21:11-20-24 is in full accord with history and, in language, with Josephus. It cannot exactly be pronounced absolutely impossible that it should nevertheless have been written before 70 A.D., for a lively imagination acquainted with the localities could hardly have presented them very differently. Only, the prediction of the 'little Apocalypse' (§ 124b) which is still rightly interpreted in Mt. and Mk. in accordance with Daniel (see DANIEL, ii.) as referring to the setting up of a foreign image in the temple has been made by Lk., wrongly yet very skilfully, in accordance with the expression *ἐρηώσας*,¹ to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem (21:20). Upon this event, he says, will follow (v. 24) the times of the Gentiles (§ 111) during which Jerusalem is to be trodden under foot. Not till after these times are the signs in heaven to appear and the Son of Man to come with clouds (vv. 25-27), and not till this point does he promise to the followers of Christ their redemption and the coming of the Kingdom of God (vv. 28-31). Had Lk. written before the destruction of Jerusalem we might have expected him to have thought of this event as connected with the second coming of Jesus. That instead of this he should represent the judgment day (v. 22) and the beginning of the kingdom of God as being separated by so long an interval is, as compared with all prophecy and apocalyptic, something quite new and admits of only one explanation—that the destruction of Jerusalem could at the time of writing be no longer regarded as a recent event.

In his prologue Lk. distinguishes himself not only from the eye-witnesses of the life of Jesus but also from the many who before him had written comprehensive gospels,² and from the number of these, he again seems to exclude the eye-witnesses.

¹ *יְהוָה שָׁמַיָא* in Dan. 12:11 (cp 9:27 11:31) is simply a veiled expression for *יְהוָה שָׁמַיָא*—'Lord of heaven'—i.e., Zeus, whose altar (or statue?) was erected upon the altar of burnt-offering in December 163 B.C. (1 Macc. 1:54-59). The Syriac Bible actually gives *יְהוָה שָׁמַיָא* in 2 Macc. 8:2 in connection with this event as a rendering of the Greek word *Zeus*. Thus Daniel had not desolation in his mind in the least. See ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION. Further information as to similar veiled designations of heathen deities is given in Winer¹⁸, § 5, n. 56.

² The verb *ἀνατάσσας* (FV 'set forth in order') denotes (both in itself, and because, by the words 'also to me' [*καὶ μοι*], Lk. applies it also to his own performance) the composition of a com-

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Lk. makes a quite clear division: the eye-witnesses have handed down (*παρέδοσαν*), and that by word of mouth, otherwise no purpose would have been served by adding to 'eye-witnesses' (*αὐτόντας*) the further predicate 'ministers of the word' (*ἐμπέται τοῦ λόγου*); others have composed gospel writings; and Lk. seeks to excel these last by accurate research (or by taking up the narrative from an earlier point) and by correct arrangement. That he himself had direct intercourse with eye-witnesses is therefore not very probable, and it is not at all expressed by the word (1:2), 'they delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word,' for immediately before he speaks of 'the things which have been fulfilled among us,' a phrase by which he obviously cannot mean himself and his contemporaries, but only Christendom generally; similarly therefore in v. 2. Cp §§ 37-64.

The discussion of the dates of the gospel yields, it will be seen, but few definite results. We have deliberately refrained from making use of

154. Conclusion. certain arguments which could be more or less easily applied otherwise. All the more would we emphasise the proposition, that our uncertainty on the chronological question by no means carries with it any uncertainty in the judgment we are to form of the gospels themselves. The chronological question is in this instance a very subordinate one. Indeed, even if our gospels could be shown to have been written from 50 A.D. onwards, or even earlier, we should not be under any necessity to withdraw our conclusions as to their contents; we should, on the contrary, only have to say that the indubitable transformation in the original tradition had taken place much more rapidly than one might have been ready to suppose. The credibility of the gospel history cannot be established by an earlier dating of the gospels themselves in any higher degree than that in which it has already been shown to exist, especially as we know that even in the lifetime of Jesus miracles of every sort were attributed to him in the most confident manner. But as the transformation has departed so far from the genuine tradition, it is only in the interest of a better understanding and of a more reasonable appreciation of the process that one should claim for its working out a considerable period of time.

By way of appendix a few words must be said here on the question, postponed from APOCRYPHA (§ 26, 1) t

155. The gospel of the Hebrews. this place, as to whether the gospel of the Hebrews is to be reckoned among the sources of the synoptics. Accord-

ing to the church fathers this gospel was the Hebrew or Aramaic form of canonical Mt. If this were correct, it would not have been necessary for Jerome to make a separate translation of it. According to Nicholson (*The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, 79) it was a later Hebrew edition of the gospel of Mt., issued after the Greek had already been published by Matthew himself. Since Lessing's time (§ 117) it has often been regarded—especially in the Tübingen school—as one of the sources, or even as the most ancient, or even as the only, source of our synoptics. Handmann, again (*Hebraer-evangelium in Texte u. Untersuch.* 53, '88), identifies it with the logia. That it may have been, in some older form, one of the sources of the Synoptics cannot be contradicted; but neither can it be proved, for we no longer possess the older form. Among the fragments preserved to us there are only a few which are not open to challenge on the score of their late date. Many on the other hand are unquestionably late legends; e.g., James, the brother of Jesus, swore at the last supper (where according to our evangelists he cannot even have been present) to eat nothing till he should have beheld Jesus after his resurrection; Jesus accordingly appeared in the first instance to him, brought bread, broke it, and gave it to him. Or, again, at the death of Jesus the superliminare or lintel of the temple was broken. Or, Jesus is reported to have said: 'even

prehesive work in accordance with literary aims. *ἀνατάσσας* (AV 'declaration, RV 'narrative') accordingly must also mean this, and not a mere statement about a particular occurrence, without pretension to literary art (cp §§ 124 a 129 d).

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now has my mother, the Holy Spirit, seized me by one of my hairs and borne me to the great mountain Tabor': and more of the like.

It is almost universally conceded that the fragments of the so-called gospel of the Ebionites can claim antiquity in a much less degree still than can the gospel of the Hebrews to which it is related.

(a) *Other uncanonical gospel-fragments.*—The so-called logia of Jesus found at Oxyrhynchus, first published by Grenfell and Hunt.

These contain, besides an (almost) verbatim repetition of Lk. 6:42, sentences which go far beyond the Johannine theology, and have absolutely nothing analogous to them in the canonical gospels. It would be

156. Other uncanonical gospel fragments. a great error to see in them a portion of the logia of Mt. But the hypothesis also, that they are excerpts from the gospel of the Egyptians, has its strongest support only in the fact that according to accounts this gospel itself was of an equally mixed character. Moreover, the identification cannot be made out, were it only for this reason—that we cannot know whether these seven or eight sayings were excerpted wholly from one book, or whether they were compiled from a variety of sources. For, in fact, the principle on which such a heterogeneous variety of sayings has been brought together is quite obscure to us (cp § 80).

(b) Jacoby (*Ein neues Evangelienfragment*, 1900) has published a Coptic fragment which, amongst other things, touches upon the scene in Gethsemane.

In character this is the same mixture of Synoptic and Johannine or even supra-Johannine ideas as has been observed in the Oxyrhynchus logia. Its derivation from the gospel of the Egyptians is just as questionable as is that of those logia. If then we read in it—what, according to the connection, it can hardly be doubted, notwithstanding the fragmentary character of the piece, we ought to read—that Jesus used the words, 'The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak,' with reference to himself and not with reference to the disciples, and if we should feel inclined to regard this as the more original application, we must not do so merely on account of the source in which we find it.

(c) The case is quite similar with the gospel according to Peter (see PETER).

(d) The fragment, first published by Bickell in the *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1885, pp. 498-504, which has been dealt with by (amongst others) Harnack (*Texte u. Untersuch.* 54, pp. 481-497) and Resch (*ibid.* 102; pp. 28-34, 322-327).

This fragment contains in a somewhat divergent form the prediction of Jesus that all his disciples would be offended in him and that Peter would deny him, mentioning also that the cock crowed twice; it agrees most strongly with Mk. 14:29-30 but also with Mt. 26:31 by the words, 'in this night,' since these words in Mk. do not occur in τ 27 but only in τ 30. That we have here before us a pre-canonical form of the text cannot be proved with certainty from the divergences in individual words. A stronger argument is supplied by the fact that in the present fragment τ 28 of Mk. (cp τ 32 of Mt.) is wanting—a verse which has long been recognised as disturbing the connection: 'After I am risen again I will go before you into Galilee.' At the same time, we must not forget that it may have been omitted precisely for this reason, if we are dealing with a free excerpt. Neither does this fragment, then, supply us with an irrefragable proof for the existence of written sources for our gospels.

(e) The so-called *dicta Jesu agrapha*, that is to say, sayings of his which are not met with in the gospels, have been collected with great care by Resch in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 54, '89.

Resch's judgment of these, his readiness to recognise genuine sayings of Jesus preserved even in the latest church fathers, and his employment of these for his Hebrew original gospel (§ 117) have, however, met with very just criticism in the same series (142) at the hands of Ropes (*Die Sprüche Jesu, die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht überliefert sind*, '96). At the same time Ropes himself in accepting so many as fourteen sayings as probably genuine has perhaps gone too far. A somewhat richer selection, but without pronouncing any judgment as to their genuineness, is given by Nestle in *New Testament supplement*, '96, pp. 89-92, where, besides a collation of Codex D, the extra-canonical fragments as a whole will be found very conveniently brought together.

Literature.—A. In German.—For facility of reference we group the present selection from the German literature on the Synoptical problem

157. Literature. partly according to the methods they

1 It is so applied in the Roman Missal and Breviary (see Office for Palm Sunday).

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employ, and partly according to the views they maintain.

i. Mainly tendency-criticism.—(a) Mt., Lk., Mk.: Baer, *Krit. Unters. über die kanon. Evang.*, 47; *Marcansevangeliem*, '51; Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, i. 44-103 ('87); *Aus dem Urchristentum*, i. 28-45, 221-226 ('75).

(b) Mt., Mk., Lk.: Hilkenfeld, *Marcansevangeliem*, '50; *Die Evangelien*, '54; ZWT from '58 onwards; Holsten, *Die drei ursprünglichen Evangelien*, '83; *Die synopt. Evangelien*, '85; cp § 125a.

(c) Mk., Lk., Mt.: Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der evang. Gesch. der Synoptiker*, 41 f.; *Kritik der Evangelien*, '50-52; Volkmar, *Die Evangelien oder Marcus und die Synopsis*, '70; *Marcus und die Synopsis der Evangelien*, '76; *Jesus Nazarenus*, '82; Schulze, *Evangelienentwurf*, '61, ('86).

ii. Mainly, or entirely, literary criticism.—(a) Mk., Lk., Mt.: Wilke, *der Urzvangeliist*, '33; Pfeiderer, *Urchristentum*, '87.

(b) Schleiermacher, *Über die Schriften des Lukas*, '17; *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1812, pp. 735-768 (= *il erste zur Theologie*, ii. 1-220, 261-302); cp §§ 120, 124a.

(c) Theory of two sources (Mk. and the logia): Weiss, *Evangel. Gesch.*, '33; *Evangelienfrage*, '56 (but see § 125b); Wernle, *Die synopt. Frage*, '99.

(d) Original gospel of Philip, with the logia: Ewald, *Die 3 ersten Evangelien*, '50, ('71); JRV, 1843:64.

(e) Original Mk. with the logia: Holtzmann, *Die synopt. Evangelien*, '63; JPT, 1878, pp. 145-188, 328-382, 511-563; *Theol. Jahrbuch*, from '81. Cp § 125c. Weissaker, *Unters. über die evang. Gesch.*, '64; *Das apostol. Zeitalter*, '30, ('92). Johannes Weiss, *St. u. Kr.*, 1890, pp. 555-569 ('Bekehrungsrede'); 1891, pp. 289-321 ('Parabelrede'); 1892, pp. 246-270 ('Wiederkehrrede'); in Meyer, *Komm. zu Mk.*, 1881, pp. 594-602; cp § 118. Feine, JPT, '85-'88; *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lk.*, '91.

(f) Apostolic source = the logia: Bernhard Weiss, *St. u. Kr.*, 1861, pp. 29-100, 646-711; 1883, 571-594; JDT, 1864, pp. 49-140; 1865, 319-376. JPT, 1878, pp. 569-592; *Marcansevangeliem*, '72; *Matthäusevangeliem*, '76; in Meyer's *Komm. zu Mt.*, ('83), ('98); zu *Mk. und Lk.*, ('85), ('98) (Mk. only), '92. Titius in *Theol. Stud. für Bernh. Weiss*, 284-331 ('97); also separately under the title, *Das Verhältnis der Merkwürdigen im Marcansevangeliem zu den Logia des Matthäus*. Cp above, §§ 122, 125d, 126c.

(g) Theory of two sources with borrowing from Mt. by Lk. (§ 127): Simons, *Uat der dritte Evangelist den kanonischen Mt. benutzt*, '80; Stockmeyer, 'Quellen des Lk.-Evang.', in *Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz*, 1884, pp. 117-149; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. '86. Soltan, *Eine Lücke der synopt. Forschung*, '99; *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wissensch.*, 1900, 219-248. Combined with hypothesis of an original Mk.: Jacobsen, *Unters. über die synopt. Evangelien*, '83; ZWT, 1886, pp. 152-179; 1888, pp. 129-158.

(h) More complicated hypotheses (§ 129c): Wittichen, JDT, 1866, pp. 427-482; ZWT, 1873, pp. 490-522; JPT, 1879, pp. 165-182; 1881, pp. 366-375, 713-720; 1891, pp. 481-519; *Leben Jesu*, '76. Scholten, *Het oudste evangelie*, '68 (Derm. transl., '69; *das älteste Evangelium*); *Het paulinische evangelie*, '70; *Is de derde evangelist de schrijver van het boek der handelingen*, '73 (German translation of both, '80; under title *das paulinische Evangelium*).

B. In English.—It may be well to notice that the efforts of recent English students have been mainly devoted to collecting and arranging the material for the solution of the critical problems under consideration, as a preliminary to the critical hypotheses which may, unforced, suggest themselves in the future.

(a) Books helpful to students:—Kashbrooke's *Synopticon* ('80), and Abbott and Rushbrooke's *Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels* ('84); A. Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels* ('96) and *St. Luke's Gospel* ('90); Sir J. Hawkins, *How the Synoptic Gospels* ('90); F. H. Woods in *Studia Biblica*, 259 ff. ('90).

(b) Special treatises, etc.:—A. Wright, *The Composition of the Gospels* ('90), and *Some New Testament Problems* ('68); Batham, *The Formation of the Gospels* ('02, ed. 2); *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew* ('97); E. A. Abbott, *Clue: A Guide to Hebrew Scripture* ('90) and *The Corrections of Mark* ('90).

(c) Important articles:—E. A. Abbott, art. 'Gospels' in *Ency. Brit.*, ('79); W. Sanday in *Expositor* for '01, '02, '03, and art. 'Gospels' in *Smith's DB*, '01; V. H. Stanton, art. 'Gospels' in *Hastings' DB*, vol. 2, '09; L. J. M. Bebb, art. 'Luke', *ibid.*, 1900; S. D. F. Salmond, art. 'Mark', *ibid.*, 1900; J. V. Bartlett, art. 'Matthew', *ibid.*, 1900. W. C. Allen in *Exp. T.*, '99 and 1900 (vol. 11).

(d) The following books bear upon the subject:—Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* ('60; '81-'94); Salmon, *Introduct. to NT* ('85); Plummer, *Commentary on St. Luke* ('96).

P. W. S.

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The numbers to the right of the Gospel citations indicate the section (or footnote) and column respectively.

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GOTHOLIAS

GOTHOLIAS (γοθολίος [BA], ὀνίος [L]), 1 sd. §31 = Ezra 87, ATHALIAH, 3.

GOTHONIEL (γοθονιήλ [BN^aA], γοθονίος [N^a]), the father of CHABRIS (q.v.), Judith 615. The name is identical with OTHNIEL (ὀθνήλ).

GOURD (ῥῖζ; ΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΘΑ [BAQ]); Jon. 46, -NTH [AQ^a his]; 7, -NTAN [A]; 9, -NTH [AQ^a]; 10, -NTHC [AQ^a], rather, as AV^m 'palm-crist,' RV^m 'Palma Christi'—i.e. the castor-oil tree, *Ricinus communis*, L.

The rendering 'gourd' is that of B and Pesh.; Sym. and Vg. render 'ivy'; but Jerome's remarks in his commentary (quoted Ges. Theol. 1214) point to the *ricinus*. Aq. and Theod. translate.

The Hebrew word (ῥῖζ) seems to be identical with, or derived from *kiki*, which, according to Herod. 29, Plin. 157, was the Egyptian name of the castor-oil plant, the κροτών or κρότων of the Greeks. This plant, which 'in France, Germany, and the south of England, is an annual herb of noble foliage, growing to a height of 4 or 5 feet,' becomes 'in the Azores, and the warmer Mediterranean countries, as Algeria, Egypt, Greece, and the Riviera, . . . a small tree, 10 to 15 feet high' (Flück. and Hanb.⁽²⁾ 567). Its rapid growth (de C. Orig. 341) and the effective shade given by its large leaves, support its identification with the *Kikyon*.

On the other hand, in favour of the rendering 'gourd' or the like, a statement of Kazwini (2309) may be noted (see also JONAH, BOOK OF, § 5).

Speaking of Mosul, Kazwini describes the custom of making tents of reeds (on the shores of the Tigris), in which the inhabitants pass the summer nights, when the water is becoming low. As soon as the earth, where the tents are, has become dry enough, they sow gourds, which quickly spring up and climb round the tents (G. Jacob, *Altarabische Parallelen*, 17 f.).

FVmg. proposes 'gourds' for ῥῖζ in 1 K. 618 (BL om.; *ἐπαναστάσεις* [A]); it should also stand for ῥῖζ in 724f. (*ὑποστροφύματα* [BAL], om. in clause β) (EV 'knops,' in the former vers. they have mg. 'gourds'). The word is commonly explained 'gourd-shaped ornaments'; but though the form of the colocynth (see next article) would suggest a graceful decoration, there is too much uncertainty about the text (see Klo.) to permit us to acquiesce in this explanation. Cp TEMPLE and SEA (BRAZEN).

N. M.

GOURDS, WILD (ῥῖζ ῥῖζ; ΤΟΛΥΠΗ ΑΓΡΙΑ [BL]; om. ΑΓΡΙΑ^a [A]), 2 K. 439f. EV agrees with the ancient versions and tradition. The kindred Ar. *fukki* denotes the 'colocynth'² (Dozy); and although the etymological connection with the root ῥῖζ, which has the sense of splitting or bursting, is not quite clear, it may be explained by the tendency of the ripe fruit to split when touched, or even of its own accord (see below).³

The fruit intended may be (1) the 'colocynth' or 'bitter apple'; the fruit of *Citrullus Colocynthis*, Schrad., 'a slender scabrous plant with a perennial root, native of warm and dry regions in the Old World, over which it has an extensive area.' Its fruit is 'a gourd of the size and shape of an orange, having a smooth, marbled-green surface.' The pulp of which it consists 'is nearly inodorous, but has an intensely bitter taste' (Flück. and Hanb.⁽²⁾ 295). (2) The 'squirting cucumber,' yielded by *Echallium elaterium*, A. Rich, a plant which is common throughout the Mediterranean region and was known to the ancients as the 'wild cucumber'.⁴ It has a peculiarity which might be connected with the etymology of *pakku'ah*:—'the fruit when ripe separates suddenly from the stalk, and at the same moment the seeds and juice are forcibly expelled from the aperture left by the detached peduncle.' Tristram (Smith's DB⁽²⁾, s.v.; NHB, 451) thinks that the details in 2 K. 439

¹ The ἀγρία is apparently a hexaplaric addition (see Field, ad loc.). Sym. had βότανον ἀγρία, and 'another' translator κολοκυνθίς; so Vg. *colocynthis agri*.

² Its more ordinary meaning, however, is 'mushrooms.'

³ Others explain it by reference to medicinal effects. So Riehm, HWB⁽²⁾.

⁴ A kindred species was named by Linnæus *Cucumis prophetaurum*.

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point clearly to the colocynth. 'The squirting cucumber is not so bitter, nor does it bear the same resemblance to the good fruit.' It is also common everywhere and should have been at once recognised. One who came to Gilgal from another part, however, might mistake the colocynth for the wholesome globe cucumber, because it only grows on barren sands like those near Gilgal and round the Dead Sea. But was the Gilgal of the narrative the famous one near Jericho? Buhl thinks otherwise (see GILGAL, § 4).

At any rate, the fact that the plant on which the *pakku'ah* grew is described as a 'wild vine' is against the identification with (3) *Momordica elaterium*, which is 'a coarse, hispid, fleshy, decumbent plant without tendrils' (Flück. and Hanb.⁽²⁾ 292).

Both (1) and (2) are extremely bitter; and the fact that the taste instantly suggested poison (2 K. 440) is another example of the close association of the ideas of bitterness and poison in the Hebrew mind (cp GALT.).

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Tribal relations, §§ 1-3. Administration, §§ 16-24.
Formation of tribes, §§ 4-7. Persian period, §§ 25-27.
Position of individuals, §§ 8-10. Greek period, § 28 f.
Union of Tribes, §§ 11-15. Roman period, § 30 f.
Literature, § 32.

Until the institution of the monarchy the B'ne Israel represented the stage of political organisation that we are wont to call tribal. This type of constitution is not peculiar to Israel. It is to be found amongst the most diverse peoples at a certain stage of civilisation. The OT

records, however, belong for the most part to a much later age, and supply us only with an imperfect and even (in many points) misleading picture of the real nature of the old tribal life. Hence in trying to ascertain what the actual conditions really were, we are compelled to turn to what we know of such life amongst other peoples, especially the pre-Islamic Arabs and the modern Bedouins. We must suppose that similar conditions at one time prevailed amongst the Hebrews. The justification of this inference lies in the essential identity of the external conditions that called forth the tribal organisation amongst the ancient Hebrews and Arabs and have held the Bedouins to this very day at this stage of political development, namely, the nomadic life of the steppes.

Hebrew, like Arabic tradition, in the form it has reached us, has reduced the mutual relations of the tribes to a fixed system in genealogical form. Such systems rest on the theory, common to the Hebrews and the Arabs, that the tribe is an expanded family. See GENEALOGIES i., § 2.

This conception has a certain amount of foundation in fact. The bond that holds together the family or the clan is not any form of political organisation; it is the feeling of consanguinity. For the ancient Semite, blood-relationship was the only basis on which a stable society and absolutely binding duties could rest.

This appears most clearly in the fact that alliances with strangers, and obligations towards them, did not acquire inviolability till the lacking blood-relationship had been artificially produced (see KINSHIP, § 1).

We must not, however, follow the old genealogists and at once infer from this feeling of blood-relationship, actual descent from a common ancestor. Not to speak of the numerous traces which indicate that amongst the Hebrews, as amongst the Arabs, descent was in the earliest times reckoned not from the father but from the mother (matriarchate; see KINSHIP, § 4), it is clear enough that the feeling of community of blood was not quite the same thing with the ancient Semites as sense of relationship is with us. The latter varies according to the degree of nearness; in the case of the Semite, on the other

3. Early idea of kinship.

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hand, community of blood knew, theoretically at least, no such thing as degree. A man who belonged to a given kindred group was connected equally with all its members, irrespective of degree of relationship (see KINSHIP, § 2). Moreover, this blood-kinship can be artificially brought about by blood-covenant between persons belonging originally to alien groups.

This representation must not, however, be pressed too far. In practice, at least in historical times, it is the narrower circle of closer kindred that has been most intimately bound together by unity of blood.

Within the larger tribes the several families and clans frequently constituted closely united groups, carrying on blood-feuds amongst each other—a proof how naturally the feeling of unity of blood became weaker in the larger groups. Robertson Smith cites cases (*Kin.* 150) that show how the feeling of kinship bound together families of alien stock. We may adduce also the line in the *Hammā* (367): 'My thyself with whom thou wilt in peace, yet know: In war must every man be foe who is not kin.' Among the Hebrews, moreover, the blood-feud, as we meet it in the OT, was confined to the limits of the family—i.e. the nearest relatives.

In this emergence of relationship by descent, indeed, Robertson Smith sees the decay of the ancient tribal system (*Kin.* 52, 57, 160). He regards it as the first appearance of a new principle, quite foreign to the original tribal organisation.

We must leave this an open question. We cannot here enter into the problem how the Semitic families and clans were constituted in the earliest times before the various Semitic peoples separated from each other. It is indeed a question that in our opinion cannot yet be answered with certainty.

Although kinship by descent through the father played in historical times a great part, the records show that even then there were also other factors in the formation of the tribes. The Hebrew tribes, like the larger

4. Aggregation of families, etc.

Arabian tribes, were not simple but composite, comprising several kindred groups.

These groups are commonly called in the OT *mišpāḥōt* (מִשְׁפָּחוֹת) 'clans', though an older designation, which at a later time fell into disuse, seems to have been *ḥai* (חַי), the commonest term in Arabic. (Cp. *Kin.* 32 f.; Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 176; 1 S. 18 18 according to We. *TBS* p. iii, and Dr. *TBS* 119; 2 S. 23 13; also preserved according to Nöld., *l.c.*, in חַיִּים; see HAVVOT-HAIR.)

We must indeed admit the possibility with Nöldke (*ZDMG* 40 158 [86]), that in the case of these 'clans' the families that formed the nucleus were often really descended from a common ancestor whose name they bore. Even in this case, however, it remains true that the family did not grow simply by the natural process of marriage and birth.

It grew also by accession from without. Slaves were acquired; freedmen remained as clients of the family of their master; individual strangers, cut loose for some reason or other from their own clan, sought refuge in the family; poor and weak families attached themselves for the same reason to the more powerful. These all reckoned themselves as belonging to the family of their adoption and bore its name.

In order to understand this process one must realise how, amid the endless feuds of the desert, it was only the man or the family supported by a powerful group of kinsmen, ready to avenge an injury, that was safe. This insecurity also made necessary a certain amount of cohesion. The individual was no doubt at liberty in time of peace to sever himself from his clan; but as he went farther away from it his security proportionally diminished, unless he obtained admission as a sojourner in some other clan. Thus it is the dwelling together and roaming together, rather than the common descent, that is the characteristic feature of these 'kindred groups.' 'The *ḥai* is the community of people that live and travel together' (Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 176; WRS *Kin.* 38).

The same process is repeated in the formation of tribes. The instinct of self-preservation drives the clans into closer association. It is plain that here also local contiguity must have been an important factor in forming tribes; clans that were in the habit of meeting on adjoining pasture lands

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and at common wells were by that very circumstance bound together by a certain community of interests (cp. ISRAEL, § 8).

It is not the case, as is frequently supposed, that the Bedonin tribes roam at large over the entire Arabian wilderness; on the contrary, now, just as in ancient times, each one has its own definite territory with the pasture lands and wells belonging to it, and the proprietary rights of the tribe over such territory are jealously guarded against the encroachments of other tribes.

Many other causes contribute to the formation of a tribe, and produce a constant, shifting result; new tribes arise, old ones disappear. Mutual jealousy and feuds, migrations, the disuniting influences of war, and other circumstances, may result in the separation of a clan from the main body. This almost necessarily happens as soon as a tribe has become very strong or extended itself over a wide area. Should a subordinate tribe in these circumstances succeed in asserting itself without becoming incorporated with a foreign tribe,—should it, for example, have grown by attaching other clans to itself,—it then, in course of time, forms a new tribe which assumes a new tribal name (after that of a prominent family, one of its leaders, or the like). Legend next comes in, and soon gives it a patriarch, the original bearer of the name, and the connection of the new tribe with the old also finds some expression here, the *heros eponymus* of the tribe being brought into some sort of relationship (usually that of a son) with the patriarch of the older tribe.

In other cases tribes have arisen out of alliances that originally were only of a temporary character. In the

tribal history of Arabia, such federations (called *ḥilf*) play a prominent part (Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* 16 ff.). Sections of a larger tribe enter into closer relations with one another or with outside clans; whole tribes form treaties with one another, and sometimes even these federated groups in turn form connections with other similar groups. Such alliances do not arise out of considerations of kinship; they are determined by the daily exigencies of offence and defence, and, in particular, by the necessity felt by the weaker of seeking support from the stronger, the instinct of groups, weak in themselves, to attain the strength that comes of union.

In many cases the alliances are formed for particular and definite ends, as for example for the sake of a common blood-revenge. Their formation is often inaugurated in a very solemn way,—as with sacrifices, oaths, and the special ceremonies connected with blood-brotherhood (see KINSHIP, § 1). Sometimes they are quickly dissolved again after their immediate object has been gained; but sometimes also the temporary becomes a permanent relationship; the component parts become completely fused, and the group naturally takes a new collective name by which the old and proper names of the individual elements are often driven completely into the background. Thus the formation of new tribes is a process that is related on the other side to the seeming or real decay of old ones.

Clearly, the process is capable of taking place in a very great variety of ways, and it would be quite a mistake to try to explain them all in accordance with a single scheme.

In the continual process of modification it cannot surprise us to find in Hebrew (as we do in Arabic) tradition that the most contradictory statements are made as to the relation of the clans to the great 'tribes.'

Finally, it results from what has been said that the words 'tribe' and 'clan' (subordinate tribe) are used only relatively; they express nothing as to size.

A tribe may, if numbers be regarded, fall below the strength of a clan, and yet at the same time, if it remains independent, it will continue to bear the designation of tribe. Thus in the OT Dan is at one time spoken of as a tribe (בְּנֵי דָן, *ḥēḇet*) at another as a clan (בְּנֵי דָן, *mišpāḥāh*); cp. e.g., Josh. 19 40 Judg. 18 11 ff. In Arabic phraseology the change in the use of the words is much more strongly marked (cp. Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 175 ff.); in Hebrew tradition the relative persistency with which either word is used is a result of the arbitrary limitation of the application of the word בְּנֵי to twelve (or thirteen)¹ tribes.

For a full comprehension of the tribal system it must

¹ See JOSEPH i., § 1 n.

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further be observed that these social unities (family, clan, tribe) are at the same time religious unities. Not only among the Semites, but also among the Greeks and Romans, it was their common worship that marked the clans and held them together. This is not the place to discuss the many (still disputed) questions as to the nature and character of the tribal gods among the Semites. However these questions may be decided, there remains the fact that 'the original religious society was the kindred group, and all the duties of kinship were part of religion' (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 47). Community of blood between man and man derives its absolutely uniting character precisely from this, that it is at the same time a real community with the divinity.

The tribal god stands in just the same relationship of blood-community with his worshippers, the members of the clan. Every sacrifice seals anew this mystic oneness of the members with each other and with the deity.

Where a person of alien blood is received by blood-covenant (see above, §§ 2, 6, and cp KINSHIP, § 1) into clan-fellowship, he is at the same time by the covenant-sacrifice received into blood-fellowship with the deity. Every violation of the duties of blood-community thus becomes a crime against the deity.¹

The tribal constitution is excellently adapted for the steppe and for nomads. Its importance here lies in this, that, on the one hand, it allows

9. Flexibility.

the necessary freedom of movement to the individual and the smaller aggregates (family and kindred), whilst at the same time it creates a certain natural social unity which satisfies the demands and necessities of the nomadic life. In the wilderness no great tasks present themselves, such as demand the strength of a whole people. What the individual, and the group of kinsmen, require, in this state of universal war, is some protection for life; and this is guaranteed by belonging to a clan. For blood-revenge and mutual help in war are the most sacred duties of those who are united by community of blood. Conversely, the individual who has been expelled from his tribe is a wanderer and a vagabond so long as he has failed to gain admission to some other clan. It is this that gives its power to tribal custom and law, a power from which none can shake himself free. On the other hand the freedom of the individual and of the separate clans is tolerably unrestricted in times of peace. The organisation of the tribe exists only for purposes of war and of migration; it is only in these conditions that the sheikh has any say and any command; in times of peace his authority is purely a moral one; it reaches just so far as the influence he has been able to acquire by his personal qualities can carry it. He can only advise, not command. In a dispute he can, doubtless, give a decision; but he has no power to execute his judgment if those affected by it refuse to submit to it; he can neither declare war nor conclude peace, neither pitch the camp nor break it up, until the leading men of the tribe have been consulted.² In a tribe of those related by blood all the individual members are 'brothers,' and thus on a footing of equality; there is no such thing as permanent authority or subjection, for even the Roman *patria potestas* was unknown among the Semites. The freedom of individuals and of clans reaches so far that in time of peace they can separate from the main camp without any ceremony and go their own way, if only they have strength enough to give the feeling of security. It is in this, as Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.* 162) and Wellhausen (*IJG* 24 f.) have rightly pointed out, that the moral importance of the tribal constitution lies. In proportion as the feeling of kinship becomes weaker when set against the wider tribal bonds, in the enjoyment of such freedom, its place is taken by that public

¹ On this sacred character of sacrifice, see e.g., WRS *Rel. Sem.* 269 ff. 312 ff.; We. *Arab. Heid.* 119 ff.

² Barchardt, *Bemerkungen über die Beduinen*, 94 f.

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spirit which acts freely and is capable of making sacrifices for the public good. Fidelity to covenant obligations extending beyond the narrow bounds of kin is reckoned by the Arabs among the higher virtues.

It is in the way we have indicated that we must picture to ourselves the condition of the Israelite tribes before their migration into Palestine. With them, too, family and clan were originally a community of worship, held together by common ancestral cults. Many of the old and famous sanctuaries appear to have owed their position as such to their being regarded as the burial places of heroes. There was a sacred stone at the tomb of Rachel (Gen. 35²⁰); Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were buried at Hebron (Gen. 25⁹ 35²⁷ 50¹³), Joseph in Shechem (Josh. 24³² Dt. 11³⁰), Miriam at Kadesh-barnea (Nu. 20¹), and Deborah under the sacred tree of Bethel, Gen. 35⁸ (see the several articles).

Within historical times we have one recorded instance of clan worship—none the less convincing that it is the

11. Traces of clan cults.

only one—in 1 S. 20⁵ ff., where David excuses his absence from Saul's table at new moon on the ground that his clan are celebrating their yearly festival at this season—an excuse which is regarded as perfectly adequate. In like manner we may take clan worship to be presupposed in the question with which the Danites seek to induce Micah the Levite to accompany them; 'is it better for thee to be priest unto the house of one man, or to be priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel?' (Judg. 18¹⁹).

How far the tribes, which afterwards constituted the people Israel, had already been welded into one before the settlement is a more difficult question.

12. Uniting of tribes.

That they were firmly knit together as a people and felt themselves to be so, as is assumed in the OT tradition, is refuted by the simple fact that even after the immigration, during the so-called period of the Judges, such a people, with an ordered government and the like, did not exist (cp ISRAEL, § 7). It is now universally recognised that the Judges were not rulers of the whole people but only heroes of particular tribes. Neither does the manner in which the immigration took place—gradually, by tribes and clans—show any evidence of a unified organisation.

All this by no means excludes, however, as Winckler (*GI* 1¹⁴ ff. 21 ff.) and others suppose, every sort of connection between the immigrating tribes. On the contrary, the analogy of the Arab tribal history makes it in every way possible and probable that those tribes which had a point of contact and common meeting-place at the oasis of Kadesh (see KADESH, 1) may, on one occasion or another, have entered into a solemn covenant, after the manner referred to above as practised by the Arabs (cp COVENANT, § 4). The covenant-sacrifice in Ex. 24¹ ff. exactly recalls the ceremonies elsewhere practised on such occasions. The adoption, by the tribes, of a common worship, the service of Yahwe, gave to the alliance an enduring character still more than solemn oath and sacrifice had done; and the common name, B'ne Israel, assumed by all (perhaps after the name of the strongest of the contracting tribes), was the outward expression of the firmness of the bond. Such a confederation was loose enough to allow of the independent advance of the individual tribes and clans, in the process of the settlement as we now read of it in the sources before us; but just on this account it was firm or elastic enough to survive the various changes within the separate tribes and the reconstructions and readjustments of their mutual relations, which were the inevitable results of the settlement in the territory to the W. of Jordan (see below). What was necessary for its continuance under the altered conditions was not a rigid unity or a strong executive authority, but something quite different, namely, that the common worship of Yahwe, as the god of the B'ne Israel, should already have taken a hold that was deep enough. The Song of Deborah plainly shows that their common worship was

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the sole bond of unity in those times, but also that it was sufficiently strong; the war of the confederate tribes is a war of Yahwé, and whoever fails to come to their help, in so doing has failed to come to the help of Yahwé (Judg. 5.23). Winckler (*GT* 134) will have it that the reference to Yahwé in the song ought to be deleted as a later addition. Even so, however, the song bears witness to the subsistence of a confederation of Israelite tribes, to which even the tribes eastward of Jordan belonged. Such a confederation cannot possibly have arisen for the first time after the settlement, for the territories E. and W. of Jordan have no common interests of such a kind as would lead to a junction; on the contrary, the maintenance of intimate relations was always a matter of difficulty, owing to the nature of the respective territories, as is shown by their history. On the other hand, no bond between the eastern and the western tribes, entered into before the settlement, could have survived all the vicissitudes of such a time otherwise than by the intervention of some factor which stood supreme above the divergent political interests. Such a factor was supplied by the common religion. Even, therefore, if their common worship of Yahwé did not manifestly appear in our present sources as being the uniting bond of the confederation, we should still have to postulate such a community of religion in order to explain the continued subsistence of the Israelite tribal union. Hebrew tradition is, therefore, justified in regarding (as it does) the union of the tribes with one another, and their acceptance of the religion of Yahwé as coincident facts, and as both of them having been accomplished by the instrumentality of one and the same person—Moses (*g.v.*).

What were the tribes that originally joined in this covenant can only be matter of conjecture. No his-

13. Individual tribes.

torical validity can be claimed for the conventional statement of the genealogists, according to which Israel was, from the first, composed of twelve tribes, a number which never afterwards varied (cp *GENEALOGIES* i. § 5. *ISRAEL*, § 2). It is possible that, originally, different genealogies may have been kept at different sanctuaries; the present form apparently being, as Stade has pointed out (*GT* 1145 f.), the result of compromise. An ancient tribal list has come down to us in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5), where Ephraim, Machir, Zebulun, Issachar, Reuben, Gilead, Dan, Asher, Naphtali are enumerated. To this list may be added Simeon and Levi (see below). The Kenites also seem to have been an old tribe that had disappeared at an early period (Judg. 1.6.524; see *KENITES*); on the other hand, Judah (and Benjamin), also absent from the Song of Deborah, may have come into existence at a later date. It seems very doubtful whether, from the circumstance that Naphtali, Gad, and Asher figure in the genealogy as sons of concubines, we are entitled to infer that these tribes did not come into the confederation till after the sons of Leah and Benjamin (*We*, *ITG* 16). With regard to the tribe of Joseph a further conjecture may perhaps be permissible; if the view that the ark (see *ARK*, § 10) was originally the sanctuary of Joseph-Ephraim be correct, we may venture to infer that in the federation this tribe, from the first, had in some sense a leading part.

The settlement in Palestine at once brought with it, as a necessary consequence, a series of far-reaching changes in the constitution of the tribes.

14. Their diverse fortunes.

Simeon and Levi disappeared from their number; it is probable that they became disintegrated in the course of the struggles of the occupation, and that the fragments that remained were received into other tribes (cp *Gen.* 49.5 ff., and see *SIMEON, LEVI, DISAPPEARANCE*). The case of Reuben seems to have been similar; in ancient times one of the most powerful of all the tribes (cp *Gen.* 49.3 ff.), it seems to have steadily lost ground. At an early date Eglon of Moab figures as ruler of the Reubenite territory (Judg. 3.12 ff.); the list of towns in *Nu.* 32.34 ff. exhibits this same territory largely curtailed, an entirely surrounded by the tribe of Gad; and in the inscription of Meha the Gadites alone are spoken of as having been masters in these regions.

On the other hand, new formations have to be noted. Perhaps

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it was only after the settlement that Joseph split up into the two branches of Ephraim and Manasseh (cp *Josh.* 17.14 ff.; but see also above). The case of Gilead may also have been similar (*Judg.* 5.17.24 ff.); its place is subsequently taken invariably by Gad and Eastern Manasseh. Judah, which has not yet come into prominence in the Song of Deborah, first became a great tribe in the reign of David—in all probability, as the result of the coalescence of several minor tribes in the south, such as the Calebites (*Nu.* 32.12 *Josh.* 14.6.14), the Kenites (*1 S.* 27.10; cp *Nu.* 10.29 ff. *Judg.* 1.1), the Jerahmeelites (*1 S.* 27.10), and the absorption of the sedentary Canaanite population (*Gen.* 38). Doubtless, also, the transference of individual clans from one tribe to another, must have been of frequent occurrence. This has already been suggested above, with reference to the surviving portions of Simeon and Levi, and another example is presented by the Kenite clan of Jael, which figures in the Song of Deborah as an isolated fragment in the north (*Judg.* 5.24; cp 4.17). See the articles on the tribes and clans named.

The most important consequence of the settlement, though it did not manifest itself so immediately, was the complete dissolution of the entire tribal constitution. The form under which the unions of tribes and clans were maintained—the fiction, namely, of a common descent—was kept up, it is true, for a long time, one might almost say, indeed, permanently; but its contents and its significance underwent essential change; once settled on the soil of Palestine the clans and tribes became metamorphosed into local communities and territorial unions (cp *ISRAEL*, § 8).

It is an inevitable process wherever nomad tribes take to a settled life. Noldeke adduces instructive examples from the Arabian tribal history (*ZDMG* 40.183); Caliph Omar found it needful to exhort his Arabs to hold by their genealogies and not to do like the peasants of 'Irak, whose answer to the question, 'From whom comest thou?' was 'From such and such a village.' In like manner it was said of the people of Khorāsān: 'Their villages are their genealogies.' What happened in the case of the Israelites was precisely similar.

Families living together in the same place united to form a clan, held together by community of interests. Thus it is that in so many instances place-names and clan-names are identical. Here little question was made as to descent; Canaanite clans were quite readily received into Hebrew clans and genealogies (cp *Gen.* 38 *Judg.* 1.27 ff. etc.).

With this may be compared the observation of Burckhardt (*Nold.* *ZDMG* 40.183) that all Arabs of the Nejd, settled in Baghdad, belonged to the tribe of 'Okail, whatever their descent might have been. Under such circumstances, even if the old formulas applicable to the clan and the family were transferred to the new local communities, in other words, if the families living in the same locality continued to express the fact of their belonging to one another by alleging descent from a common ancestor, this none the less meant, substantially, the transition from a tribal to a civil constitution.

In the Canaanite communities which had formed themselves around a city as the central point, we already find a species of nobility who were designated by the peasants as *marna*, 'our lords' (Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phon.* 198).

16. Organization.

In the towns, which in process of time peacefully threw open their gates to the Israelites, we may suppose these nobles to have retained their rank and to have shared it with the more prominent Israelite families. The heads of these leading families (not, as under the tribal constitution, the heads of all the clans) constituted the 'lords' or 'elders' of the city (*sārim, b'ālim, z'kenim*; *Judg.* 8.14). It would seem also that, from the first, the villages adjoining the cities stood to these in a relation of subordination. In the old sources frequent mention is made of 'the cities and their villages,' or of 'the cities and their daughters' (*Nu.* 21.25.12 *Josh.* 17.11); similarly, a city is occasionally spoken of as a 'mother in Israel' (*2 S.* 20.19). Even if we must not think of these 'elders' as having, from the first, constituted an organised magistracy, yet the development advanced naturally in that direction; it was necessarily involved in the settlement that the rule of the heads of the communities should tend more and more to organise itself on an assumed basis of legal authority (*Ex.* 22.8 [27]). In respect of jurisdiction, in particular, the local community had a direct interest in seeing that the judicial findings of its heads were given effect to.

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The tribes also gradually came to acquire mainly a territorial significance, just as the clans had done. After its union with Caleb and the other tribes of the S. (see above, § 14), Judah was no longer a tribe to be placed in the same category with one of the large Bedouin tribes; it was also a geographical idea—a primitive state, capable of embracing elements of the most diverse kind as long as they were geographically connected.

For an interesting proof of this, see the parenthetic note in 2 S. 42b ff. on the words 'a herotite of the children of Benjamin'.¹ Cp also the Deuteronomic phrase 'in all thy gates' (Dt. 10 18), which is parallel to 'throughout thy tribes', and the use of tribal names as geographical terms—Ephraim, Gilead (in Judg. 10 7; the two are interchanged), Judah, Gad (2 S. 21 5), etc.

In this process the tribes lost the character they had possessed as communities of blood involving strict obligations. When the separate clans of a tribe settled in separate localities and became amalgamated with the native population, they lost their mutual interdependence. Each had its own interests and went its own way, regardless of the weal or woe of the other. The nature of the country facilitated this parting; and it was further assisted by the circumstance that, even in the time of the monarchy, Canaanite settlements still maintained themselves sporadically throughout Israelite territory. Henceforth it required unusual firmness and energy to stir even a single tribe, and still more a number of tribes, to concerted movement. The territorial character which the 'tribes' had now assumed shows that the patriarchal leadership of the elders was no longer sufficient; the new circumstances demanded the *tyrannis* (so to speak) of petty 'kings' such as there had already been among the Canaanites. The so-called 'judges' mark the transition stage. These were, in the first instance, clan chiefs; but some of them (among whom JEPHTHAH and GIDEON [q.v.]) still live in the fragments of tradition) succeeded in becoming tribal kings. Israel was now, perhaps, in a fair way to fall asunder into petty 'kingdoms.'

How this fate was averted and from what causes the transitional period issued in a united kingdom and a united people, is told elsewhere (see 18. The monarchy, § 10 ff.). The practical transformation of the tribes into unions of communities, linked together by identity of local interests, however, did not remove the danger arising from excessive tribal feeling and consequent tribal rivalry. The proof of this is found in grave internal complications in the early regal period. David had good cause for devising some means of neutralizing this danger, and such a means he found in the creation of a very small permanent force (see DAVID, § 11 [a]). Hence, whilst Saul in time of peace was little more than a tribal chief, David, with the aid of his body-guard (*gibborim*), retained his supremacy even when no danger threatened the land. Saul's simple way of life gave place to an imposing establishment at Jerusalem, and a series of officials supported the king. With a view to regulating the military service and the collection of the revenue, a census of the citizens was taken even in David's time (2 S. 24 1 ff.). whilst Solomon, as a further step in advance, divided the whole land into administrative districts, over each of which he set an officer called *qisib* (קִישִׁיב; 1 K. 4 7 ff.). A division of the northern kingdom into *mēlinōth* (מְלִינוֹת, 'administrative circuits') is mentioned also in the time of Ahab (1 K. 20 14 ff.). It is a noteworthy fact that in the arrangement of his districts Solomon purposely ignored the ancient tribal distinctions (see § 19 and Benzinger on 1 K. 4 7 ff.).

The most essential duty of the ruler was then, and ever continued to be, the administration of justice; David, the pattern king, was pre-eminent in this (see DAVID, § 11 f.). In fact, in that age, it was self-evident that

¹ See BEECHER, I-SHUAL, 1, and cp Nöld. *ZDMG* (26) 10 183.

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the king must be supreme judge. A case was naturally decided by the man who had the power to enforce his decision. Thus the second main element of the power of the old *shēnim* (שְׁנִים) of the clans was taken from them, when every one could go directly or appeal against them to the king (2 S. 15 2; 1 K. 3 16 Dt. 17 9, where *šp̄*, *šp̄hēt* = 'ruler'—i.e. 'king'). What these lost the officers of the king gained, for they also obtained a share in his jurisdiction and dispensed justice in his name.

According to the notions of the age, it was also self-evident that the king was the priest of highest rank, who represented his people before their God.

Saul and David sacrificed in person (1 S. 14 33 ff. 2 S. 6 13), as indeed at that time every Israelite was at liberty to do. David wore the *ephod* (*bad*, the priest's gown); it was as priests that David and Solomon blessed the people at great festival gatherings (2 S. 6 14; 1 K. 8 14), and it was as Pontifex Maximus that the king was anointed.

Still, on the whole, the priestly character was not as prominent in Israelite kings as, e.g., in Babylonian and Egyptian; they discharged their priestly functions for the most part through the intervention of their officers, the ordinary priests; for such were the priests at the royal sanctuaries (2 S. 20 23 ff.).

These priests were appointed and removed by the king at pleasure (2 S. 8 17; 1 K. 2 26, etc.); they held office by royal appointment, not by hereditary right. For the royal citadel it was an indispensable requisite that it should contain a sanctuary. It was as such that Solomon built the temple; and, even as late as Ahaz, the king made free with it as private property.

Any other information that we have regarding administrative affairs has to do for the most part

20. Fiscal institutions. with the collection of the revenue, the most important work of oriental princes.

Nothing is told us of Saul in this connection; for the maintenance of his simple establishment on his paternal estate there was needed, in addition to the produce of his own land and the customary share of any war booty, nothing but the voluntary gifts of his subjects who came to do homage or to seek justice and protection (cp 1 S. 10 25).

Under David the forced labour became the special care of an officer of rank, and probably taxation in general was then regulated (2 S. 20 24).

We can hardly be mistaken in connecting the census of 2 S. 24 1 ff. with this control of the public works, which is explicitly said to have been the chief object of Solomon's division of the land into districts (1 K. 4 7 ff., cp 4 27 15 7). If Judah was really exempted from this burden, this was a very significant concession; but the text is corrupt, and Stade (*61/1* 1306) conjectures that Judah was perhaps mentioned as a thirteenth district (but see Benz. on 1 K. 4 7 ff.).

These taxes and forced labours were felt by the people to be an oppressive innovation (1 K. 12 4). As they were the occasion of the secession of the Northern Kingdom, we must suppose that they were there dispensed with at first. For the same reason we can hardly assign a much earlier date to the institution of the king's tithe mentioned in 1 S. 8 15 17 (to which 1 S. 17 23 may also refer) than that of the document, the 'law of the king,' in which it is mentioned. Unfortunately we are told practically nothing of regular taxes, although such were doubtless exacted.

A land tax seems to have been unknown, as Wellhausen rightly concludes from the mention of the introduction of such a tax in Egypt (*Ug* 86). A property tax is mentioned only once, and then as an exceptional imposition (2 K. 23 35). In such cases of extremity the kings of Judah had recourse to the temple treasures, which they always regarded as lying at their disposal. They also drew an income from crown lands, which they probably rented to imsy subjects (1 S. 8 12). What is thus attested for Judah (*Ezek*, 45 7 ff.) we may assume for Israel as well. 'The king's mowings' (*Am*, 7 1) probably refer to a contribution in kind from the first mowings in spring intended for the war horses, for the support of which the king was responsible (1 K. 18 5; cp *Syr. Rom. Rechtsbuch*, ed. Bruns, in Sachau, 127). Certain commodities were, in Solomon's time, a royal monopoly (chariots and horses 1 K. 10 28 ff.), and a duty was levied on passing caravans (1 K. 10 15); in certain cases the property of an executed man seems to have been confiscated by the king (1 K. 21 1 ff.).

21. Officers. Not much fuller is our information about the royal officers (*šarim*, שָׂרִים). The commander-in-chief of the army (*šar 'al haššibā*,

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שָׂרֵי צֶהָרָה) and the captain of the royal bodyguard, the *gibborim*, occupied probably the most influential positions. The *maskir* (מַסְכִּיר; EV RECORDEUR) stands first amongst holders of administrative offices. He is not, as has often been supposed, a state historian, but, as the title shows (מַסְכִּיר = one who brings to mind), a kind of chief counsellor and state orator, the Grand Vizier of modern oriental states. By his side was the Secretary of State (*nāphār*, נָפָר), charged with the duty of conducting the king's correspondence with foreign princes (see SKIRING). The chief superintendent of works (at least in Judah; see above) and the priest of highest rank, as already stated, were also high officials in attendance on the king (2 S. 20:23 ff.). Later we hear occasionally of a master of the palace (or of the household, מַלְכֵּי הַבַּיִת, מַלְכֵּי אֶל הַבַּיִת, *mal' al habbayit*, 1 K. 16:2 K. 18:18 Is 22:15), who, from Is. l.c., appears to have been also called מַלְכֵּי הַבַּיִת (see MINISTERS (CHIEF)). Finally we come upon the designation king's servant (שָׂרֵי צֶהָרָה) as the title of a high dignitary (2 K. 22:12, also on seals), most plausibly explained by Stadel (*OT* 171:650) as the principal eunuch. Strange to say this official, so high in rank in modern oriental courts, is nowhere mentioned (unless this be he), although in a harem like Solomon's he can hardly have been lacking.

Of other officers of inferior rank, the prefects of the provinces have been mentioned already. Of court officials proper we meet with a cup-bearer (*masheh*, מַשֶּׁה, 1 K. 10:5), a master of the robes (2 K. 10:22), and others. Chronicles speaks of twelve stewards of the royal treasury under David (1 Ch 27:25 ff.). Probably among the court servants were also the chamberlains (*shirim*, שִׁירִים, 1 K. 22:9 2 K. 8:6 10:32, etc.), an expression which we find later as the designation of the overseer of the harem at the Persian court (Esth. 2:14 4:4). As such a *shir* is elsewhere called a captain (2 K. 25:19, cp Gen. 37:36 39:1) we can hardly regard the *shirim* in the earlier times as eunuchs. See EUNUCH.

The stage of civilization that had been reached placed great power in the hands of these officers; for in the still quite undeveloped political conditions of the time, no attempt was made, except in the case of the chief ministers mentioned above, to confine the spheres of the several departments.

In particular there does not yet appear to have been any distinction drawn between administrative and judicial functions, or military and civil authority. The resident officer of state, wherever there was such, combined in his own person, in proportion to the authority committed to him, the functions of commander of the forces, administrator of the province, collector of taxes, and also, and above all, judge (see above, § 18).

The impression left by the description of this bureaucracy given us by the prophets is by no means flattering. It exhibits all through the radical vices characteristic of the oriental official in all ages; towards superiors, the unscrupulous tool of the royal pleasure (cp e.g., 1 K. 12:10 ff. 2 S. 11:4 ff.), towards inferiors, the overbearing, reckless tyrant.

No longer bound to their subjects by the ties of clanship, the governors took advantage of them for their own interest. Venality and partiality in particular characterised high and low alike; all that distinguished the former, the Abners, Joabs, and Shims, from officers of lower grade, was that their intrigues and violence were on a grander scale.

It was the will of the people that gave Saul and David their authority. Still this does not warrant us in calling the monarchy, either in Judah or in Israel, elective. Its hereditary character was really bound up, so to speak, with the royal dignity.

Thus even a Jerubbaal could secure his authority sufficiently to bequeath it to his sons. That Saul never dreamed of any successor but his son Jonathan, may be the kernel of truth in 1 S. 20:30 ff. When the men of Judah set up David against Ishbual, the rest of Israel regarded it as a revolt against the legitimate heir—a revolt to be suppressed by force of arms (cp e.g., 2 S. 2:10 ff.). Two sons of David, Absalom and Adonijah, successively posed as his successors (2 S. 15:1 ff. 1 K. 1:5 ff.). Solomon, too, reached the throne simply by the will of his father, the people having no say in the plot to set him on the throne. Accordingly the election of Jeroboam by the northern tribes was virtually, a fresh revolt against the legitimate dynasty, though it must be admitted that Ephraim and Ben-

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jamin had never thoroughly accepted the line of David as legitimate; 'we have no part in David, no inheritance in the son of Jesse'—such had been the rallying cry also on an earlier occasion (2 S. 20:1 ff.); see ISRAELIS, § 7. In the many later revolutions, of which North Israel was the scene, the people had no voice; on the contrary, they remained throughout a passive, not to say an apathetic, attitude.

Still, there lay in the popular will an important limitation of the power of the sovereign. One might imagine on reading the so-called 'law of the kingdom' (1 S. 8:10 ff.) that the kings of Israel as a whole were the greatest despots,—men whose power was at the service of every whim and fancy. This picture, however, conformably to the whole tendency of the narrator, who had little fondness for the monarchy, is overdrawn and painted in colours too dark. In reality the state of affairs was quite otherwise. If there is one impression that remains with us more than another it is that the power of the kings lay rather in their personality, and depended on their success in war and their personal weight. Powerful men like David, Solomon, or Jeroboam could allow themselves many liberties that men like Rehoboam could not venture on. Law or constitution defining the mutual rights of king and people there was none (the 'law of the kingdom,' Dt. 17:14-20 is a later growth). Thus in the forms of government in the kingdom of Israel we meet with a singular blending of despotism with elements of democracy.

23. Popular voice.

Saul could massacre the priests of Noh, David could appropriate the wife of Uriah, Solomon could drain the very blood of the nation, Ahab could bring about the judicial murder of Naboth, Jehu and Athaliah could make havoc amongst dangerous adherents of the reigning house; yet these kings had themselves to learn that their caprices were limited by the popular will.

The people did not, like other oriental nations, put up with the atrocities of their rulers as something inevitable. Jehu's massacre was long regarded with universal detestation. The imperiousness with which the public conscience could speak is seen in Nathan's famous reproof of David, and in the action of men like Elijah and Elisha, who spoke for the people as well as for Yahweh (see ISRAEL, § 33 ff., and cp PROPHETS).

Disregard for this on the part of Solomon, Ahab, and Athaliah cost them their throne. Nor must we fail to observe how it was that the Deuteronomic Code was rendered a universally binding law-book; not by royal decree, but by a compact between king and people, did a law come into existence. In all else law and right, even for the king, was determined by custom and usage.

In such circumstances local authority must have been to a great extent left to itself. Outside of the royal city, over which was set a royal governor (1 K. 22:26), the village communities were probably independent of the government, so far as their own affairs were concerned. In the Northern Kingdom the revolutionary changes of dynasty hindered the sovereign from becoming dangerously predominant over the local authorities and the ancient nobility, as was somewhat the case in the smaller kingdom of Judah. See 1 K. 21.

This local independence is still acknowledged by the Deuteronomic code (Dt. 16:18), although it tries to restrict it (Dt. 17:6 ff. 19:17; cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 8 ff.). Even in affairs of state, though probably only in exceptional cases, the 'elders of the people'—i.e. the local magistrates—had their voice (1 K. 20:7 2 K. 23:1).

In the Persian period the Jewish territory became a district (*mēdināh*, מְדִינָה, Neh. 7:6 Ezra 2:1) of the trans-

25. Persian period: governors.

Euphratic province (Ezra 5:3 1 Mace. 3:32, etc.), which was the province westward of the Euphrates. For a time it had a governor of its own (*pehā*, [see GOVERNOR, 1]; מְשָׁרְתָּא [see TIRSHATHA]), who was placed under the ruler of his province (see ISRAEL, §§ 50 ff., 64). This arrangement, however, seems to have been terminated comparatively soon.

Nehemiah, it is true, ranks himself with former governors (Neh. 5:15 ff.); but the narrative of his doings, taken as a whole, rather suggests that he was sent as a high commissioner with dictatorial powers. Thus we do not hear of a substitute or successor being appointed when he leaves Jerusalem (cp We. 1/6:2 10:4, 10:18). This is confirmed by the letter of Rehum to Artaxerxes in Ezra 4:23 (see R. 12 ff.).

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For the rest, the central Persian authority seems to have left the Jews a considerable amount of freedom with respect to their internal affairs. That it should concern itself about such matters as the building of the temple or of the walls was a matter of course; but apart from these instances we hear next to nothing about any intervention of theirs. Of course, the payment of the tribute and the enrichment of the officials had to be seen after, but on the whole there was much internal liberty, which, indeed, was involved in the freedom of worship granted to the Jews. In the time of Ezra we find law and police in the hands of the national authority (cp Ezra 10:1).

The history of ZERUBBABEL (7:1) is obscure. He is represented as the secular head of the community with

26. Local organisation.

Joshua (see Jesus), as spiritual head by his side. Yet strangely enough we find in Ezra 2:2 Neh 7:1 (1 Esd 5:8, *πρωτοβουλοι*) a list of twelve 'heads' as the chiefs of the community, at whose head stand Zerubbabel and Joshua, presumably as *primi inter pares*. We also hear of the 'elders of the Jews' (Ezra 5:5 7:108, etc.), of certain 'rulers' or 'deputies' (so RV, 2:22) in Neh. 2:16 13 [14], etc., and of 'princes of the people' who dwell at Jerusalem (Neh 11:1). Are these names then perhaps synonymous? If not, what are the mutual relations of the officers whom they severally denote?

We shall not go far wrong if we recognise in the twelve 'heads' the chiefs of the leading families (cp Ezra 1:1), a proof of the tenuous life of the tribal organisation.¹ At the head of the clans were the *zaid ha-aboth* *האבות* (Ezra 1:5 2:63 Neh 7:70, etc.), over all were the twelve men already mentioned. The number twelve was of course suggested by that of the tribes; indeed the Priestly Writer speaks of twelve 'princes of the tribes' (Num. 7:1). It is not necessary, however, that this number should have been permanent. We may plausibly suppose that the 'princes' (including the 'heads') were the beginning of the *tribe gerusia* (below, § 27). From Neh 5:7 we may infer that the plutocratic principle had much to do with their appointment. Most important of all, the priests did not yet belong to the *gerusia*; they are always sharply distinguished from the ruling magistrates, the heads of the people (cp e.g., Neh. 9:18 10:27 [10:25]).

This was soon changed, and not least in consequence of the measures of Ezra and Nehemiah, little as they themselves left for Eliashib or any other high priest to do (cp Neh. 13:4 ff.). The tendency of the law brought by Ezra from Babylon was to exalt the spiritual over the secular power. In this law, which corresponded in the main with the so-called Priestly Code (on this point cp LAW LITERATURE; ISRAEL, § 59; CANON, § 23 f.; EZRA I., § 8); the community was provided with a constitution. It is true, Ezra and his adherents had considerable difficulty in getting their theory of the law accepted. The theory was briefly this. The high priest was supreme head, alike in the spiritual and in the secular sphere. To him were transferred all the powers of the king, in so far as they were at all compatible with the Law. Not even such an unassuming place as Ezekiel assigned to a king remained. Far below the high priest

¹ See ISRAEL, § 64, and Beninger's article 'Älteste' in *PREL.* 1:22 f. (Guthe (see 'Ezra and Neh.'), *SBOT*) regards Ezra 2:2 Neh. 7:7 (from 2:23 down to 2:22) with the addition of 2:23 (see 1 Esd. 5:8) as an addition of the chronicler. He thinks that the existence of the twelve 'heads' presupposes the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah. The 'heads' are not identical with the 'elders', who come before us at the close of the rebuilding of the temple, when Zerubbabel seems to have disappeared. Perhaps they were supplanted by the twelve 'heads'. The 'rulers' (2:22) of Nehemiah are regarded by Guthe as officials; the term may be equivalent to the 'princes' (2:23) of Neh. (12:32).

² Even during the Exile the 'elders' or heads of clans directed the affairs of the settlements; we find them seeking oracular advice of Ezekiel (Ezek. 8:1 14:120 f.; cp Jer. 29:1).

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in rank stood the 'princes', the chiefs of the twelve tribes, i.e., in reality, the men who had had in their hands the administration of affairs. The numerous priestly families constituted a sort of spiritual nobility surrounding the high priest. What the law required was probably not after all very new. That the influence of the priests, even if they had not a seat in the *gerusia*, was really great, appears from *Lech 6:10 f.*

How long it was before the theories of the Priestly Code were translated into practice we do not know. Our information regarding the internal development and the foreign relations of the community in the second half of the Persian period is unfortunately very meagre.

That the abolition of the provincial governorship (see above, § 24) meant a great increase of power for the high priest, is emphatically emphasized by Wellhausen; Nehemiah's provision for the regular payment of the taxes to the priests furnished the needed material basis for their claim to power. The quarrel of the brothers Johanan and Joshua about the high-priesthood and the interference of the Persian governor Bagoses (*Jos. Ant.* xi. 7:1) presuppose an important position for the high priest.

By the beginning of the Greek period, at latest, the law had become a reality. Neither the Ptolemies

28. Greek period.

nor the Seleucids had a governor of their own in Jerusalem, and generally speaking these Hellenistic sovereigns left a large amount of freedom to the communes. Thus in the Jewish capital, as elsewhere, the national assembly seems to have enjoyed fairly extensive powers. Its organisation had probably undergone no essential change from what it had formerly been; the *gerusia* continued as before an aristocratic senate. This of itself is sufficient proof that we have not here to do with a new institution, a creation of the Greek period; for the new communities of Hellenistic times had, as a rule, democratic institutions. There is no good ground for doubting the connection between this senate and the genuine Semite institution of a 'council of the elders' which survived in the Persian period. It is merely a casual circumstance that the *gerusia*—under this name

does not happen to be mentioned until the reign of Antiochus the Great (223-187 B.C.). Whether or how far Greek influences may have co-operated in the development of this *gerusia* out of the college of elders (so Schürer, *GH* 2:14 f.) we have no means of deciding, as we possess no sufficient information as to the manner in which the assembly of elders as a ruling body was organised towards the end of the Persian period. The ordinary traditional designation of 'elders', *πρεσβυτεροι*, is applied also without qualification during this period to the *gerusia* (cp 1 Macc. 12:6 with 14:20, etc.). Long before this, of course, the word had ceased to mean the heads of clans; by elders were intended simply the more distinguished men, the *élite* of the people. Alongside of the secular nobility, the priesthood also seems from an early date to have obtained a place in this assembly (cp 2 Ch. 19:8).

During the Greek period it is the high priest who is at the head of the *gerusia* and thus of the entire community. The Ptolemies first, and afterwards the Seleucids, recognised him as ethnarch. On him lay the duty of seeing that the tribute for the community was paid to the court at Alexandria; and in order to do this he had the right of levying a tax in Judaea (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 4:1 f.). We have an evidence of the importance of the position of high priest in the internecine strife with reference to the office which was the prelude to the Maccabean revolt (2 Macc. 4:1 f. *Jos. Ant.* xii. 5:1 f.). On account of its importance Ptolemies and Seleucids alike claimed the right of appointment to it and removal from it.

The rise of the Hasmonaean meant, strictly, no constitutional change, only a change of persons. During the continuance of the war strictly so-called the commanders, the Maccabees, exercised, of course, a sort of dictatorship. In 2 Macc., it is true, mention is made of the *gerusia* also, alongside

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of Judas (1 Macc. 14.11-12), but on internal grounds more reliance must be placed on the representation given in 1 Macc., where besides Judas no governing body is mentioned save the people themselves (1 Macc. 5.16-18; 10.23-26; 11.30-33, 42). On the other hand, in the period of peace after the victory at Beth zacharias, Demetrius at once restored the old order of things—Alcimus being high priest, with 'elders'—(1 Macc. 6.11), and in like manner after the definitive peace had been negotiated it was again rehabilitated in its entirety, with the single exception that the office was now bestowed not on the legitimate heir but on Jonathan, who legally was disqualified for it (1 Macc. 11.27). This, of course, meant for the priests of Jerusalem a great diminution of power and influence, especially since the old aristocratic party which had been friendly to the Greeks had now to retire into the background altogether; and, in the *gerusia* also, had to make room for the partisans of the Hasmoneans. The institution of the *gerusia*, as such, however, continued alongside of the Hasmonean high-priests and princes (Jonathan I. see 1 Macc. 11.23; 12.6-15; Simon I. see 1 Macc. 13.30-14.28).

The Jews became entirely independent of Syria under John Hyrcanus (135-105). Hyrcanus himself, however, remained as before, the people's high priest. On the other hand, of course, he was not unconscious of his dignity as prince, and he put his name upon the coinage. His son and successor Aristobulus (105-104) actually took the royal title, continuing, however, to retain that of high priest on the coinage. Alexander Jannaeus (104-78) was the first to call himself king on the coinage. Here again, however, the assumption of the kingly title meant no constitutional change; it was only the fitting expression of the fact that from the first the Hasmoneans had subordinated the spiritual side of their office—their high priesthood—to the exercise of their political authority as ethnarchs.

The *gerusia*, therefore, continued, at least in form, under the kings. At how early a date the name of synedrium—which subsequently seems to have been the usual one—rose, is unknown. Possibly the expression *hithar* (היתר) upon the Hasmonean coins refers to this body. At this period it would of course be out of the question to look for any sharply defined jurisdiction as possessed by such a court. Under strong rulers like Hyrcanus and Jannaeus its power can hardly have been great; of Alexandra, on the other hand, who on account of her sex had to hand over the high-priesthood and the presidency of the council to her son Hyrcanus, Josephus remarks that 'she held the kingship in name, but the Pharisees had the power' (Ant. xiii. 162). It is probable that it was through her that the Pharisees had gained admission to the *gerusia* alongside of the Sadducean nobles and the priests.

Pompey brought the Hasmonean rule to an end in 63 B.C. In other respects he found no change necessary

30. Romans. in the forms of the internal administration of the country. He appointed Hyrcanus II. to the high-priesthood, and at the same time invested him with 'the government of the nation' (Jos. Ant. xv. 103: *τὴν προσηλασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους*). The proconsul Gabinius (57-55) on the other hand, withdrew this political dignity from the high priest, dividing the Jewish territory into five jurisdictions—Jerusalem, Jericho, Gazara, Amathus, Sepphoris. By the expressions used by Josephus (*συνάδοι, συνίδρια*) we are doubtless to understand independent districts each under the synedrium of the chief city (Jos. B/i. 8.4). By this measure the political importance of the Jerusalem authorities was virtually destroyed.

This condition of things, however, was of brief duration. Caesar (in 47 B.C.) again made the high priest ethnarch; nominally and constitutionally the *gerusia* shared the government with him. The jurisdiction of the *gerusia* appears to have included even Galilee: at least we read that Herod was summoned

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before the synedrium on account of misdeeds committed there (Jos. Ant. xiv. 9.1-5). In point of fact, however, as is shown by the course of this very prosecution against Herod the synedrium had come to be a helpless tool in the hand of the ruler, who at this time was Antipater. Herod accordingly began his own reign by purging the synedrium of his own opponents, forty five of its members being executed at his command (Jos. Ant. xiv. 9.4, compared with xv. 1.2). Though doubtless replenished with nominees of his own, the council henceforward played no part of importance during his reign (cp. e.g. Ant. xv. 6.2). The high priests also, whom he appointed and deposed at pleasure, were entirely his creatures.

The territory of Herod was divided at his death. Archelais received Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea, with the title of ethnarch; but after a short term of years he was deposed (6 A.D.) and his ethnarchy made a Roman province under a procurator (*ἐπιτροπικός*; in NT ἡγεμὼν, Mt. 27.2 etc.) of equestrian rank. The procurator of Judaea was subordinate in rank to the governor of Syria, and the latter could in special cases of need interfere with him (see Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* 5.599, n.). In all other respects the procurator of Judaea had military command and jurisdiction; in other words, was independent in his province.

In other matters the Romans allowed the Jews a considerable degree of internal freedom and self-government. Josephus is not very wide of the truth when he describes the new constitution as aristocratic, as distinguished from the monarchical despotical rule of a Herod (Ant. xv. 10.1). The synedrium enjoyed greater power than ever before. The Roman procurator was the court of review; the synedrium was the governing body, and, more particularly, no longer had to share its powers as formerly with its president, the high priest.

After the high-priestly office ceased to be held for life, and hereditary high priests had come to be appointed and deposed in rapid succession, first by Herod and then by the Romans, their political power diminished greatly, and they no longer held a paramount position even within the priestly college, although formerly the high priest could still be regarded as holding 'the government of the nation' (Ant. 20.10). Next in rank to the reigning high priest stood those who had previously held the office. In the NT and in Josephus these 'high priests' figure as properly speaking the leaders of the high council (cp. e.g. Mt. 26.59-27.41 and parallels).

As a second class within the same body we find the 'scribes' or professional 'lawyers' (Mt. 20.18-21.15-27.41 and parallels; see SCRIBES, § 2).

The other members, belonging to neither of these two groups, are called simply 'elders' (*πρεσβυτέρους*; see passages already cited); or the word 'councillor' (*βουλευτής*) is occasionally employed (Mk. 15.43; but cp. JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA, § 4). To this body as a whole, besides synedrium, we find the names *presbyterium* (Lk. 22.66 Acts 22.5), *gerusia* (Acts 5.41), and *boulē* (Jos. B/i. ii. 156 xi. 162) applied. In the Mishna the supreme court is called *beit din hag-gadol*, or by the Hellenistic Greek name of *πρῶτον συνέδριον* (sanhedrin). See ISRAELI, § 81.

The number of members of the supreme court of Jerusalem is in the Mishna (*Sanh.* 16) given at 71—a tradition that is not inherently improbable. As for the mode of replenishing its numbers—popular election is excluded alike by the history of its origin, and by its aristocratic character.

Whether the original custom which gave the right of membership to particular families was retained also during the Greco-Roman period is unknown; for the Roman it is at least very questionable. During this last period we find the political authorities (e.g. Alexandra, Herod, the Romans) introducing into the supreme court persons acceptable to themselves at their pleasure. The Mishna knows only of co-optation (*Sanh.* 4.4).

The jurisdiction of the synedrium, so far as its moral influence was concerned, extended over all Jewish communities everywhere; its decrees were regarded as binding by all orthodox Jews even beyond the con-

GOVERNOR

finances of Judaea (cp. Acts 9:2). Regarded as a high court of the state, however, its jurisdiction and authority, after the division of the land on the death of Herod, were confined to Judaea proper, the province ruled by the procurator. In point of fact its range was very wide. It was at once the supreme administrative council and the supreme court of justice. As administrative council, its functions included in particular that of levying taxes. The Roman praetor was to cause the taxes to be levied by the senators of the towns. In accordance with this, the synedrium of Jerusalem also (see Jos. *Ant.* 17:1) was responsible for the taxes of the whole of Judaea. The actual collection, on the other hand, was farmed out to private speculators. As a court of justice the synedrium had civil as well as criminal jurisdiction, in which it was governed by the Jewish law (cp. Acts 4:5 ff. 5:21 ff.); it had its own police, and could make arrests of its own accord (Mt. 26:47 ff., etc.). Its full freedom was restricted in one point only: it was not allowed to carry out capital sentences; these required the confirmation of the procurator and had also to be carried out by him, as is clearly shown by the whole narrative of the trial and death of Jesus (note in particular, the express declaration in Jn. 18:31). The stoning of Stephen must therefore be held to have been illegal. Roman citizens were of course exempt from Jewish jurisdiction (Acts 25:10 ff.). In like manner the procurator had the right to intervene at any moment or to transfer a process to his own judgment seat; but these were exceptions from the stated order of things.

The division of Judaea into toparchies—eleven, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 13:3), ten, according to Flavius (*Her.* 5:75)—most probably dates from the Roman period. Unfortunately we are told nothing as to the origin or object of this division. We may venture to guess that in all likelihood it had something to do with the system of taxation. No conjecture even can be hazarded as to whether these administrative divisions were judiciary circuits also.

The great synedrium in Jerusalem was also the municipal council. In close analogy with this, the various communities throughout the country had also their local synedria (*συνεδρια*, Mt. 10:17 Mk. 13:9 Mt. 5:22; *βουλῆ*, Jos. *Ant.* 11:141, etc.; *πρεσβυτεριοι*, Lk. 7:3). This also, as shown above, was an ancient institution among the Jews. As in earlier times so also now these local courts exercised judicial functions. According to what Josephus tells us (*Ant.* 14:814 *Ant.* 17:205) the membership of one of these provincial courts required to be not less than seven; in larger centres they seem to have had twenty-three members. As for jurisdiction—even grave criminal cases came before them (Mt. 5:21 ff.). In relation to them the great synedrium was not a court of appeal; but recourse was had to it when the judges of the local courts could not agree (Jos. *Ant.* 14:814; *Sanh.* 11:2).

On the general subject see the recent works dealing with biblical history (We., Ki., Klo., St.) and archeology (Benz., Now). On the tribal constitution see 32. Literature. WRS *Kön.* 88, and Nöldk's review *ZDMG.* 1886, pp. 148-187; Riehm, art. 'Stamm' in *HWB* 2. On the monarchical period Oehler, art. 'Königthum' in *PRE* 2 8:102-110; Diestel, art. 'Königthum' in Riehm's *HWB* 2; the commentaries of Benzinger and Kittel on Kings. On post-exilic government; Selinger, *GJH* 2:51-174 and art. 'Synedrium' in Riehm's *HWB* 2; Strack, art. 'Synedrium' in *PRE* 2 15:101-111; Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, 96. The older literature will be found fully indicated in Michaelis, *Mos. Recht* 2 (1775), Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht* (1830); also in the works on Hebrew Archeology by De Wette, Fw., Keil.

GOVERNOR. This word is used widely in the EV to denote any title of rank or superiority. Neither EV nor G is always consistent, and the words referred to below are sometimes differently rendered. On the methods of organization among the Hebrews cp the preceding article §§ 15 ff., and see ARMY, §§ 2, 4; DAVID, § 11; ISRAEL, § 64.

GRAPE

1. *Pehhah*, פֶּהָה (cp. Ass. *phāh*, to tax or govern, *phāhātī*, governor or satrap). It is not quite clear what kind of officer we are to understand by Solomon's 'governors of the land' (פֶּהָה, 1 K. 10:15 2 Ch. 9:14 [*σαταπαις*]), or by Ben-hadad's 'governors,' as distinguished from 'kings' (1 K. 20:24 [*σατ.*]). In the latter case the title is manifestly expressive of military rank. In like manner it is used by RAHSHAKEN [*רֶשֶׁת*] in 2 K. 18:24 Is. 36:9 (*σαταπαις*) in the sense of 'general.' In Jeremiah (31:21 25:7 [*הקצין*]) Ezekiel (23:22), Daniel (3:2 [*רֹאשׁ*]) and Esther (2:12 8:9 13:1) AV 'deputies' (i.e. however, a civil administrative officer of high rank is intended). Palestine, while under Persian dominion, was under the jurisdiction of such officers, called פֶּהָה, 'governors beyond the river' [Euphrates] (Ezra 8:36 Neh. 2:79 Neh. 3:7 [*ἐπαρχος παρα το ποταμον*]); see GOVERNMENT, § 26. The title 'governor of Judah' was borne by Zerubbabel (Hagg. 1:14 2:21) and also by Nehemiah (Neh. 5:14 6:18 [allusion to the 'bread of the governor']; cp. Mal. 1:6 [*ἡγομενος*]) 12:25 f.).

2. *Tirshatha*, תִּרְשָׁתָה, Ezra 2:63 EVmg, etc. See TIRSHATHA.

3. *Nagid*, נָגִיד, Dan. 3:2, etc. See DUFTY, 1. 4. *Nagid* 7:22, 5. *nāṣī*, נָשִׂי, and 6. *nar*, נָר; see PRINCE. 7. *Tafel*, תַּפֵּל, see OVERSEER. 8. *Al upi*, אֶל אֲפִי; see DUKE, 1.

9. *Salit*, שָׁלִיט (from שָׁלַט, Heb., Aram., Ass., 'to rule, have power,' cp. Ar. *salāt*), the word used by J in Gen. 42:6 (*ἀρχων* [APEL]) to denote Joseph's position as the Pharaoh's steward of the palace and grand vizier. In Dan. 2:15 f. (*ἐπαρχον*, *ἀρχων*) it denotes military rank (see ARMY, 2), and it is used more or less vaguely in Dan. 5:20, etc. (Daniel, third 'ruler' EV), Eccles. 7:19 ('ten rulers' [RV], AV 'mighty men' in a city, *ἐξουσιασται*).

10. *Hakkē*, חֲכֵי, EV 'governor,' Judg. 5:9 (*τὰ διατεταγμένα* [AL]), used poetically in a somewhat vague sense; cp. חֲכֵי, 'governor,' in Judg. 5:14, *ἐξουσιων τοις* [BVL], usually rendered 'law-giver' (Gen. 49:10 [Lx. 5:32] Is. 10:1 35:2).

11. *Mōšēl*, מֹשֶׁל, Jer. 30:21 (*ἀρχων*); usually 'ruler,' in a general sense. Cp. RULER. 12. *Haddilārayyā*, חֲדַלְרַיָּא, Dan. 3:24, AVmg; see COUNSELLOR, 3. Six Greek words come under consideration.

13. *ἐπαρχος* (cp. 1, above), 2 Macc. 4:27 RV (AV 'ruler'); see SOSTRATUS. 14. *ἡγομενος*, Mt. 26 (quoting Mt. 5:14), 'שָׂר', *ἀρχων*. See 11, above. 15. *ἡγεμὼν*, the title given in MT to the Roman procurators (Pilate, Mt. 27:2, etc.; Felix, Acts 23:24, etc.; Festus, Acts 26:35; see ISRAEL, § 64. 16. *ἐπαρχὴς*, 1 Macc. 14:47, etc.; see DAMASCUS, § 13, ETIMARCH. 17. For *ἀρχιερκελπος* (Jn. 2:8 f. AV) see METALS, § 11. 18. *ἐπιβουλος*, Jas. 3:4, RV 'steersman.' 19. *ἀκουσιος*, Gal. 4:2, RV STEWARD.

GOZAN (גִּזָּן; in Ki. *ΓΩΖΑΝ* [BA]; in Ch. *χωζαβ* [B], *Γωζαδ* [A]; *ΓΟΙΖΑΝ* [L; Ki; Ch.]), one of the districts to which Israelites were deported by the king of Assyria (2 K. 17:6 [*Γωζαβ* B]) 18:11 Ch. 5:26), also mentioned (with Haran, Rezeph, and the Bim-Laden of Tel-assur) in a letter of Sennacherib to Hezekiah, according to 2 K. 19:12 (= Is. 37:32). It is no doubt the Assyrian *Guzani*, the *Γαυζανίς* of Ptolemy (v. 18:3 f.), mentioned in 2 K. 5:14 as between Tushan and Nisibis (Nisibis). This province was ruled by a governor who sometimes had the honour to give his name to the year as *limu* (eponym). It rebelled in 809 B.C., and again in 750, but was finally subdued in 758. Its chief stream was the Habor [p. 11], now the Habar, on the banks of which the exiles were settled. (See *Isrl. Par.* 184, and cp. *Schr. AB* 2:275, 326; *KGE* 167, n. 310, 352 f.; also HABOR, HALAH, HARA.)

[In 2 K. 17:6 and 18:11 GBL, and in 17:6 GBL read *παταίος* P, 'rivers of Gozan.' The former is universally represented as G's reading. This may be so, but is not proved by the evidence. *παταίος* may very well be a scribe's conjecture. There is hardly occasion to inquire, with Winckler (*U. T. Ant.* 108) and W. M. Müller (Hastings, *DR* 2:235 c), which rivers may be meant.—T. K. C.] C. P. 1.

GRABA, RV Aggaba (αγ(γ)αβα [Balmg. AL]), 1 Est. 5:29 = Ezra 2:45, HAGABAI.

GRAFTING (ΕΝΚΕΝΤΡΙΖΕΙΝ [Ti. W11]), Rom. 11:17. See OLIVE.

GRAPE. Blossom, early berry, sour and ripe fruit, all find mention in the OT.

1. *ḥēṣ*, חֶסֶד (*ḥēṣ*), blossom, Is. 15:51; cp. Gen. 40:10.
2. *ḥēṣ*, חֶסֶד (*ḥēṣ*) [*ḥēṣ*], blossom (Is. 15), properly the blossom, but perhaps also the cluster of tiny berries which

1 Mentioned along with [22] see DUFTY.

GRECIANS

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GREEK, GREEKS

τάς [Ti. WH])—as it is paraphrased in Pesh.—as distinguished from non-Jewish Greeks (Ἑλληνες [Ti. WH], Rom. 1:14) on the one hand, and Palestinian Jews (Ἰσραηλῶν [Ti. WH], Phil. 3:5) on the other. In Acts 6:1 the Hellenists spoken of are Christian. The distinction, however, has not always been understood or observed by copyists and translators.

In Acts 11.20 the better reading is 'Greeks' [RV text], *Ἕλληνας [Ti. WH, Blass, following 8^c AD*]—i.e., non-Jews. In Jn. 12.20 Acts 17.4, 'Greeks' are proselytes to Judaism (cp Hellenism, § 2, PROSELYTE).

GREEK, GREEKS (ΕΛΛΗΝ Rom. 1.16, ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ¹ Jn. 12.20). See Hellenism, § 2, and cp. Grecians (above). For Greek Language (ἐλληνιστί [Ti. Wh]) Jn. 19.20, see Hellenism, § 3.

GREEN. For (1) **רִנָּה**, *Rinah* (2 Ki. 19:26 etc.) see COLOURS, § 11; for (2) **לֶחֶף**, *lah* (Gen. 30:37 etc.); (3) **רִנָּה**, *ra'nān* (Dt. 12 etc.) and (4) **רִנָּה**, *rināh* (Job 8 to etc.) see COLOURS, § 17. **Greenish** (**צָהָב**, *zahav*) Lev. 13:49 14:37; see COLOURS, § 11. **Greenness** (**זֶהָה**, *zehā*) Job 8:12; see COLOURS, § 17. For **Green** (hangings) (**קָרָפֶּס**, *karpas*) Esth. 1:6, see COTTON.

GREETINGS (ἀσπασμοί), Mt. 237. See SALUTATIONS.

GREYHOUND (רִירִי קְטִינִי), 'well girt' [or, 'well-knit'] in the loins, RV יִרְיָה,² one of the four things mentioned in Prov. 30 וְיָרִיחַ as of stately motion, the lion, the he-goat, and the king (going to battle?) being the other three. Whether the poet meant the greyhound (Kim., Gr., Ven., Luth., Ew., Bö., De.), is another matter.

The revisers of AV felt uncertain, and placed 'war-horse' (so Rochart, Wildeboer?) in the margin, with what they conceived to be the literal meaning of the Hebrew phrase (see above); the eagle (Ibn Ezra) and even the S. African zebra have also been thought of (Ludolf, Simonis).

The rendering 'cock' is advocated elsewhere; but the rendering in EV would be not less suitable if only it could be justified (see COCK). On this hypothesis something good would for once be said of a dog (see DOG, § 1). The large Persian greyhound is used in the desert for hunting the GAZELLE (*q. r.*); as of 'noble kind,' it is allowed to lie down in the nomad booth (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1327 337). Tristram states that this dog is known in modern Palestine (*XHB* 80).

GRINDING (טַחְנָה), Eccles. 124. See MILL.

GRISLED (גִּרְסֵל), Gen. 31 10. See COLOURS, § 12.

GROVE, GROVES. For (1) אֶשְׁרָה, 'Āšerah, אֶשְׁרִים, 'Āšerim, see ASHERAH, § 1, and for (2) אֶשֶׁל, 'Āšel, Gen. 21³³ AV, 1 S. 22⁶ AVmg. (cp 31¹³), see TAMARISK.

GUARD. On the employment of men for the purposes of protection and of keeping watch, see **ARMY** (esp. §§ 4, 10), **CARITES**, **CURETHUTES**, **DAVID**, § 112, **GOVERNMENT**, § 21, **FORTRESS**.

1. *ṣabbāhīm*, 𐤑𐤒𐤁𐤍 (e.g., 2 K. 258); see EXECUTIONER (1) and cp CATTLE, col. 714, n. 1.

2. *raṣim*, רֶשֶׁת, 1 S. 22 17, RV, etc.; see ARMY, § 4, col. 314.
CHARIOT, § 10.

¹ On B's rendering of *Philistin*, in Is. 9:12, see PHILISTINES.

² For the Greek readings, see Cock, col. 355, n. 4.

GYMNASIUM

3. *nišmār*, נִשְׁמָר, Neh. 4 22 f. [16 f.] EV (*ib.* 4 9 [3], 7 3 EV 'watch'); the word primarily denotes the place where a watch or guard is posted (cp. Gen. 40 3, נִשְׁמָר Is. 21 8 etc., in Neh. 7 3 נִשְׁמָר, προφυλακή; נִשְׁמָר, προφύλαξ).

4. *mišma'ath*, מִשְׁמַא'ת, 2 S. 23 23 || 1 Ch. 11 23; see COUNCIL i., 2. Possibly to be emended to מִשְׁמַח (cp above).

5. σπεκουλάτωρ, Mk. 8 27 RV; see EXECUTIONER (3).

6. Κονστωδία, Mt. 2765 ft., RV.

AV, cp CAPTAIN, 17, and see PRÆTOR.

GUDGODAH (גֻּדְגֹּדָה; cp Ar. *judjud*¹⁰⁰ 'a cricket';

γαδγαδ [BA], γαδισαδ [L], γαλφα, [F]), a place-name in a fragment of an itinerary preserved in D (Di 107); cp HOP-HAGUDGAD, and see WANDERINGS, § 8.

GUESTS (ἄνθρωποι). 1 Ki. 141. See **MEALS**, § 4.
STRANGER, § 3 and **SACRIFICE**. For **Guest-Chamber** (κατά-
 λυμα) Mk. 1114 Lk. 2211, see **HOUSE**, § 2.

GUILT OFFERING (DṢṢ), Lev. 56 etc. RV, AV 'trespass offering'; see SACRIFICE.

GUM TRAGACANTH (TRAG), Gen. 37²⁵ RVmg.,
EV 'spicery.' See SPICE, 3; STORAX, 2.

GUNI (𐎧𐎺𐎠)—i.e., 'Gumite': $\Gamma\omega\Upsilon N[\epsilon]_1$ [BADFL]).

1. A Naphthalite clan individualised in 1 Ch. 46.24 (יוֹזָבָב [yovav] [B]), גִּיְוָרִי (GI), 1 Ch. 7.13 (יוֹזָבָב [yovav] [B], גִּיְוָרִי [L]). The gentilic יוֹזָבָב occurs in Nu. 26.45. EV, The **Gunites** (יוֹזָבָב [B]), and is read by most critics in 1 Cr. 11.34 (גִּיְוָרִי; ¹¹ for יוֹזָבָב בְּנֵי הַדָּם הַזֶּה has βερναίας ο ομοιολογουνομεν, ¹² βεας ο ομοιομενομεν, ¹³ βιολ ασμ του ζερν) instead of EV's GIZONITE. See JAHEN.

2. A Gadite family individualised in 1 Ch. 5.15 (יוֹזָבָב [B]).

GUR, THE GOING UP TO, RV *The Ascent of* מִגְּדָלָהּ; for similar combinations see ADUMMIM, AKRABIM, and ZIZ), a place near IBLEAM [7.1.] where Ahaziah seems to have received his death-blow: 2 K. 9.27 (ἐν [τῷ] τῷ ἀναβαίνειν γὰρ [βα]. ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει γὰρ [L]).

Josephus mentions no name; he has merely a certain ascent (*ἐν τινὶ προσβάσει*, *Ant.* ix. 63). The name appears as *gar*, *gmr*, in *OS*² 12930; 24756. Flinders Petrie (*Syria and Egypt*, 160) identifies *Gur* with the land of *Gar* in the Amarna Tablets; see art. below, and cp *HORITES*.

GUR-BAAL (גור-באל), a place inhabited by Arabians² Ch. 267).

The Targum reads 'Gerar' instead of 'Gur'; cp 8's 'Gerar' or 'Gedor,' 1 Ch. 439 [BAL], and note that in both passages of Ch. the MEUNIM [g.w.] also are spoken of. 8, however, has in 2 Ch. *l.c.* *eni tñs nēpas* [BAL], which supports Kittel's suggestion of טרפא (Vg. cod. Amiat. *Turbad*).

The rock or mountain of Baal might be the *Jebel Neby Ħarūn* (see HOR. MOUNT, 1), the summit of which was doubtless always crowned by a sanctuary.

The neighbourhood of this sacred mountain would be inhabited by 'Arabians' before the later city of Petra rose. See Kittel's note (*SBOT*) and Buhl, *Edomiter*, 7, 41 (n. 4), and cp ARABIA, § 3.

Wi. (*GP* 146 n.1) reads *בְּנֵי עֵדוֹם* and identifies Gar with the Gar (=Edom) in the Amarna Tablets (237 23); but see TORITE. Contrast the view of Flinders Petrie; cp preceding article.

GYMNASIUM (1 Macc. 1:14 2 Macc. 4:12 ff.). See
HELLENISM, § 5. PALESTRA.

H

HAAHASHTARI (הַחֲשָׁרִי), the art. being prefixed; Ἀσχαρῖ [B], Ἀσθῆρα [A], ἀεσθούρει [L.]. A Judahite family which traced its origin to Ashhur (1 Ch. 46); perhaps we should read חֲשָׁרִי, 'the Ashhurite.' The error has arisen from a mistaken assimilation of the already corrupted name to חֲשָׁרִי, Est. 8:10.

T. K. C.

HABAIAH (הַבַּיָּה [Bā], but הַבַּיָּה [Ginsb.]) 'Yahwē hides' or 'protects'; cp ELIAHBA, JEIUBBAH, a post-exilic priestly family which was unable to prove its pedigree, Ezra 26:1 (אֲבַיָּה [B], אֲבַיָּה [A], אֲבַיָּה [L.]) = Neh. 7:63, RV HOBALAH (הַבַּיָּה [Bā], but הַבַּיָּה [Ginsb.]); אֲבַיָּה [Bā], אֲבַיָּה [A], אֲבַיָּה [L.]. See GENEALOGIES i., § 3 (2).

HABAKKUK (הַבַּקֻּק [Bā], § 66, אֲבַיָּה [Bā], אֲבַיָּה [A], אֲבַיָּה [L.]) Da. (Theod.) Bel [Δ] Complut., 4 Esd. 14:1 ABACUC; Frd. Del. compares Ass. *habakukū*, the name of a garden plant, *Ass. Hitt. B* 281, *Prol.* 84; cp Hommel, *Aufst. 27 f.* [92], the eighth of the minor prophets, about whom, in the absence of authentic traditions, legend has much to say.

In Bel and the Dragon Habakkuk is commanded to carry a meal to Daniel in the lions' den, for which purpose an angel seizes him by the hair and carries him to Babylon and back; and the same story is told, but more picturesquely, in the different *Lives of the Prophets*, which have reached us in a great variety of languages and forms. Here he is represented as a Simeonite, born at Beth-zachariah, and dying two years before the end of the Babylonian exile. In the heading of the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (see DANIEL, § 16) Habakkuk is a son of Jesus of Levi. No historical value attaches to any of these notices; their sole link of connection with the biblical book is the mention of the Chaldeans (Hab. 1:6) by which the prophet's place in history is approximately indicated.

The book is divided by the new heading of 3:1 into two independent sections which demand separate treatment.

2. First section. headed: 'The oracle (נְבִיאָה) which chap. 1 f. the prophet Habakkuk saw.' The very first word, which had already been ridiculed for its ambiguity by Jeremiah (23:33-40) and strictly prohibited, is proof that the heading is due to a late editor (see ISAIAH ii., § 9). It need not surprise us therefore to find many traces of editorial intervention within the book itself.

1. Chaps. 1 f., as we now have them, may be analysed somewhat as follows:—

1-2.4. sounds like a Psalm, or rather a Lamentation; the prophet complains to Yahwē that he is left to cry in vain for help against the oppression and tyranny of the wicked, from which law and justice are suffering.

1-5:11. Yahwē speaks without any introductory formula (such as 'And Yahwē said'). He is about to raise up the warlike Chaldeans, who will achieve complete success.

1-12:17. Again without an introductory formula, the prophet addresses Yahwē once more. He cannot understand how the God of Israel, himself holy and just, can look on while the sinner destroys the man who is better than himself, how the wicked is allowed to take men and peoples like fish with hook and net, and then to pay divine honours to these instruments of his wealth and greatness.

2:1. 'I stand upon my watch tower,' etc. The prophet awaits the answer of Yahwē to his complaint.

2:2-4. 'Then Yahwē answered me,' etc. The prophet is bidden write and set up where all may read them the joyous tidings that help is coming in due time, and that the just who wait patiently shall live by his faith.

1 Cp two recensions of the *Vite prophetarum*, with numerous notes, by E. Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, 21, esp. 26 f. 57; also Delitzsch, *De Habacuci prophetae vita atque oratione*, 42, and Hamaker, *Conin. in libellum de vita et morte prophetarum*, 32.

2-5 f. Over the violent one who had made the nations his prey, these nations shall utter a taunting song, which is comprised in five sections from 7:6b onward, each beginning with נָח or 'woe' (נָח, 6b-8:11 12-14 15-17 18-20—in the last section the נָח is at the beginning of 19:19).

1. The taunting song just referred to stands apart as a separate section within the first two chapters of the book, although it is in connection with the preceding prophecy. We have therefore now to discuss 1-2:4.

The question we have to consider is, to whom does this prophecy (1-2:4) relate? or, rather, to whom is

3. Chap. 1-2:4. salvation promised, to whom destruction threatened? Until quite recently it was universally held that the latter were the Chaldeans and the former the people subject to them, especially Israel.

The ground for this belief was that in 1:14 f. 2:3 f. the crafty and violent wrongdoer is altogether described as an imperial or world-power, and the sufferers as an aggregate of nations; and since the only such power named is the Chaldean (1:6), it was assumed that the prophecy was directed against this.

It is now, however, coming to be recognised that the matter is by no means so simple. Scholars cannot shut their eyes to the fact that in 1:6 the nation of the Chaldeans appears, not as the object of a divine judgment, but as its instrument.

It is Yahwē who will raise the Chaldeans up (עָלָה) to the promise of victory is for them, the threatening is for others. Later, the relation of Yahwē to the hostile power is reversed; but in the text as we now have it this change does not come out clearly, and there is confusion in consequence.¹

The present position of the question may here be briefly stated. The element of truth in the theories of earlier scholars has of late been rediscovered by several independent workers, notably Giesebrecht² and Wellhausen.³ The present writer also, with equal independence of predecessors, pointed out (*St. Kr.*, 1893, p. 383 f.) that 1:4 and 1:12 should be brought together, to which he added the entirely new theory that 1:5-11 is not an independent earlier prophecy but an integral part of the same prophecy removed from its original place, and that this prophecy is a threatening addressed not to Chaldea but to Assyria. It has, in fact, been overlooked that the prophecy, if it contains a threatening against a world-power, must be speaking not of one world-power only, but of two—i.e., not only of the oppressor but also of the destroyer of that oppressor.

Why not, indeed? He who 'alone doeth great wonders' both can and does avail himself of secondary causes. The prophets are well aware of this, and Habakkuk himself, in his threatenings, gives clear expression to this truth (2:6). If, then, the prophecy were directed against the Chaldeans, we should have expected to find Cyrus as in 11. Isaiah, the Medes as in 1s. 13:17, or Elam and the Medes as in 1s. 21:2 (cp also Jer. 51:27 f.), mentioned by name as the instruments of Yahwē's

¹ The first to observe this was von Gumpach (*Der Proph. Hab.*, 60) to whom de Goeje (review in *Nieuwe Jaarboeken*, etc., 61, p. 304 f.) in the main assents. A full and discriminating account of their theories will be found in Kuenen's *Und.* (1) 2:62; a more condensed statement is given in the second edition of this indispensable work, where the author's own revised opinion will be read with profit (German translation by Muller, 2:371 f.).

² See his *Beitrag zur Jesaiakritik*, 197 [190], where strong arguments are brought to show (against Kuenen) that 1:12 ought to come immediately after 1:4. According to this scholar, the appropriate place for 1:5-11 (which is a piece complete in itself) is before 1:1. It is the Chaldeans, he thinks, who are here for the first time announced: they are described with imagery derived from the Scythians. The rest of the prophecy was written under the Chaldean yoke, probably during the exilic period.

³ See his *Kl. Proph.*, 162 f. (92); (2), 165 f. (98). Both with regard to the people addressed, and as to the origin of 1:5-11, he agrees with Giesebrecht; but he apparently makes all the prophecy pre-exilic. This it must be because 1:2-4 presupposes the existence of the Kingdom of Judah.

justice,¹ or at the very least the announcement made that a warlike people should appear, even if no name were given. Instead of this, the power which is to cause the fall of the oppressor is not even referred to in the divine response given in 2:4; indeed, it is extremely doubtful whether the fall itself is spoken of in the obscure words of 2:4a:2

Now for our hoped-for solution. We have detached 1:5-11 from its surroundings, and must study it in and for itself. It describes how Yahweh, who speaks in the first person, calls up a warrior people that he may give

4. 1:5-11 against Assyria. up a warrior people that he may give it an unheard-of victory; by the 'for' (1:2) in the beginning of v. 6 this word of Yahweh is linked to another that must have preceded it. A divine word of such deep import will exactly correspond to the prophet's anxiety in 2:1. The divine response waited for begins indeed in 2:2, but after v. 4 we find an unaccountable hiatus. Now, is it not obvious that the passage we have already isolated fills the hiatus, that it calls by its name the mighty warrior nation which is the destined conqueror of the oppressor? It will be objected: we cannot suppose that the Chaldeans are to abolish themselves? Of course not; but we have seen that the theory which identifies them with that oppressor rests only on 1:6. If now the Chaldean power in 1:6 is referred to, not as the oppressor but as the oppressor's conqueror, then the oppressor himself is the power which was vanquished by the Chaldeans, in other words Assyria: that is, the prophecy is directed not (as used to be thought) against the Chaldeans but against the Assyrians.

The view just indicated is supported by other weighty considerations.

1. The exceedingly vivid picture of the oppressor in 1:4-6:25 does not suit the Chaldeans, whilst it fits the Assyrians, the Romans of the East, perfectly.

Not all at once, but by numerous separate efforts spread over three centuries, not merely by force of arms, but (as the angling metaphor suggests) by policy and craft, were so many petty principalities and more than one important kingdom swept into the hands of these robbers (cp. Is. 10:5-11:13/7). The Chaldean, on the other hand, far from being the unrelenting, grasping amasser of wealth, was simply the smiling heir. His conquest of Babylon threw the empire of the Euphrates and Tigris, like ripe fruit, into his hands, and his victory at Carchemish over the pharaoh Necho II did the same with Western Asia: within a very few years—within twenty, it we reckon from the accession of Nabopolassar in Babylon—all had been accomplished. This does not correspond well with Habakkuk's figure.

2. Even if it were granted, however, that ultimately perhaps the Chaldean ascendancy did come to partake of the character described, Judah at all events had no time allowed her to experience it.

The conquest of Nineveh brought relief rather than oppression to the whole of Western Asia; and even after the battle of Carchemish about 605 B.C. Judah would have had little to suffer at the hands of the Chaldeans had not Jehoiakim's senseless remuneration of his vassalage in 602 provoked their wrath. Between that date and 597 at latest the prophecy might conceivably have been directed against the Chaldeans; not later, because we find in it no trace of the hard fate of Jerusalem and Jehoiakim. This short interval is hardly long enough, however, to account for such a picture as we have in 1:4 ff., and, moreover, within these years a prophecy of the fall of the Chaldean power would certainly have been most premature.

3. The strong personification of the enemy in the image of the fisher, as in 1:15 and elsewhere, is worthy of attention.

It is very appropriate in the case of the Assyrians, who are always designated by the singular *Assur*; and a splendid instance of a similar kind had already been supplied by Is. 10:5 ff. (see especially v. 14). It does not fit in with the plural *Kaldim*

1 M. L. Lauterburg (*Theol. Z. aus d. Schweiz*, 13/6, p. 74 ff.) draws this inference. He reads in 1:6 'Persians' for 'Chaldeans', and, accordingly, dates the whole book from the exile, including ch. 3, which could, he thinks, in this way be ascribed to the same hand.

2 Wellhausen justly remarks: 'However anxious he was about it, Habakkuk's revelation is surprisingly meagre. To bring at least some divine judgment out of it, the Septuagint (B242) has taken leave to translate in 2:4 *οὐκ εἰδότες ἢ ψυχῇ σου ἐν αἰσῇ*. How near the acute critic is to a solution of the riddle! But for his low opinion of the prophet he might have reached it.

nearly so well, and we notice that in 1:6 we at once meet with the apposition, 'the people', etc., a phrase which controls the entire description down to v. 10.

Such is the only solution that meets the conditions of the problem. The argument is necessarily simple; no long historical discussion is required. The change of date involved is at most twenty-eight years, perhaps considerably less.¹ The counter-hypothesis offered by Rothstein, however carefully elaborated, labours under insuperable difficulties.²

We may therefore proceed to show how the theory adopted illuminates the whole prophecy.

That the 'law' in 1:1 is that of Deuteronomy needs no showing. The 'righteousness' claimed here and in 1:13 is the will for good produced by this law, the promulgation of which was accompanied by such high hopes. The weight of the long-continued Assyrian suzerainty, however, has crushed all effort (1:2-4). The righteous people feels itself worthy of freedom, and cannot comprehend how it is that Yahweh can passively watch the violence done (1:12-17). After uttering this complaint the prophet is commanded to write legibly upon a tablet that deliverance is coming but must be waited for with patience (2:1-4). Yahweh is about to send the Chaldeans, a warlike people which will subvert everything (1:6-10). Then the might of the Assyrian will be at an end and disappear without leaving a trace (1:11-2:3). Thus far the exposition (given by Yahweh himself) of the inscription in 2:3/3.

This view of 1:2-2:5 has been variously received by scholars.

Accepted without qualification by Cornill (*Einl.* 204 f. 24), and rejected by Davidson (*Nab. Hab. and Zeph.* 166) and Nowack (*Nab. Prop.* 197), it was again accepted by G.A.S.M. (*Uebers. Prop.* 2 [198]) and again rejected by Driver (Hastings, *DB* 2, 199). The objections are stated in detail by Davidson; for the other side reference may be made to G.A.S.M.

One point put forward by Davidson in his Appendix (137 f.) demands special notice. He lays stress on the fact that according to the recently discovered inscriptions 'those who accomplished the final destruction of Nineveh were the Medes alone, the Babylonians having no part in it.' He concludes 'that this course of events can hardly be said to give any additional plausibility to the interpretation of Habakkuk advocated by Prof. Budde.' It is difficult, however, on the other hand, to see how this 'course of events' could militate against the interpretation in question.

If the Chaldeans took no personal part in the final destruction of Nineveh, they at least were in alliance with the Medes who did, and they contributed all they could to the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire. Even if this had not been the case, it is still conceivable that the prophet might by anticipation have erroneously assigned this part to them. If in point of fact, however—as Winkler had conjectured and the inscriptions now confirm—the Chaldeans held back from the final destruction of Nineveh and left the task to their allies simply because they shrank from the wrath of the gods of Nineveh, the fact remains that they were morally the authors of the overthrow as well as the others, and the prediction of the prophet according to the interpretation in question was completely realised.

Those who reject this interpretation are themselves divided into two camps. Nowack follows Gieselerrecht

1 The death of Ashurbanipal in 626 B.C., and the commencement of Nabopolassar's reign c. 605 B.C., constitute for our hypothesis the superior limit; the inferior is to be sought in the battle of Megiddo in 609 and the fall of Nineveh in 608.

2 See his article on Hab. 1 and 2, *St. A.*, 18/4, p. 51 ff. Like the present writer he transposes 1:6-10 so as to stand after 2:5a; but he infers from 1:2-4 (i.e. 5 an editorial insertion) that the entire prophecy was originally directed against the *godless in Judah*, particularly King Jehoiakim, who was to be punished by the Chaldeans. This prophecy (1:2-4 12a 13 2:1-5a 1:6-10 14 [read 1:2-11] 15a), originally delivered about 605 B.C., was, he thinks, revised during the Exile, so as to make it an oracle against Babylon. Against this view compare the present writer's article, *Expos.* May, '95, 372 ff.

3 For the necessary emendations of the text see Budde, *Expos.* May, '05, p. 376, where an answer will be found to the objection of Davidson, *Nab. Hab. Zeph.* 55, that 'it is improbable that the same thing should be said of two different nations' (v. 11 of the Chaldeans, v. 16 of the Assyrians). It would seem that 1:11 also must be taken as referring to the Assyrians, and in the article already cited the present writer has even ventured to substitute *אֲשׁוּר* for the impossible *אֲשׁוּר* before *וְיָהוּא* in 1:11: 'then shall disappear like the wind, and pass away, Asshur who has made his strength his God.' v. 11 simply refers back to v. 16 and explains it. [Ruben, more boldly, *וְיָהוּא* לְאַחֲרָיָהוּ, 'Am I to sacrifice to the wind that passeth? Am I to make the angle my god?']

and Wellhausen in simply removing 15-11, as being an older prophecy, from its present position and making 7-12 follow immediately on 2-4. Davidson and Driver, on the other hand, in spite of all the difficulties which they themselves at knowledge, prefer to retain the section in its present order, and thus essentially follow the view of H. Oort (*Jh. T.*, '91, pp. 357 ff.): 12-4 speaks only of the internal corruption of Judah, 27: 5-11 threaten this corruption with punishment through the instrumentality of the Chaldeans.

On this assumption the prophet loses his way, and his threatening comes to be directed against the Chaldeans. This sudden change of front is attributed to the personal peculiarity of the prophet. Only, Driver is inclined to assign 12-11 (not, as Thierschelt, Wellhausen, Nowack, 15-11) to a date considerably earlier than that of the following sections.

B. The new section begins with 26, not with 25.

Certainly 26 establishes a close connection with 25 by the words 'Verily they all of them (i.e., 'all people' with which 25 closes) will take up a parable and a taunting proverb against them and will say' (read $\text{וְכָל־הָעָם־יִשְׂרָאֵל}$). This introduction, like similar ones elsewhere, as for example in Is. 14 3 f., presupposes that the enemy has already fallen. Only then is there any occasion to take up a 'parable' against the enemy. What we read in the following passage (26b-20), however, does not fit into the situation. The evil that befalls the enemy there lies wholly in the future, and is *throughout* expressed in the future tense (cp 27: 7 f. 11 14 16 f.). Rothstein accordingly has rightly deleted the introductory clause, 26a down to $\text{וְכָל־הָעָם־יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ as an editorial addition. In reality it is only the prophet himself (not the nations) who again takes up speech, after Yahweh has spoken, cataloguing the oppressor's sins with ever-recurring woes, and threatening him with punishment from God.

These things being so, we have in the first instance to suppose that the enemy in 26b-20 is the same as the enemy in the opening section of the book—in other words, the Assyrian. The strong personification cannot mislead us here; it corresponds exactly with what we have already read about the Assyrian in 113 ff. 25. On the other hand, the added introduction, 26a, leads us to anticipate editorial additions also in the body of the section.

As such may be pointed out (1) 2 12-14. Verse 12 is taken from Mic. 3 10, 2: 13 is brought in as a Divine word (point, with $\text{וְכָל־הָעָם־יִשְׂרָאֵל}$) from Jer. 51 58 and 2: 14 from Is. 11 9. In substance the entire passage is in harmony with the thought and feeling of the post-exilic community, but has little to do with Habakkuk's time. (2) 27: 13-25. For it is wasting time to charge a heathen king with his idolatry when Judah's one desire is to be rid of his tyranny. The passage recalls the manner of H. Isaiah. Further, 2: 18 stands before its proper 'woe' in 2: 19. These verses must be transposed; probably 2: 18 is a later amplification, wrongly brought in from the margin. Verse 20 may have had its origin in Mic. 12 and Zeph. 17. It closes the passage not unfittingly, but perhaps was intended at the same time to prepare for the theophany in chap. 3.

The remaining three woes have all a beauty of their own and are strikingly characteristic. The first (2 6b-3) declaims against the plundering of the nations; the second (27: 9-11) against the buildings for display or defence carried out at the cost of violence and forced labour; the third (27: 15-17) against the ravishment of lands and peoples (2: 15 to be taken figuratively), in particular by the stripping of the forests and hunting-grounds of Western Asia. That all this admirably fits the case of Assyria is certain.¹

The text, it is true, is very corrupt (see Wellhausen's suggestions). Perhaps it was the mutilation of the text that gave opportunity for the drastic revision we now have before us.²

To sum up: in chaps. 1 and 2 the Assyrians, whose vassals the kings of Judah have continuously been since the time of Ahaz, are threatened with the overthrow of their empire by the Chaldeans. These Chaldeans, not to

6. Result as regards chap. 1 f.

¹ For proofs see *St. Kr.*, 1893, p. 391 f.

² The view of Stade (*ZATW.* 4 154-159 [184]), who explains 29-20 as an interpolation speaking of a petty Palestinian tyrant, cannot be discussed here; see Kue. *Einl.* 2 11 f. Against Rothstein, who explains the whole section, in its original form, of Jehoiakim, see *St. Kr.* as above, and *Expos.* May '95, p. 372 f.

be confounded with the Babylonians, are a new and rising people whose seat is on the seaboard to the S. of Babylonia: once already in the seventh century they were a menace to the Assyrian empire for a time (2 K. 20); the danger was again in sight from the time when the Chaldean Nabopolassar secured for himself the throne of Babylon (625).¹ In 11-13 the prophet describes them as a people beginning to be known by hearsay, and the surmise of earlier scholars is no doubt correct, that the Scythian irruption (from about 630 onwards), of which the prophet himself had personal experience, supplied him, in part at least, with colouring for his picture. The time is more precisely determined by 14 as subsequent to Josiah's reformation in 621, but also (with equal certainty) prior to the death of that king in 609, so that, halving the difference, we may take 615 or (by preference) a slightly earlier time to be the date of composition. At that time the people of Judah was conscious of righteousness: indeed, even later, men saw in the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile the punishment, not of their own sins, but of those of king Manasseh (2 K. 21 3 Jer. 15 4), or of their fathers (Jer. 31 29 Ezek. 18 3). As the solitary expression of this mental attitude to be found among all the prophetic writings that have come down to us, the book of Habakkuk possesses peculiar value, and takes a high place among our sources for the history of the period.

The oracle, then, expected from the Chaldeans freedom and prosperity for Judah. The actual result was quite different: they were the instruments of Judah's overthrow. Of course, the responsibility for this must primarily be attributed to the bad policy of the kings of Judah and to the fanaticism of the patriotic party. Apart from these causes the prophecy of Habakkuk had every likelihood of being fulfilled. Jeremiah too could venture to promise the continuance of the kingdom if only it could decide to yield to the Chaldeans.

We can easily understand that in the exile or the post-exilic period a prophecy which had been so sadly falsified could not escape alteration. By

7. Successors and Predecessors.

displacement of the passage in which good fortune was promised to the Chaldeans (now 16-10), and by other editorial changes, including perhaps removal of the name of Asshur, the prophecy was so transformed as to be capable of being interpreted of the fall of the Chaldeans. These alterations hardly belong to the exilic period, which produced its own oracles against Babylon and the Chaldeans. They are rather to be assigned to the great period of editorial activity—the fifth, perhaps, or the fourth century.

From a literary point of view, the original work of Habakkuk in its main features is plainly dependent on the great prophet of the preceding century, Isaiah. The picture of the Assyrian tyrants in 113-17 recalls Is. 10 5 ff., the announcement of the Chaldeans in 16-10 suggests that of the Assyrians in Is. 52 6 ff., and the three woes of 26b-17 the 'seven' woes of Is. 58-23 10 1-4. At the same time it is true that, as Rothstein has been at special pains to show, Habakkuk has also in details a very close affinity with his contemporary Jeremiah. One must not be in a hurry to infer that he copies Jeremiah: almost everywhere the facts of the case are explained by identity of period and circumstances. When all has been said, Habakkuk is entitled to be regarded as a well-marked prophetic and poetical personality: the remains of his work which have reached us are among the finest examples of prophetic literature, and have served as models to later writers, particularly to the authors of Is. 13 21 1-10. Unfortunately the text is not in good preservation, and cannot always be quite satisfactorily restored.

II. The concluding section of the book has words at

¹ For the proofs see *St. Kr.*, 1893, as above.

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its opening and at its close which mark it out as a psalm *extra canonem*¹ and give it the full apparatus of a poem fitted to be used in public worship. The only singularity is the division of the descriptive words into a superscription and a subscription: read 'A prayer of the prophet Habakkuk after Shigyonoth (?)' and 'By the chief musician, with stringed instruments' respectively. Clearly, what is here the subscription must originally have come before v. 1.

Adopting Wellhausen's suggestion, שִׁגְיוֹנוֹת וְנִינְיָה, we may restore the superscription thus שִׁגְיוֹן חֲבַקּוּק לְחַבְקִי דְנִינְיָה (to the chief musician, on stringed instruments: a prayer of the prophet Habakkuk).² [See, however, SINGGATON.]

In any case the words prove, as Kuenen rightly perceived, and as Cheyne (*OPs.* 156 f.) has well shown, that the piece, before it had its proper position assigned to it, belonged to one of the collections of psalms that were in use in the worship of the temple. Perhaps the only reason for its exclusion from the Psalms as we now possess them was that the editors of the prophetic canon had already appropriated it. They did so because it bore Habakkuk's name, just as in Ps. 146-147-148, which in the original text bear no author's name, are attributed to Haggai and Zechariah (See PSALMS.)

To Stade belongs the credit of having first shown (*ZATW* 4 157 f.) that the authorship of Habakkuk is on internal grounds impossible; but it is to Wellhausen that we owe the complete elucidation of this obscure composition (*KZ, Proph.* 166, 170 f.). As he well remarks: 'It is the community that is the speaker. Awe-struck, it remembers that first great deed of Yahwé to which it owed as it were its existence, and yet it prays, Renew thy work in the midst of the years. The long-since founded theocracy has fallen into ruin, and a new foundation is desired. The child has become gray-haired, and "in the midst of his years" a new birth is sought for the sake of a happy final result, even though it will not take place without bitter pangs.'³

In the description of the theophany which follows—extending from 33 to almost the end of the poem—the colours are derived exclusively from the deliverance from Egypt, as can be seen with sufficient clearness from vv. 37-38 ff. (cp. however, MIZRAIM). With this description of the deliverance wrought for the fathers that of the new deliverance now prayed for and expected becomes for the poet so blended that in remembering the one he seems to behold the approach of the other. Wellhausen leaves open the possibility that this may not always have been the case, and that the proper close of the poem has been lost, since vv. 17-19 cannot be the genuine one. This is possible, but by no means certain. Verse 17, which certainly seems strange, may give some fresh touches to the picture of the fate

¹ It alone shares with the Psalms the following peculiarities: the use of the word *Selah* (vv. 3-9-13; in the Psalms seventy-one times); the expression חֲבַקּוּק ('to' or 'by' the chief musician' v. 19; in the Psalms fifty-five times); the immediately following expression בְּנִינְיָה ('with' or 'on' 'stringed instruments'; so to be read, see below), used in v. 19 and in Ps. 4 6-54 67-76; the word תְּפִלָּה, 'prayer,' used to designate a poetical piece (v. 1; Ps. 17 86-90 102 142; cp also Ps. 72-20, according to which all Psalms admit of being called 'prayers'); the use of the *5 auctoris* in v. 1 (as also after תְּפִלָּה in Ps. 17 86-90 102); the word בְּנִינְיָה (in plu.), if it be genuine (Ps. 7; see SINGGATON).

² It would be eccentric to argue from MT's בְּנִינְיָה that Habakkuk was a Levite and temple chorister; yet, probably enough, the inscription of Bel and the Dragon (cp above) presupposes this inference.

³ Wellhausen has put the case above so brilliantly that Oort's defence of the traditional view falls to the ground. To set aside the liturgical notes in 3-1 and 10-6 as editorial additions, and account for the obscurity and want of order in chap. 3 from the idiosyncrasy of Habakkuk, as in chaps. 1 and 2, is certainly inadequate.

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of the hostile people; but vv. 18 f. present not only a very appropriate contrast to this, but also a thoroughly typical psalm-epilogue (see Ps. 135 [6] f. 26-1 f. 528 [10] f. 59-16 [17] f. 75-10 [9] f.), and no sure inference can be drawn from the borrowing of v. 19 from Ps. 18-32 [31] f.

Elsewhere also (as could easily be shown) the poem frequently recalls the psalms, and particularly the latest psalms. If we want a quite infallible indication of post-exilic date, we have it in the special application of the phrase 'Yahwé's anointed' (v. 13)—i.e., in the transference of the kingly title to the kingless but exalted people (We. rightly refers here to Ps. 288 [S. 288] 849 [10] 8938 [39] 51 [52] 105 15, also to Dan. 7-7). The very late divine name 'Eloah' (v. 3) is also a decisive proof of the late date of the Psalm of Habakkuk (see PSALMS).

The poetical value of the composition is not slight; but it suffers greatly from corruptions of the text (especially in vv. 9-11 13 f.), in correcting which Wellhausen has rendered excellent service. [See also HORN, MIZRAIM, ON [ii.], VILLAGE, 6, and cp Ruben, *JQR* 11, 51 ff. ('99), who rejects vv. 2, 17-19 as later additions, and arranges the genuine psalm in three stanzas of nine lines each, with 'correspondence,' according to the theory of D. H. Müller.]

The fullest catalogues of the earlier works on Habakkuk will be found in the otherwise unimportant commentaries of A. A. Wolff (22) and L. Reicke (70), where no fewer than 135 treatises are mentioned.

10. Literature. Among modern works, besides those referred to in the course of this article, Franz Delitzsch's *Commentary* (43) should not be overlooked (cp also *OT History of Redemption*, 126 [81]; *Isaiah*, ET 122 [90]); see also A. H. Davidson, *Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah* (Cambr. Bible), 96; W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten in HK*, 96; GASM. *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* 2 (Expos. Bible), 98. On Hab. 3 see also Nestle, *ZATW* 20 167 f. (1900).

HABAZINIAH. RV *Habazziniah* (חֲבַצְיָהָ), חֲבַצְיָהָ c[ε] in [BNAQ], a Rechabite, or rather the home of a Rechabite (Jer. 35). The name seems to be a corruption of חֲבַצְיָהָ, KABZEEL. [v. v.] p and n were confused; 1 intruded from חֲבַצְיָהָ. Kabzeel was a place in S. Judah. (See, however, NAMES, § 39.)

HABBACUC (חַבְבָּקוּץ), RV *Habakkuk* (חֲבַקּוּק), Bel and Dragon, 33, 35, 39. RV *HABAKUK* [v. v.].

HABERGEON (חֲבֵרְגֵּון), Ex. 28-32 39-23 AV: RV *Coat of Mail*. See BREASTPLATE.

HABOR (חֲבֹר), חֲבֹר [BAL], a river in the land of GOZAN, near which were settlements of the Israelites deported by Sargon in the time of Hoshea, 2 K 17-6 = 18-11 (חֲבֹר [B]), and also, according to the critically emended text² of I Ch. 5-26 (חֲבֹר [BAL]), of the trans-Jordanic Israelites deported in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. It was the Habur of the Assyrians (a name which it still retains), the Chabōras of classic writers (Strab.), Ἀβόρας [Isidore of Charax], Ἀβώρα [Zosimus], Ἀβώρας [Ptol.]. It is a tributary of the EUFRATES [v. v.], which it enters about 36° N. lat.

For references to the Habur in the Assyrian annals see *KZ* 1-39 (Tiglath-pileser I. hunts elephants on its bank), and 197-101 (Assur-nasir-abal mentions the Habur and its 'mouths' in describing his conquests). Several important places lay near it. Cp. Del. *Par.* 183 ff. See CHABAR.

HACHILAH. RV *Hacaliah* (חֲכִילָה), probably a corruption of חֲכִילָה, Hilkiyah; scarcely for חֲכִילָה, 'wait for Yahwé,' §§ 23, 34, 79; Ἀχάλια [BAL], the father of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 1-1, Ἀχάκεια [B], -κίου [L]; 10-1-2, Ἀχάλια [BN]).

HACHILAH, HILL OF (חֲכִילָה הַהַר), ἑχέλα [BAL]; in 1 S. 26-1 ἑχέλας [B], Ἀχίλα [A], a hill in the wilderness of Judah, associated with the wander-

¹ In Hab. 1-11 read חֲכִילָה (suffix forms of חֲכִיל do not occur).
² Read 'In Halah and by Habor the river of Gozan and in Harhar a city of Media.' See HARA.

HACHMONI

ings of David twice (1 S. 23:19, 26:1f.). On the former passage, see HORESH. It relates how the men of Zeru [q.v., 2] told Saul that David had found hiding-places 'in Hōreshāh, in the hill of Hachilah, which is on the S. of the Jeshimon.' In the latter passage, however, the same persons describe the same hill as being 'in front of the Jeshimon'—i.e., where the desert begins. The second definition alone is correct.

In 1 S. 23:19 'on the south of the Jeshimon' is an error introduced from v. 24 (where the wilderness of Maon is referred to; see HORESH). Further references to the name are presupposed by 1 S. 23:14f., 19:26f. In 23:14, where MT merely gives חַרְחִלָּה 'in the mountain,' MSS of 1 S. give a combination of readings, including εἰς ὄρος τὸ ἀρχαῖον and ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ ἀρχαῖᾳ; ἀρχαῖα corresponds to חַרְחִלָּה. Possibly for ἀρχαῖον we should read ἀμαυρὸς, and so forth. So also in Mic. 4:8 for ἀρχαῖα, ῥε ἀμαυρὸς (= חַרְחִלָּה). Bentley's suggestion of ἐν ἀμαυρῷ τῷ περὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖᾳ τῷ περὶ in 1 Pet. 1:19 seems indispensable. On ἐν τῇ καὶ τῇ (1 S. 14) see HORESH.

Conder ventures to find a trace of the name Hachilah in the *Zuhret el Kili*, a ridge which runs down from the plateau of Zif towards the desert of En-gedi. The name is, however, by no means certain. In 1 S. 23:28 we meet with the name חַרְחִלָּה (EV Hanimalekoth). 1 S. 26:1 favours a reading חַרְחִלָּה, which would be miswritten for חַרְחִלָּה, the name found in 23:28. A hill with rocky clefts seems to be intended.

The *Onom.* (25:253; 120:15) confounds Hachilah with KILAH. Glaser, not very plausibly, reads 'Hachilah' for 'Havilah' in 1 S. 15:7 [see TELEMI].

T. K. C.

HACHMONI. Jehiel, tutor of David's sons, is called 'the son of Hachmoni' in EV of 1 Ch. 27:32 (חַכְמֹנִי, οὗ τοῦ ἀρχαμει [B]). . . . MANI [A]. . . .

Jehiel is either an imaginary personage, whose description is borrowed from the Jashobeam of 1 Ch. 11:11 (see HACHMONITE, THE), or, as Marquart (*Fund.* 16) supposes, Jehiel is a substitute for Ishbaal, which is explained as יִשְׁבָּאֵל = יִשְׁבָּאֵל. Certainly David's sons had a lion-hearted tutor, on the second hypothesis, for Ishbaal and Jashobeam are identical.

T. K. C.

HACHMONITE, THE. In 1 Ch. 11:11 JASHOBEAM (q.v., 1) is called חַכְמֹנִי בֶן־יִשְׁבָּאֵל (אֲרָחָם) [BA]. . . . MANI [A]. . . . **THEKEMINA** [L.J.]. RV 'the son of a Hachmonite' (AV quite incorrectly, 'an Hachmonite'). It has been pointed out (see TAUCHEMONITE) that the true description of Jashobeam, or rather, Ishbaal, is most probably 'a man of Beth-cerem.'

This should also be substituted for 'the son of a Hachmonite' in 1 Ch. 11:11, and 'the son of Hachmoni' in 1 Ch. 27:32.

T. K. C.

HADAD (הַדָּד, § 57; אַדָּד [BADEL]; a Canaanitish and, some think, Aramean name of the storm-god, who was known also as Rammān, Bir, and Dadda; cp Winckler, *AT Forsch.* 69, Schr. *KGF*, 371-395, 538; *KAT* 200-206, 454; Tiele, *BAG* 525; Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 76-78; Baethgen, *Beitr.* 67. The first-mentioned of the four gods of the N. Syrian kingdom of Ya'di is Hadad [Zenjirli inser.]. These references also illustrate the name BEN-HADAD).

1. b. Hadad, fourth king of Edom; Gen. 36:35f. (v. 35 אֲדָמָה [E]), 1 Ch. 1:46f. See BÉLA ii., 1.

2. Eighth (?) king of Edom, 1 Ch. 1:50 (a. 1405 βαπαδ [B]; om. d. β. A), v. 51 אֲדָמָה [B]; miswritten HADAR [q.v.], Gen. 36:39. See BÉLA ii., 1. The name of his city was PA'U [q.v.] or PA'U. Probably, however, there is a considerable error in the text.

PA'U is almost certainly corrupted from P'OR, and this very probably from B'OR, an alternative reading to Achbor in 1 Ch. 1:49. 'Son of Achbor,' or 'Son of B'OR,' however, does not belong to BAAL-HANAN [q.v., 1], who is really this Hadad's father. Thus the name of Hadad's city is not really given; there was a lacuna in the text.

He married a N. Arabian—a Misrite or Musrite, named MEHETABEL [q.v., 1], who is also mis-described in the received text. Most probably he lost his life in the massacre referred to in 1 K. 11:15f. The cause of the massacre is unrecorded; probably it was a retaliation. Cp DAVID, § 8 (a), EDOM, § 6.

HADAD-RIMMON

3. (In 1 K. 11:17 אֲדָם; אֲדָם [BAL].) According to the MT, which presents many difficulties, Hadad was a royal prince of Edom who escaped with some 'Edomites,' servants of his father, when Joab massacred 'every male in Edom,' by an obscurely indicated route to Misraim or Egypt (1 K. 11:14-22; but 'Misraim' should rather be 'Misrim'; see below). There he was welcomed, and received the sister of the queen Tahpenes as his wife. By her he had a son GENEUBATU [q.v.]. On the death of David he returned home, and became 'an adversary to Solomon' (cp v. 25). According to the parallel narrative of the marriage of Jeroboam in L's text of 1 K. 12:36 Lag. 1234 Swete), which is evidently copied from a narrative of the marriage of Hadad, the name of the 'Egyptian' princess referred to in 1 K. 11:19 was ANO (Klo. reads אֲנוּחָה, Alnuth).

This reading (ANO), though accepted by Klo., Wi., Benz., Ki. as genuine, is merely a corruption of אֲנוּחָה, 'sister (of)'; TAHPENES [q.v.] is also certainly corrupt. Indeed, textual criticism is much needed in this narrative. It was not to 'Misraim' (Egypt) but to 'Misrim' (the N. Arabian Musri) that Hadad and his Mizrite followers fled, and he went there because MEHETABEL [q.v., 1], his mother, was a Misrite. This N. Arabian land appears, both at this time and later, to have had a keen interest in the affairs of Palestine (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [d]). In what the 'mischief' which Hadad did to Israel on his return consisted, we are not informed (see EDOM, § 6).

See Winckler, *AT Unters.* 1-6; Benzinger, in *KHC*; Ki. in *HK*; Che. *JQR* 11:551-556 (1909). Winckler's attempted analysis of the Hadad narrative, though it has given a healthy stimulus to critics, was not preceded by a sufficiently thorough examination of the text.

T. K. C.

HADAD (הַדָּד, [Gi. Ba.]), eighth son of Ishmael, Gen. 25:15 RV (so Sam.; אֲדָם [A], אֲדָמָה [D], אֲדָמָה [E]); Jos. *Ant.* i. 124, אֲדָמוּס [con].; אֲדָמוּס [E], 1 Ch. 1:30 (אֲדָמוּס [B], אֲדָמָה [A], אֲדָמָה [L.J.]). Gen. AV and 1 Ch. AVUG. and some printed Heb. editions, HADAR.

HADADEZER (הַדָּדֶזֶר, 'Hadad is help,' §§ 28, 43; 2 S. 8:3f., 2 S. 10:16f. and 1 K. 11:23, where 1 K. has אֲדָדֶזֶר [sic; cp v. 14 in B.L.], or, as some codd., and 1 Ch. 18:3f., 19:16f. (best codd.), and as EV also 2 S. 10, and Pesh. and GHAL everywhere, **HADAREZER** (הַדָּרֶזֶר; אֲדָרָזָר [B], everywhere except אֲדָרָזָר [B*] in 2 S. 10:16 and so B in 1 K. 11:14; A in 2 S. 8:10; אֲדָרָזָר [A in 1 Ch. 19 and AV in 1 Ch. 18f.] with var. in M, אֲדָרָזָר [in 1 Ch. 18] and in N, אֲדָרָזָר [1 Ch. 18], אֲדָרָזָר [1 Ch. 19]; the Hebrew is also written with *Makkef* everywhere in some MSS. An old Aramaic seal bears the letters הַדָּדֶזֶר; and a cuneiform inscription has Had-diri; cp Euting, *Ber. der Berl. Akad.*, '85, p. 679; Baeth. *Beitr.* 67).

The name of the king of Aram-zobah, who was defeated by David. See ARAM, § 6, DAMASCUS, § 6 f., ZOBAB.

HADAD-RIMMON (הַדָּד־רִמּוֹן; ΡΩΜΝΟC [ΒΑΝΑQT]);

Adadrimmon), according to the usual inter-

pretation of Zech. 12:11, a place in the plain of Megiddo (בְּבִקְעַת מִגְדּוֹ) where a great

lamentation had taken place; it is further held that the occasion of the mourning was the death of JOSIAH (q.v., 1) on the battlefield near Megiddo. This view dates from Jerome, who states (*Comm. in Zach.*) that Adadrimmon is a village near Jezreel now called Maximianopolis. The latter place was an important station between Caesarea and Jezreel, and von Raumer has, with probability, identified it with Legion or Legio, the ancient MEGIDDO (q.v.).

What authority (if any) Jerome had for his assertion, we know not; at any rate, we cannot connect Maximianopolis-Adadrimmon with the modern village Rummāneh (so Van de Velde, Baudissin), for to this theory there is a geographical objection (see Buhl, 209), and any place with a pomegranate tree might be called Rimmon (whence Rummāneh). Apart from this, however, the traditional theory labours under these difficulties—that the state mourning for Josiah cannot have been elsewhere than in Jerusalem (2 K. 23:29f.), and that Megiddo is מִגְדּוֹ, not מִגְדּוֹ.

The Targ. mentions the Josiah-theory only in the second place, and combines with it another, according to which Hadadrimmon, son of Tahrimmon, was the slayer of Ahab, king of Israel, so that the phrase of the prophetic writer of Zech. 12:11 really means 'the mourning for Ahab ben Omri.'

Baudissin (*Stud. zur Sem. Kelt.-gesch.* 1:320) gives a new form to the Josiah-theory, explaining the disputed phrase, 'as the mourning for the battle of Hadadrimmon.' This is surely

HADAR

unnatural; nor can it be proved that there ever was such a place as Hadad-rimmon.

Hitzig and Movers see a reference to the mourning for the mythic Adonis (q.v.) mortally wounded by a bear (Mat. 21:11); 'women weeping for Tammuz' are referred to in Ezek. 8:14; 'the only one' (דָּוִד), Zech. 12:10 may also, it is held, refer to Adonis. The obvious objection is that RIMMON (q.v., i) is certainly the Assyrian Storm-god Rimman. Even if the pomegranate tree was sacred to Tammuz, it is hazardous to suppose that Tammuz was called Rimmon.

There is need of a new theory which shall unite the elements of truth in earlier theories, and justify itself from some new source. 'The mourning for the only one' and 'the mourning of Hadad-rimmon' are parallel; the reference is to the mourning for TAMMUZ (q.v.). The original reading, however, was not Hadad-rimmon. CHAGR read simply Rimmon (רִמּוֹן). What then is the mythological name nearest to Rimmon that can stand in such a connection? The answer is, Either Migdon, or some name out of which Migdon is corrupted.

Jensen has conjectured that *μαγεδαρ* in the apocalyptic *αμαγεδαρ* (see ARMAGEDON) may be identical with *μαγεδαρ* in *μαγεδαρ*, the name of a god of the underworld, corresponding to *ερεχταρ*, the Babylonian Persephone; and it has elsewhere been shown (see GAD) that 'Mag' and 'Magog' in Ezek. 38:39 are both corruptions of Migdon. Still, the Greek *μαγεδαρ* and the Hebrew Migdon do not seem to be identical. *μαγεδαρ* is probably Eshmun-Adon (Eshman and Adonis were identified in Cyprus); if so, *μαγεδαρ* comes from *μαγεδαρ*. But *מִגְדוֹן*, Migdon, given by M.F. in Zech. 12:11, is most probably a corruption of *מִגְדוֹן*—i.e., Tammuz-Adon. This is suggested by the only possible emendation of the corrupt word *מִגְדוֹן* in Zech. 12:11, and of the equally corrupt word *מִגְדוֹן* in Is. 38:17 (see TAMMUZ), viz. *מִגְדוֹן*. The women who wept for the דָּוִד, or for 'Tammuz-Lord,' are naturally referred to in a prophecy so much influenced by Ezekiel. On the other hand, whereas Ezekiel takes Tammuz as a symbol of the power opposed to God (cp. Belial, if this comes from Beldi, the name of the sister of Tammuz, and goddess of the underworld, see BELIAL), the author of Zech. 12:11-13 merely refers to the mourning for Tammuz as an image of the mourning of the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for some great offence committed by them in the past. Render, 'In that day there shall be a great mourning in Jerusalem as the mourning of the women who weep for Tammuz-Adon.'

'Hadad-rimmon' may be neglected; apparently it owes its origin to a scribe's error. By a common accident *רִמּוֹן* became *רִמּוֹן*; then a too clever scribe converted *רִמּוֹן* into *רִמּוֹן*, and glossed Rimmon by Hadad (Hadad and Rimmon or Rimmon were in fact identified). Thus the plausible reading Hadad-Rimmon grew up, and the door was opened to Jerome's misapprehension. Possibly 'Armagedon' in Rev. 16:16 (AV) is due to the conflation of two readings, 'Magedon' and 'Adarremnau' (*αδαρρεμναυ*, for Hadad-rimmon). For a parallel to the combination of *רִמּוֹן* and *מִגְדוֹן*, two rival readings in Zech. 12:11, see MIGRON.

T. K. C.

HADAR (הָדָר), אֲדָם יוֹסֵפֶס בָּרָאֵם [A], א. יוֹ. בָּרָאֵם [E], אֲדָם יוֹסֵפֶס בָּרָאֵם [F], אֲדָם יוֹ. B. [I.], a king of Edom (Gen. 36:39). See HADAD, i. (2).

HADAR (הָדָר) [some printed edd.], הָדָר [B. G.], Gen. 25:15 AV; 1 Ch. 1:30 AV^{ms}, RV HADAD [ii.].

HADAREZER (הָדָרֶזֶר), 2 S. 10:16. See HADAD-EZER.

HADASHAH (הָדָשָׁה)—i.e., 'new [town]'; אֲדָשָׁה [B], אֲדָ [A], אֲדָ [I.], a town in the lowland of Judah, named between Zenan and Migdal-gad (Josh. 15:37).

According to the Mishna (*Erubin*, 56) it was the smallest place in Judah. Sayce (*Pat. Pal.* 165, 236) finds this name in the lists of Rameses II. and III.; but see W. M. Müller's remark (*As. u. Eur.* 166 top). It is to be distinguished from ADASA (q.v.).

T. K. C.

HADASSAH (הָדָסָה), § 64, 'myrtle'; cp. מִיֶּרְמִיָּהּ. מִיֶּרְמִיָּהּ, but see MYRTLE, the Jewish name of ESTHER [q.v., § 7] in Esth. 2:7 (om. *שְׂמִיָּהּ*).

¹ So Movers, Lenormant, Lagarde.

² See Halévy, 'Le Rapt de Perséphone par Pluton,' *Rev. Sem.*, 93, pp. 372 ff.; cp. Jastrow, *Rel. Heb. and Ar.* 22.

HADRACH

HADATTAH (הַדַּתָּה), Josh. 15:25. See HAZOR-HADATTAH.

HADES (Ἅδης). 1. The word occurs ten times in RV of NT (AA 'hell') for the nether world (but 'unto Hades' in Mt. 11:23 is metaphorical); in 1 Cor. 15:55 [not T. WH], Rev. 6:8, and 20:13, this nether world is personified, like Shēol in Hos. 13:14. In Mt. 16:18 it is represented as a city with gates like Shēol in Ps. 91:13 [14] (see G. 11).

2. Hades is Ἅδ, a common rendering of *shēol*, שְׁאוֹל (see SHOL). But also employed to render other expressions; (a) Is. 14:19 (בְּיָמֵי הַמָּוֶת), 38:18 (שְׁאוֹל); see P. 1; (c) Is. 28:15 Prov. 14:12 16:25 (הַמָּוֶת), Job 33:22 (הַמָּוֶת); see DEAD, THE, § 2; (c) Ps. 91:17 115:17 (שְׁאוֹל); see SHOL; (d) Job 38:17 (שְׁאוֹל); see SHADDER OF DEATH. On the Hebrew equivalent, see SHOL, and 6. the whole subject) ESCHATOLOGY (see INDEX under 'Shēol').

HADID (הָדִיד), אֲדָ [E] Δ [I.], cp. the corrupt CALAMOTULUS of 1 Esd. 5:22. Our notices of Hadid are all post-exilic. Its people, along with those of Ono and Lod (Lydda), are included in the list (see EZRA ii., § 9, § 8 c) of 'children of the province,' Ezra 2:33 (אֲשׁוֹר [B]) = Neh. 7:37 (אֲשׁוֹר [B]), and according to Neh. 11:34 f. (אֲשׁוֹר [B] = אֲשׁוֹר [I.]; B⁹ A om. passage), these were among the places in Judaea that were inhabited by Benjamites.

The list of Benjamite towns, however, in Josh. 18 mentions none of them, though, according to the Mishna (*Arakhin*, 96), Hadid and Ono were fortified as early as the time of Joshua, and 1 Ch. 8:12 asserts that Ono and Lod, with the towns thereof, were 'built' by Simeon a descendant of Benjamin.

Hadid, or, in its Greek form, ΑΔΙΔΑ in the Shephelah, (אֲדָ [E] Δ [I.]), but also 'over against the plain' (ἐν ἀδιδόις [A], ἀδιδόις [B], ἀδιδόις [C], ἀδιδόις [V], ἀδιδόις [W], ἀδιδόις [X], ἀδιδόις [Y], ἀδιδόις [Z], ἀδιδόις [AA], ἀδιδόις [AB], ἀδιδόις [AC], ἀδιδόις [AD], ἀδιδόις [AE], ἀδιδόις [AF], ἀδιδόις [AG], ἀδιδόις [AH], ἀδιδόις [AI], ἀδιδόις [AJ], ἀδιδόις [AK], ἀδιδόις [AL], ἀδιδόις [AM], ἀδιδόις [AN], ἀδιδόις [AO], ἀδιδόις [AP], ἀδιδόις [AQ], ἀδιδόις [AR], ἀδιδόις [AS], ἀδιδόις [AT], ἀδιδόις [AU], ἀδιδόις [AV], ἀδιδόις [AW], ἀδιδόις [AX], ἀδιδόις [AY], ἀδιδόις [AZ], ἀδιδόις [BA], ἀδιδόις [BB], ἀδιδόις [BC], ἀδιδόις [BD], ἀδιδόις [BE], ἀδιδόις [BF], ἀδιδόις [BG], ἀδιδόις [BH], ἀδιδόις [BI], ἀδιδόις [BJ], ἀδιδόις [BK], ἀδιδόις [BL], ἀδιδόις [BM], ἀδιδόις [BN], ἀδιδόις [BO], ἀδιδόις [BP], ἀδιδόις [BQ], ἀδιδόις [BR], ἀδιδόις [BS], ἀδιδόις [BT], ἀδιδόις [BU], ἀδιδόις [BV], ἀδιδόις [BW], ἀδιδόις [BX], ἀδιδόις [BY], ἀδιδόις [BZ], ἀδιδόις [CA], ἀδιδόις [CB], ἀδιδόις [CC], ἀδιδόις [CD], ἀδιδόις [CE], ἀδιδόις [CF], ἀδιδόις [CG], ἀδιδόις [CH], ἀδιδόις [CI], ἀδιδόις [CJ], ἀδιδόις [CK], ἀδιδόις [CL], ἀδιδόις [CM], ἀδιδόις [CN], ἀδιδόις [CO], ἀδιδόις [CP], ἀδιδόις [CQ], ἀδιδόις [CR], ἀδιδόις [CS], ἀδιδόις [CT], ἀδιδόις [CU], ἀδιδόις [CV], ἀδιδόις [CW], ἀδιδόις [CX], ἀδιδόις [CY], ἀδιδόις [CZ], ἀδιδόις [DA], ἀδιδόις [DB], ἀδιδόις [DC], ἀδιδόις [DD], ἀδιδόις [DE], ἀδιδόις [DF], ἀδιδόις [DG], ἀδιδόις [DH], ἀδιδόις [DI], ἀδιδόις [DJ], ἀδιδόις [DK], ἀδιδόις [DL], ἀδιδόις [DM], ἀδιδόις [DN], ἀδιδόις [DO], ἀδιδόις [DP], ἀδιδόις [DQ], ἀδιδόις [DR], ἀδιδόις [DS], ἀδιδόις [DT], ἀδιδόις [DU], ἀδιδόις [DV], ἀδιδόις [DW], ἀδιδόις [DX], ἀδιδόις [DY], ἀδιδόις [DZ], ἀδιδόις [EA], ἀδιδόις [EB], ἀδιδόις [EC], ἀδιδόις [ED], ἀδιδόις [EE], ἀδιδόις [EF], ἀδιδόις [EG], ἀδιδόις [EH], ἀδιδόις [EI], ἀδιδόις [EJ], ἀδιδόις [EK], ἀδιδόις [EL], ἀδιδόις [EM], ἀδιδόις [EN], ἀδιδόις [EO], ἀδιδόις [EP], ἀδιδόις [EQ], ἀδιδόις [ER], ἀδιδόις [ES], ἀδιδόις [ET], ἀδιδόις [EU], ἀδιδόις [EV], ἀδιδόις [EW], ἀδιδόις [EX], ἀδιδόις [EY], ἀδιδόις [EZ], ἀδιδόις [FA], ἀδιδόις [FB], ἀδιδόις [FC], ἀδιδόις [FD], ἀδιδόις [FE], ἀδιδόις [FF], ἀδιδόις [FG], ἀδιδόις [FH], ἀδιδόις [FI], ἀδιδόις [FJ], ἀδιδόις [FK], ἀδιδόις [FL], ἀδιδόις [FM], ἀδιδόις [FN], ἀδιδόις [FO], ἀδιδόις [FP], ἀδιδόις [FQ], ἀδιδόις [FR], ἀδιδόις [FS], ἀδιδόις [FT], ἀδιδόις [FU], ἀδιδόις [FV], ἀδιδόις [FW], ἀδιδόις [FX], ἀδιδόις [FY], ἀδιδόις [FZ], ἀδιδόις [GA], ἀδιδόις [GB], ἀδιδόις [GC], ἀδιδόις [GD], ἀδιδόις [GE], ἀδιδόις [GF], ἀδιδόις [GG], ἀδιδόις [GH], ἀδιδόις [GI], ἀδιδόις [GJ], ἀδιδόις [GK], ἀδιδόις [GL], ἀδιδόις [GM], ἀδιδόις [GN], ἀδιδόις [GO], ἀδιδόις [GP], ἀδιδόις [GQ], ἀδιδόις [GR], ἀδιδόις [GS], ἀδιδόις [GT], ἀδιδόις [GU], ἀδιδόις [GV], ἀδιδόις [GW], ἀδιδόις [GX], ἀδιδόις [GY], ἀδιδόις [GZ], ἀδιδόις [HA], ἀδιδόις [HB], ἀδιδόις [HC], ἀδιδόις [HD], ἀδιδόις [HE], ἀδιδόις [HF], ἀδιδόις [HG], ἀδιδόις [HH], ἀδιδόις [HI], ἀδιδόις [HJ], ἀδιδόις [HK], ἀδιδόις [HL], ἀδιδόις [HM], ἀδιδόις [HN], ἀδιδόις [HO], ἀδιδόις [HP], 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ἀδιδόις [PX], ἀδιδόις [PY], ἀδιδόις [PZ], ἀδιδόις [QA], ἀδιδόις [QB], ἀδιδόις [QC], ἀδιδόις [QD], ἀδιδόις [QE], ἀδιδόις [QF], ἀδιδόις [QG], ἀδιδόις [QH], ἀδιδόις [QI], ἀδιδόις [QJ], ἀδιδόις [QK], ἀδιδόις [QL], ἀδιδόις [QM], ἀδιδόις [QN], ἀδιδόις [QO], ἀδιδόις [QP], ἀδιδόις [QQ], ἀδιδόις [QR], ἀδιδόις [QS], ἀδιδόις [QT], ἀδιδόις [QU], ἀδιδόις [QV], ἀδιδόις [QW], ἀδιδόις [QX], ἀδιδόις [QY], ἀδιδόις [QZ], ἀδιδόις [RA], ἀδιδόις [RB], ἀδιδόις [RC], ἀδιδόις [RD], ἀδιδόις [RE], ἀδιδόις [RF], ἀδιδόις [RG], ἀδιδόις [RH], ἀδιδόις [RI], ἀδιδόις [RJ], ἀδιδόις [RK], ἀδιδόις [RL], ἀδιδόις [RM], ἀδιδόις [RN], ἀδιδόις [RO], ἀδιδόις [RP], ἀδιδόις [RQ], ἀδιδόις [RR], ἀδιδόις [RS], ἀδιδόις [RT], ἀδιδόις [RU], ἀδιδόις [RV], ἀδιδόις [RW], ἀδιδόις [RX], ἀδιδόις [RY], ἀδιδόις [RZ], ἀδιδόις [SA], ἀδιδόις [SB], ἀδιδόις [SC], ἀδιδόις [SD], ἀδιδόις [SE], ἀδιδόις [SF], ἀδιδόις [SG], ἀδιδόις [SH], ἀδιδόις [SI], ἀδιδόις [SJ], ἀδιδόις [SK], ἀδιδόις [SL], ἀδιδόις [SM], ἀδιδόις [SN], ἀδιδόις [SO], ἀδιδόις [SP], ἀδιδόις [SQ], ἀδιδόις [SR], ἀδιδόις [SS], ἀδιδόις [ST], ἀδιδόις [SU], ἀδιδόις [SV], ἀδιδόις [SW], ἀδιδόις [SX], ἀδιδόις [SY], ἀδιδόις [SZ], ἀδιδόις [TA], ἀδιδόις [TB], ἀδιδόις [TC], ἀδιδόις [TD], ἀδιδόις [TE], ἀδιδόις [TF], ἀδιδόις [TG], ἀδιδόις [TH], ἀδιδόις [TI], ἀδιδόις [TJ], ἀδιδόις [TK], ἀδιδόις [TL], ἀδιδόις [TM], ἀδιδόις [TN], ἀδιδόις [TO], ἀδιδόις [TP], ἀδιδόις [TQ], ἀδιδόις [TR], ἀδιδόις [TS], ἀδιδόις [TT], ἀδιδόις [TU], ἀδιδόις [TV], ἀδιδόις [TW], ἀδιδόις [TX], ἀδιδόις [TY], ἀδιδόις [TZ], ἀδιδόις [UA], ἀδιδόις [UB], ἀδιδόις [UC], ἀδιδόις [UD], ἀδιδόις [UE], ἀδιδόις [UF], ἀδιδόις [UG], ἀδιδόις [UH], ἀδιδόις [UI], ἀδιδόις [UJ], ἀδιδόις [UK], ἀδιδόις [UL], ἀδιδόις [UM], ἀδιδόις [UN], ἀδιδόις [UO], ἀδιδόις [UP], ἀδιδόις [UQ], ἀδιδόις [UR], ἀδιδόις [US], ἀδιδόις [UT], ἀδιδόις [UU], ἀδιδόις [UV], ἀδιδόις [UW], ἀδιδόις [UX], ἀδιδόις [UY], ἀδιδόις [UZ], ἀδιδόις [VA], ἀδιδόις [VB], ἀδιδόις [VC], ἀδιδόις [VD], ἀδιδόις [VE], ἀδιδόις [VF], ἀδιδόις [VG], ἀδιδόις [VH], ἀδιδόις [VI], ἀδιδόις [VJ], ἀδιδόις [VK], ἀδιδόις [VL], ἀδιδόις [VM], ἀδιδόις [VN], ἀδιδόις [VO], ἀδιδόις [VP], ἀδιδόις [VQ], ἀδιδόις [VR], ἀδιδόις [VS], ἀδιδόις [VT], ἀδιδόις [VU], ἀδιδόις [VV], ἀδιδόις [VW], ἀδιδόις [VX], ἀδιδόις [VY], ἀδιδόις [VZ], ἀδιδόις [WA], ἀδιδόις [WB], ἀδιδόις [WC], ἀδιδόις [WD], ἀδιδόις [WE], ἀδιδόις [WF], ἀδιδόις [WG], ἀδιδόις [WH], ἀδιδόις [WI], ἀδιδόις [WJ], ἀδιδόις [WK], ἀδιδόις [WL], ἀδιδόις [WM], ἀδιδόις [WN], ἀδιδόις [WO], ἀδιδόις [WP], ἀδιδόις [WQ], ἀδιδόις [WR], ἀδιδόις [WS], ἀδιδόις [WT], ἀδιδόις [WU], ἀδιδόις [WV], ἀδιδόις [WW], ἀδιδόις [WX], ἀδιδόις [WY], ἀδιδόις [WZ], ἀδιδόις [XA], ἀδιδόις [XB], ἀδιδόις [XC], ἀδιδόις [XD], ἀδιδόις [XE], ἀδιδόις [XF], ἀδιδόις [XG], ἀδιδόις [XH], ἀδιδόις [XI], ἀδιδόις [XJ], ἀδιδόις [XK], ἀδιδόις [XL], ἀδιδόις [XM], ἀδιδόις [XN], ἀδιδόις [XO], ἀδιδόις [XP], ἀδιδόις [XQ], ἀδιδόις [XR], ἀδιδόις [XS], ἀδιδόις [XT], ἀδιδόις [XU], ἀδιδόις [XV], ἀδιδόις [XW], ἀδιδόις [XX], ἀδιδόις [XY], ἀδιδόις [XZ], ἀδιδόις [YA], ἀδιδόις [YB], 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ἀδιδόις [DO], ἀδιδόις [DP], ἀδιδόις [DQ], ἀδιδόις [DR], ἀδιδόις [DS], ἀδιδόις [DT], ἀδιδόις [DU], ἀδιδόις [DV], ἀδιδόις [DW], ἀδιδόις [DX], ἀδιδόις [DY], ἀδιδόις [DZ], ἀδιδόις [EA], ἀδιδόις [EB], ἀδιδόις [EC], ἀδιδόις [ED], ἀδιδόις [EE], ἀδιδόις [EF], ἀδιδόις [EG], ἀδιδόις [EH], ἀδιδόις [EI], ἀδιδόις [EJ], ἀδιδόις [EK], ἀδιδόις [EL], ἀδιδόις [EM], ἀδιδόις [EN], ἀδιδόις [EO], ἀδιδόις [EP], ἀδιδόις [EQ], ἀδιδόις [ER], ἀδιδόις [ES], ἀδιδόις [ET], ἀδιδόις [EU], ἀδιδόις [EV], ἀδιδόις [EW], ἀδιδόις [EX], ἀδιδόις [EY], ἀδιδόις [EZ], ἀδιδόις [FA], ἀδιδόις [FB], ἀδιδόις [FC], ἀδιδόις [FD], ἀδιδόις [FE], ἀδιδόις [FF], ἀδιδόις [FG], ἀδιδόις [FH], ἀδιδόις [FI], ἀδιδόις [FJ], ἀδιδόις [FK], ἀδιδόις [FL], ἀδιδόις [FM], ἀδιδόις [FN], ἀδιδόις [FO], ἀδιδόις [FP], ἀδιδόις [FQ], ἀδιδόις [FR], ἀδιδόις [FS], ἀδιδόις [FT], ἀδιδόις [FU], ἀδιδόις [FV], ἀδιδόις [FW], ἀδιδόις [FX], ἀδιδόις [FY], ἀδιδόις [FZ], ἀδιδόις [GA], ἀδιδόις [GB], ἀδιδόις [GC], ἀδιδόις [GD], ἀδιδόις [GE], ἀδιδόις [GF], ἀδιδόις [GG], ἀδιδόις [GH], ἀδιδόις [GI], ἀδιδόις [GJ], ἀδιδόις [GK], ἀδιδόις [GL], ἀδιδόις [GM], ἀδιδόις [GN], ἀδιδόις [GO], ἀδιδόις [GP], ἀδιδόις [GQ], ἀδιδόις [GR], ἀδιδόις [GS], ἀδιδόις [GT], ἀδιδόις [GU], ἀδιδόις [GV], ἀδιδόις [GW], ἀδιδόις [GX], ἀδιδόις [GY], ἀδιδόις [GZ], ἀδιδόις [HA], ἀδιδόις [HB], ἀδιδόις [HC], ἀδιδόις [HD], ἀδιδόις [HE], ἀδιδόις [HF], ἀδιδόις [HG], ἀδιδόις [HH], ἀδιδόις [HI], ἀδιδόις [HJ], ἀδιδόις [HK], ἀδιδόις [HL], ἀδιδόις [HM], ἀδιδόις [HN], ἀδιδόις [HO], ἀδιδόις [HP], ἀδιδόις [HQ], ἀδιδόις [HR], ἀδιδόις [HS], ἀδιδόις [HT], ἀδιδόις [HU], ἀδιδόις [HV], ἀδιδόις [HW], ἀδιδόις [HX], ἀδιδόις [HY], ἀδιδόις [HZ], ἀδιδόις [IA], ἀδιδόις [IB], ἀδιδόις [IC], ἀδιδόις [ID], ἀδιδόις [IE], ἀδιδόις [IF], ἀδιδόις [IG], ἀδιδόις [IH], ἀδιδόις [II], ἀδιδόις [IJ], ἀδιδόις [IK], ἀδιδόις [IL], ἀδιδόις [IM], ἀδιδόις [IN], ἀδιδόις [IO], ἀδιδόις [IP], ἀδιδόις [IQ], ἀδιδόις [IR], ἀδιδόις [IS], ἀδιδόις [IT], ἀδιδόις [IU], ἀδιδόις [IV], ἀδιδόις [IW], ἀδιδόις [IX], ἀδιδόις [IY], ἀδιδόις [IZ], ἀδιδόις [JA], ἀδιδόις [JB], ἀδιδόις [JC], ἀδιδόις [JD], ἀδιδόις [JE], ἀδιδόις [JF], ἀδιδόις [JG], ἀδιδόις [JH], ἀδιδόις [JI], ἀδιδόις [JJ], ἀδιδόις [JK], ἀδιδόις [JL], ἀδιδόις [JM], ἀδιδόις [JN], ἀδιδόις [JO], ἀδιδόις [JP], ἀδιδόις [JQ], ἀδιδόις [JR], ἀδιδόις [JS], ἀδιδόις [JT], ἀδιδόις [JU], ἀδιδόις [JV], ἀδιδόις [JW], ἀδιδόις [JX], ἀδιδόις [JY], ἀδιδόις [JZ], ἀδιδόις [KA], ἀδιδόις [KB], ἀδιδόις [KC], ἀδιδόις [KD], ἀδιδόις [KE], ἀδιδόις [KF], ἀδιδόις [KG], ἀδιδόις [KH], ἀδιδόις [KI], ἀδιδόις [KJ], ἀδιδόις [KL], ἀδιδόις [KM], ἀδιδόις [KN], ἀδιδόις [KO], ἀδιδόις [KP], ἀδιδόις [KQ], ἀδιδόις [KR], ἀδιδόις [KS], ἀδιδόις [KT], ἀδιδόις [KU], ἀδιδόις [KV], ἀδιδόις [KW], ἀδιδόις [KX], ἀδιδόις [KY], ἀδιδόις [KZ], ἀδιδόις [LA], ἀδιδόις [LB], ἀδιδόις [LC], ἀδιδόις [LD], ἀδιδόις [LE], ἀδιδόις [LF], ἀδιδόις [LG], ἀδιδόις [LH], ἀδιδόις [LI], ἀδιδόις [LJ], ἀδιδόις [LK], ἀδιδόις [LM], ἀδιδόις [LN], ἀ

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In Rabbinic times, the name was explained on the same principles as *Anketh* as 'sharp-tender,' a compound name of the Messiah. The view did not satisfy every one, however, and R. Jose, whose mother was from Damascus, identified Hadrach with a locality near that city, bearing the same name.¹ This evidence stood alone in the name Hadrach was found in the Assyrian inscriptions, sometimes beside Damascus, sometimes beside Zoba, Zemar, and Arka. In the list of eponyms, three expeditions to the land or city of Hadrach are recorded in 772, 705, and 755 (*OT* 2:10 ff.; cp *Del. Par.* 279) and in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan's account of his war with 'Av(s)ryālin Jaudai' (see *Uzziah*) the city of Hadrach is mentioned as tributary to Assyria (*AB* 2:27).

Lately the name Hadrach has been detected in a corrupt word in the Song of Deborah (*Jud.* 5:21; see *Kadesh*, 2). Hadrach seems to have formed part of the Hittite country, and furnished men to Sisera's army. Certainly too *הדר* should be restored in *Ezek.* 47:15 for the impossible *הדר*. See *HETHLON*.

T. K. C.

HAGAB (הַגָּב, § 68, 'grasshopper'; cp *HAGABA*, *HAGABAU*; *אגב* [HAI.], a family of *NEPHUNIM* (7:1), in the great post-exilic list (see *EZRA* ii. § 9); *Ezra* 2:40 = *Neh.* 7:49 (*אגב* [N], om. MT & RV) = *Esd.* 5:30 (*אגב* AV, *אגב* RV); *אגב* [H], *אגב* [A]. The same name is borne by a NT prophet (*AGABUS*; *Acts* 11:28 21:10).

HAGABAH (הַגָּבָה, § 63, 'grasshopper,' *Ezra* [Aram.] or *Hagaba* (הַגָּבָה, *Neh.*), a family of *NEPHUNIM* (7:1) in the great post-exilic list (see *EZRA* ii. § 9); *Ezra* 2:45 (*אגב* [BVL]) = *Neh.* 7:43 (*אגב* [BVL]), *אגב* [A] = *Esd.* 5:20 (*אגב*, RV *AGGABA*, *אגב* [BVL mg. A], *אגב* [L]).

HAGAR, and *Hagrites* or *Hagarenes* (הַגָּרִים, הַגָּרִיטִים, *אגרי* [BADEQI.], or *אגרי* [BFL.]). Hagar is introduced to us in *Gen.* 16:1 [J] as an Egyptian slave of Sarah, a description which is repeated by P in 2:3. All the three narrators (J, E, and P) agree that she bore Ishmael to Abraham, and it is plain that the story of her flight or expulsion symbolically expresses the separation of the Ishmaelites from the Israelites.³

1. Hagar in Hexateuch. E, and P) agree that she bore Ishmael to Abraham, and it is plain that the story of her flight or expulsion symbolically expresses the separation of the Ishmaelites from the Israelites.³ We have two parallel versions (*Gen.* 16:1-14 [J] 21:8-1 [E]) of this story and of the oracle respecting Ishmael given at a well in the desert (see *BEER-LAHAI-ROI*); these have been harmonised by means of an interpolated passage (16:8-10) in which Hagar is commanded to return to her mistress. The interpolator, however, does not express the intention of the original tradition; probably J made Hagar give birth to Ishmael at Beer-lahai-roi (*We.* *CH* 21:1 f.). That Hagar appears as a slave woman is a necessary consequence of the theory on which the Hebrew myth is based, the notion being that Ishmael was of inferior origin. (On the geographical details of these narratives, cp *ISHMAEL*, § 1, *MITZRAIM*, § 2 [A].)

Like Ishmael and his twelve sons, Hagar is no doubt the personification of a tribe or district. In several passages of the OT we read of a nomadic people called the Hagrites. In Saul's days the tribe of Reuben waged a successful war against them, seized their tents and took possession of their territory throughout all the land to the E. of Gilead (1 *Ch.* 5:10 RV *Hagrites*, AV *Hagarites*; *τοὺς παποκὶορ*

¹ *Siphre*, ed. Friedmann, 65 (*Neub. Götting.* 207). The lexicographer, David ben Abraham, also places Hadrach at Damascus. Olsh. (*Lehrgeb.* 411) emends into *הדר* 'Hauran.'

² Hagar not only in Ethiopian but also in some Arabic dialects denoted 'settlement, village, town'; the name of the tribe, whose eponym is Hagar, may be derived from that word, though we know the tribe but as nomadic; a settlement named Hagar (as several in Arabia are named) was perhaps the centre of the sons of Hagar.

³ On *Gal.* 4:24-26 see below, § 3.

HAGAR

[HA]. This campaign is perhaps identical with that described in *1 Ch.* 22:1-19 of *אגרי* [A], v. 20 *אגרי* [H], *אגרי* [A] of the same chapter, which refer to victories gained by the tribes beyond Jordan over the Hagrites and other foes (Ghur, Naphish, and Nodab).

The numbers, it is true, are here enormously exaggerated, and the whole story is moulded in accordance with the religious conceptions of the later Jews; but observe that the principal booty consists of camels; the people in question must therefore be nomads. In *1 Ch.* 27:31 (*וְהָאֲמָרִים* [L], *וְהָאֲמָרִים* [B], *וְהָאֲמָרִים* [V]), a Hagrite (RV; AV 'Hagerite') figures as chief overseer of David's flocks; but Hagar ('a Hagrite') in *1 Ch.* 27:32 is an incorrect reading (see *HAGRI*). *1 Ch.* 27:32 (*וְהָאֲמָרִים* [B*NAK], *וְהָאֲמָרִים* [B*NAK]) mentions the Hagrites (AV *Hagarenes*) among the enemies of Israel.

Moreover Ptolemy (cited by Strabo, 7:7) classes the *אגרי* with the Nabataeans and the Chamaeans, placing them to the E. of Petra. Ptolemy (*Geog.* 6:7), who refers to the *אגרי* in connection with the Nabataeans and the Chamaeans, seems to have derived his information from Ptolemy's, *Geog.* 6:7, presumably following some ancient authority, compares the *אגרי* with the *בארבאן*, i.e., the inhabitants of Basra, a district which, at least during certain periods, was occupied by Israelites. These statements are all in harmony.

The Hagrites, we must suppose, were a pastoral people who wandered hither and thither in the Syrian desert to the E. of the Israelites. What is the precise ethnographical relationship denoted by the portrayal of Hagar as the mother of Ishmael remains altogether obscure, like so many other genealogical affinities between the mythical ancestors of tribes.¹

The *אגרי* of *1 Ch.* 27:32 (6:154), have no connection with the Hagrites, but dwell, on the contrary, in Yemen; the occurrence of the name in another passage (*1 Ch.* 27:32) depends on a hazardous conjecture.

In later times the term 'Hagarenes' was applied by Christians to Muslims, and from the name of Hagar the Syrians even formed the verb *hagar* or *ethnagar*, 'to become a Muslim,' as well as the noun *Maḥaragā*, 'a Muslim,' whence are derived the late Greek words *μαχαριτης*, *μαχαριτικος*, *μαχαριτικος*; but all this is based simply on the OT, the name of the bondswoman being attached, by way of insult, to her supposed descendants.

T. N.

A word must be added regarding the use made of the story of Hagar by Paul (*Gal.* 4:24-26). The apostle

3. Gal. 4:24 ff. neither affirms nor denies the historical character of the narrative; his sole interest is in its esoteric meaning. To this he attaches the greatest weight, as it enables him, in accordance with Rabbinical methods, to prove the temporariness of the Jewish religion. Hagar and Ishmael, Sarah and Isaac are therefore allegorized (*ἀλληγοροῦμενα*); the Sinaitic 'covenant' corresponds to Hagar, the Christian to Sarah (contrast Philo's explanation: *Drummond, Philo Judaeus*, 224 ff.). As Hagar was a bondswoman, so too is the present Jerusalem; as Sarah was free, so also is 'Jerusalem which is above.' Let the Galatian Christians, who belong to this Jerusalem, refuse to be forced under the Sinaitic covenant, lest they fall under the doom of Hagar and her son.

The sense of the passage has been obscured by the gloss, pointed out by Bentley and others, *2 ro de Ayap Sinai ipos eortu en th' Apafth* (WH); 'Now this Hagar is Mt. Sinai in Arabia'; the following words *συνοταίχει δὲ* are really the continuation of *ἡνὶ ἐστὶν Ayap* (v. 24); probably, however, we should read, not *συνοταίχει δὲ*, but *συνοταίχοισα* (D*FG; pr. ἡ FG; *qui conjunctus est*, Vg., Vietn.). What does the gloss mean? Some (cp the comment of Chrys.) assume that *ἡνὶ*, 'a stone,' was a name given to Mt. Sinai by the Arabs whom Paul had met. The order of the words *2 ro de Ayap Sinai ipos* (instead of *ipos Sinai*, as in v. 24), however, favours the view that *Ayap* is a later addition to the gloss, and there is strong MS authority (BC*FG) for the omission of *Ayap*. The recognition of this makes the gloss more intelligible. (RV adopts the reading *2 ro γὰρ*, but *γὰρ* is evidently an alteration to improve the sense.)

T. N. § 1 f.; T. K. C. § 3.

¹ The only reference to the Hagrites ('sons of Hagar') in the Apocrypha is in *Baruch* 2:27, where they are mentioned together with Fenian, and described as those 'who seek after wisdom.'

² For references, see Bakhmyzen, *Ozer de toepassing van de conjecturaal-critiek*, 273 ('80).

HAGGAI

HAGGAI or [in 1 Ed.] **AGGEUS**, **AGGAUS** (חַגַּי, אַגְּאִיּוֹס [חַגַּיּוֹס]); perhaps 'born on the feast day.'

1. The name § 73; unless it is substituted for 'yah and the man' [cp. MATTHEW, ZACCAI]. In this case Haggai = either Hag-tah, 'feast of Yahwē' [Osh. § 277d], or, by contraction, Hagariah, 'Yahwē hath girded' [We. in Bleek's *Einl.* 434]. Hilprecht has found the Jewish name Haggai on a tablet of fifth century B.C. from Nippur, *PEFO* Jan. '98, p. 55). A contemporary of Zechariah, with whom he was associated in his prophetic ministry (Ezra 5:1-2; 6:1-3).

His book contains four short prophecies delivered between the first day of the sixth month and the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month—that is, between September and December—of the second year of Darius the king—i.e., of Darius Hystaspis (521-485 B.C.). From the language of the prophet in chap. 21 we may perhaps infer with Ewald that Haggai was one of those who had seen the temple 'in its former glory,' and that his prophetic work began in extreme old age. This supposition agrees well with the shortness of the period covered by his book, and with the fact that Zechariah, who began to prophesy in the same autumn, afterwards appears as the leading prophet in Jerusalem (Zech. 7:1-4). Whether he was ever in Babylonia or whether he had been continuously in Jerusalem (cp. 'her [Jerusalem's] prophets,' Lam. 2:9), we are not told, nor can we venture to trust the later traditions respecting him (in the *Vita Prophetarum* ascribed to Epiphanius, and copied by Dorotheus and by Hesychius of Jerusalem).² His name occurs in the titles of certain psalms in LXX (Pss. 112 [R] 145-148 149 [R]) and other versions; but no inference can be drawn from this. These titles vary in the MSS., and Eusebius did not find them in the Hexaplar.³ They have no critical value.

(a) In his first prophecy (1:1-14) Haggai rebukes the people for leaving the temple unbuilt while they themselves dwell in paneled houses.

2. The four prophecies.

The prevalent famine and distress are 'because of Yahwē's house that lies waste, while the Jews are zealous (enough) for their own houses.'⁴ Let them 'build the house, and Yahwē will take pleasure in it and glorify himself' (i.e., accept the honour paid to him). The rebuke took effect, and the people began to work at the temple under the leadership of Zerubbabel the governor and Joshua the high priest (1:12-15).⁵

(b) In a second prophecy (2:1-9), delivered in the following month, Haggai forbids the people to be disheartened by the apparent ineanness of the new temple. The silver and

¹ In Hag. 1:1 **חַגַּי** has **אַגְּאִיּוֹס**, a reading adopted by **SN** in every passage.

² See the double recension in Nestle, *Marg.* (Haggai, pp. 26 ff.). Epiphanius says that Haggai came up from Babylon while still young, prophesied of the return of the people, saw (in part) the building of the temple, and on his death received an honoured burial near the priests. The fuller recension adds, **καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβάλλεν ἐκεῖ πρῶτος ἀλλήλων· ὁ ἐπιμένετο αὐτῶν μὲν τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ αὐτῶν** (sic). It closes with the words, **δὲ λέγουσιν ἀλλήλους, ὁ ἐστὶν ὁμοῦς Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου**.

³ On this subject cp. Köhler, *Weisung, Haggai's*, 32; Wright, *Zech. and his prophecies*, introd. xix. f.; B. Jacob, *ZATW* 16:230 [196]; and see note on Ps. 145:1 in Field's *Hexapla*.

⁴ Read **רָצִים** for **רָצִים** (v. 9). 'While ye each run every man to his own house' (RV) is clearly not correct. We. now reads **בְּרִיתֵי אִשׁ רָצִים**; but 'while ye delight every man in his house' is an infelicitous substitute for the received text. Robertson Smith, like every other critic until of late, thought the reference was to the providing of costly houses for rich men among the returned exiles. The majority of the people, however, cannot have been returned exiles, and in any case the received text will not bear the strain put upon it. It was not merely their houses but their fields which called forth the 'zeal' of the Jews (v. 9); 'house' has a wide sense (as in Gen. 15:2 Job 8:15).

⁵ The section is altogether narrative; v. 12, which professes to give a short prophecy of Haggai, being evidently a gloss from the margin (Bühme, *ZATW*, 1887, p. 216). The second part of the verse is taken from 24 (where moreover the very same words are followed by another gloss, which is not given by **SN**). The first part would certainly have been expressed differently by Haggai. One phrase in it ('Yahwē's messenger') gave rise to the notion, mentioned by Jerome and Cyril of Alexandria, that Haggai was really an angel, and had only in appearance the human form. The same fancy was entertained with regard to Malachi and John the Baptist.

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gold are the Lord's. Soon 'he will shake all nations, and the choicest things (point **חֲזִקָתָם**) of all nations will come' (i.e., will be brought) to adorn his house. Its glory will be greater than that of the former temple, and in this place Yahwē will give peace. Here **SN** adds, **καὶ ἐπιμένει ψυχῆς eis nepi. ἡσυχίας** (cp. **ἐπιμένει** **τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου** **ἐν ὑμῖν**), which We. has cleverly reproduced in Hebrew so as to give the sense, 'and rest of soul, to repair all the foundation, to raise this temple.' Probably the passage really belongs to Haggai, and was omitted by a later scribe in deference to the narrative of the Chronicler (so Now).

(c) A third prophecy (2:10-19) contains a promise, enforced by a figure drawn from the traditional theory of holiness, that God will remove famine and bless the land from the day of the foundation of the temple onwards. 2:17 is inserted in an incorrect form from Am. 4:9 (We.).

(d) Finally, in 2:20-23 (unquestionably doubted by Bühme) a special prophecy is addressed to Zerubbabel, who is not indeed expressly called a son of David, but receives a promise which is hardly intelligible unless he were one. 'I will shake the heavens and the earth,' is the terrifying exordium; 'I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen.' But fear not, O Zerubbabel, for 'in that day, I will make thee as a signet' (thus reversing the doom of Zerubbabel's grandfather, Jeconiah, in Jer. 22:24), 'for I have chosen thee.' To what high dignity Zerubbabel is called, we are not expressly told; but, comparing Zech. 6:12 f., we cannot doubt that he is to become the Messianic king. See **ZACHARIAH**.

(e) What induced Haggai (and Zechariah) to come forward in the second year of Darius with the exhortation to rebuild the temple and the promise of kingship to Zerubbabel?

3. Difficulties. Why had they waited sixteen years before stirring up the people to restore the sanctuary? And why did they address their promises to Zerubbabel rather than to his predecessor? The answer is that a startling historical event had opened their eyes to the will and purpose of Yahwē. Just after the accession of Darius to the throne of Persia, revolts broke out in different parts of Eastern Asia. In Babylonia, two pretenders successively assumed the favourite name of Nebuchadnezzar, and even where there was no rebellion the hope of the recovery of independence must have revived.¹ Can we doubt that such hopes were awakened in Judah? Must not Yahwē's prophets have heard in these events the rumbling of the chariot-wheels of the Most High? Of a surety, the Messianic era was at hand, and the temple must be quickly prepared to receive the Great King.

(f) Another question forces itself upon the mind. What is the cause of the indifference of the Jews to the desolate condition of their sanctuary? The restoration of the temple and its worship was the necessary expression of the faith that the service of Yahwē was the true national vocation of Israel. How was it that, so soon after 527 B.C., the people of Jerusalem so completely forgot their ideal calling as the nation of the true God? Our surprise would be diminished if Haggai made any allusion to a party of stricter adherents of the Law and more zealous worshippers of Yahwē. Allusions of this kind, however, which are not wanting in the post-exilic Palestinian portions of Is. 40-66, are not to be found in this book. Some scholars think that the only natural explanation is that no considerable body of exiles had as yet returned, and that those who had arrived (in the train of Sheshbazzar?) belonged to the more secular-minded portion of the Babylonian community. The people whom Haggai addresses in 2:3 as having, some of them, seen the first temple, are in fact (it is thought) almost entirely Jews who had never been to Babylon.

(g) A third question may arise—how is it that Haggai makes no direct reference to moral duties? In this respect he falls below Zechariah. The reason may possibly be that the notes of his prophecies are incomplete. We need not therefore believe that the only command of Yahwē the neglect of which he regrets is the erection of a house for Yahwē's dwelling-place. It remains true, however, that both Haggai and Zechariah give precedence to a duty which to us

¹ See Ed. Meyer, *Entst.* 82 ff.; Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 14.

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must appear a secondary one. Both stood on the threshold of a new age, and though they performed the task of the moment successfully they had not the varied gifts which the creation of a new people demanded. See ZACHARIAH, § 2.

The style of Hagga is truly described by Kirkpatrick (Sm. 178² 1865) as tame and prosaic. Evidently the notes of his discourses have not been touched up by a more literary writer; his repetitions have not been pruned. Telling passages, however, are not altogether wanting (see 169 216), and the frequent interrogations give life to the addresses.

Among older books, the learned commentary of Marckius may be specially mentioned, nor must we omit Rosenmüller's still useful *Scholia*. Köhler's comm. (66) is elaborate and valuable. Reiske's work (68) gives the views of a scholarly Roman Catholic. It is hardly needful to mention Pusey, Wellh., GASM., Dods, and the books of introduction. Duhm's *Ursol. des Propheten* (75), however, should be added to the student's list for a historical view of the place of Hagga as a prophet, and Koster's *Het herstel van Israël* (pp. 19-24) for a suggestive treatment of the question, Were there returned exiles among the people addressed by Hagga and Zechariah? W. R. S.-T. K. C.

HAGGEDOLIM (הַגְּדֹלִים), Neh. 11:4 RV. See ZABDIEL, 2.

HAGGERI (הַגְּרִי), 1 Ch. 11:38† AV, RV HAGRI (גְּרִי).

HAGGI (הַגִּי, 'born on the feast day,' § 72), b. GAD (גְּדִי, § 13) (Gen. 46:16, אֲרָגִיעַ [ADL.] = Nu. 26:15, אֲרָגִיעַ [B.A.F.I.]); gentile, **Haggite**, Nu. 26:15 (הַגִּי); o אֲרָגִיעַ [B.A.F.I.].

HAGGIAH (הַגִּיָּה, 'my feast is Yaliwē,' § 72), a Merarite (1 Ch. 6:15 [15], אֲרָגִיָּה [A], אֲמָה [B], אֲנָחִיָּה [1.]). In the Merarite names cannot always be identified with those in MT.

HAGGITH (הַגִּיתָ, § 72, perhaps 'born on the feast day,' § 99, אֲרָגִיתָ [B.A.I.]), wife of David and mother of ADONIJAH (גְּדִי, 1); 2 S. 34 (פֶּרֶעִיתָ [B], פֶּרֶעִיתָ [A]; 1 K. 15, אֲרָגִיתָ [A], 1. substitutes ΔΑΓΙΔ, 11; 2 Ch. 11:38, אֲרָגִיתָ [A om. B], 1 Ch. 3:2). Perhaps הַגִּיתָ is an early corruption from הַגִּיתָ, 'the Gittite'; the mention of a wife from Gath after those from GETHUR (2), Caleb, and Jezreel, would be quite suitable; see DAVID, § 11 (d), col. 1032. S. A. C.

HAGIA (הַגִּיָּה [B.A.I.]), 1 Esd. 5:34 AV = Ezra 2:57, HATTIL (גְּדִי).

HAGRI, AV **Haggeri** (הַגְּרִי, 'a Hagrite'; אֲרָגִיעַ [B.M.], ἀραγῆ [A], ἀραγῆ [1.]), an incorrect reading for 'the Gadite,' (229) in 1 Ch. 11:38†, where 'Miblar son of Hagri' should rather be '... of Zobia, Bani the Gadite' as in 2 S. 23:36 (see Dr. ad loc.).

HAI (הַי), Gen. 13: AV; RV AI (גְּדִי, 1).

HAIL (הַרְגֵּל, cp Ar. *barada*, to be [become] cold; χαλαζα; אֶלְנִיִּשׁ [Ezek. 13:11 (ΛΙΘΟΥΣ) ΠΕΤΡΟΒΟΛΟΥΣ, —i.e., אֶלְנִיִּשׁ 38:22 χαλαζα]). Hailstones were devoutly regarded as proofs of God's might (Ecclus. 43:15 and 6); he kept them in his 'store chambers' (Job 38:22, cp SNOW); they served as his weapons (Josh. 10:11, cp Ecclus. 46:5 f. 2 Wisd. 5:22). Naturally, therefore, hail forms a feature in descriptions of judgment (e.g., Is. 28:17 [not 6] 30:30 32:19 Ezek. 13:11 38:22), and once in a description of a theophany (Ps. 18:13 [13]), where, as often elsewhere, it is coupled with fire (lightning); cp Ps. 78:48 (see below) 105:32 118: Ecclus. 39:29 Rev. 8:7 cp 11:19.

¹ Generally connected with הַרְגֵּל; see CRYSTAL. Most probably, however, we should read הַרְגֵּל; see FLINT, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

² Read 'answered him with hail and flint-stones' (see Heb. text).

HAIR

Hail is also mentioned with 'voices' (thunder) in Ex. 9:23 f. 33 f., and in Ps. 118:3 is not far off from 'storm wind'. This too is perfectly natural. The most destructive hailstones are those which accompany a tornado or a violent thunderstorm. Perhaps we may assume such a combination for the great overthrow of the Canaanite kings at Beth-horon (Josh. 10:11; cp Judg. 5:20), when more died by the hailstones than by the sword of Israel. Hail frequently accompanies the thunderstorms of winter and spring in Palestine (GASM., II:64). Certainly such a combination is presupposed in the two, or strictly speaking, three, notices of the plague of hail in Egypt (Ex. 9:17-35 Ps. 78:47), to which we now turn. The former, which is the only original one, is 'contate'—i.e., it has been produced by the fusion of two distinct accounts, one of which does not know of a plague of locusts, and makes the crops to be destroyed by the hail, while the other says nothing of a plague of murrain, and makes the hailstones fall upon man and beast. Hence the cattle, though destroyed in Ex. 9:6, are still presupposed in 9:22. The poetic version of the plagues in Ps. 78 devotes one distich to the locusts, and two to the hail, if MT is correct. Sym., however, reads 'pestilence,' 'murrain,' where MT gives הַרְגֵּל 'hail' in v. 43. This is most probably correct.⁵ If so, the psalmist transposes the plague of hail and the plague of murrain.

It is remarkable that he says nothing of the destruction of human life caused by the hail; also that (if the text is correct) he uses the very unusual word הַרְגֵּל ('to kill') in speaking of the destruction of the vines, and, as a parallel to 'hail,' in v. 47, an otherwise unknown and perfectly inexplicable word (הַרְגֵּל, AV 'frost'; mg. 'great hailstones'; Σ πάγη, 'rime'; Aq. κρυός; but Sym. σκώληξ, 'worm'; and Tg. חַרְמַל, 'locust,' as if reading חַרְמַל). Both these words appear to be corrupt. Adopting the most probable emendations we obtain this quatrain:

He wasted their vines with hail,
And their fig-trees with hot coals;
He gave their cattle over to the murrain,
And their flocks to burning sickness.⁴

The narrative represents the hailstorm as occurring at the end of January (Ex. 9:31), a month during which hailstorms may very well occur. In summer they are rare; according to Trimer (Di. Rys. Ex. I. c. 98) in twelve summers hail only fell thrice, and then not very much. Prof. Macalister (Hastings' *D.* 2:281) mentions stones which fell in a brief hail-shower in Egypt on 13th Aug. 1892, which weighed several ounces. In Rev. 16:21 we read of hailstones of the weight of a talent—i.e., about two cubic feet in bulk. This is the weight ascribed to the stones cast at the Jews by the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. BJ v. 6:3). T. K. C.

HAIR (שֵׁערָה; θριξ). The question of the origin of the Israelitish race and the variations of the Israelitish type is too uncertain to be referred to in 1. **Colour.** This connection. We can therefore only state, with regard to the colour of the hair, that in Canticles, which represents the conventionalised type of a Jew and a Jewess in the country districts in the

¹ The reference to 'hail' as destructive to crops in Hag. 2:17 (an interpolation from Am. 4:9) is due to corruption. Read הַרְגֵּל, 'I destroyed' (as We. in Am. loc.).

² See Bacon, *Triph. Trad.* 49 f.

³ In the parallel line (v. 48) we find הַרְגֵּל, which is generally rendered 'to the lightning flashes'; but הַרְגֵּל by itself does not mean 'lightning' (703 141 is corrupt), and the strong expression הַרְגֵּל ('he gave over,' as if to a supernatural power) favours Sym.'s reading הַרְגֵּל. Perhaps we should read הַרְגֵּל (sing.); cp Hab. 3:5 where הַרְגֵּל and הַרְגֵּל are parallel. Thus we gain an allusion to Ex. 9:3 (הַרְגֵּל). For הַרְגֵּל Sym. has οὐρεοίς, based on a well-attested but quite erroneous interpretation of הַרְגֵּל (cp Ecclus. 43:17, Heb. and Gk.).

⁴ For הַרְגֵּל read הַרְגֵּל; for הַרְגֵּל, הַרְגֵּל; for הַרְגֵּל, הַרְגֵּל (also Dyserinck, Bi. 2 Gr.), and for הַרְגֵּל, הַרְגֵּל, with Che. (Ps. 2).

HAIR

latter part of the O.T. period, the hair that receives poetic eulogy is black. Neglecting the opening words of Cant. 5.11, which describe the head of the bridegroom as 'the most fine gold'—an intelligible and doubtless corrupt phrase,¹ we find in the next line that 'his locks are bushy, and black as a raven.' Elsewhere no doubt the hair of the bride is said to be 'like purple' (Cant. 7.5[6]), and with a little ingenuity this might be plausibly explained (see Del. *ad loc.*), if we could venture to believe that the passage was correctly read in the received text. We must take care, however, not to commit such an offence against the ideal bride as to make her red-haired.² In Cant. 4.1(6) the song writer says, 'Thy hair is like a flock of goats, that lie along the side of Gilead'; it is plain that the goats of Palestine could by no caprice of language be called purple. Thus in post-exilic times the Jews considered dark hair as beautiful. Clear evidence of a similar estimate in pre-exilic times is wanting. We may reasonably assume, however, that David's hair was dark, for it is represented in Michal's stratagem by a net of goat's hair (1 S. 19.1), and when the youthful David is called שָׂדֵם (1 S. 16.12 17.42), this means, not that he was red-haired³ like Esau (שָׂדֵם, Gen. 25.25), but that he had not yet become browned by exposure to the sun. Kitto thinks that Lxx. 12.4 contains a reference to the striking contrast in a mixed assembly between the snow-white head of an old man and the jet black heads of the younger men.

There is certainly no better explanation to propose for שָׂדֵם (cp. Amos. 6.4); but the reading is uncertain, and the object of the little poem to which the phrase belongs is disputed. It would accord well with the ordinary view if the same writer used the expression 'black hair'⁴ as a synonym for 'youth' (Eccl. 11.16); but no stress can safely be laid upon this. Kitto's remark is at any rate illustrative of Prov. 16.11 20.29 (cp. 2 Macc. 6.24), where 'gray hairs' (שָׂדֵם) are represented as the ornament of old men, no doubt because the wicked were supposed not to reach old age. It must have shocked Jewish sentiment (cp. Mt. 5.29) when Herod (if the story is true) dyed his hair black, to conceal his advanced age (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 8.1). Of wigs we hear nothing in the Bible, though such toilet articles were common in ancient Egypt (Erman, *Ant. Eg.* 219-223).

Quite incidentally the prophet Ezekiel (8.1) shows us how well rooted the bushy locks of the Israelites were (cp. LOCKS).
2. Growth. of the pre-natal vigour is one of the pre-occupations of the story of Samson. 'Beguile him,' said the Philistine princes to Delilah, 'and see how it comes that he is so strong' (Judg. 16.5); and Samson replies at last, 'If I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and be like any other man' (v. 17). It is true, Samson's strength was held to be due to his consecrated character; but this is not the whole of the secret. His hair was the symbol of that natural strength which the Nazirite vow placed under the divine protection.

The true origin of Samson's hair is a matter of conjecture. It is probable enough that the hair of the 'solar one' (שָׂדֵם) originally meant the rays of the sun. In Job 39.41.2 (cp. the eyelids or eyelashes of the dawn (or rather, of the sun; see LXX. 1.18)) were the rays of the sun⁵ (see Schultens, *Comm. in Jobum*, 161).

Hence too in Ps. 68.21 [22], if MT is correct, we read—

¹ Read 'His head is like Carmel.'

² Gra. renders 'Thy head upon thee is like crimson' (שָׂדֵם, Cant. 5.11); but cp. Del. *ad loc.*

³ So Kitto (*Bib. Cycl.*), Sayce (*Races of the O.T.* 74). Then, Kto. The שָׂדֵם which follows שָׂדֵם is not a corruption of שָׂדֵם, 'hair' (Kto's view), but a prematurely written שָׂדֵם.

⁴ Kitto, *Bib. Cycl.*, art. 'Hair.' The passage gives striking expression to the still prevalent view.

⁵ שָׂדֵם is so explained by Del. and Willeboer following Targ. and Rab. interpretation.

⁶ For more distant parallels (Greek, Latin, American) see G. Adler, *Heb. Mythology*, 137. See especially Wilken, 'De Simonsage,' *De Gruz*, 2303 (188).

HAIR

Yea, God smites asunder the head of his foes,
The hairy crown that stalks on in his sons.

He who placed his long hair and his corresponding physical strength at the service of his wars challenged God to interpose and crush him. Hair and strength are here once more related. To a few it must therefore have seemed a striking paradoxical expression, when, in the picture of an anthropomorphic God, it was said 'The hair of his head was like pure wool' (Dan. 7.9). The colour indicated that he was 'ancient in days', but the 'hery stream' which was 'before him' proved that his white hair was no symbol of weakness. (Compare Rev. 1.14).

On the Nazirite vow see NAZIRITE. Analogous to it is the consecration of their hair by warriors, supposed to be referred to in the words שָׂדֵם

3. Consecration of the hair.

שָׂדֵם (Judg. 5.2), which Robertson Smith rendered,² for that flowing locks were worn in Israel.³ We must not suppose, however, that Israelites, in time of peace, wore their hair short. To be sure, there were barbers (Ezek. 5.1; see BARBERS); but the popular sentiment or superstition about hair justified us in assuming that an Israelite's hair was only trimmed, especially in front, not cut close; and it is not probable that the author of 2 S. 14.27 would have wished to make us laugh at Absalom's vanity. Cp. however, ABBAS.

That Absalom employed the barber only once a year is told us in order to explain how it was that his hair (and also his strength) was so abundant. Probably it is not a wholly more historical than the story in Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 7.3) of the 'horse guards' of Solomon, who had gold dust sprinkled every day on their long hair. The writer may be of the post-exilic age (Hitz.); certainly his sole aim is to glorify Absalom.

On the other hand, to express contempt for a man, it was enough to call him a 'bald head' (2 K. 2.24; cp. Is. 3.17 24), and the object of plucking out (Ezra 9.4) and shaving (Job 1.2) or disfiguring the hair of the head by throwing dust upon it (Job 2.12), and extending similar treatment to the beard, was to express the mourner's sense that he was cut off from all the pleasures and honours of ordinary life. See MOURNING, CUSTOMS.

In this connection we may refer to a limitation placed by P on the high priest. He was neither to rend his clothes as a mourner, nor to let the hair of his head go loose (Lev. 21.10, cp. 10.6). His hair was at all times to be tended in such a way as to enhance the popular respect for so exalted a personage. Ezekiel, too, gives this precept to the priests, 'They shall not shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long; they shall only poll their heads' (Ezek. 44.20). They were to strike the mean between the practice of the Nazirites (Nu. 6.5) and the heathenish asceticism referred to in Lev. 19.27 21.5 Dt. 14.1 Am. 8.10 (see CUTTINGS, § 3).

That long hair was admired in women, is plain from Canticles (see above, § 1). One might almost infer

4. Women's head-dress. applied to women's hair (on Dt. 21.12 see Driver's note), for the word rendered 'hair' (שָׂדֵם) is the same which is applied elsewhere to the inviolable hair of the Nazirite (שָׂדֵם). Certainly, as Kamphausen remarks, the goats, with whose black hair the hair of the ideal bride is compared (Cant. 4.6), were not shorn goats. Of the 'artful curls' (Is. 3.24, *SBOT*) of the ladies of Jerusalem in Isaiah's

¹ S. De Wit renders, 'Hahm even supposes an allusion to the Nazirites among the Pharisees. שָׂדֵם 'hair,' however, should no doubt be שָׂדֵם 'wicked one' (Gra., *Chet. etc.*).

² S. Black, *Judges*, 30 (192).

³ Probably, however, שָׂדֵם and שָׂדֵם are duplicates (Mant., Ruben), and שָׂדֵם should be used to correct שָׂדֵם. In this case the 'long hair' disappears, and, if Cheyne's emendation (*CP*, July 1902) be adopted, the verse will run: 'Bless Yahweh, O ye marshals of Israel, who displayed (such) zeal among the people.' שָׂדֵם and שָׂדֵם in v. 2, and שָׂדֵם in v. 3, both came from שָׂדֵם (which was in fact inserted at the end of v. 2 as a correction).

HAJEHUDIJAH

time, we have no information. The Talmud, however, presents us with a word for the women's hair-dresser (הַיְהוּדִיָּה, cp MARY MAGDALENE), and the verb from which it comes means 'to plait'. Judith, one remembers, 'braided her hair' (סִבְּרָהּ [סִבְּרָהּ, R] רַבַּת תְּרָאִית, 10:1) before entering the camp of Holofernes, and NT writers dissuade strongly from using ἡ δέμας (1 Tim 2:9) and μαλλοὶ τριχῶν (1 Pet 3:3), and from adorning the hair with pearls and jewels. (Ch 1:1 or 11:19 see V. 11)

Illustrations from the Egyptian monuments are, as far as the hair is concerned, of less importance than those from the Assyrian. Great pains were taken by Assyrians of high rank in the arrangement of their hair. As we see from the monuments, it was carefully combed down and parted into several bands or plaits, and was allowed to spread out upon the neck in a mass of curls. This, together with the similar use of bands or plaits among the Arabs (thus, the seven braids (*mahlephoth*, מַחְלֵפּוֹת) of Samson's hair mentioned in Judg. 16:19). Cp BEARD.

HAJEHUDIJAH (הַיְהוּדִיָּה), 1 Ch. 1:3 RV⁹⁶, AV JEHUDIJAH (יְהוּדִיָּה).
HAKATAN (הַקָּטָן, 'the small one,' § 66, אַק[א]־טָאן [HAL.], father of JOHANAN (15) of the line Azgad, a family in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA 1:1, § 2; II, § 15 [1]d), Ezra 8:12 = 1 Esd. 8:38 RV⁹⁶, but AV ACATAN; RV AKATAN.

HAKKOZ (הַקֹּז, as it, 'the briar'; אַק[א]־קֹז [HAL.]) RV; AV always Koz except in (3) where it has HAKKOZ; in 1 Ch. 13 RV even has HAKKOZ for Heb. קֹז, Koz.
1. The line Hakkoz were a post-exilic family who were unable to prove their pedigree; Ezra 2:61 (אֲחֵי בְּנֵי אַק[א]־קֹז, [ALB] Neh. 7:61 (אֲחֵי בְּנֵי אַק[א]־קֹז, 1 Esd. 5:31, AV ACCOZ, RV AKKOZ, mg. HAKKOZ (אֲחֵי בְּנֵי אַק[א]־קֹז, [U.]).
2. Grandfather of MEKIMOTH (1), Neh. 3:4 (אֲחֵי בְּנֵי אַק[א]־קֹז, [U.]).
3. According to 1 Ch. 21:1, the seventh of the priestly courses fell to HAKKOZ (יְהוֹנָתָן, אַק[א]־קֹז [U.]).

HAKUPHA (הַקֹּפָה, 'crooked' (?), אַק[א]־פָּה [B.V.]), a family of NATHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii, § 7), Ezra 2:51 (אֲחֵי בְּנֵי אַק[א]־פָּה, [ALB] Neh. 7:51 (אֲחֵי בְּנֵי אַק[א]־פָּה, [U.]) 1 Esd. 5:31 (אֲחֵי בְּנֵי אַק[א]־פָּה, [U.]) Acupha [RV], and possibly ACCU (see HAKBUK) is really a duplicate of the same name).

HALAH (הַלָּה, אַל[א]־לָה [B.V.], ελλαε [L.]; m 2 K. 17:6 18:1 HALA; m 1 Ch. 5:26 חָלָה [B.], חָלָה [A.], אַלְלָה [L.], HALLA; Pesh. always ܠܠܐ), a city or district, mentioned with Habor, the river of Gozan, and the 'cities (7) of Media,' as one of the places colonised with Israelites from Samaria (2 K. 17:6 18:1; cp 1 Ch. 5:26). Schrader (AGP 167, n.; COT 1:268) combines it with a city called Halahhu mentioned in a geographical list (2 K. 5:33 f.) between Arrapachitis and Reseph, and Winckler (IOF 292) gives references (K. 109:2 etc.) for a land called Halahhu connected obscurely with Harrân. HAL in 2 K. 17:6 and HAL in 2 K. 18:1 treat Halah as one of the rivers of Gozan; but see Gozan (end).

HALAK, MOUNT (הַר הַחֲלָק, אַל[א]־חָלָק [AFL.]), 'The smooth (or bare) mountain that goeth up to Seir' (i.e., in this passage, to the mountain district W. of the 'Arabia, bounded on the N. by the Wady el-Marrak, the Wady Madarah, and the Wady el-Fikreh), is opposed as the limit of Canaan (or, more precisely, of Joshua's conquests) in the S. to Baal-gad, 'under Mt. Hermon,' in the N. Josh 11:7 (חָלָק [B.]), 12:7

¹ We, *Ar. Hebr.* 197. Tabari reports of a certain Ribî that he wore four braided locks which were as stiff as the horns of a wild goat. It is still said by the Bedouin in praise of a good-looking young man, 'He has great and long horns' (Doughy, *Ar. Dec.* 1909).

HALLEL

(חָלָל [B.], אֶלֶל [A.]) Thenceforward S. frontier of Judah towards Edom is the ' ascent ' AKKARIM' (אֶקְרָרִים) which is the long winding pass on the route from Petra to Hebron truly called the *Al Ak et Seir*, or Pass of the Bare Rock. This pass indeed could hardly be said to 'go up to Seir', but not very far to the SW. in a wady of the same name (the continuation of the *Wady Fikreh*), stands the *Jebel Madarah* - a conical hill or mountain, which no one descending to Edom could fail to notice, rising in isolation like a lofty candle' (Rohr. *HR* 2:1; Palmer, *Desert of Judaea*, 415, 188). This has been identified by Trumbull with Mt. Hor (see Hor, MOUNT 1), it is at any rate safer to regard it as the 'bare mountain that goeth up to Seir'.

HALHUL (חֲלָחֻל, perhaps 'full of hollows', cp HOTOS, אֶלֶלֶל [B.], חָלָלֶלֶל [A.], yet [L.]), in the hill-country of Judah, grouped with Beth-zur and Gedor (Josh 15:41), Jerome (*OS* 149:1) speaks of a village Alula near Hebron. No doubt it is the mod. *Halhal*, about 4 m. N. of Hebron, a village beautifully situated between Beit Sur (BEITH SUR) and Beit 'Amm (BEITH-ANATH), Judah (in HOR, 1) lies to the S.

A village Alulus, where an Egyptian army assembled, is mentioned in Josephus (*BJ* 1:1, 10:1), plausible to identify this name with Halhal (Buhl, *Geogr.* 138). The GURITES of Judith 10, however, lies elsewhere.

HALI (חָלִי, if the text is right, an unidentified city of Asher, Josh 19:24 (חָלִי [B.], חָלִי [A.], yet [L.]). Corruption, however, is not infrequent in these place-names, and we may possibly read (שִׁיבִי, חָלִי [B.], see HETHAN. To connect Hali with *Ala* (Guerin, *Gal.* 2:2, cp Buhl, 210) is hardly plausible.

HALICARNASSUS (Ἀλικαρνασσός, in [ANV]; mod. *Adrian*), a Carian city, on S. shore of the promontory which, with that of Cnidus to the S., encloses the Ceramic gulf, the mouth of which is occupied by the island of Cos. It is celebrated as the birthplace of Herodotus and the seat of Mausolus (userr. and cons. Mausollos) whose tomb, built by his widow Artemisia, who was also his sister, was one of the seven wonders of the world (Strabo, 636). The town is mentioned incidentally in 1 Macc. 15:21 (referring to 139 B.C.) as containing a Jewish colony, like all the cities on this coast. The coinage seems to indicate that Halicarnassus did not share in the trade with Egypt in the fifth century B.C. to any great extent.

From Jos. *Ant.* xiv, 10:2 we learn that a decree of the city, passed under Roman influence (46 B.C.), guaranteed that the Jews of Halicarnassus should be allowed, in addition to other privileges, 'to make their prosecution at the seaside according to the customs of their forefathers' (τὰς προσερχόμεναι νόμους πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὸ πατρίον ἔθος), which illustrates Acts 16:13 'without the gate by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer' (ἐξω τῆς πύλης παραποταμῶν ὅπου ἐνομίζετο προσερχεῖν ἐνομίζουσιν προσερχεῖν WH) εἶπαι, etc. at Philippi).

The town never recovered from its siege and capture by Alexander (334 B.C.). It was rebuilt in the third century B.C. Cicero, writing to his brother in 60 B.C., calls it 'diruta ac pene deserta' (*Id.* *Q. Tr.* i 125); but he is magnifying his brother's services towards the town during his governorship in the previous year.

See Newton, *Hist. of Discov. at Hal.*, etc.; *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (views and plans). Fragments of the Mausoleum are in the British Museum. On the form of the name see Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of A.S.*, 405.

HALLEL (חָלָל), a Mishmic Hebrew derivative from חָלָל, *hallel*, 'to praise,' is a term in synagogal liturgy, (1) for Pss. 113-118, specifically called חָלָל הַמִּצְרִי, *hallel hamisri*, 'the Egyptian Hallel,' and recited during the Paschal meal on the night of the Passover, and also on eighteen other festal days of the year (*Ta'anith*, 284), and (2) for Ps. 136 (according to some Pss. 120-136 or 135-136; *Per.* 118 a; *Siph'erim*, 152), called חָלָל הַגָּדוֹל, *hallel hagadol*, 'the great Hallel.'

HALLELUJAH

Rabban Gamaliel's words (M. *Peṣahim*, 105) suggest that the reciting of the Hallel originated in the desire to

1. Origin and extent.

lallel'); and that the custom was in his time (Gamaliel was the teacher of Paul¹) only just in its inception. Some years later the extent of the Hallel was still in dispute; the school of Shammai favoured Ps. 113; the school of Hillel, Pss. 113 and 114 (*Pes. ibid.*). It should be observed that the connection in which the passage cited is found in the present arrangement of the Mishna suggests that this difference of opinion relates only to what became, by later additions, the first part of the Hallel. The compilation of the Mishna, however, is over a century later, and the injunction to close with a blessing for the deliverance indicates that here at some time was the end. During the first half of the second century the Hallel received considerable additions, and it probably reached then its present proportions. R. Tarphon and R. Akiba² (110-135 A.D.) supplied it with the closing blessing; after this, the second part, Pss. 115-118, was added, to be recited after the pouring out of the fourth cup; later, to this also was added a closing blessing, which was made to cover the entire song (*MI. Pes. 106*). The Mishna no longer gives us the form of this blessing; it does not seem to have been determined at the time of its compilation. According to the *Gemāra* (*Pes. 118 b*), R. Jehuda and R. Johanan (130-160 A.D., cp Strack, *Einl. in d. Talm.* 83 f.) suggested different forms.

The opinion of Samuel (died 254 A.D.; cp. *Sacra*, 88) that the prophets among them instituted it in Israel to the end that they should recite the Hallel when they were threatened with persecution, to avert it, and when delivered, in thanksgiving, indicates a twofold tendency, first, to extend the reciting of the Hallel to other occasions, leading to its incorporation into the liturgy of other Jewish sects, and, to regard it as a custom which was followed in Israel at a far earlier date than that which is attested by the statement of Josephus (Ant. 12. 10. 1) that it was introduced by R. Jehuda's sect (M. *Per.* 5. 7) that it was recited in the temple during the slaughtering of the passover sacrifices, is evidently only a similar piece of ideal history.

Allusions to the Exodus and appropriate national sentiment determined the selection of the Psalms that were to constitute the liturgical thanksgiving for the passover; the great Hallel, on the other hand, was to serve the wider purpose of a general thanksgiving. R. Jolanan says it is called the great Hallel because (alluding to Ps. 136.25) the Holy One sits in heaven, and thence deals out food to all his creatures (*Pes.* 118*a*). With this sentiment accords its use in thanksgiving for the blessing of rain (*Ta'an.* 19*a*).

We may now attempt to answer the question of the relation of the Hallel to the hymn referred to in the phrase 'when they had sung a hymn' (*ὑμῳσάμεντες*) in Mt. 26³⁰ and Mk. 14²⁶. The answer commonly given is that the hymn was the Hallel, and the statement is followed by a description of the Hallel in its most developed form; but in tracing its history it has appeared that there is no evidence that the Hallel was in the time of Christ more than in its incipient stage, consisting of Ps. 113, or at the most also of Ps. 114.

Cp. Del. on Ps. 113; 114. *MGHV*, 1879, p. 203 f., 241 f., *Psalmen*, 56 f.; and especially Büchler, *ZATH* 20, 114-115 (1900).

HALLELUJAH (הללויה, ³ הללויה : once הללויה)

[Ps. 10135; *h.l.* הַלְלִיָּהּ, 'praise Jah'), or (as Δ [ΔΑΛΛΟΛΟΓΙΑ] and Vg always, and AV in Tobit and in Rev.) ΑΛΛΕΛΟΥΙΑ, a Jewish doxological formula, which obtained an Aramaic colouring, and under the form αλληλοῖα was adopted (like Osanna—see HOSANNA) by the Gentile Christian congregations, cp Tob. 13.8 Rev. 19.346. In 3 Macc. 7.11, ἐπιφωνήσαντες το

¹ He belongs to the first generation of Tannā'un (50-90 A.D.):

2 Schür. 10. 11. 275 ff.

³ So Ginsb.; Bā. 1667.

HAM

αλληλουια, we find it treated as a substantive. Its original use was to summon the congregation to join the cantor in reciting a psalm, or in responding by a united acclamation of praise. The view assumes that it was in use only in the liturgy of the synagogue, not in the temple, where a choir of Levites sang the appointed psalms. It seems to have been originally inserted (in collections of psalms for synagogue use) at the beginning of psalms, and here we still find it, both in MT and in **℣**, in Pss. 106 111-113 135 146-150, and in **℣** also in 101 [105] 106 [107] 113 [114-115] 114 [116-19] 115 [116-19-20] 116-118 [117-119] 135 [136] 147 [147-20]. The fashion seems, however, to have varied. In Pss. 104 105 115-117, the MT gives 'Hallelujah' at the end of each psalm, and in the MT of Pss. 135 and 146-150, as well as in **℣** of Ps. 150, the doxology occurs both at the beginning and at the end of a psalm. Two apparent inaccuracies of **℣** may also be mentioned; it includes Ps. 119, which is a purely didactic psalm, among the Hallelujah psalms, and excludes from their number Pss. 103-104, which certainly ought to have been Hallelujah psalms (or rather a Hallelujah psalm in two parts) if we can judge on this point from the contents. As to the characteristics of this class of psalms (to which the HALLEL psalms belong), see the commentaries, and **EP PSALMS, BOOK OF**.

Cp Grätz, *MGG* 7, (79), 193f.; *Psalmen* ('82), 63f., 91f.

HALOHESH, RV *Hallohesh* (חִלְיֹהֶשׁ), see below.
ΔΑΛΩΗC [AL], a name occurring twice in post-exilic lists.

1. Father of Shallum in the list of wall builders (see ΝΗΗΚ. ΜΑΗ, § 1 f.; ΕΖΡΑ ii, §§ 16 [11, 15 d], Neh. 3 12 (ηλεια [HKL]).
2. Signatory to the covenant (see ΕΖΡΑ i, § 7); Neh. 10 24 [25] (αλωνης [HKL], αδω [AL]).

According to Meyer (*Ent.* 143; cp. 157), an appellative, '[the family] of magicians' (cp. NAMES, § 70); but the number of miswritten names in Ezra-Neh. suggests caution. That both *Col-ROZEN* [q.v.] and *Hallohesh* are miswritten appears certain; the name which underlies both words seems to be *ḥlḥ*, *ḥal-ḥiḥi*. See SHILḤI. T. K. C.

HAM (חָם, חָאם [BAL]), according to P, second son of Noah (Gen. 5:32, חָאם [A], as in 6:10 7:11), and ancestor of the peoples of the south, especially Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan (Gen. 10:6 *f. so*). J₂ also gives him the second place among the brothers, and though in Gen. 9:24 he appears as Noah's 'youngest' or rather (see JAPHETU) 'younger son,' this arises from a manipulation of the text of J₁. Originally it was Canaan who was so designated, and also Canaan who was represented as having treated his father Noah with irreverence: 'Ham, father of...', in v. 22, is a redactional insertion (see SROT).

The origin and meaning of the name are disputed. In Pss. 105^{23,27} 106²² we read of the 'land of Ham,' where Ham clearly means 'Egypt,' just as 'stock of Jesse' in Is. 11¹ = 'stock of David.' It was natural, therefore, to connect Ham with the old native name of Egypt, *keme* or *chemi*, 'black,' with reference to the black colour of the Egyptian soil (see EGYPT, § 1)—a connection supported by Ebers (*Ägypten*, 155) but disputed by Lepsius (*PRE*, s.v. 'Ägypten'), who would explain the name as a general term for the 'hot' south (2n. 'hot,' Josh. 9.12). Probably Lepsius lays too much stress on the difference of vocalisation between *chemi* and *ham*. Since *cham* had a meaning in Hebrew, and *chem* had not, the Hebrews might have substituted the one form for the other. Lefebure¹ at any rate is unconvinced by Lepsius.

Still, the (probable) analogy of Shem suggests another explanation. Ham, which seems originally to have meant the land and people of Canaan, may be a shortening of such a form as Hammu-rābi, the name of an early Babylonian king (see AMRAPHEL); cf. Zu-

¹ TSB.10170 suggests comparison with Chem, the name of an Egyptian god *imported* from the land of Punt (see PUT).

HAM

for Zuriel (?). Possibly there was an early tradition (of which Gen. 14 may give us a late modification) that Hammu-rabi conquered Canaan, and the name חָמֹר may thus have become known to an early narrator, who wanted a symbol for Canaan, and explained the name, on the analogy of ANURAM (q.v.), 'the (divine) kinsman is a great one.'¹ Glaser's identification² of Ham with 'Amu, the Egyptian name for the Bedonin races of the Semitic countries adjoining Egypt, appears less plausible. In 1 Ch. 14^o the phrase 'from Ham' (חָמֹר) is *ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν χαμ*; but Pesh. reads *חָמֹר* (חָמֹר) is very improbable; for there was neither a place nor a tribe called Ham. Read *חָמֹר* [חָמֹר] and see MEUSIM.

T. K. C.

HAM (חָמֹר; 7 MISS of Sam. חָמֹר; cp Jer. *Quest.*), the land of the ZUZIM (q.v.), Gen. 14⁵. Since the Zuzim seem to be the same as the ZAMZUMIM, 'Ham' must be a corruption either of Animon (if we read *חָמֹר*; *ח* and *z* confounded) or of Raliba or Ralibath (so Ball). Cp Dt. 2²⁰.

Ⓢ (*ἡμᾶ αἰρωῖς* [AEL.]), Pesh., Vg. express *חָמֹר*, 'among (or with) them'; Tg. Onk. and Jerus. give *בְּרֵחָתָם*. T. K. C.

HAMAN (חָמָן), a name of Elamite origin; see ESTHER, § 7; *AMAN* [BKA.], but *ANAM*, *MAN* [A. Esth. 3: 7 (16) 17], called *AMAN* in (Apoc.) Esth. 10⁷, etc.; son of ADATHIA or HAMMEDATHIA (q.v.); one of the chief characters in Esther, where he appears as the inveterate enemy of the Jews (Esth. 3: 1 ff. etc., Apoc. Esth. 12⁶). He is accordingly represented as an AGAGITE (q.v.) (so Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6⁵, and Targg. call him an 'Amalekite') or Macedonian (see ESTHER, § 1). The first Targum (with much probability) identifies with him the important but otherwise obscure MEMUCAN (q.v.). On the fate of Haman see HANGING [1.], and on the combination of Haman with one of two mythological dragons, see DRAGON, § 3.

HAMATH (חָמַת), 'enclosed or guarded place' [WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2), 150]; *חָמַת* [BAL]; other common forms in the uncial MSS. are *חָמַת* or *חָמַת*, a royal city of the Hittites on the Orontes, to the territory of which the boundary of Israel is said to have reached under David, Solomon, and Jeroboam II. (2 S. 8⁹ 1 K. 8⁶⁵, *חָמַת* [A], 2 K. 14²⁵, *חָמַת* [B], *חָמַת* [L], cp Nu. 13²² [21], *חָמַת* [B], *חָמַת* [F] 348). The Chronicler states that Solomon built store-cities in (the land of) Hamath (2 Ch. 8⁴); but this stands in connection with the statement (based on a misunderstanding) that he also built 'Tadmor in the desert.' The Table of Nations (Gen. 10¹⁸) mentions 'the Hamathite' (חָמַתִּי; *δ ἡμαθί* [AEL.]) in the last place among the eleven descendants of Canaan; but *17: 16-18a* are due to K. The bulk of the population of Hamath was certainly Semitic (note the Semitic names of the kings in the time of Tiglath-pileser III.). See HITTITES, § 11 ff.

The fall of Hamath deeply impressed the people of Judah. 'Is not Hamath as Arpad?' asks the Assyrian king in Isaiah's prophecy (Is. 10⁹; not Ⓢ). A similar question (suggested by Is. 10⁹) is put into the mouth of the Rab-shakeh (2 K. 18³⁴ = Is. 36¹⁰, *אֲרַפַּד* [N], *אֲרַפַּד* [AF], *אֲרַפַּד* [Q]) and the king of Assyria (2 K. 19¹¹, *אֲרַפַּד* [B], *אֲרַפַּד* [A] Is. 37³⁶, *אֲרַפַּד* [N], *אֲרַפַּד* [Q]). Balaam, too, if a recent critical conjecture may be accepted, becomes the mouthpiece of Jewish consternation at the downfall of so ancient a state as Hamath.³ According to tradition, some of

¹ It is just possible (so Gray, *HTV* 56) that the Babylonian king's name was really compounded with *חָמֹר*, though 2 K. 41 *a b c* explains it as *Amia rapanum*, 'wide family.'

² In Hommel, *HTV* 48.

³ Nu. 24²⁴. 'Alas! who will survive of Sham'al (חָמַת), or come forth from the city of Hamath (חָמַת)?' *חָמַת* and *חָמַת* confounded, as in Is. 11¹¹ (see below).

HAMMEAH, TOWER OF

the colonists transported by 'the king of Assyria' to the land of N. Israel were Hamathites (2 K. 17²⁴ 30), and it is further stated that the men of Hamath made images of ASHIMA. The problem of the origin of this name can no longer be called unsolved. The other divine names in 2 K. 17³⁰ f. being Assyrian (see special articles), Ashima, or better Ashimath (see Ⓢ¹), must be Assyrian too. Tasmith, the consort of Nebo, is not great enough. The original name was *אֲשִׁימַת*, Ishtar.¹ Ishtar was the second of the five planetary deities, four of whom are mentioned besides in 2 K. 17³⁰ f. The notice in 2 K. 17²⁴ 30, however, needs a close examination. To understand 'it is one thing; to accept it as quite historical is another. Hamath and Avva (or rather Gaza, *אֲבָא*) have no right of existence in this passage, the context of which requires well-known Babylonian cities. No Assyrian king would ever have placed Hamathite colonists in Samaria; the object of such transferences of populations was to remove restless elements to a distance from their home.² The cause of the insertion of the wrong names can easily be surmised (see SEPHARVATIM). Almost equally improbable is it that a prophetic writer, in a list of the countries from which Israelites captives should, by a mighty divine act, be brought back, would write 'and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the isles of the sea' (Is. 11¹¹). Not improbably *חָמַת*, 'Hamath,' should be *חָמַת*, 'Kittim' (Cyprus);³ Ⓢ reads otherwise (see 'Isaiah,' *SBOT* [Heb.]).

To assume with Millar (Hastings, *DBI* 102) that, 'as Hamath was occupied by the Hittites' the name (Ashima) may very possibly be Hittite, is opposed to the facts suggested above, and mentioned by Jensen (*Hittiter u. Armenier*, 104). Below is given a list of the divine names in 2 K. 17³⁰ f. with their probable identifications:—

Succoth-benoth = Sakkuth-Kaiwan (Nimib) = Saturn
Nergal = Mars
Ashima = Ishtar = Venus
Nibhar (Nihhan) = Marduk = Jupiter
Adrammelech = " "
Anammelech = " "
Tartak or Tartak = the lance-star = Antares.

The references to Hamath in Ezek. 47¹⁶ f. have not come down to us quite accurately. In *17: 16* *חָמַת* should go with *חָמַת*, Zedai (q.v.) being an interpolation, and in *17: 17* *חָמַת* 'and the region of Hamath,' is a gloss (Cornill). [The names in Ⓢ the first time are corrupt; later in *17: 16* there occurs *חָמַת* [B]; in *17: 17* B omits Hamath.] T. K. C.

HAMATH-ZOBAB (חָמַת צוֹבָב), 2 Ch. 8³, *Βαϊτωβὰ* [B], *חָמַת צוֹבָב* [A], *חָמַת צוֹבָב* [L]. See ARAM, § 6, HAMATH, SOLOMON.

HAMITAL (חָמִיטָל), 2 K. 24¹⁸ RVmg, EV HAMUTAL.

HAMMATH (חָמַת—*ḥ m t*, 'hot spring'), one of the fenced cities of Naphtali (Josh. 19³⁵, *חָמַת* [BALKEB]) [B], *חָמַת* [A], *חָמַת* [L], probably = HAMMATH-DOR (חָמַת דּוֹר, *חָמַת דּוֹר* [B], *חָמַת דּוֹר* [A], *חָמַת דּוֹר* [L]), reckoned among the Levitical cities in Naphtali (Josh. 21¹², P), and called in the parallel passage, 1 Ch. 6⁷⁰ [61], HAMMON [2] (חָמַת; *חָמַת* [B], *חָמַת* [A]). It is perhaps to be connected with *el-Hammeh*, the hot springs to the S. of Tibias, Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 2¹; *H/V* 13) calls it Emmaus (cp EMMAUS). Wilson took the temperature of seven distinct springs, three of which have been enclosed (*Recovery of Jerus.* 302). Cp GABSMITH, *HTV* 450.

HAMMATH (חָמַת), 1 Ch. 2⁵⁵, RV, AV HAMATH [q.v., 1].

HAMMEAH (חָמַיָּה), Neh. 3¹, RV, AV MEAH, in 'Tower of Hammeah' (חָמַיָּה) *חָמַיָּה* is evidently a corruption

¹ See Che, 'Gleanings in the Books of Kings,' *Exp. T.*, 10⁴²⁹ (June '90).

² Winckler, *AT Entz.* 101.

³ By transposition and confusion of *ח* and *ת* (Che *SBOT*, Isaiah, Heb.). Cp last col. n. 1.

HAMMEDATHA

of דְּמִתָּה (see 3), which in turn is a corruption of דְּמִתָּה, 'the Old (city)'. See COLLEGE, HASENNAH, HULDAH, and cp HANANIEL.

T. K. C.

HAMMEDATHA (הַמֵּדָתָה; Ἀμαδάθη [BBL]), Ἀμαδάθου (A), the father of Haman (cp the name μάδατος in Xenophon, Cyr. v. 3.41; and see He-Russ., Esth. 3.1 (Ἀμαδάθου (A), v. 10 om. BBL) 8.5 (only in B. as above) 9.10 (Ἀμαδάθου (A)) 24 (Ἀμαδάθου (A)). His name appears as ΑΜΑΔΑΘΗΣ in 126 (Ἀμαδάθου [B] vid., see Swete), Ἀμαδάθ. [B] and 19 to 17 RV, where AV ΑΜΑΔΑΘΙΑ (Ἀμαδάθου (A) in v. 10, om. LB in v. 17).

HAMMELECH (הַמֵּלֶךְ) appears in AV and RV^{mg} as the name of the fathers of JERAHMEEL and MALCHIJAH, 2 (Jer. 36.26 38.6). In RV and AV^{mg} each of these persons is called 'the king's son' (so G). Probably, however, הַמֵּלֶךְ is a corruption of an imperfectly written יֶרַחמֶלֶךְ, Jerahmeel. Men of Jerahmeelite origin would naturally be called 'sons of JERAHMEEL' (q.v.). Cp JOASH 1. 4.

T. K. C.

HAMMELZAR (הַמֵּלְזָר), Dan. 1.11, RV^{mg}, AV MELZAR (q.v.).

HAMMER is not always an accurate rendering of the word in MT.

1. מַכְלָה, *makkālāh*, (σφύρα, *malleus*, but in Is. 44.12 τέρετρον) a tool used by the stone mason (1 K. 6.7), the smith (Is. 44.12; MT has plur., G sing.), and the woodcarver (Jer. 10.4). The word (מַכְלָה) is also applied to the (wooden) mallet with which tent-pins were driven (Judg. 4.21). It was therefore smaller than the *patib* (no. 3, below).

2. מַכְלָה, *makkālāh*, ἁλμυθὶ ἀμῆλιν, σφύραν κοπιώντων (B; really Aq.), ἀποτομας κατακόπων (A), ἀ. κατακόπων (L); Vg. *malleos fabricum*, a name given to the implement with which Jael slew Sisera (Judg. 5.26). The phrase is, however, highly suspicious (see Moore). Che. emends מַכְלָה to מַכְלָה, 'a flint of the rock.' Cp Dt. 32.13, and see JAE.

3. מַכְלָה, *makkālāh*, σφύρα (πελὺς in Jer. 23.29), *malleus*, a heavy tool used in image-making and in quarrying (Is. 41.7 Jer. 23.29). Nebuchadnezzar is called by this term (Jer. 50.23), which gives no support to the explanation of 'Maccabaeus' as 'Hammerer' (see MACCABEES 1., § 1).

4. From מַכְלָה in Ps. 74.6 a noun מַכְלָה, *makkālāh*, ἁλφεν-ρίον, *ascia*, has been inferred; but in the light of the Tg. we should doubtless emend to מַכְלָה, 'two-edged' (Herz), and render, not 'with axes and hammers,' but 'with two-edged axes.'

5. σφύρα, Eccles. 38.28 (blacksmith's hammer).

HAMMIPHKAD (הַמִּיפְקָד), Neh. 3.31, RV, AV ΜΙΡΗΚΑΔ, in 'the gate of Hammiphkad'; cp Ezek. 43.21, 'the appointed place' (*miphkad*) of the temple (following G, τῷ ἀποκεχωρισμένῳ).

The sense, however, is not good; read perhaps 'the burning-place (*makkāh*) of the temple' (König, *Lchzech*, 2a, 93 n.). The gate would be that which adjoined the 'burning-place.' See JERUSALEM, § 24.

HAMMOLEKETH, or (RV) **HAMMOLECHETH** (הַמִּלְכֶּת), as if 'she who reigns,' sister of MACHIR; 1 Ch. 7.18† (H ΜΑΛΕΧΕΘ [BA], ΜΕΛΧΑΘ [L]; REGINA [Vg.]).

Close by we find ZELOPHHAD, GILEAD (q.v. 1. § 2), ISHOD (see, however, the article), MAHLAH, each of which is a corruption of Saleah or Salhad. The older view that Hammoleketh is a divine title requires too much confidence in MT; we should have expected Beth-Mileah (cp Gray, *HP.V* 116); but Mileah itself is a corruption of Saleah (see MILCAH, 2).

HAMMON (הַמֹּן), 'glowing,' perhaps a divine title, cp Baal-Hamman—i.e., the Baal of the solar glow; but see [2].

1. A place on the border of Asher, apparently near the sea, Josh. 19.28 (εμεμαων [B], αμων [AL]). Identified by Robinson with the ruins at the head of the W. Hāmūl, which he saw from the high hill of Belāt (see RAMAN [6]), and believed to bear the name of Hāmūl. Since, however, the existence of a locality of that name is very doubtful (see Guérin, *Galilee*, 2.147), it would be better to connect Hammon with 'Ain Hāmūl, near the point where the wādy reaches the sea, and where there are the remains of an ancient fortress. This Dillmann admits as a possibility.

HAMU OR HAMI, NAMES WITH

But the fortress was certainly in connection with a town, the striking ruins of which still exist, now called *Umm el-Amūd* (or *Awāmūd*). It was there that Renan found an inscription dedicated to El (= Baal) Hamman (see Baethg. *Beitr.* 27; also G. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phön. Inschr.* 21 f. [89]). These ruins are possibly on the site of the ancient Hammon (Guérin, *l.c.*).

2. A Levitical city in Naphtali, 1 Ch. 6.76 (61) (חמאθ [BLL], cp [A]). Probably identical with HAMMATH (q.v.), Josh. 19.35, and HAMMOTH-DOR, Josh. 21.32. The name in this case has reference to hot springs.

T. K. C.

HAMMOTH DOR (חֲמֹת דֹר), Josh. 21.32. See HAMMATH (q.v.).

HAMMUEL (הַמּוּאֵל, § 46), 1 Ch. 4.26, RV, a mistake of MT for HAMUEL [AV] (q.v.).

HAMONAH (הַמֹּנָה), Ezek. 39.16 πολυανδριον¹ [BAQF], and **Hamon-Gog** (הַמֹּן-גֹּג), 'Gog's multitude,' Ezek. 39.11 15, το πολυαν. του γωγ [BAQF]. The latter is the name which, in Ezekiel's prophecy, is given to the valley, or rather ravine (v. 1; see VALE, 3), where GOG (q.v.) and his multitude are buried, and which is more precisely described as 'a ravine of (the mountains of) the Abarim, east of the (Dead) Sea.' This is intelligible. But what is to be said of HAMONAH? Is there really to be a city with this name? So AV and RV lead us to suppose; and Tg. may have found an allusion to the city of Bethshean, deriving its name Scythopolis from the Scythian invasion in the 7th cent. B.C. Gog, however, as has been pointed out elsewhere, is a corrupt fragment of Mig(a)don, a title of the enemy of God derived from Babylonia; Hamon-Gog is either a corruption of the same name, or perhaps of Har-mig(a)don (ARMAGEDDON). We may then continue גֹּג מִיגֶדֶן, 'and Mig(a)don shall disappear from the land,' after which read 'and the land shall become clean' (so G, Co.).

T. K. C.

HAMOR (חָמֹר, 'ass,' § 68; ΕΜΜΩΡ [ADEL]), the 'father of SHECHEM' (q.v.), Gen. 33.19 34 Josh. 24.32 Judg. 9.28 Acts 7.16 (AV ΕΜΜΟΡ) etc. There is a current view that Hamor is the name of a 'totem-clan.' In the abstract there is no objection to a belief in early 'totem clans,' as stated by Gray (*HP.V*, 115). It is more probable, however, that חָמֹר in 34.2 is analogous to חֲתָנִים, 'sons of Heth' (= Hittites), and simply means 'Hamorite'; חָמֹר, which follows, should perhaps be read חָמֹרִי, 'Hamorite,' and be regarded as a gloss (see, however, HIVITES, § 2). In this case 'Hamorite' probably = 'Amorite'; in fact Gen. 48.22 (E) represents Shechem as won from חָמֹר, 'the Amorite.' The Assyr. name of the kingdom of Damascus (*māt ša-imêrê-tu*) has similarly been derived from *imêru* 'ass'; but the real name was probably related to 'Amorite' (cp Del. *Par.* 280 f.). The Assyrians made a pun on the name.

T. K. C.

HAMRAN (חַמְרָן), 1 Ch. 1.41 RV = Gen. 36.26, HEMDAN.

HAMU or HAMI, NAMES WITH. This group of Hebrew names is small; it may perhaps comprise only HAMUEL (q.v.) and one other (see HAMUTAL; but cp HEMDAN). Renan (*REF* 5175), Wellhausen (*De Gent.* 22, n. 1), and Hommel (*MIT* 322) derive these and similar Semitic names (e.g., חַמְרָן in Hittite) from *hamā*, 'to protect.' That such a root was used in forming proper names seems clear (see JAHMAI); but the analogy of the names compounded with Abi-, Ahi-, etc. is in favour of taking Hamu as a term of kindred.

That חָמֵם means 'father-in-law,' חַמְיָה 'mother-in-law,' is certain; the instances may be few, but they range

¹ This word represents the Heb. חָמֵם in Jer. 2.23 10.26 as also in Ezek. 39.11 a; cp 2 Macc. 9.14 4 Macc. 15.20.

HAMUEL

from early documents in Gen. and Sam. to a possibly late passage of Micah (76) and the late book of Ruth. The cognate Ass. word *imu* (*emu*) also means 'father-in-law'; Winckler's definition, 'the head of a family from which a man gets a wife,' illustrates the anticipative use of the term in two of the letters of Dušratta to Amen-hotep III. (*Am. Tab.* 173, 182). Like similar words (e.g., *im*), its precise usage varied in different Semitic languages. Thus in biblical Hebrew it seems to denote a woman's, in Ass. a man's father-in-law. We cannot be certain, however, that even in ancient Hebrew it was never used in a wider sense, as e.g., it sometimes is in Arabic, and as *im* and *em* certainly are in Hebrew. Thus perhaps all the men of a group might be called *ah* by the husband and *ham* by the wife, or *vice versa*, and so Hamu-el might be practically synonymous with Ahi-el, or, for that matter, with Abi-el (see *ABT. NAMES WITH*).

H. W. H.

HAMUEL, RV *Hammuel* (חַמּוּאֵל, § 46, om. B, ΔΜΟΥΗΛ [AL]), a Simeonite (1 Ch. 4:26). The form with double *m* (MT and RV) was explained 'restus Dei' by Ges., but should no doubt be read, as in AV and G, *Hamuel* (חַמּוּאֵל) as in the case of *HAMUL* (see below). The meaning will then be, 'The head of my kindred is God.' See *HAMU. NAMES IN*.

HAMUL (חַמּוּל—i.e., חַמּוּל or חַמּוּל, possibly a corruption of חַמּוּאֵל; see above, *HAMUEL*; but the name חַמּוּל has been found on an Israelite seal, which makes Gesenius's interpretation 'clementiam expertus,' just possible [cp *GAMUL*]; see also We. *De Gent.* 22; and cp Ki. on 1 Ch. 25; more probably, however, like *MAIOL*, the name is a corruption of *JEHAMEEL* [q.v. § 4]; Hezron, Hamul's brother, appears in 1 Ch. 29 as Jerahmeel's father), a grandson of Judah³ (Gen. 46:12, *יְהוֹאחֵם* [ADL], *יְהוֹאחֵם*; 1 Ch. 25, *יְהוֹאחֵם* [BA], *אֲמ.* [L], *יְהוֹאחֵם*; Nu. 26:21, *יְהוֹאחֵם* [B], *יְהוֹאחֵם* [AFL], *יְהוֹאחֵם*, whence arises the patronymic *Hamulite* (חַמּוּלִי, Nu. 1:4, *יְהוֹאחֵם* [B], *יְהוֹאחֵם* [AL], *יְהוֹאחֵם* [F]).

HAMUTAL (חַמּוּטָל Kt. חַמּוּטָל, 'my husband's father is the dew' [see *NAMES*, § 46]; but the second element in the name is very suspicious [see *ABITAL*]; read rather *HAMUTUB*, 'the head of my kindred (= my God) is goodness'; *AMITAI* [ALQ]), the mother of Jehonahaz and Zedekiah, 2 K. 23:31 (*ΔΜΕΙΤΑΙ* [B]), 24:18 (*ΑΜΙΤΑΙ* [B], *ΔΜΙΤΑΙ* [A]), Jer. 52:1 (*ΔΜ[Ε]ΙΤΑΙ* [BNA]) and in *G^{HAL}* of 2 Ch. 36:2a (*ΔΒΕΙΤΑΙ* [B]).

T. K. C.

HANAMEEL, or (RV) *Hanamel* (חַנַּמְאֵל, 'God is kind' [see below]; *ΔΝΑΜΕΗΛ* [BNAQ]), b. Shallum, a cousin of Jeremiah, from whom, in the first part of the siege of Jerusalem, Jeremiah purchased, for seventeen shekels, a property at Anathoth, thus demonstrating his faith, victorious over doubts, in the ultimate restoration of Israel (Jer. 32 [G 39] 7-12, cp 44). The account is evidently authentic, though it received its present shape only after the fall of Jerusalem (see Giesebrecht). The details of the purchase are interesting. The deed of purchase was subscribed and sealed (with clay; see *CLAY*), and together with a second unsealed copy was deposited in an earthen vessel, which may have been like the earthen jars which contain the Babylonian contract-tablets.

¹ Muss-Arnolt connects it with a root *emh* [= חַמַּח, 'to protect, surround', inferred from a proper name.

² The altered form may be a mistake under the influence of Amiel, or an intentional alteration.

³ Names common to Judah and Simeon occur not infrequently. See *GENEALOGIES* I, §§ 8, 7 [v].

⁴ The *G* forms with initial *c* seem to have arisen from a dittography; *καὶ ἡμῶν* is for *καὶ ἡμῶν*. [*Jos. (Ant. ii. 7.4)* has *αἰῶνος*, also the form *αἰῶνος* (see Niese).]

HAND

The name much exercised the old interpreters. 'Grace of God,' 'Grace of God's people' (for 'of circumcision'), are the explanations given in *OS* 162:25 (cp 180:20), and the former appears as a note on the name in *OS* 180:20. We should probably read *חַנּוּכָּה* = *חַנּוּכָּה*, 'God is pity,' *HANUKH* [q.v.] occurs twice. Gray's remark (*HPV*, 307, n. 2) goes too far. The support of the versions could only prove the comparative antiquity of the reading *חַנּוּכָּה*. *ח* is very frequently miswritten for *י*.

T. K. C.

HANAN (חָנָן, § 50, an abbreviated name; cp *Et.* *HANAN, HANANIAH; ANAN* [BNAI]).

1. A name occurring twice (r. 23 and r. 38, *anar* [L] = 944) in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 9, ii. B) in 1 Ch. 8.

2. b. *MAACAH* (q.v., ii. 9), one of David's heroes (1 Ch. 11:43, *ayav* [K]).

3. The b'ne Hanan, a post-exilic family of the *NETHINIM* in the great post-exilic list [see *EZRA* ii., § 9], *Ezra* 2:45 = *Neh.* 7:49 (in latter, *yavav* [K] = 1 *Esd.* 5:30, *ANAN*, 2).

4. A Levite, present at the reading of the Law under *Ezra* (Neh. 8:7 om. BA = 1 *Esd.* 9:4, *anav* [B], *anavias* [AL], *ANANIAS*, 5); probably the signatory to the covenant (see *EZRA* i., § 7) *Neh.* 10:10 [11] (om. B, *avav* [K] = *avav* [L], *avav* [L]).

5. The name borne by two signatories to the covenant (see *EZRA* i., § 7), *Neh.* 10:22 [23] *avav* [L], 10:26 [27] *avav* [BA], *avav* [K], *avav* [L].

6. b. Zaccur, a keeper of the storehouses, appointed by Nehemiah, *Neh.* 13:13 (*avav* [K], *avav* [L]).

7. The sons of Hanan b. *IBRAHIM* (q.v.), were a family which had a chamber in the temple (Jer. 52:4 . . . *ibrahim* *ibrahim* *ibrahim* [BAQ], *avav* vi. *avav* [K], *avav* K. 3, but *K* omits *vav* *ibrahim*).

HANANEEL, AV, RV *Hananel* (חַנַּנְאֵל), in 'Tower of Hananeel,' *Neh.* 3:12-39 Jer. 31:38 Zech. 14:10; see *JERUSALEM*, § 24.

In *Neh.*, both times, the tower of Hananeel is coupled with that of *HAMMEAH* (q.v.). When we consider that *HAMMEAH* is probably a corruption of *haysidnah* 'the old (city),' it seems very possible that the name of the 'tower of the old (city)' was Hananeel. Observe in this connection that in *Neh.* 12:39 *G^{HAL}* does not recognise 'the town of Hammeah.'

T. K. C.

HANANI (חַנַּנִּי, § 52, shortened from חַנַּנְיָהוּ, see *HANANIAH; ANAN* [E] [BNAI]).

1. Father of the prophet *JEHU* (q.v., 2), 1 K. 16:1 (in r. 7 *avav* [BA mg.], *avav* [A]), 2 Ch. 16:7 (*avav* [B], 19:2 20:34).

2. A temple musician, a son of Heman (1 Ch. 25:4 [om. B] 25 *avavias* [B]; L has *avavias* in both verses which points to a form *חַנַּנִּי*).

3. One of the b'ne *IMMER* (q.v., ii. 1) among the sons of the priests in the list of those with foreign wives (see *EZRA* i., § 5 end), *Ezra* 10:20 (*avavias* [A] - 6 [L]) = 1 *Esd.* 9:21 *ANANIAS* [2] (*avavias* [BNAI]).

4. One of the 'brethren' of *NEHEMIAH* (*Neh.* 1:2, *avav* [L], *avavias* [K]; 2 *avav* [K] as in L, 7:2, *avavias* [BNAI]).

5. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see *EZRA* ii., § 13g), *Neh.* 12:36 (*avavias* [L], *avavias* [BA mg. inf.], om. *BA*).

HANANIAH (חַנַּנְיָהוּ—i.e., 'Yahweh is gracious,' §§ 28, 52, 84; *ANANIAH* [c] [BNAQTL. 87]).

1. One of Daniel's companions, also called *Shadrach* (Dan. 1:6 etc). See *DANIEL*, § 14.

2. Son of *Azzur*; a prophet who opposed Jeremiah (Jer. 28:1 ff.).

3. Ancestor of the captain of the guard who arrested Jeremiah (Jer. 37:13).

4. A son of *Zerubbabel* (1 Ch. 3:19 21).

5. b. *Shashak* in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 9, ii. B), 1 Ch. 8:24.

6. One of the fourteen 'sons of Heman' (1 Ch. 25:4, 23).

7. One of the b'ne *Belai* in the list of those with foreign wives (see *EZRA* i., § 5 end); *Ezra* 10:28 (*avavias* [B], *avavias* [K]), *avavias* [BA mg.] = 1 *Esd.* 9:29, *ANANIAS*, 3.

8. An apothecary in list of wall-builders (see *NEHEMIAH*, § 1 f. *EZRA* ii., §§ 16 [1], 15f), *Neh.* 3:8. Perhaps the same person is intended in *Neh.* 3:30 (same list).

9. *Neh.* 3:30. See no. 8.

10. Governor of the castle, under Nehemiah, who describes him as 'a faithful man,' and one 'who feared God above many' (*Neh.* 7:2). Cp nos. 11, 12.

11. Signatory to the covenant (see *EZRA* i., § 7); *Neh.* 10:23 [24], *avav* [L]; perhaps the same as no. 10.

12. Head of a priestly house in the days of *Joiakim* (see *EZRA* ii., §§ 6 f. 11), *Jeshua's* successor (*Neh.* 12:12; *BA* om.).

13. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (*Neh.* 12:41 [om. *BA*]); perhaps the same as no. 10.

HAND (יָד, *yeip*). Many of the uses of the hand in Hebrew phraseology are too plain to need special explanation. There are some, however, which are not

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devoid of strangeness, and some of the passages in which 'hand' occurs, need brief consideration from the point of view of textual criticism. Not that mere critical puzzles are worth mentioning here, but when exegesis is distinctly affected by textual criticism, it would seem to be a fault of method not to refer to this.

Yād, יָד, the hand, sometimes with reference solely to the wrist (Gen. 24:22, etc.) or finger, sometimes including even the arm (Gen. 28:13, etc.), is to be kept distinct from *kaph*, כַּף, the palm of the hand (or the sole of the foot, paw, etc., cp Lev. 11:27). The hollowed hand is the *ḥēṭ*, חֵט (1 K. 20:10, etc.), or *ḥēṭ*, חֵט (Prov. 30:4, etc.). For parts of the hand the Hebrew terms are *qibḥāh*, קִבְחָהּ, finger² (Ex. 31:18, etc.), *shēn*, שֵׁן, thumb (Judg. 16, etc.), *ḥēṭ*, חֵט, little finger (1 K. 12:10), and *ḥēṭ*, חֵט, nail³. The span of the hand is *ḥēṭ*, חֵט (Ex. 25:25, etc.), *ḥēṭ*, חֵט, 1 K. 7:21, used as a unit of measurement (cp the similar use of 'finger' in Jer. 52:21); see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. It should be noted that the full phrase for right hand is *yād yāmīn*, יָד יְמִינִי (e.g., Ps. 132:5); *yāmīn*, יְמִינִי, properly 'right side'. 'Left-handed' is expressed by *ittēr* [yād yāmīn] יְמִינִי אִתֵּר, Judg. 3:15 20:16.

a. In two important passages (1 S. 15:12 Is. 56:5) RV^{mg} records the fact that where English idiom requires 'monument,' or 'memorial,' the Hebrew has 'hand' (יָד). 'Saul came to Carmel, and, behold, he set him up a monument'; this trophy of Saul the Hebrew text calls a 'hand.' The reading, however, is not free from doubt.⁴ At any rate, this use of 'hand' is certainly found in 2 S. 18:18 (Absalom's 'monument') and in Is. 56:5 (the 'memorial' promised to God-fearing eunuchs). On many Phœnician votive steles an outstretched hand is represented, probably to symbolize the action which accompanied the vow.⁵ The monuments referred to in the OT passages may be regarded as votive steles.

b. Similarly Abram, when he makes a vow, lifts up his hand (Gen. 14:14; cp Dt. 32:40 2 K. 10:15 Ezek. 17:18; and especially, according to the usual interpretation, Ex. 17:16, Prov. 11:21).

Ex. 17:16 forms part of an account of the defeat of the Amalekites, when Yahwe declared that he would utterly blot out the Amalekites. The Hebrew has, 'And he said, That a hand to the throne (?) of Jah, war hath Yahwe against Amalek from generation to generation (?)'. For the first part of this RV gives, 'And he said, The Lord hath sworn.' Those who are less tied to the MT than the Revisers were, will admit that the text is hardly translatable, and needs emendation (see J. H. W. N. S.). Prov. 11:21 is also commonly said to refer to the custom of lifting up the hand for an oath. As an alternative to the faulty rendering of AV we find in RV^{mg}, 'My hand upon it! Heb., Hand to hand.' There is, however, no parallel for a proverb constructed as RV^{mg} supposes Prov. 11:21 to be, and we should almost certainly read, not, 'My hand upon it; the evil man shall not go scot free, but, 'The malignant witness shall not go scot free.'

No doubts need be raised against that well-known passage, Ps. 144:8, 'Their right hand is a right hand of falsehood'; *yāmīn* in Arabic has the double meaning of 'right hand' and 'oath.' Cp 2 K. 10:15 (see JONATHAN, 31; Gal. 2:9, 'the right hands of fellowship'). c. Claspings hands was the sign of a completed bargain; see Job 17:3 Prov. 6:1.

RV, however, goes too far when it gives in Is. 26, 'and they strike hands [in bargains] with the children of strangers.' The present Hebrew text is hardly translatable, and no suggested rendering is thoroughly suitable to the context. Most probably we should read, 'And with the secret arts of the Harranians they practise enchantments' (see HARRAN I.).

d. In Ex. 28:41 29:9, Lev. 21:10 (all Ph), we find the strange idiom, 'to fill the hand' (יָדָהּ) for 'to consecrate as priest.'⁶ In Judg. 17:5, however, it simply

¹ In Bihl. Aram. 25, Dan. 5:5; see Bexan, *Dan.* 100, n., Dr. on 2 S. 14:18.

² With יָדָהּ, toes, 2 S. 21:20.

³ With יָדָהּ, 'to pare the nails,' Dt. 21:4. On the custom here referred to, see WRS, *Asia* 173. Bihl. Aram. 25, Dan. 4:10 [13].

⁴ Cp Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 58.

⁵ See SATI, *beg.*

⁶ יָדָהּ (cp Prov. 19:20), represented in MT by יָדָהּ.

⁷ יָדָהּ, יָדָהּ.

⁸ Note the Syr. cognate *šāmīlyā* 'ordination.'

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means 'to bestow the office of priest,' which is near the original sense. Halévy has pointed out (*KEI*, Oct.-Dec. 1890, p. 209) that it is exactly parallel to an Assyrian phrase for the transmission of authority; Delitzsch (*Ass. H B* 409b) gives this as *ḫitī mullā*, 'to fill the hand' = 'to invest with an office.' There is therefore no need to suppose either that the objects with which the hand was filled were pieces of a sacrificial offering (Di., Baudissin), or that a sum of money was placed in it (Vatke, Wellh.); it is the office itself which is given.

Nor can we say, with most scholars, that Ezek. 43:16, where the phrase seems to be applied to the reconsecration of the altar, shows how completely the consciousness of its original meaning has faded away. For יָדָהּ (Kr., 5) seems to be a corruption of יָדָהּ, words which appear in MT (but with יָדָהּ for יָדָהּ) at the head of r. 27, but are lacking in B. Obviously there are two rival readings, and יָדָהּ is the worse of the two. Cp, however, Nowack, *HA* 2:120 f.; Addis, *Doc. Hex.* 2:203 n.; Dr. White, *SBOT*, *Lat. Eng.* 71.

T. K. C.

HANDBREADTH (פָּטָה), Ex. 37:12 2 Ch. 4:5 Ps. 39:5 [6]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

HANDICRAFTS. To attempt a complete account of all the handicrafts practised by the Hebrews, in the light of the Talmud and the evidences of the monuments, would mean a history of their civilisation and culture, and would lie far outside the limits of this article. It must suffice, therefore, here to give a brief summary of the various occupations to which reference is made in the Bible, and to indicate any additional features which seem to be of general interest.

1. Leaving on one side all workers in metal, whether coppersmiths (1 K. 7:14 2 Tim. 4:14), ironsmiths (Is. 41:12), gold- or silversmiths (Judg. 17:4 Is. 40:19 Mal. 3:2 f.), we may start with two allied crafts—viz. those of workers in wood and workers in stone.

The common term is *ḥārāṣ*, חָרָץ (for *harrāṣ*; 5 usually *ḥārāṣ*), cut, used generally of an artisan (e.g. 2 K. 22:6 24:14 Jer. 24:1 29:2), or, more definitely, of a carpenter (Jer. 10:3 Is. 41:7), or metal-worker (Hos. 13:2); in 1 S. 13:19 (*ḥārāṣ* σιδηροῦ [BAL]), the reference is, as the context shows, to armourers. Usually, however, the term is qualified by addition of the material—viz. (1) *ḥārāṣ*, worker in stone, 2 S. 5:11 (r. *lithon*), 1 Ch. 22:15 (οἰκοδόμος λίθων, *lithon*), Ex. 28:11 (οἰκοδομὸς λίθων, *lithon*), 2 S. 5:11 2 K. 12:11 [12] 1 Ch. 22:15 (r. *ḥārāṣ* λίθων), (2) *ḥārāṣ*, worker in bronze, 1 K. 7:14 (r. *χαλκοῦ*), 2 Ch. 24:12 (χαλκοῦ χαλκοῦ), (3) *ḥārāṣ*, worker in iron, 2 Ch. 24:12 (χαλκοῦ σιδηροῦ). From the same root comes *ḥārāṣ*, *ḥārāṣ*, 'work' (naturally more specific than *ḥārāṣ*, *mīla'kāh*), defined, as above, by the addition of *ḥārāṣ* or *ḥārāṣ* (Ex. 31:5).

Words used to express the idea of carving, cutting, or hewing are: *ḥārāṣ* (to hew out of the living rock), 1 Ch. 22:15 (*ḥārāṣ*), 2 Ch. 24:12 [17] (with *ḥārāṣ*, *lithon*), to be kept distinct from *ḥārāṣ* ('to cut or gather wood'), Dt. 19:5 29:11 [10], etc.; and *ḥārāṣ* (stone), Is. 22:16, as opposed to *ḥārāṣ* (wood), 1 K. 6:15. Common to both crafts are *ḥārāṣ*, Dt. 19:5 1 K. 5:6 [20] Is. 14:8 (wood), Mesha inscr. l. 25 (stone), and *ḥārāṣ*, Gen. 22:3 (wood), Hos. 13:2 Ps. 78:15 Job 28:10 Eccles. 10:9 (stone). *ḥārāṣ* (to judge from the use of *ḥārāṣ* in Siloam inscr. l. 1) is used only of stone; *ḥārāṣ*, on the other hand, of wood (Is. 10:34, cp *ḥārāṣ*, chap. 17:6 24:13).

2. The work of the carpenter belongs to the earliest efforts of man to provide himself with the ordinary conveniences and simple comforts of life.

2. Work in wood. His work ranges from the fashioning of the rude tent furniture to veneering, inlaying, and carvings in wood (*miklā'āh*, מִקְלָאָה, e.g. of cedar, 1 K. 6:18; olive, *ḥārāṣ*; fir, *ḥārāṣ*; *pittahim*, פִּיטָהִים, 1 K. 6:29); see BED, EBONY, IVORY. Cp also SHUP.

The implements used would be primarily of the simplest description. (The modern Bedouin for example fashions a hammer by taking a fragment of hard red granite and bringing it into the required shape by chipping it with another stone.) The precise meaning of some of the terms is uncertain, and the mention of

1 See METALS, and cp COPPER, GOLD, IRON, etc.

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hēreb (sword) in Ex. 20:25 to denote an implement is significant. Naturally growth of culture went side by side with the invention of more elaborate and delicate tools. As we should expect from the analogies of folklore, implements of stone or wood were long preferred for certain purposes to those of iron (cp Ex. 20:25); but the tradition that in the building of Solomon's temple no 'tool of iron' was heard (1 K. 6:7) is hardly genuine (see IRON, § 2).

The tools comprised various kinds of AVE, HAMMER, SAW, measuring-line (קו, Is. 44:13), chisel or carving-tool (חֲבֵרֶת, pl. Is. 44:13, EV 'planes'), the stylus or graver (רֶטֶס, see PENCIL), and an instrument for making circles (so apparently חֲבֵרֶת). Some of these tools, of course, were used by workers in stone.

From Is. 44:13 ff. Wisd. 13:10 ff. we gain interesting particulars regarding some of the details of carpentry. The artificer takes care to choose a sound tree, one that will not rot, avoiding the crooked and knotted pieces, or, may be, 'planteth an ash tree' for the purpose. Having made his choice he saws, hews, or cuts it into beams.¹ The wood is then ready to be shaped into a slab (לֶבַח), board (טַבַּח), plank (טַבַּח), stave (טַבַּח), etc.

3. The art of working in stone goes back to the earliest ages. In its rudest forms it is exemplified in the primitive rock-cut 'tars, aqueducts, wine-vats, cisterns, and conduits still to be seen in Palestine. Of a less primitive character are the rough-hewn stones, varying in workmanship, used as landmarks (Jer 31:21), gravestones (2 K. 23:17), inscriptional steles,² etc. Finally, the art in its most cultivated and advanced form is seen in the manufacture of stone vases, etc. (see ALABASTER); sculpture, on the other hand, does not seem to have been practised by the Hebrews, although the prohibition in Ex. 20:4 is sufficiently wide to indicate that this particular branch of art was not unknown.

4. One of the most interesting features connected with the craft of stone-cutting in general is the faculty which the ancients possessed of dealing with huge masses of stone (in the form of foundation-blocks, obelisks, or statues). The hugest of the stones of Stonehenge is quite put in the shade by such specimens of Egyptian workmanship as Cleopatra's Needle (186 tons), and the obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak (circa 374 tons), and—to go beyond Egypt—by the largest of the stones in the outer wall of the Temple Hill at Jerusalem (some of which measure 25 x 12 x 8 ft.), or by some of the stones in the ruins of Baalbek, three of which are about 13 ft. in height, probably as much in thickness, and no less than from 62 to 64 ft. in length. The greatest marvel is that they have been raised to the top of a substruction already 23 ft. high.³ One is enabled to see from the extant quarries of red granite at Syene the way in which the stone was cut away from the mother-rock before removal. Thence it was conveyed upon sledges and rollers or upon rafts and floats, which were drawn by men or cattle (sometimes both) to the required spot. Brute strength—with a total disregard of human life—aided by such simple mechanical expedients as levers was the sole motive power employed.⁴

5. Turning now to the builders (בְּנֵי, οἰκοδόμοι), we note that in the construction of walls both wood and stone were used (Ezra 5:8; cp Herod. 1:170. Rawl. ad loc.). The specialised term for wall-builders is בְּנֵי הַיֵּסוֹד (cp B. 10:1; see ENGRAVE).

¹ Cp קוֹרֶה, 2 K. 6:5.
² The specific term (at all events for the stele maker) is סֹבֵל, found at the end of several Nabatean inscriptions. In some cases there are two (CIS 2 nos. 206, 209, 221) or even three (ib. no. 208) workmen. One bears the (possibly appropriate) name סֹבֵל (cp B. 10:1; see ENGRAVE).

³ Baed. Pal. 375. Even these are exceeded in size by a prodigious block in the quarries to the SE., measuring 71 x 14 x 13 ft., and probably weighing about 1500 tons (ib. cit. 370). Though hewn out it has not yet been separated from the rock.

⁴ See Wilk. Anc. Eg. 2:202 ff., and for the interesting description upon the bas-relief in the Deir el-Bahri temple, see F. L. Griffith in *Proc. Egypt. Expl. Soc.* 1890, p. 57.

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(2 K. 12:12 [13]) or קִיר (2 S. 5:11). Houses were made of bricks or clay, but hewn-stone was not uncommon (cp below, 6), especially in the case of houses of the better class and such buildings as the סִימָן, etc., which (like the names they bear) were of foreign introduction. Joining is referred to in 2 Ch. 34:11 (בְּחֵבֶרֶת). Naturally some knowledge of measuring and the drawing of plans (cp בְּחֵבֶרֶת, 1 Ch. 28:11 f., etc.) was required.

6. Here mention may be made of the plasterers (חִיִּים, *tāhim*, Ezek. 13:11, see MORTAR, 3), and the whitewasher (מִי שֶׁיָּבִישׁ, cp κοινω, Mt. 23:27 Acts 23:3) who carried a brush with jointed handles (*Shabb.* 47a).

For the terms used to express the 'cutting' of stone see above (§ 1); the 'quarrying' is called חֲבֵרֶת (1 K. 5:18 [31] Eccles. 10:9). Stones which have been thus treated are styled (1) בְּחֵבֶרֶת, 2 K. 12:12 [13] 226 (Αἰθοὶ λατομητοί), 2 Ch. 34:11 (Α. τετραπέδοι), (2) חֲבֵרֶת, 1 K. 5:17 [31] (Α. ἀπελεγκήτους), 1 Ch. 22:2 (Α. ξυστοί), 1 K. 7:9 11:6 36 (μάρμαρον ἀπελεγκήτων), Am. 5:11 (ξυστοί, or ξυστοί); used for altars, Ezek. 40:42 (Αἰθῖραι ἀελαφεύμεναι); cp the prohibition Ex. 20:25 (μάρμαρον); also in buildings, Is. 54:10 [9]. (3) חֲבֵרֶת used in building, Ezra 5:8 6:4, the same word in Palm. is used of an inscriptional stele.

Special tools which would be needed in addition to those mentioned above are the plumb-line (קוֹדֶשׁ, Am. 7:7), or plummet-weight (מִשְׁקָל, Is. 28:17 2 K. 21:13), and the measuring-reed (קוֹדֶשׁ or קוֹדֶשׁ, Ezek. 40:3). For the mechanical methods employed by the Egyptians, see especially E. Perie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, 173 212 ff.

7. On the art of setting and engraving jewels (E. 28:9 ff., etc.), see PRECIOUS STONES.

8. Workers in clay and earth. Their trade ranged from the building of houses to the manufacture of household utensils, and pottery of the finest construction (see BRICK, § 2; HOUSE; POTTERY). GLASS [q.v.] was known to the Hebrews; but the glazier is first mentioned in the Mishna (21).

9. For the tanning and preparation of skins see BOTTLE, § 1; LEATHER.

10. For the various kinds of cloths, wearing apparel, etc., see DRESS and the related articles, and for their manufacture, see EMBROIDERY, LINEN, TENT, WEAVING, WOOL. In connection with this trade mention must be made of the FULLER and the DYER (Mish. צָבֵן; see generally COLOURS).

11. Considerable attention was paid to the body. The use of perfumes and perfumed unguents necessitated the 'apothecaries' and 'confectionaries' (in AV); see INCENSE, OIL, SPICES. Barbers were an indispensable class (see BEARD, HAIR). The bath-man (מִי שֶׁיָּבִישׁ, and the בְּרִיחַ (Phon.), who scraped the skin with a strigil, first appear at a late date.

12. Finally must be enumerated the most domestic of all arts—that of cooking; see BAKING, BREAD, COOKING, FISH, FOOD.

Among dwellers in the desert whose wants are few, and who derive food and clothing from their herds, a knowledge of handicrafts cannot be expected to flourish. The women do more than their share of the work, and owing to inter-tribal co-operation outside aid is rarely needed. Doughty, however, speaks of a tribe of nomads who travelled as cheese-sellers (*Ar. Des.* 2:203 f.), and in the case of metal-workers it is not improbable that there were nomad craftsmen, the ancestors of the *gany* and *solubby* of to-day.¹

It is among a settled population living in towns and villages that need for special craftsmen arises. Outside help was needed by Solomon in the building of the temple (1 K. 5:6 [20], see GEBAL, i.), and the intercourse thus established (not necessarily for the first time) was

¹ That the Kenites were such a guild (Sayce, *Reveries of OT*, 118) rests upon the slenderest of bases; see AMALFA, § 7 n., and cp M. 1:1.

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HANDS, LAYING ON OF. The same English phrase 'to lay hands upon' is used in the AV to render two distinct Greek phrases—viz. *χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλειν*, to lay hands on with violence, and *χεῖρας ἐπιτίθειν*, to lay hands on to convey some gift. With the latter phrase, corresponds the *ἐπιτίθειν* *χειρῶν* of Heb. 6:2 1 Tim. 4:14 2 Tim. 1:6. From it, again, must be distinguished the verb *χειροτονέω* (Acts 14:23), which properly signifies simply 'to appoint,' so, e.g., in the *Didache*, chap. 15, 'Appoint for yourselves (*χειροτονήσατε ἑαυτοῖς*) bishops and deacons'; though at a later period *χειροτονία* is regularly used as a synonym of *χειροποιία*.

In the OT we find 'laying on of hands' practised (a) by privileged individuals, of their own free will, and (b) by religious officers as a legal act. In the NT we find (c) Jesus and the apostles using it at their pleasure in acts of healing or in benedictions; we also find it (d) as an ecclesiastical rite. In all cases we must suppose the laying on of hands to be accompanied by words. If the words partake of the nature of a spell, the laying on of hands must also be said to have a magical character; our judgment on the one act conditions our judgment on the other (see BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS). For an instance of (a) see Gen. 48 17 ff.; for instances of (b) Ex. 29 15 Lev. 1 4 32 4 8 13 f., 22 15 24 29 33 16 21 (see AZAZEL, § 1) 24 14 Nu. 10 28 27 18 20 Dt. 13 9 17; ep also 1 Ezech. 50 20. See SACRIFICE.

The later Jewish *semikhā* is the lineal descendant of this OT rite; but by the fifth century A.N., the symbolic act of imposition of hands had entirely disappeared from the Jewish ordination of religious teachers. (See Schürer's note *G/1*⁽³⁾ 2199 *G/1*⁽²⁾ 2152 *ET* 3177; and article 'Ordinierung' in *Hamburger RE*, Abt. 2 882 *ff.*)

For instances of (c) see I.k. 440 (the parallels in Mt. and Mk. are silent), Mk. 8.33 [1618] 10.16 (blessing children) Acts 9.17 28.8. The several passages in Acts, however, need separate consideration. In Acts 8.16, we read that Peter and John, after prayer, laid their hands on those who had been baptized by Philip in Samaria, and they (for the first time) received the Holy Spirit. That the action was in no degree magical is shown by the incident related in Acts 10.44. Similarly in Acts 19.6 Paul lays his hands on disciples of John the Baptist (see JOHN, DISCIPLES OF).

Instances of (*d*) occur in Acts 66 (imposition of hands on the Seven), 133 (Barnabas and Saul), 1 Tim. 414 522 2 Tim. 16. It is everywhere apparent that only certain privileged persons are able so to perform the rite of imposition of hands that the *χρῆσις* of office may be communicated, and it is this communication of a *χρῆσις* which constitutes investiture of office.

Once more the non-magical character of the rite is manifest. In 1 Tim. 4.14 the imposition of the hands of the presbytery is in close connection with prophetic utterances (cp 1 Tim. 1.18). In 2 Tim. 1.6 the description is condensed into 'the gift ($\chi\alpha\rho\iota$) of God which is in thee through the laying on of my (Paul's) hands.' The meaning of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota$ is 'grace' or 'gift'.

The meaning of 1 Tim. 5:22 is not quite plain. 'Lay hands suddenly (or, hastily) on no man' might refer to the appointment of church officers; but the following words, 'and be not partaker with other men's sins,' hardly seems favourable to this. The laying on of hands was afterwards employed in the reception of catechumens and in the restoration of offenders. The *ἐπιθεωρεῖς* of Heb. 6:2 is closely connected with 'baptisms'; but we are unable to define the precise meaning. SEE SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

HANDWASHING. See WASHINGS, MEALS, § 5.

HANES (חֲנַנִּים; on the versions see n. 2), a place in Egypt (Is. 30₄ to which v. 5 belongs). MT is generally rendered thus: 'For though² his princes are in Zoan,

HANDKERCHIEF (COΥΔΑΡΙΟΝ) Acts 19¹². See
NAPKIN.

HAND MIRROR (𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢), Is. 323 RV, AV GLASS.
See LOOKING-GLASS.

¹ The idiom כִּן הָעֲרִיסָה, etc., may perhaps be the source of the ῥοὺ τοῦ ἄνδρός υἱός (Mt. 13 55; contrast Mk. 6 3). See JOSEPH (HUSBAND OF MARY).

² e.g. Paul; cp CILICIA, § 3 (end), TENT, § 3.

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¹ Βαπτισμοὶ ἐπιθεσίς τε χειρῶν corresponds to ἀναστασις νεκρῶν καὶ κρίμα αἰώνιον.

2 If MT of r. 6 is correct, כִּנְיָה must be taken as concessive ('for though'), i.e. 'His princes' cannot name Judah's princes, for Pharaoh has just been spoken of (see DiL./*res.*⁹ ed. Kittel). אֲשֶׁר differs from several points from MT. It presupposes שֵׂרִים בְּכֹהֲנֵיהֶם, אֲשֶׁר לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ; also יִצְחָק קוֹרֵאיוֹתָיו (HRAOQ); חֲסִידֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ is unrepresented. So far as חֲסִידֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ is concerned, we cannot pronounce חֲסִידֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ a text improvement. See, however, no. 2. Jerome keeps *Hanes*, but guesses badly at 'ultimam iuxta'

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and his messengers go as far as Hanes, none wins aught but disappointment,' etc. (so *SHOT*, 'Isaiah')—i.e., however far the rule of the Pharaoh may extend, none who has anything to ask of him fails to be disappointed (Di., Duhm, Che.). If this is correct, Hanes must have been at some distance from the royal residence, so that the Pharaoh communicated with it by messengers or envoys. Our first object will be to illustrate by Egyptology what the critics pronounce the most probable view of the Hebrew text; we therefore disregard at present the different interpretation of EX.

1. We may well be cautious in seeking to identify Hanes, considering the failure of *Q* to recognise any Egyptian name resembling it. But we may at any rate reject the view put forward by Dümichen, who identifies

both Hanes and the Assyrian *Ḫinini*(?) with  with a sanctuary *Ḫt*.

Ḫnmt ('house of the nurse?'). Dümichen held this city to be Daphna, and Daphna to be *Heraclopolis parva*, but without any other reason than the analogy of this alleged 'Hanes' to the southern *Ḫnēs* (wrongly read *Ḫenen-suten* by Dümichen). Unfortunately, the reading *Ḫenes* is a guess of the highest improbability. Naville (*Ahnas el-Medineh*, 4) admits it to be doubtful, and prefers to emphasise the fact that in Asur-bani-pal's account of his war with Tarku (Tirhakah) *Ḫinini* occurs among the names of cities all of which belong to the Delta. It is clear, however, that this circumstance will not justify us in accepting Dümichen's identification. It can only suggest that Asur-bani-pal's *Ḫinini* was probably a city in the Delta, which is, in fact, all that Naville contends for.

2. We have next to consider the view prevalent among scholars from Vitranga's time—a view that is at any rate in harmony with the generally accepted interpretation of Is. 30.4. This identifies Hanes with *Heraclopolis magna*, a city of Middle Egypt, W. of the Nile, near the place where the *Bahr Yūsuf* branches off into the Faiyūm. The spot is now called *Henassiyeh* or *Henassiyet-el-Medineh*, 12 mm. W. of Beni Su'ef; on the unproductive excavations there see Naville, *Ahnas el-Medineh* (11th Memoir of EEF, '94). Earlier Arab writers called it *Ahnās*,¹ the Copts *Ḫnēs* (or *Ehnēs*); the ancient hieroglyphic name was *Ḫat* (i.e., 'house,' cp *Ḫt*), *Ḫenen-suten* (or *seten*?) (i.e., 'abode of the royal youth').² This name seems to have been shortened to *Ḫne(n)s(e)* in the vulgar pronunciation (cp Ass. *Ḫinini*?).

The city was the capital of the twentieth nome (or county) of Upper Egypt, which formed an island surrounded by the main Nile and the present *Bahr Yūsuf* (? Ptol. 125, Strabo, 789, 809, 812), or at least by a similar branch of the Nile (called *Menhi* in Coptic writers). The chief god was *Ḫarsaf(y)*, *Ἀρσαφς*—i.e., 'Horus the valiant' (cp Plut. *De Is.* 37), whence the Greek name of the city (the ram-headed *Ḫnum* being identified with *Heraclēs*), or according to an earlier etymology 'the one on his lake' (vocalize *Ḫri-lif*); but most likely the name (*Ḫri-lif*) meant originally only 'the ram-headed.' The sacred animal was the ichneumon. The city and its chief temple played a great part in Egyptian theology, and deep cosmogonic symbolism was found in the ceremonies of the great local festivals of 'hoeing the ground,' of 'lifting the heaven,' etc. The story which in Egyptian mythology takes the place of the Deluge-story (see DELUGE, § 15)

Ἀθιοπας et Blennymes Aegypti civitatem. Saad. renders *Ḫnēs*; cp his rendering of *Lebabin* in Gen. 19.13 (*Ḫnēs*). But this is Eg. *Pemse*, *Pemjeh*; Greek *Πεμπη* or *Πεμπυγχοι*.³ The orthography *Ahnas*, found in some books, has no authority.



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represents the destruction of mankind as having begun here.¹ Politically, the city took the highest rank under the ninth and tenth dynasties (*Heraclopolitan*), and again we find it important in the eighth and seventh centuries. The Ethiopian *P'anhy* (commonly miscalled *Pianchi*) mentions the ruler (nomarch) of *Heraclopolis* as the chief adversary of the powerful prince of *Sais* (EGYPT, § 65). The Assyrian king Asur-bani-pal speaks of a ruler of *Ḫinini* (= *Heraclopolis*?) whom he called *Nahki* (but see above). Herodotus (2.137) knows something of a blind king Anysis (!) who in the island-city 'Anysis (= *Ḫnēs*) held out against the Ethiopian invasion for fifty years (a confusion of some historical and mythological facts).

W. M. M.

3. But is the text on which recent critics have worked correct? It is very difficult to think so. Gratz (*Emendationes*, '92) and Cheyne (*JQR* July '98) have independently suggested *Ḫnēs* as an emendation of *Ḫn*; 'Zaan' and 'Tahpanhes' are very naturally combined.

Ḫn at any rate is wrong, thinks the latter; *Ḫnēs* would be possible (cp the Coptic name *Ehnēs*); but the appearance of *Ḫn*, 4 and 5, both in MT and in *Q*, suggests that more than one letter may have fallen out of the text. *Ḫnēs* also appears to him wrong. There is a *Krē* *Ḫnēs* (see Ginsburg); but this is artificial. Krochmal, Gratz, and Cheyne read *Ḫnēs* *Ḫnēs* *Ḫnēs* (so *Q*) for *Ḫnēs* *Ḫnēs* *Ḫnēs* removes all the ground for dispute between EV and the recent critics; Cheyne's *Ḫn* for *Ḫn* may also be right, unless the corruption is more deeply seated. Verses 5 and 6 thus become parallel, and within v. 5 itself the parallelism between 'Zaan' and 'Tahpanhes' is as perfect as it could be (see *TAHPANES*). Cp Ruben, *JQR* 11.448 ('99).

W. M. M. (1, 2)—T. K. C. (3).

HANGING. The Hebrew terms employed to denote deaths of this or of a like nature require to be carefully distinguished.

1. In the cases of Ahithophel (2 S. 17.23) and Judas Iscariot (Mt. 27.5) death by strangulation (*Ḫnak*, *ḫinak*; *ἀπ' ἄγχους*) is a mode of suicide. Another reference has been found in Job 7.15, where, after describing some of his distressing symptoms, Job says, according to RV,

So that my soul chooseth strangling,
And death rather than (these) my bones.

It is very improbable, however, that a righteous man like Job should be thus represented, and either the 'strangling' must be one of the well-known symptoms of leprosy, or, much more probably, the word rendered 'strangling' (*ḫnak*; so Ag. *ἀγχόνη*)² is corrupt. It is at any rate certain that there is a reference to suicide by strangling in Tob. 3.10, and to a violent death caused thus in Tob. 2.3, also in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 117 (two sons of Herod *στραγγάλη κτείνονται*).

In later times, according to the Talmud, this form of death was the ordinary mode of execution (*ḫnāh*, 11.1; cp 7.3); some form of the garrote such as is still used in executions in Spain and elsewhere, is intended by the expression.

2. The word rendered 'hanging' in EV (*ḫlāh*, *ḫlāh*, *ḫlāh*; *κρεμάζειν*, *κρεμᾶν*, *κρεμάνναι*, in Esth. 7.9 *σταυροῦν*; *suspendere* [appendere, affigere] in *patibulo* [ligno, cruce], or *super stipites*, or *super trabem*, or *cruci*) seems invariably to mean some form of impalement or crucifixion.

(a) It has been doubted whether the references in Esther (עֲשֵׂה לָהֶם 5.14 6.4 7.9 f. 87 91 f. 25) refer to impalement or to crucifixion (after death). It is true, impalement (*ἀνασκολοπιζειν*, Herod. 1.128) would have been the correct punishment to specify,³ the scene of the story being laid in Persia (cp Schr. *KAT* 2.378,

¹ Inscription, *L* 10 (Naville, *TSBA* 8.415).

² The whole verse seems to need careful restoration. See Che. *Exp. L.*, May 90, 351 A.

³ Both *ἀνασκολοπιζειν* and *ἀνασταυροῦν* mean either to impale or to crucify. In Herod. 3.125 *ἀνασταυρωσεν* is used of the punishment inflicted by Orontes the Persian on Polycrates, and here there can be no doubt that impalement is intended. Lucian, however (*De Pergr. Morie*, 11), speaks of *τὸν ἐν τῇ Πάλλαιστῃ ἀνασκολοπιθέντα*, i.e. Jesus Christ (quoted by Brandt, *Evangel. Gesch.* 180). Diodorus (3.32) says of the

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615); but we must not expect minute accuracy (see ESTHER, § 1 f.). Further, the description in 5:14 seems inconsistent with impalement. Both here, and in the other passages referred to, EV has 'gallows,' but in 2:23 'hanged on a tree' as elsewhere. At any rate, the impalement of the living body seems to be meant in Ezra 6:11, RV 'let a beam (2x) be pulled out from his house, and let him be lifted up (2x) and fastened (2x) thereon' (ἵστα ὀρθωμένους πληγῆσθαι [παγῆσθαι, A], ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ὀρθωθήσεται καὶ παγῆσθαι). We may compare the Ass. phrase *ina zakipi nakif*; *zakipu* is the ordinary word for 'pale, cross'; cp Aram. *ܐܡܬܐ* 'cross' (same verb in Heb. in Ps. 145:14 [46]).

(b) Beyond all doubt it is the impalement or gibbeting of the offender (or part of the offender) after death, for propitiation to God or warning to man, that is meant in Dt 21:22 f. (see below), Josh. 8:29 (king of Ai) 10:26 f. (the five kings), and 2 S. 4:12 (Rechab and Baanah's hands and feet; so Klo.). Probably also in Gen. 49:22-41:13 (cp Elbers, *Egypten*, 334, and Egypt, § 28). Similarly Nicanor's head and shoulder (2 Macc. 15:35), Holofernes' head (Judith 14:1), and the princes hanged up by their [enemies'] hand (Lam. 5:12).

3. Closely allied to the usage of (b) is that which apparently underlies another word (קָטַף), which is taken by EV (after Symm. and Pesh.) to mean hanging.

It occurs in MT only in Nu. 25:4 (where ὁ has παραδειγματίζω) and in 2 S. 21:9-13 (where ὁ has ἐκτελέσειν, (lit. in 2 S. 21:9) ἐξέλασθαι; Vg. cruci figere; cp 2 S. 21:14 ὁ ἐκτελέσειν, Vg. affigere). Probably, however, the same verb ought to be read also in 1 S. 31:10 (so, after Lag. *Prov.* p. iv, Dr., Bu., Lühr).

The etymology is difficult. WRS, *Rel. Sem.* (2) 410, thought of precipitation, and reminds us of the many cases in which precipitation from a rock was a mode of execution; but this hardly suits the context. Dillmann on Nu. 25:4 takes the meaning to be to expose with dislocated limbs. This seems to have been the meaning attached by ὁ (cp παραδειγματίζω in Heb. 66). In all cases the reference is to a solemn presentation of the dead body with pincular intent—in the sun (Nu. 25:4), before Yahweh (2 S. 21:6 Nu. 25:4 2 S. 21:9)—on the 'mountain' of Gilbeon or the walls of Bethshan, until the falling rain showed that the divine wrath had been appeased.

4. In spite of the fact that crucifixion was not a Jewish punishment, we find Paul in Gal. 3:13 expressly asserting that the death of Christ made him 'a curse' on the ground that 'every one who hangs on a stake (EV a tree, ξύλον, 2) is cursed' (Dt. 21:23, quoted freely from ὁ). In Acts 5:30 10:39 (cp 1 Pet. 2:24) is found the very same Hebraistic phrase for crucifixion, together with the ascription of the responsibility of the act to the Jews. Evidently those who wrote thus considered crucifixion to have a peculiar character, and the only wonder is that Paul could have represented an innocent person as attributing to himself the divine punishment by an act which was a judicial error. It should be observed, however, that Paul qualifies the term ἐπικατάρατος by the preceding expression γερόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, 'being made a curse for us.' It is true, κατάρα 'curse' may have been suggested by the Heb. קָטַף, which corresponds to ἐπικατάρατος in Paul's free quotation from Dt. (ὁ has κατακταμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ

Gauls τοὺς κακουργούς ἀσκαλοπιζούσι τοὺς θεοίς, and Strabo (198), speaking of the Druids, says καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἶδη λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ κατετόξεον τινας καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς.

1 Jos. B/iv. 5:2 (§ 317), referring to this law, has ἀνεσταύρω- μένους.

2 Cp also Ar. *τελέσειν*, 'to fall,' and note the statement 'they fell seven together' (2 S. 21:9). The words 'before Yahweh' (2 S. 9), however, hardly favour this view. The word seems to be a religious synonym for קָטַף; and they remained hanging there' (with Klo., Chr.) קָטַף, 'and they remained hanging there' (2 S. 21:9). 'Hanging' with a pincular intent is what is meant; 'before Yahweh' on 'before the sun' (Nu. 25:4) are synonymous. When the divine wrath had been appeased, the bones of 'those who were hanged' were collected and buried (2 S. 21:13).

HAPHARAIM

θεοῦ). Bearing in mind, however, the parallel abstract term *ἀναπρία* in 2 Cor. 5:21 ('made him to be sin for us,' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀναπρία), we cannot help supposing that there is another more important reason for the choice of the term κατάρα. 'Christ was not personally accursed, but only came to stand in the place of such an one before God, inasmuch as he suffered the accursed death as a vicarious expiatory sacrifice' (Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 199). He was therefore a 'curse,' but not 'cursed' in the same sense as any justly condemned criminal would have been. Paul's object being to overthrow the legal religion by terms derived from the law, we cannot hold that this minute distinction is a mere quibble. He deliberately avoids ὁ's expression as liable to misinterpretation. Cp Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* 2:105 ff. See also Lightfoot's note, *Galatians* (2), 150 ff.

HANGING. For (1) קָטַף *mdsakh*, Ex. 20:36, RV 'screen.' AV sometimes 'covering,' 'curtain'; and for (2) קָטַף, *kel'im*, 1 S. 27:9 etc., see TAHERNACLE. For (3) קָטַף, *bat'im*, 2 S. 23:7, RVING 'tents, Heb. houses [for the Asherah!]; see ASHERAH IDOLATRY, § 4, also DRESS, § 8.

HANIEL (חַנְיָאֵל), 1 Ch. 7:39 AV, RV HANNIEL, 2.

HANNAH (חַנָּה), 'graciousness,' § 51; **ANNA** [BAI]; Vg. ANNA, wife of Elkanah and mother of the prophet Samuel (1 S. 1). On the probable date of Hannah's prayer or song (1 S. 2:1-10), see SAMUEL, ii, § 7.

HANNATHON (חֲנַתְוֹן; אַמְוָת [B], ΕΝΝΑΘΩΘ [A], ANA [L]), a city on the N. border of Zebulun (Josh. 19:4). Perhaps for Anathon = Beth-anath? ὁ's reading (cp ὁ's ἀναθων, 1 Ch. 7:8, for Anathoth) favours this view. There was a Beth-Anath in Zebulun, and not far off a Kart-Anat or Kirjath-Anath (WMIM *As. u. Eur.* 195). In Am. Tab. II 17 196, we find a city called Iim(niatuni in Kinahhi; but h in Assyrian sometimes represents p, e.g., Iiazitu = 'Azzah (Gaza).

T. K. C.

HANNIEL (חַנְיָאֵל), 'favour of God,' §§ 21, 28; AN[CH]IA [BAFL];

1. A Manassite prince, Nu. 31:23 (P).

2. AV HANIEL, in a genealogy of ASHER (8:4 li.), 1 Ch. 7:39.

HANOCH (חֲנוֹךְ; חֲנוּךְ; ΕΝΩΧ [BADEFL]),

1. Third son of MIDDAN [2 S. 17]; Gen. 25:4; also 1 Ch. 1:31 [AV HENOCI]. See ENOTI, 3. Perhaps the mod. *Hanakiya*, three days' journey N. from Medina (so Knobel). See Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2:183.

2. Eldest son of REUBEN [2 S. 17]; Gen. 46:9 Ex. 6:14 Nu. 26:5 (Gentile, **Hanochite**, חֲנוֹכִי; ΕΝΩΧ [BAFL]), 1 Ch. 5:3. Perhaps the clan thus designated was of Midianitish origin.

HANUN (חֲנוּן; 'pitied [by God],' § 56; **ANWON** [B], AN[CH]ON [A] in 2 S.; **ANAN** [BKA], but also **ANNAN** [N] in 1 Ch.; **ANNAN** [L] in both places; cp Hanunu, the name of a king of Gaza mentioned by Tiglath-pileser, *KAT* 257 = *CT* 1249).

1. Son of Nahash, king of Ammon, who went to war with David, after insulting his ambassadors (2 S. 10:1 ff. 1 Ch. 19:1 ff.). In 2 S. 10:1 Wellhausen and Budde (see *SBOT*) omit the name 'Hannun'; but see H. P. Smith. See AMMONITES, § 4; NARTASH ii, 2; ISRAEL, § 19.

2. In list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 f., EZRA ii, §§ 16 [1], 15 d), Neh. 3:13 (aroun [BKA; om. L.], 30 (arouna [BKA], aroun [A], aroun [L]).

HAPHARAIM, AV Haphraim (חַפְרַיִם; possibly 'place of a well or moat'; on form of name see NAMES, § 107; **AFIN** [B], **AFERAEIM** [A], **AM-ΦΑΡΑΙΜ** [L], in Issachar (Josh. 19:19).

Max Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 170) compares the Eg. Ha-pu-ro-mā. According to Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 228:1 242:2) Haphraim (αἰφραῖμ) lay 6 R. m. N. of I. 7:10. Perhaps the site is el-Farraych, NW. of Lejjin (Conder).

HAPPIZZEZ

HAPPIZZEZ, AV APHISES (הַפִּיזֶז; ἀφεσις [1]), 'CCH [A], 'CCEI [1]), the name of the eighteenth priestly course (1 Ch. 24:15), corrupted probably from PASHUR [q.v.].

הַפִּיזֶז became, by accidental transposition of letters, הַפִּיזֶז, and this became הַפִּיזֶז, ה and פ being confounded. The corruption of הַפִּיזֶז into הַפִּיזֶז [see DANCE, § 4 (4)] is partly analogous.

T. K. C.

HARA (הָרָא), mentioned with Halah and Habor as a place where Israelite exiles were settled by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch. 5:26; om. חָרָא; ἈΡΡΑΝ—i.e., הָרָא [1]). From a comparison of 2 K. 17:6 it is clear that חָרָא is a mutilated form of some longer phrase. Most critics think that it represents the קְרֵי ('cities of Media') or perhaps rather הָרֵי ('mountains of Media'), or הַנָּהָר ('river of Media').¹ It is possible, however, that the original document had some name of a place such as Harhar, a city and region on the border of Media, near Ellip, conquered by Sargon, and colonized by him with captives from other countries (AB 261).

It is noteworthy that among the families of Nehemiah mentioned in the great list in Ezra 2: Neh. 7 and 1 Esd. 5, occur the b'ne Harhur (Harhar). Out of חָרָא, 'and in Harhar, a city of Media,' all the various readings of MT and G may have arisen. (חָרָא, in 2 K. 17:6, has καὶ οὐκ ἠγῶμαι, where οὐκ is not = חָרָא, but is corrupt. ὁ δὲ ἐν οὐκίς [= οὐκίς; see Mal. 1:3] ἠγῶμαι, which is a conjectural correction.)

T. K. C.

HARADAH (הָרָדָה; χαράδαθ [BAF], -ād [1]), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33:24 f.). See WANDERINGS, § 11 f.

HARAN (הָרָן; ἡραπῶν [BADEQ¹]), or, as we shall here call it, for distinction from the Haran properly so-called, HARRĀN (CHARRAN, Acts 7:24 AV), is, in P, the place where Terah and his family halted in their migration from Ur Cassim and where Terah died (Gen. 11:31 f. 12:4 b 5); whilst J represents it as the birthplace of Abraham (Gen. 12:1 24:47; cp 27:43 28:10 29:4, ἡραπῶν [E]), and gives it the name of the 'city of Nahor' (Gen. 24:10). J also describes it as the home of LABAN (q.v.), and introduces it as such into the story of Isaac and Jacob; he places it in ARAM-NAHARAIM. There are, however, great difficulties² in this view, and it is not improbable that הָרָן in Gen. is miswritten for הָרָן. Hauran; not Haran, but the chief city of Hauran was the home of the Laban clan (see NAHOR). At any rate there is no doubt that Haran is mentioned in 2 K. 19:12 (see below); reference is made (in Is. 37:12, ἡραπῶν [N¹]) there to its conquest by the Assyrians, and in Ezek. 27:23 (ἡραπῶν [BAQ]) to its commercial intercourse with Tyre. Nor can any one fail to see the certainty of the restoration הָרָן for הָרָן in Is. 26 which (if we adopt also two other appropriate corrections)³ produces this complete picture,

For they are full of diviners from the east,
And of soothsayers like the Philistines,
And with the secret arts of the Harranians they practise
enchantments.

Haran, Ar. Harrān, is situated about nine hours' journey from Edessa, on the small stream called Jullāb, at the point where the road from Damascus joined the great highway from Nineveh to Carchemish and Arpad. The commercial and strategical importance of its position may account for its name (Ass. Harrānu, 'road').⁴

¹ At any rate the phrase, whatever it may have been, was first omitted and then restored in the wrong place.

² This is the ground of identifications, such as that of Beke (J. of R. Geog. Soc. 32), who thinks of Harrān el-'Awānid, 16 m. E. of Damascus, where there is a so-called well of Abraham, and more recent theories of Halévy (see Literature, and cp ARAM-NAHARAIM). Several places bore the name Harrān; but on the above theory we need none of them.

³ וְהָרָן for וְהָרָן (see Ex. 7:11); וְהָרָן for וְהָרָן. The latter is due to Krochmal. Cp HANU.

⁴ Winckler, however, questions the connection between the words.

HARAN

The site was first explored by a party detached from the Euphrates expedition, and the disinterment of a fragment of an Assyrian lion at Haran preceded the discoveries of Layard in Assyria proper. No inscriptions have yet been brought from Haran itself; but the Assyrian and Babylonian texts throw some light on its history. The 'country of Haran' is mentioned in the Prism inscription of Tiglath-pileser I. (K¹ 130), and in another inscription believed to be of not later date (3 R 4:1 19 f). In 5 R 64 Nabû-na'id, the most scrupulously religious of the later kings of Babylon, relates that he rebuilt the temple of Sin (the moon-god) at Haran on the foundation-stone of Ašur-bāni-pal, who discovered the foundation-stone of Salmu-nešer (11.), son of Ašur-naṣir-pal. The cultus of this deity had its chief home and perhaps its origin at Haran; Ašib Harrāni ('inhabiter of Haran') is a title of Sin under Ašur-bāni-pal (1 R 8, no. 2, l. 13), and Nabû-na'id tells us that Sin had had his dwelling-place at Haran from remote days (PSB, I, 1883, p. 7).

Hence it has been fancifully conjectured that Terah may have halted at Haran because the moon-god had attracted his special reverence at Ur (Uru). So Tonkins (*Life of Abraham*), Hommel (*ATF* 73).

Sargon II. also mentions Haran. He states that he restored its privileges (as well as those of Ašur) 'which had long been forgotten' (AB 251, cp 41); it would seem therefore that Haran had taken part in the rebellion of Ašur in the year of the great solar eclipse 763. Ašur-bāni-pal, who had been crowned in Haran with the crown of Sin, was not less friendly to this sacred city. He rebuilt its temple (see above), and raised his younger brother to the rank of high priest of Sin. During the invasion of the Ummanni-mada (i.e., here, the Medes; see CYRUS, § 2) much damage was done to Haran and its temple.

An inscription of Nabû-na'id discovered by Scheil gives a second account of that king's restoration of the temple of Sin fifty-four years after its destruction (see Messerschmidt, *MTG*, 1866, and cp the cylinder inscription described at length by Del. *Cataver Bib. L. et. v.*, s.v. 'Haran').

The conquest of Haran mentioned in 2 K. 19:12 evidently stands in connection with the restoration of privileges spoken of by Sargon II. When the rebellion of Ašur and Haran was suppressed, these places were doubtless deprived of their ancient rights.¹

It only remains to be mentioned that at Carhae (= Haran) Crassus was defeated and slain by the Parthians (53 B.C.), and the emperor Caracalla murdered at the instigation of Macrinus (217 A.D.). The place long continued to be a centre of idolatry, and especially of moon-worship. Its principal temple remained in the hands of the heathen Harranians till the eleventh century A.D., and was finally destroyed by the Mongols in the thirteenth.

The commercial importance of Haran in the sixth century B.C. is attested not only by Ezek. 27:23, but also later by Pliny, who enumerates among its specialities a certain odoriferous gum (HN 12:40). Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 22), too, speaks of its plentiful production of ammonium. (There are also in it, he adds, the remains of Noah's ark.)

See Mez, *Gesch. der Stadt Harran*, '02; W. GBA, and AOF 175 ff.; Sachau, *Reise*, 217 ff.; Ainsworth, *PSB*, 1861, p. 387 ff. (on the ruins of various dates); Chwolson,

Literature. *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, I, k. i. (a history of Haran and the Harranians); Halévy, *Mémoires*, 72 ff., *Rev. Sémit.* 1864 (Haran, in Syria, seven days' journey to the N. of Mt. Gilead); Noldeke, 'Haran,' *ZA* 11:107-109 (66), questions the importance assigned by Winckler and Hilprecht to the primitive Haran.

T. K. C.

HARAN (הָרָן; ἡραπῶν [AL in 1 Ch.]). 1. Brother of Abraham, and (P adds) father of Lot (Gen. 11:28 f. [1]; 26 f. 31 [P]; appa [L], -N [ADEL]). According to MT (7: 29) his daughters were MITCAH (1) and ISMUT. Wellhausen thinks that Haran was originally Haran (Profr., ET, 313), and Yāqūt, the Arabian geographer, mentions the opinion that Haran was named after

¹ These privileges were probably connected with the reverence paid to the ancient sanctuaries. One of them probably was that of immediate dependence on the king; we never hear of a governor of Haran (W. AOF 194).

HARAN

2. b. Shimei, a Levite (1 Ch. 23:9; αἰδαν [H^a], καὶ Δαν [*vic*] [H^b]).

HARARITE. THE (הַרָרִי), BDB *Zet.*, doubtfully 'mountain-dweller'; O $\Delta\rho\alpha\chi[\epsilon\iota]$ [L]), an unknown ethnic applied to certain of David's heroes.

3. Ahiam b. Shazar, 2 S 23 336 (אֲחִיאִם בֶּן שָׁזָר) [Hb. for common 'אָדָר': RV ARAKITE; *απαρσιπυργς* (B), *απαρ.* (A), *απεριμα* (L)], where we may read with Marq. (*Num.* 21) Ahiam b. SHAKAR (q.v.) the 'Aradite' (אֲרָדִי) or 'Adorite' (אֲדוֹרִי); cp ARAD.

in Job. *Am.* xi. 6 it the name appears as σαβουραδας, σαβου-
 ανς, and the latter stands for παβουσανς (so for παβανη above,
 read παβανη)—i.e., אַבְנֵי־שָׁבַי, a name on the analogy of אֲבִי-
 שָׁבַי, etc.; see SHETHAR-BOSNAI. So *Marq.* (*Fund.* 71).

HAREL (הרצל). Ezek. 43¹⁵ EVmg. See **ARIEL**, 2,
6, and **ALTAR**, § 4.

HAREPH (הָרֵפֶּה, 'sharp'; § 57, cp HARTUM), a
debite, was the father of BETU-GADER [גַּדְרִי] (1 Ch.
אֲרֵי [A], עֵימ [B], אֲרֵימ [L]).

ARBAIAH (אַרְבֵּיָה), so the best edd., others read
 אַרְבֵּיָה (אַרְבֵּיָה), see Baer, Ginsb., *ad loc.*; BNA
 Sw.] om.; ἀραιοχ [Fisch.; cp H-P]. Bap. [L].
 אַרְבֵּיָה [Pesh.], אַרְבֵּיָה [Vg.]; the name given to the
 son of UZZIEL, 6 (Neh. 38). Its genuineness is

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HARLOT

The note in question was דָּרָרָה ('to the mount'), a gloss upon תִּשְׁבָּע (the turning of the wall) in r. 19a.1. It still survives in B1, where εἰς τὸ ὄρος is inserted bodily between *οὐτως* and *αὐτῶν* (אֲרָרָה, r. 20r), and has been transplanted, but not yet corrupted, in the Vg. reading of r. 20C post eum in monte adificavit'. A somewhat similar fate (according to We. FBA 151) has befallen another marginal note in 2S. 1d 17a (cp We., Dr. ad loc.); see R.E.P. r. 10230 (Mar. 99).

HARHUR (הַרְחֹר), § 74, 'fever' [?], or, rather, a place-name [see HARA];² ἈΡΟΥΡ [BA], ἈΡΟΥΡΑ [L]), family of NETUNIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii, § 9, EZRA 2:51) = Neh. 7:53 ἈΡΟΥΡΑ [BA]) = 1 Esd. 5:31 ASSUR, RV' ASUR (ἈΣΟΥΡ [BA]).

1. One of the twenty-four (post-exilic) priestly courses: 1 Ch. 24. (אֶחָד מִלְּבָנִים [L], *one* [A], *separatus* [L]), whose head in the days of Joiakim (see Ezk. ii, § 6) was Adna; Neh. 1.1 (*אֶחָד מִלְּבָנִים* [L], *proventus* [L], *EXA* om.). It is mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see Ezk. ii, § 9). Ezra 2 v. (om. B, *נְהִימַי* [L], *אֶחָד מִלְּבָנִים* [L], *אֶחָד* [L], *נְהִימַי* 7.42 (*נְהִימַי* [M], *אֶחָד מִלְּבָנִים* [L]) = 1 Esd. 6.25 (*אֶחָד מִלְּבָנִים* [L], § 5 ed.). In the list of those with foreign names (Ezk. ii, § 5 ed.), Ezra 10.21 = 1 Esd. 9.21 (*EXA* om.) and was represented among the signatories to the covenant (see Ezk. ii, § 8 ed.).

venant (see EZA 1, § 7). Neh. 10 15 [לְעֹלָם] (BMA).
 2. A lay family in the post-exilic list (see EZA ii, § c Exd. 5 16, EY ARON (apoc. 11 7), but see also HANUIM, misread in Q, and in the II EZA 2 32 (apoc. 11 7). Neh. 7 35: § 5 end, EZA 10 31 (apocap. [L]), and in that of wall-builders EY EUMIAH, § 7, EZA ii, §§ 6 [1] 15 d, Neh. 3 11 (apoc. 11 7), also among the signatories to the covenant (see EZA 1, Neh. 10 27 [28] (apoc. [Btrid.], prout [AL] apocap. 11 7).

HARIPH (הַרְיִפָּה, § 57). The B'nē Hariph, a post-
8, family, Neh. 7 24 (אַרְסַף [BM], -עם [A], ושרים [L]) = Ezra
8, Joram (צַרְזַר [BM], ושר [A], שרים [L]) = Ezra
8 10, RV אֲרֻחֵיתִי (אַרְסַף־שָׁרִים [B], אֲרֻחֵיתִי [L]),
ושר [L]), on which see Joram; represented among the
majorities to the covenant (see EZRA I, § 7), Neh. 10 19 [20]
[על] [BM], אֲרֻחֵיתִי [L]; cp the gentilic **Hariphite** (הַרְיִפִּי,
צַרְזַר [to Ki, Kau]; חַרְאִישֶׁת [BM], אֲרֻחֵיתִי [A], חַרְאִישֶׁת
I, Ch. 125, a designation of Shephatiah (4), and the Caleb-

CHARLOT (חַרְלוֹת, *ḥarlot*, πόρνη; **חַרְלוֹת**, *ḥarlot*, 'congregated' [cp CLEAN, § 1] ἱεροσολαίμ, cp ASS, *harlot*, [cp Gen. D. 12.] τελεσιποιεῖν [Hov.], 'those initiated,' cp the c. form *ḥarlot*, AV 'sodomites,' πορνείων [Dt.], ἐνδιπλασμένους 22. 6 (47) A, τελεταί 'sacred rites or mysteries' [= *ḥarlot*, 23. 7] *ḥarlot*, C. 15. 12, *ḥarlot* στήλας, καθοσμί [H], καθοσμί [H], 23. 7, συμπολέα [H], C. 16. 28, cp *ḥarlot* [Judg. 11. 4].

the difference between the Greek-Roman and the Israelitish (and indeed Semitic) conceptions of marriage must be borne in mind when we consider the valence of harlotry attested by the OT documents. Semitic conception is closely bound up with the idea of a dead man who has no children will miss something in Sheol through not receiving that kind of worship which ancestors in early times appear to have received (Stade, *GV* 1², 300 ff.). The object of marriage thus need not be the obtaining of legitimate heirs; a son *sonith*, like jephthah, is brought up in his father's

50 Be. Rys., who, however, do not notice its connection

A connection with Talm. **תולע**, 'couler.' *Ass. barbaric*

Hariphite and son of Hareph may be synonyms.

HARLOT

house with the legitimate children (Judg. 11:2), and can even under certain circumstances succeed to the throne (Judg. 9:8; cp KINSHIP, § 6). Social and religious progress (cp ISCHIASTOTOWY, § 5 f.) necessarily led to the rise of a higher conception of marriage (cp Gen. 2:24); but in countries where the reproductive forces of nature were deified—in short, where the worship of the Babylonian goddess Ištar had been introduced—harlotry became so deeply rooted that it taxed all the energy of the Hebrew prophets of the eighth century and their adherents to overcome or at least to restrain it. For there is sufficient evidence that the worship of Ištar was 'saturated' with this shocking practice (see Jeremias, *Isidubar-Nimrod*, 59 f.; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. and Ass.* 485), and at the local shrines of N. Israel (see Hos. 4:14) the worship of Yahwē was deeply affected by Canaanitish practices derived ultimately from Babylonia. Even in Judah the consecrated harlotry of both sexes was not unknown (see 1 K. 15:22-24¹ [47]); but we must not be too prompt to draw historical inferences from 1 K. 14:24 (συνδραμοι [B.A.L.]), 22:21-24 being a redactional insertion, nor must we infer from passages like Ezek. 16:15-34 23:5 ff., that licentious religious rites were universally prevalent in the closing years of the Southern Kingdom.² In the original text of Am. 4:3 there was probably a distinct reference to the temple-prostitutes in Assyria (see HARMON).

This religious prostitution was prohibited in the Deuteronomic code (Dt. 23:17 [13] f.), and the Levitical legislation (Lev. 20:23) represents Canaanitish abominations as the chief reason why the Canaanites were exterminated. Lev. 21:7 (old?) forbids a priest to take a harlot to wife, Lev. 21:9 directs that the daughter of any priest who 'profanes herself by playing the harlot' shall be burned.

In the Wisdom Literature there is no trustworthy reference to the religious prostitutes.

In Job 30:14, where RV gives, 'And their life (peribeth) among the unclean' (ung. 'sodomites'), the usual explanation is so far-fetched, and affords so poor a parallelism, that emendation of the text is indispensable.³

Ordinary harlots are, however, referred to, and comparatively high ground is taken in the Prologue to the Book of Proverbs⁴ (Prov. 2:16-19 5:7) in dealing with their immorality. Harlotry had become a social evil of a new sort, and had to be encountered by new arguments. Paul, as might be expected, reaches the highest point of Christian insight (1 Cor. 6:13-19), and our first Gospel contains the interesting notice (Mt. 23:1 f.) that the harlots, equally with the publicans, listened to John the Baptist whilst the hierarchical leaders turned a deaf ear to his call. This circumstance is not indeed referred to in the accounts of John the Baptist's ministry; but it is possible that the 'publicans' are mentioned there as representatives of the most degraded classes.

On the singular term 'dog,' Dt. 23:18 [19], see DOG, § 3 (end). IDOLATRY, § 6, and cp Dr. Dent. 264. Halévy's attempt

¹ The 'harlots' intended in 1 K. 22:38 (see RV) may perhaps, though *zōnōth* is the word used, be religious prostitutes (so Kittel). The clause, however, is a very late insertion.

² The difficult passage, Ezek. 20:29, is commonly misunderstood. Neither of the explanations cited by Dav. will stand; *זְבָאִים* is plainly corrupt, and this throws suspicion on the whole passage. Read probably, 'what are the loves (*זְבָאִים*) which ye pursue (*זְבָאִים*) there? So the name of the land was called Abibim (*אֲבִיבִים*), 'loves' 'unto this day.' The meaning is, 'Unto this day the land is given to idolatry.' Cp the symbolic names ABIBAH, ABOLIBAH.

³ In Ps. 104 for *בְּנֵי*, 'in youth,' read *בְּנֵי*, 'by famine' (cp Pesh. in *b*), and in *b* for *בְּנֵי*, 'among the *zōnōth*,' read *בְּנֵי*, 'by pestilence.'

⁴ On the exceptional use of *זָרָה* (EV 'a stranger') for 'harlot' in Prov. 2:16 5:20 6:24 7:5 23:27 see Toy on Prov. 2:16; Bertholet, *Stellung*, 104. The dissolute women spoken of were probably often non-Israelites; but the wise men had thrown off a narrow nationalism to such an extent that the origin or birthplace of an adulteress or a harlot is of no moment to them.

HAROD, THE WELL OF

(*R* 1/9 [24, 186]) to show that Ass. *hariditu* (ܚܪܝܕܝܬܐ) can mean the legitimate wife, and that Herodotus (1:195) misunderstood and misrepresented a perfectly innocent matrimonial custom, has not met with acceptance.

See further HOSNA, § 9, MARRIAGE.

T. K. C.

HAR-MAGEDON (αρμαγεδών), Rev. 16:16 RV. AV ARMAGEDDON (7:1).

HARMON. In Am. 4:3 RV has 'and ye shall cast yourselves into Harmon,' where AV has 'and ye shall cast [them] into the palace,' for *והשליכתם בהרמונה*. The text is undoubtedly corrupt. Probably we should read *והשליכתם בהרמונה*, 'and ye shall be ravished among the temple-prostitutes'—i.e., ye shall be devoted as spoil of war to the goddess Ištar (see *crit. Bib.*). Cp HARLOT.

On *σὺ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ῥιμμόν* (B1); *ρημμόν* [AQ¹], supposes an unlikely reference to Rimmon; *ῥιμμόν* 'beyond the mountains of Armenia' (cp Sym.) postulates too early an acquaintance with Armenia. Theodot. has *τὸ ὄρος ῥιμμόν*. Helprin (*Historical Poetry of the Hebrews*, 2:75 [76]) and König (*Lehrbuch*, 2:459, n. 5) suggest a reference to Mt. Hermon; cp *ῥιμμόν* 2:1 *ρημμόν*. Hitzig and Steiner see a reference to the heathen sanctuary of Hadad-rimmon. *Zech.* 12:11, however, is most obscure, and *HADAD-RIMMON* [7:7] is itself corrupt. So much, at least, these critics have seen more clearly than most, that some extremely pointed expressions must have closed the prophecy.

T. K. C.

HARNEPHER (חַרְנֶפֶר), possibly of Egyptian origin, 'Horus is good' (so Tomkins, Marquart); cp *חַרְנֶפֶר* in an old Aram. inscr. *CIS* 2 no. 155 B 5, and for compounds of Horus (with *h* not *pl* cp, with caution, Aram. *חַרְנֶפֶר*, 'Horus helps,' and *חַרְנֶפֶר*, 'Horus is a confidence' [see Cook, *Arabic Glossary*, 2:7. *חַרְנֶפֶר* [B], *aprabar* [A], *aprabar* [L]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 n.), 1 Ch. 7:36. Cp *חַרְנֶפֶר*, *חַרְנֶפֶר*, and note the connection between Egypt and ASHER (*q.v.*, § 1).

S. A. C.

HARNESS, equally with 'armour' (see 1 K. 10:25 2 K. 10:2), is given by AV for *פָּרָס* (see WEAPONS). In 1 K. 22:34 2 Ch. 18:33, 'the joints of the harness' is a vague paraphrase of a difficult phrase (cp AVING and RYING, and see BREAST-PLATE 1, col. 606).

HAROD, THE WELL OF (חֶרֶד), 'the fountain of trembling' [2], cp *חֶרֶד*; *חֶרֶד* *חֶרֶד* [B], *חֶרֶד* *חֶרֶד* [A], *חֶרֶד* *חֶרֶד* [L], Judg. 7:1, and perhaps originally 1 S. 28:7 29:1 1 K. 20:30. The fountain 'above' which Jerubbaal encamped.

1. Judg. 7:1.—If Moore is right in referring this passage to a different stratum of tradition from 6:33 (which makes the Midianites encamp in the vale of Jezreel), we shall have to conjecture that 'En Harōd is the name of some fountain near Shechem. Certainly the two other passages in which MOREH (*q.v.*) is mentioned, localise the name near Shechem, and Ophrah, the home of Gideon, was probably not far from that town; but (a) the word Moreh = 'soothsayer' was, of course, not confined to Shechem, and (b) Moore's view of the origin of Judg. 7:1 is not quite satisfactory. It is safest to hold with Budde that 7:1 is the continuation of 6:33 (cp MOREH, HILL OF), so that the Well of Harod must be sought in the vale of Jezreel; and since there are only three wells or fountains which can come into consideration—viz., the 'Ain el-Meiynah, which is at the foot of the hill of Jezreel, the 'Ain Tuba'ūn, which is out upon the plain, and the 'Ain Jalud, close under Gilboa—and since a position by the first or second of these would have exposed Gideon to the attack of the Midianites, G. A. Smith (*HG* 397 f.) appears to be right in assenting to the plausible traditional view that the third is the fountain referred to. Its waters well out at the NE. end of Mt. Gilboa from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock, and spread out into a limpid pool or lakelet 40 or 50 ft. in diameter (*BA* 3:162). From this pool and from the 'Ain Tuba'ūn (the Tubama of medieval writers), which is some little way off, the Nahr Jalud flows down past Bethshan to the Jordan. With its unusually deep bed and its soft banks it formed a natural ditch in front of the position which both Gideon and Saul appear to have taken up on the plateau

HARODITE

of Gilboa, and rendered it possible for those encamped on the plateau to hold the lakelet below against an enemy on the plain. See *Vol. IV*, § 3 (A).

It is true, Buddle (who denies that 'Ein Harod' is 'Ain Jildud') objects to the Nāh Ithi (with which the 'hill of Mōreh', Judg 7:1 MI) is generally identified) is too imposing an eminence to be called a 'hill', *sg22*; but (1) higher heights than the Nāh Ithi (e.g., probably the Tell el-Ghāt, *sg*, Gilboa of Jeremiah) can be called *sg22*, and (2) the text of Judg. 7:1 is evidently in disorder. It may, in fact, be regarded as certain that originally *sg* harmonised with *sg* 5A; there must also (as Buddle allows) be some omission in *sg* 16. The omitted words probably are 'and passed on to Mt. Gilboa' (which were afterwards transferred with an alteration to *sg* 3), and the description of the position of the Mikhāmsh camp in *sg* 16 should most probably run thus, 'and the camp of Mikhān was (1) the N of Mōreh, HILL or. We can thus dispense with the hypothesis of S. Schwartz and Grove that Gilgād (*sg* 1, MI) was the name of the NW. part of Gilboa, and that there is a trace of this in the name 'Ain Jildud.

2. 1 S. 29. — It has usually been held (e.g., by Robinson, Stanley, and W. Miller) that 'the fountain which is in Jezreel' (so MT), beside which Saul's army encamped, is the 'Am Jālūd'. The expression, however, will hardly bear this interpretation. 'The fountain in Jezreel,' *par excellence*, can only be the fountain below Zē'ūn now called 'Am el-Meyteḥ ('the dead fountain'). This shows the necessity of basing biblical geography on a revised Hebrew text. A word must have fallen out of the text, and this word must be מַיִם. For MT אֵין we must therefore read מַיִם אֵין. This view is supported by אֵין ἐν ἀρούρ and אֵין ἐν ἀρούρ = i.e. מַיִם אֵין (Klo.). The 'Am Jālūd (= 'In Hārēsh) is, in fact, little more than a mile from the E. of the foot of the hill of Jezreel, and could therefore fairly be described as being 'in [the district of] Jezreel.' It was on the plateau above this that Saul's army was posted, unless MT is very far wrong (unless (see SATC.)

3. 1 S 287.—Did Saul really go 7 or 8 mi. to visit the so-called 'witch of Endor'? It is shown elsewhere (ESBOR), with as near an approach to certainty as is possible, that Endor is an error for 'En Hâdor'. The wise woman lived at only ten minutes' distance from the Israeli camp. See ESDOR (b), but cp SAUT.

4. 1 K 20 p. — Did Benhadad attempt to hide himself in an inner chamber? Does **בְּחִיבֵי** really mean this? Perhaps we should read 'by the fountain in Harod.' See GILBOA, § 3 (c).

HARODITE (חֲרֹדִי, ἡρωδιεύς [B], ἡρωδιεύς [A], ἡραδί [L], 2S 23^{25f}), n designation applied to Shammah, one of David's heroes; in 2: 25f Erika is also called a Harodite; but 2: 25f is probably an interpolation (see ERIKA). The situation of Shammah's native place depends somewhat on that of the home of his fellow on the list, for the names are given in couples. If we omit Erika, the companion of Shammah is Helez the Palite. BETH-PALET (q.v.) was in the far south of Judah, which forbids us to connect 'Harodite' with En-harod (H. P. Sm.), and suggests

2. For attempts to explain v. 3 with the minimum of change in the text, or even with no change at all, see Moore's commentary and the article 'Gilead, Mt' in Hastings, *DB2* 176a (Dr.). To the present writer it seems useless to 'heal the hurt' of the text 'highly.' The view maintained by him is that an editor transferred the words to v. 3 to form part of the address to the 'fearful and trembling,' but with an alteration. The text now stands **וְיָצֵא מִן הַבְּרִית** (*'to plait'*) cannot mean 'to turn aside' (Ges. *Luhl*); there has been both corruption and editorial manipulation. An earlier reading was almost certainly **וְיָקִיץ מִן הַבְּרִית** 'and let him pass on from Mt. Gilboa.' What the editor did was to alter **וְיָקִיץ** into **וְיָצֵא** to adapt the words which he transferred to their new position. The emendation 'Gilboa' for 'Gilead' is adopted from Clericus (1708) by Hitzig, Bertheau, Grätz, Reuss, Driver, etc.; but it is not sufficient alone.

² For מנבעה from the hill of the soothsayer, read מנבעה, 'beneath Mt. Gilboa.' מנבעה is composed of the first two letters of מנבעה and three of the letters of מנבעה. מנבעה comes from מנבעה, and מנבעה from מנבעה.

HARSHA

reading 177 for 178 (p. 19 and *n* are often confounded). Shammah then becomes a man of ARAD (p. 19, 1). So, in the main, Marquart (*land* 19), who identifies this Shammah with one of David's brothers (cp DAVID, § 1, n. 2).

HAROEH (רָאוּחַ). Shobal 'the father of Kirjath-jearim' had sons: 'Haroech, half of the Memboth; 1 Ch. 24: 24 רָאוּחַ חֶצֶר מִמְּבוֹת; [B] אַרְבַּע מִמְּבוֹת אֲחֵיהֶם [A, om. L]. For רָאוּחַ we should read רָאוּחַ. See REAMAH, 1, (also see MANAUFITES.

HARORITE (הרורי), see Ch II 27 for HARORITE.
[*q.v.*] See SHAMMAH, §.

HAROSHETH OF THE GENTILES (הַרְשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם); **ΑΡΕΙΩΣΗ** [ΤΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ] [H]. **ΑΡΕΙΩΣΗ**, **ΑΡΕΙΩΣΗ**, **ΑΡΕΙΩΣΗ** [r.e.] [A], **ΑΡΕΙΩΣΗ**, **ΑΡΕΙΩΣΗ**, **ΑΡΕΙΩΣΗ** [r.e.] [I].¹ the place of residence of Sisera, a powerful king (see Cooke, *Hist.* and *Song of Lk.* 4), whose oppression roused six Israelitish tribes to common hostile action against him (Judg. 4: 17-18). It has been identified by Thomson (with the assent of Couder, G. A. Smith, G. A. Cooke, Socin, Buhl)¹ with mod. El-Harhithyeh, on the right bank of the lower Kishon, NW of Megiddo. This is 'an enormous double mound,' 'situated just below the point where the Kishon in one of its turns beats against the rocky base of Carmel, leaving no room even for a footpath.' A castle there effectively commands the pass up the vale of the Kishon into Esdraelon, and such a castle there was in this immense double *tell* of Harhithyeh [Harhithyeh]. It is still covered with the remains of old walls and buildings' (Thomson, *I.B.* 437). The situation is well adapted for an oppressive chieftain, and is not to be rejected on the ground of the remoteness of Jabin's city of Hazor, for Sisera was no mere 'captain of the host.' The place-name, however, does not occur in the Amarna tablets, and textual criticism favours the view first suggested by the names Shamgar and Sisera) that Sisera was a Hittite king. If this is correct, his place of residence must have been Kadesh on the Orontes; in fact, recent textual criticism of Judg. 5 reveals to us the Kadeshtes and Hadrachites fighting against Israel under Sisera. More precisely, the Hittite city **KADESH** [r.e.]² bears a fuller name in the true text of the Song of Deborah—viz., **Kadshon** or **Kidshon**.

Now, looking at קָרָה, we notice that two of its letters recur in קָרָה: for ק and ר resemble each other so closely in all the alphabets as to be often hardly distinguishable. Moreover ק, ה and פ are sometimes confounded through phonetic similarity, while the corruption of ה (the final forms of letters but slowly established themselves) into פ is easy.

The conclusion we reach is that the otherwise unknown 'Harosheth of the nations' should rather be 'Kidshon of the nations.' It was so called to distinguish it from places of the same name in Canaan. This view is substantially that of Marquart (*Fiend*, 3) and Ruben (*JQR* 10:554); but these scholars did not remark the existence of the termination *-on* appended to the fundamental element *Kadsh*. Whether the corrupt name TARTIM-HOSHIM [q.v.] may be compared, is doubtful.

T. K. C.

HARP (כנור, Ps. 33, etc.; קיתרם, Dan. 3, 5 ff.).
See MUSIC, § 7 ff.

HARROW. For Job 39¹⁰ (יָרֵר) see AGRICULTURE, § 3 *leg.* and § 4. For 2 S. 12³¹ = 1 Ch. 20³ (חָרַר הַחֲרִיר) see AGRICULTURE, § 8, n.

HARSHA (הַרְשָׁה, 'deaf,' §66, cp also TEL-HARSHA),
a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii. § 9),
EZRA 2:2 (אֲרָשָׁה [BL], אֲרָשָׁה [L]—Neh. 7:54 (אַרְשָׁאן [BL],
אַרְשָׁא [L]) = Esd. 5:32 חַרְשָׁא (חָרְשָׁא [A], um. B, אֲרָשָׁה
[L]).

¹ J. S. Black, however, in 1892, and (at greater length) Moore in 1895, expressed themselves doubtfully. See their respective commentaries.

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HASHEM, THE SONS OF

HASHEM, THE SONS OF, the Gizonite (1 Ch. 11:34, חֲשִׁמִּי בֶן־גִּזִּי; Βετταίος ὁ Σομαλογεννημένος [B], υἱὸς Ἀσάμ ὁ Γίζων [A], Βετταίος ὁ Σομαλογεννημένος [B], υἱὸς Ἀσάμ τοῦ Ζεβυ [L. r. 34], Εἰσατάι ὁ Γίζων [L. r. 33]; but see JASHEM).

HASHMONAH (חֲשִׁמְוֹנָה; Ἀσμωνά [B], Ἀσμωνά [AF]), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness; Ntl. 33:29 f. t. See WANDERINGS, § 11 f., and cp MACCABEES I., § 2.

HASHUB (חֲשֻׁב), 1 Ch. 9:14 AV; RV HASSHUB (q. r.).

HASHUBAH (חֲשֻׁבָּה; cp HASHUB), one of the children of Zerubbabel; 1 Ch. 3:20 (ΑΟΥΒΕ [B], ΑΕΒΑ [A], ΑΔΑΒΑΘ [L.]).

HASHUM (חֲשֻׁם), vocalisation doubtful; cp O's readings and Meyer, *Entst.* 144, who suggests חֲשֻׁם; cp the name חֲשֻׁם; α[σ]σ[μ] [B. A. I.], a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II., §§ 9, 8 c), Ezra 2:19 (ασμ [B], ασμ [A], ασμ [L.]) = Neh. 7:22 (σ[σ]αμ [L.]) [B. A. I.] = 1 Esd. 5:16, ARUM [A], ARUM [B], represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA I., § 7), Neh. 10:18 [19] (σ[σ]αμ [B. A. I.]). Various members of it are mentioned in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA I., § 5 end), Ezra 10:13 (σ[σ]αμ [B. A. I.], α[σ]σ[μ] [A. I.]) = 1 Esd. 9:33, ASUM. The name is borne apparently by an individual in list of Ezra's supporters (see EZRA II., § 13 [L.]); cp t. § 8, ii. § 16 [L.], ii. § 15 [L. C], Neh. 8:4 (om. Hm*, α[σ]αμ [R. A. mg. dextr. A]) = 1 Esd. 9:44, LOTHASERUS (Λωθασειρος [L. A.]). See HASHEBADA.

HASHUPHA (חֲשֻׁפָּה; Neh. 7:46 AV, RV HASUPHA).

HASMAAH (חֲשֻׁמָּה; 1 Ch. 12:3 AVmg, EV SHEMAAH (q. r.)).

HASMONÆANS. See MACCABEES I., § 2.

HASRAH (חֲשָׂרָה), ancestor of SHALEUM (2), 2 Ch. 31:22 (ΧΕΛΛΗΝ [B], ΕΣΣΕΡΗ [A], ΑΣΕΡ [L.]). 2 K. 22:14 has HARIAS (q. r.).

HASRENAAH (Neh. 3:3), or SENAAR (Ezra 2:35 Neh. 7:38), or [1 Esd. 5:23] RV SANAAS, AV ANNAAS, חֲשָׂרָה, חֲשָׂרָה, CENNAAS [A. I.]).

In Neh. 7:38 *asarat* [B], *asara* γ (the γ is numerical) [B. A.], *asara* [A. I.]; in Ezra 2:35 *asara* [B]; in Neh. 7:38, *asav* [B], *asara* [A. I.], *asara* [A]; in 1 Esd. 5:23, *asara* [B], *asara* [A. I.].

(1) The name, which may occur with the prefix חֲשָׂרָה, 'sons of,' was formerly regarded as the name of a city,

the inhabitants of which returned in large numbers (3930 in Neh. 7:38; 3630 in Ezra 2:35; 3330 [A] or 3301 [B] in 1 Esd. 5:23) with Zerubbabel, and rebuilt the fish-gate at Jerusalem (Neh. 3:3). This is the first stage in the quest of the true meaning of the phrase *h'ne hassenaah* or *h'ne s'naah*. But where is there a city with a name like Sennaah? The Magdalsenna of Eusebius and Jerome (OS 2928 15022), 8 or 7 R. m. N. of Jericho, is surely not what is meant.

(2) Schlatter (*Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. Pal.*) and Siegf. Sta. therefore suspect that a Benjamite family (cp 1 Ch. 9:7) may be meant. No such name, however, occurs in the list in Neh. 10:14-27. (3) Hence a third view: Sennaah, or rather Hassenah (with the art.), may be wrongly vocalised. In 1 Ch. 9:7 Neh. 11:9 we meet with a 'son of Hassenuah' (in Ch. 9:7 [B], *asara* [A], *asara* [L.]; *asara* [Vg.]; in Neh. AV SENUAH; *asara* [B. A. I.], *asara* [L.], *senua* [Vg.]); cp HONAVIM, 2. That 1 Ch. 9:7-9 contains material derived from a post-exilic list, has long been recognised. Ed. Meyer, therefore, does not hesitate to regard Hassenah (instead Hassenah) as a post-exilic designation, and to explain it from post-exilic circumstances. Among those who returned with Zerubbabel, or, perhaps rather, who after Ezra's arrival formed the *kahal* or 'congregation' of true or genuine Israelites, there must have been many who had no landed possessions. The popular wit

1 But see also HARM (2).

2 See Herzfeld, *Geogr.* 1:299 (47).

3 *Zeit.* 150, 154, 156. J. H. Michaelis partly anticipated him.

4 Meyer, however, takes the former view.

HATITA

may have described such as 'children of the slighted wife' (חֲתִיתָּהּ, 'hated', 'slighted'; see Dt. 21:15 f., Is. 60:15).

This theory is ingenious, and might provisionally serve us. But it has perhaps a family likeness to the explanations one finds in the Midrash, and to the eulifying vocalisations of names in the Chronicler. Is not 'Praise-Yahwe, the son of the slighted' an unnatural combination?

The key to the mystery must be sought elsewhere. It is to be found in the problematical term MISHNIT

2. **New theory.** [q. r.], the current explanation of which is purely hypothetical. An examination of the passages in which this word occurs with reference to Jerusalem suggests that underneath it lies the term חֲתִיתָּהּ, 'the old city'—i. e., the city which existed before Hezekiah built 'the other wall without' (2 Ch. 32:5; see JERUSALEM, § 23). Hassenah (חֲשָׂרָה) or Hassenuah (חֲשָׂרָה) and Sennaah (חֲשָׂרָה) are probably corruptions of חֲתִיתָּהּ, 'the old city'—the city which is referred to under that title in three or rather four passages in which MT gives חֲתִיתָּהּ (RV, conjecturally, 'the second quarter'). The 3000, or more, people mentioned in Ezra 2:35 Neh. 7:38 at the end of the list of town populations are the 'sons' or people of the 'old city,' or quarter, of Jerusalem. Now we understand the relative largeness of the number.

T. K. C.

HASSHUB (חֲשֻׁב; 'thought of [by God]'; ΑΟΥΒ [B. A. I.]; but ΑΔΩΒ [B. A.] in Ch.; COYB [N*] in Neh. 3:23; ΑΟΥΘ [B. A.] in Neh. 10:21 [24]).

1. A Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 9:14 Neh. 11:15 [AV HASSHUB]).
2. AV HASSHUB, b. Pahall-moab, one of the repairers of the wall (Neh. 3:11).
3. AV HASSHUB, another of the repairers of the wall (Neh. 3:21).
4. AV HASSHUB, signatory to the covenant (see EZRA I., § 7); Neh. 10:23 [24].

HASSOPHERETH (חֲשֻׁפֶּרֶת, 'scribe' or ZAREPHATH? *ασοφερεθ* [L.]). The B'ne Hassophereth, a group of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II., § 9), Ezra 2:55 (*ασοφερεθ* [B], *ασοφερ* [A]) = Neh. 7:57 with article omitted, B'ne SOPHERETH (חֲשֻׁפֶּרֶת; *ασοφερεθ* [B. A.], *ασοφερ* [L.]) = 1 Esd. 5:33 AV AZAPHON, RV ASSAPHOTH (*ασοφερεθ* [B], *ασοφερ* [A]). It is plausible to read חֲשֻׁפֶּרֶת, 'men of ZAREPHATH' (q. r.).

T. K. C.

HASUPHA (חֲשֻׁפָּה; in Neh. חֲשֻׁפָּה; ΑΟΥΦΑ [A. I.], family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II., § 9), Ezra 2:43 (*ασοφερ* [B], *ασοφερ* [L.]) = Neh. 7:40 (*ασοφερ* [B], *ασοφερ* [A]), AV HASUPHA = 1 Esd. 5:29 (*ασοφερ* [B], *ασοφερ* [A]), EV ASUPHA. Corrupted to GUSPA (q. r.) in Neh. 11:21.

HAT. For (1) חֲתִיתָּהּ (Aram.), *hathit*, Dan. 3:21 AV (AVmg 'turban', RV 'mantle', see TEBAN, 2; and for (2) *πτασος*, 2 Macc. 4:12 (RV 'Greek cap'), see CAP.

HATACH, RV HATRACH (חֲתָךְ; ΑΧΡΑΘΑΙΟΣ [B. A. I.], *θρος* [A], om. L. A.; in Jos. *Ant.* xi. 67 *αχραθρος*), one of the eunuchs of Hasmuerus (Esth. 4:5 f. om. B. A. I. in v. 6; v. 9 [6] *αρχαθραλος* [N* A.]; v. 10). Marg. (E. and. 7) makes this the O. Pers. *ku-karta*, 'well-made.' Also inserts the name in 4:12 (*αρχαθραλος* [A. I.], 13 (*αχραθραλος* [N.], om. A.).

HATCRET (חֲתִרֶץ; ΠΕΛΑΚΥΣ [B. A. I.], *securis*), Ps. 74:6 f. See AXI, 3.

HATHACH (חֲתָךְ), Esth. 4:5 RV; AV HATACH (q. r.).

HATHATH (חֲתָתָה; ΑΘΑΘ [B. A.], *εθ* [L.]), a Kenizite, 1 Ch. 4:13 f. Probably the word is a fragment of חֲתָתָה (see MANATHATH), a variant to חֲתָתָה (see MEONATHATH). The clan called חֲתָתָה was Calebite (1 Ch. 2:4).

T. K. C.

HATIPHA (חֲתִיפָּה; [Aram.], 'snatched'; ΑΤ[Ε]ΙΦΑ [B. A. I.], *ατοφφα* [L.], see NAMES, § 61) a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II., § 9), Ezra 2:54 (*ατοφφα* [B]) Neh. 7:50; 1 Esd. 5:32 (*ατοφφα* [B. A. I.], EV ATIPHA).

HATITA (חֲתִיתָּהּ; 'pointed' or 'pointed' [?]; ΑΤ[Ε]ΙΤΑ [B. A. I.], *ατ[ε]ιτα* [L.]), a family of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II., § 9), Ezra 2:42 (*ατ[ε]ιτα* [B]) Neh. 7:45; 1 Esd. 5:28, TETIA, RV ATRIA (*ατ[ε]ιτα* [L.], B. om. 1).

HATTIL

HATTIL (חַטִּיל, Ἀττία [L]). The B'ne Hatul, a group of 'Solomon's servants' (see NEHUNIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii, § 9); EZRA 2:57 (areia [B], areia [A]) = Neh. 7:59 (εργα [B], εργα [A]) = 1 Esd. 5:34, HAGIA, RV AGIA after ἁγία αγία.

HATTUSH (חַטְּוֹשׁ, Ἀττωϋς [A]; in Ch. Ἀττωϋς [B], χεττ. [A], Ἀτ. [L]).

1. A descendant of David and son of SHEKANIAN (q.v.); he went up with EZRA (see EZRA i, § 2, ii, § 15 (1) d), EZRA 8:2 (trous [B]) = 1 Esd. 8:29, LEVIUS, RV AVES (B om.), cp 1 Ch. 3:22; priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i, § 7); (Neh. 10:4 [5], trou [B], trou [A]), also appears among the 'priests and Levites' who went up with Zerubbabel (see EZRA ii, § 6 f) (Neh. 12:2 [B], trou [A], om. B, A, D);

2. b. HATHARNEIAH (q.v.) in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 f, EZRA ii, § 16 (1), 15 d), Neh. 3:10 (arouθ [B], autoue [A]).

HAURAN (חֲרָן; ἁγραν[ε]ϊτις [BAQ]; in v. 18 ὠπανιτικ [A], ὠπανιτικ [B]), a region mentioned in connection with the ideal eastern border of Canaan in Ezek. 47:16-18. Of HAZAR-ENAN (see HAZAR-HATTICON) we learn that it was on the border of Hauran (v. 16), and more particularly that it was on the border between the territories of Hauran and Damascus (v. 18; see Co.'s text of Ezekiel). Furrer (ZDPV 8:27); cp Grove, Smith's DB places Hauran far away in the N. at Haneir, between Sadad and Karyatén (Baed. 405); but it is a false assumption of his that Hauran is described as N. of Damascus; it is the S. region that Ezekiel mentions first (cp v. 16 f., first Damascus, then Hamath).

Nor is it safe to work upon an incorrect text. Vers. should be emended with Cornill so as to run thus, 'And the east side; from Hauran which lies on the border between Hauran and Damascus, the Jordan forms the border between Gilead and the land of Israel as far as the east sea, unto Tamar; that is, the east side.'

If we adopt Cornill's emendation it becomes clear that Hauran is the district which still bears this name, with the addition of GOLAN (q.v.) which (the) Hauran adjoins. The name is also found in the Assyrian inscriptions (Hauranu = Havranu, AB 284; Havrina, AB 2316), and in the Mishna (Rish hashanah, 2:4).

Elsewhere it has been suggested that J, and presumably also E, misunderstood the stories respecting the patriarchs which lay, written, before them, and misread 'Haran' and (in Gen. 24:10) 'Nahor' for 'Hauran'. The 'city of Nahor', or rather of 'Hauran', will be some important place (Ashtaroth?) in the district between Damascus and Gilead called Hauran. Possibly too 'Aram-naharaim' (EV 'Mesopotamia') in Gen. 24:10 was misread by J for Aram-Hauran. See HAKAN, NAHOR.

On the Auramitis of Roman times, see SCHIFER, GJI 1354; on the modern Hauran see PALESTINE.

T. K. C.

HAVEN represents, in EV, (1) חֶפֶץ, ḥēṣṣ, Gen. 49:13 etc. (חֶפֶץ, 'to enclose').

2. חֶפֶץ, ḥēṣṣ, Ps. 107:10, primarily 'a large city' (for Assyrian and Syriac usage see BDB, and cp Lex v. of Delitzsch and Payne Smith), but in a special context possibly 'haven' (see, however, below).

3. Ναῦς Acts 27:12. It is doubtful, in view of the clearness of the Assyrian usage, whether חֶפֶץ can really mean 'haven'; improbable too that this particular word would have been used in Ps. 107. Cheyne (15, 2b), on these grounds, emends the text of v. 30 reading צִיָּה חֶפֶץ, 'for a beach of ships' (cp Gen. 49:13); צִיָּה was written twice over, and the first צִיָּה corrupted into חֶפֶץ. In 1s. 23:10 Duhm and Cheyne read חֶפֶץ for חֶפֶץ; but we are not obliged to render חֶפֶץ 'haven'.

On the harbours of Palestine, see MEDITERRANEAN, and on the terms of the Blessing of Zebulun (Gen. 49:13) see ZEBULUN.

HAVILAH (חַוִּילָה), perhaps explained by the Hebrews 'sand-land'; cp חַוִּילָה: עַיִן חַוִּילָה (BADER); HAVILAH

1. Emending MT in accordance with 1 Esd. 8:29 (see BDB, ad loc.).

2. AVES (AV LEVIUS) is from a reading ἁρρως, a scribal error which could have easily arisen in an uncial MS for ἁρρως.

3. 'The black land' (cp Wetstein, ad loc. HAVILAH, 307), with reference to the basalt formation.

HAWK

except Gen. 21: HAVILAH, a son of Cush, Gen. 10:7 (P), 1 Ch. 1:9; of Joklan, Gen. 10:29 (J), 1 Ch. 1:24 (EY) [A]. The same name is given to a region bordered by the river Pishon (Gen. 2:11 J); but where the Pishon was, interpreters are by no means agreed (see PARADISE). Twice again (if not thrice, for Cornill restores the name in Ezek. 27:22, 'Havilah, Shela, and Raamah'), we find mention of Havilah. In Gen. 25:18 (J) the limits of the Ishmaelites are 'from Havilah unto Shur,' and a similar phrase describes the region within which the Amalekites were defeated, 1 S. 15:7 (but here the text is disputed; see 'ELEM'). The combination of all the data is difficult, and many critics have been led to distinguish several Havilahs. It would seem, however, that only absolute necessity would justify this, and it is perhaps safest to hold that Havilah is always the same region—of which sometimes one part, sometimes another, is specially referred to. Del. (Par. 12 ff. 57 ff.). E. Meyer (Gesch. d. Alt. 1:224), identify with the NE. part of the Syrian desert; Glaser (Skizze, 2:123 ff.), with Central and NE. Arabia. See GOLD, ONYX, TOPAZ.

Attempts to find an African Havilah (Abaḥrat, etc.) are therefore unnecessary, especially since the only other son of Cush in Gen. 10:7 who can be probably identified points to Arabia (viz. Raamah). It appears that P regarded all (non-Ishmaelite) Arabian tribes as connected with Africa. E. B.

HAVVOTH-JAIR, AV, less correctly, HAVVOTH-JAIR (חַוּוֹת יָאִיר, ἁβωθ ἱαίρ [BAFL]; in Ch. ἁβωθ ἱαίρ [B], ἁβωθ ἱαίρ [A], ἁβωθ ἱαίρ [L]; Auothair, Jer. [OS], 89:14). 'This was the name of certain towns (which arose out of tent-villages) on the E. side of Gilead. An early tradition respecting them is given by JE in Nu. 32:41 f. (v. 40 is an interpolation); v. 41 ἁβωθ ἱαίρ [A].

Th. thinks that this passage originally stood after Josh. 17:14-18 (Kz. Sa. 87); but surely the colonisation described in it belongs to a later period (see Judg. 10:3 ff.). A geographical difficulty is caused by Th. 3:14 (ἁβωθ ἱαίρ [BAFL]) and Josh. 13:30 (ἁβωθ ἱαίρ [BAFL]), which localise the Havvoth-jair in Bashan instead of in Gilead. Apparently the writers identify them with the sixty fortresses (Dt. 3:4-1 K. 4:13) in the former region—a mistake into which only late writers could have fallen. (Even)

Bashan' (ἁβωθ ἱαίρ) in Dt. 3:13 is evidently a redactional interpolation, and the reference to Havvoth-jair (EV 'the towns of Jair') in 1 K. 4:13 (om. B, L, avow ἱαίρ) has been interpolated from Nu. 32:41. In the post-exilic passage 1 Ch. 2:23 (om. B, L, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, AG, AH, AI, AJ, AK, AL, AM, AN, AO, AP, AQ, AR, AS, AT, AU, AV, AW, AX, AY, AZ, BA, BB, BC, BD, BE, BF, BG, BH, BI, BJ, BK, BL, BM, BN, BO, BP, BQ, BR, BS, BT, BU, BV, BW, BX, BY, BZ, CA, CB, CC, CD, CE, CF, CG, CH, CI, CJ, CK, CL, CM, CN, CO, CP, CQ, CR, CS, CT, CU, CV, CW, CX, CY, CZ, DA, DB, DC, DD, DE, DF, DG, DH, DI, DJ, DK, DL, DM, DN, DO, DP, DQ, DR, DS, DT, DU, DV, DW, DX, DY, DZ, EA, EB, EC, ED, EE, EF, EG, EH, EI, EJ, EK, EL, EM, EN, EO, EP, EQ, ER, ES, ET, EU, EV, EW, EX, EY, EZ, FA, FB, FC, FD, FE, FF, FG, FH, FI, FJ, FK, FL, FM, FN, FO, FP, FQ, FR, FS, FT, FU, FV, FW, FX, FY, FZ, GA, GB, GC, GD, GE, GF, GG, GH, GI, GJ, GK, GL, GM, GN, GO, GP, GQ, GR, GS, GT, GU, GV, GW, GX, GY, GZ, HA, HB, HC, HD, HE, HF, HG, HH, HI, HJ, HK, HL, HM, HN, HO, HP, HQ, HR, HS, HT, HU, HV, HW, HX, HY, HZ, IA, IB, IC, ID, IE, IF, IG, IH, II, IJ, IK, IL, IM, IN, IO, IP, IQ, IR, IS, IT, IU, IV, IW, IX, IY, IZ, JA, JB, JC, JD, JE, JF, JG, JH, JI, JJ, JK, JL, JM, JN, JO, JP, JQ, JR, JS, JT, JU, JV, JW, JX, JY, JZ, KA, KB, KC, KD, KE, KF, KG, KH, KI, KJ, KK, KL, KM, KN, KO, KP, KQ, KR, KS, KT, KU, KV, KW, KX, KY, KZ, LA, LB, LC, LD, LE, LF, LG, LH, LI, LJ, LK, LL, LM, LN, LO, LP, LQ, LR, LS, LT, LU, LV, LW, LX, LY, LZ, MA, MB, MC, MD, ME, MF, MG, MH, MI, MJ, MK, ML, MM, MN, MO, MP, MQ, MR, MS, MT, MU, MV, MW, MX, MY, MZ, NA, NB, NC, ND, NE, NF, NG, NH, NI, NJ, NK, NL, NM, NN, NO, NP, NQ, NR, NS, NT, NU, NV, NW, NX, NY, NZ, OA, OB, OC, OD, OE, OF, OG, OH, OI, OJ, OK, OL, OM, ON, OO, OP, OQ, OR, OS, OT, OU, OV, OW, OX, OY, OZ, PA, PB, PC, PD, PE, PF, PG, PH, PI, PJ, PK, PL, PM, PN, PO, PP, PQ, PR, PS, PT, PU, PV, PW, PX, PY, PZ, QA, QB, QC, QD, QE, QF, QG, QH, QI, QJ, QK, QL, QM, QN, QO, QP, QQ, QR, QS, QT, QU, QV, QW, QX, QY, QZ, RA, RB, RC, RD, RE, RF, RG, RH, RI, RJ, RK, RL, RM, RN, RO, RP, RQ, RR, RS, RT, RU, RV, RW, RX, RY, RZ, SA, SB, SC, SD, SE, SF, SG, SH, SI, SJ, SK, SL, SM, SN, SO, SP, SQ, SR, SS, ST, SU, SV, SW, SX, SY, SZ, TA, TB, TC, TD, TE, TF, TG, TH, TI, TJ, TK, TL, TM, TN, TO, TP, TQ, TR, TS, TT, TU, TV, TW, TX, TY, TZ, UA, UB, UC, UD, UE, UF, UG, UH, UI, UJ, UK, UL, UM, UN, UO, UP, UQ, UR, US, UT, UY, UZ, VA, VB, VC, VD, VE, VF, VG, VH, VI, VJ, VK, VL, VM, VN, VO, VP, VQ, VR, VS, VT, VU, VV, VW, VX, VY, VZ, WA, WB, WC, WD, WE, WF, WG, WH, WI, WJ, WK, WL, WM, WN, WO, WP, WQ, WR, WS, WT, WY, WZ, XA, XB, XC, XD, XE, XF, XG, XH, XI, XJ, XK, XL, XM, XN, XO, XP, XQ, XR, XS, XT, XU, XV, XW, XX, XY, XZ, YA, YB, YC, YD, YE, YF, YG, YH, YI, YJ, YK, YL, YM, YN, YO, YP, YQ, YR, YS, YT, YU, YV, YW, YX, YY, YZ, ZA, ZB, ZC, ZD, ZE, ZF, ZG, ZH, ZI, ZJ, ZK, ZL, ZM, ZN, ZO, ZP, ZQ, ZR, ZS, ZT, ZU, ZV, ZW, ZX, ZY, ZZ).

HAWK (חֹכְלִית, ἁβωθ ἱαίρ [BAFL]; ACCIPITER), mentioned only in Lev. 11:16 (om. A), Dt. 11:15 (AF in v. 14), as one of the unclean birds, and in Job 39:26 (see below).

By the hawk no well-defined zoological species is meant; the term may be used of any of the smaller diurnal birds of prey. These are common in Palestine, the commonest being perhaps the kestrel (Finnunculus alaudarius) and the lesser kestrel (F. cenchris). Both were protected in Egypt as sacred birds. The hawk (in Eg. 874) was especially the sacred bird of Horus (the sun-god) and it is the characteristic feature of solar deities in Egypt that they are hawk-headed. The association of the hawk with the sun is found outside Egypt. The Neo-Platonists connect the two, and in OZ 15:25 the hawk is called 'the swift messenger of Phrebus.' Such was their sanctity among the Egyptians, that they were kept in sa-red groves in various places along the Nile, and when dead their bodies were embalmed.

In Job 39:26 the ḥōk is described as 'flying out its wings and flying to the south.' This is in accordance with the migratory habits of many of the smaller kinds, such as the lesser kestrel, which migrate to central and southern Africa for the winter (cp Thomson, LB 326).

A. L. S.—S. A. C.

1. Havvoth occurs only in this compound name. It is a legacy from the nomadic stage of Hebrew life (see GOVERNMENT, § 4).

HAWK, NIGHT

HAWK, NIGHT (חַיָּטוֹת), Lev. 11 16. See NIGHT-HAWK.

HAY (1) חֵצִיר, *hizir*; Prov. 27²⁵ (RV mg. 'grass'), Is. 15⁶ (RV 'grass'), see GRASS, 1; (2) ἵαρος,

HAZAZEL (חֲזַזְאֵל, 2 K. 83, etc., or חֲזַזְאֵל, 2 K. 89, etc., 'God sees,' § 32; **AZAZAH** [אַזְחָא], Ass. *Azazahu*). Successor of BENHADAD I. (q.v.) as king of SYRIA. Two great prophetic biographies referred to him. In 2 K. 1915 Elijah is sent from Horeb to Damascus¹ to anoint Hazael king over Syria; in 7: 17 f. Hazael's victories over Israel are represented as the divine vengeance upon Baal-worshippers. In 2 K. 87-15, however, we read that 'Elisha came to Damascus,' that he described the cruelties which Hazael would practise on the Israelites, and that when Hazael shrunk in affected humility from the prospect (see DOUG., § 31), he answered, 'Yahwè has showed me that thou shalt be king over Syria.' It would seem that two different accounts were current, and that the redactor combined portions of each. Historically, it is not important to determine whether either or neither of these accounts is correct. What is important is the light which 2 K. 87-15 throws on the road which Hazael took to the throne. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this narrative as far as Hazael is concerned, and the natural impression of the reader is that it was not the sick king, but Hazael who 'took the coverlet' (RV), and dipped it in water, and spread it on his face, so that he died.' The opposite view is no doubt reconcilable with the letter of the narrative.³ Probably the redactor has produced this indistinctness by the omission of some words, to make it more difficult to accuse Elisha of complicity in the deed. Who Hazael was, we are not told; but the expressions used by him in 7: 13 seem to preclude the idea that he was the legitimate heir of Ben-hadad. He met the allied forces of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah at RAMOTH-GILEAD (2 K. 823 f.; 914 f.), and gained important successes against Jehu which are referred to elsewhere (DAMASCUS, § 8). So great indeed was the stress of the affliction of Israel that it was not till the reign of Joash b. Jehoahaz, that the losses inflicted upon Israel by the Syrians were repaired. In the time of Amos the barbarities of Hazael were still fresh in the minds of men (Am. 13 f.). Hazael also came into conflict with SHALMANESER II. (q.v.). Twice (842 and 839 B.C.) the Assyrian king says that he marched against him and defeated him. Shalmaneser does not, however, appear to have gained any permanent advantage, and he troubled Aram of Damascus no more. Thus Hazael was at liberty to extend his dominion, and this accounts for the notices in 2 K. 1032 1218 [17] 1322 of his successes against Jehu and Jehoahaz of Israel and Jehoash of Judah. (p. GATTI, and (on GE's insertion in 2 K. 1322) APPI K. 3 (d), KINGS, § 312). Hazael's successor was probably Mari (see BEN-HADAD II.). T. K. C.

HAZAIAH (חַזַּיָּה, 'Yahweh sees'; **oz[ε]ia** [BNA], **οζ[ιου]** [I.]), in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see **EZR** vii, § 5 [δ] vs 11 a), Neh. 11 g.

HAZAR-ADDAR **הַצֵּר אֲדָר**, **επαγωγὸς Ἀδὰδ** (B.M.], a place on the S. border of Judah, Nu. 34.4 f. In the passage, Josh. 15.3, it is called **הַצֵּר**, Addar (אֲדָר); but probably the **HEZRON** [הֶזְרֹן] which occurs close by is a corruption of **הַצֵּר** (so Ges.-Buhl). Probably, too, adopting necessary emendations, the geographical statement in both passages is that the S. border of Judah went round by the S. of **KADESH-BARNEA** ('Am Kadesh) and up to **Hazar-jerahmeel** (near 'Am Muwadeh), and then passed along **Azmon** (Jebel Helal) and **Jebel**

HAZARMAVETH

Yelek), and so to the torrent of Misrim (the Wādy el-'Aris). Thus the frontier line went southward from 'Ain Kadis as far, perhaps, as the edge of the Tih plateau, and then made a circuit to the Jerahmeelite settlement near the sacred fountain (see BEER-LATHAIROL, JERAHMEEL), and to el-'Anjeh (EN-RIMMON) where Palmer noticed strongly-enhanced terraces which must once have been planted with fruit-trees, and thence by the Wādy el-'Abyad into the Wādy el-'Aris. A less probable view is learnedly set forth by Wetzstein in *Del. Gen.*¹⁶, 586-590.

The two texts can hardly both be correct: some corruption must be assumed. One emendation is suggested above. Azmon (אֶזְמוֹן) should probably be En-rimmon (עֵן רִמּוֹן); π became ρ , and ℓ fell out. It remains to read אֶזְמוֹן for אֶזְמוֹן and for אֶזְמוֹן (the latter occurs in Josh. 15:3). אֶזְמוֹן represents אֶזְמוֹן (אֶזְמוֹן is more nearly complete; it comes from אֶזְמוֹן by ordinary corruption and transposition.)

HAZAR-ENAN (חָזָר עֲנָן, 'village (enclosure) of springs'—the second element is not Hebrew but Aramaic; in Ezek. $\Delta\chi\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ [BAQ], in Nu. $\Delta\rho\sigma\epsilon\alpha\iota\epsilon\imath\mu$ [B 17. 9], - η [B 27. 10], - $\zeta\epsilon\rho\eta$ [B 17 b 7. 9], $\Delta\zeta\epsilon\rho\eta\alpha\epsilon\imath\eta$ [AFL 27. 9, and B 17 b 7. 10], is the extreme E. point of the ideal N. boundary of Canaan in Ezek. 47:17 (where it is חָזָר עֲנָן, **Hazar-Enon**), 48:1 ($\Delta\chi\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota\eta\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ [B], Δ . τ . $\Delta\imath\eta\alpha\mu$ [Q]), and also in Nu. 34:9 (cp 27. 10), a passage which belongs to the priestly narrative and depends on Ezekiel. Probably Hazar-enon ought also to be substituted for HAZAR-TATTICON (q.v.) in Ezek. 47:16. Its position is unknown; but, from the passages in Ezekiel where the territory of Damascus seems to be placed on the N. side of the border and excised from Canaan, the conjectures which place it at Karyatén or some other point N. of Damascus appear to be illegitimate.

Identifications must be precarious, whatever view be taken of the ideal northern frontier. Van Kasteren (*Rec. bib.*, 30 f. '95) thinks of *Chittidra*, to the E. of *Baniās*, near the road to Damascus. As H. points out, however (*Geog.* 67 240), the name would be still more appropriate for Baniās itself (Baniās not being the ancient Ibad-gad). This may be only a plausible conjecture; but it acquires importance from its complete consistency with the description of the E. border in Nu. 34 10-12; cp Ezek. 47 18 and HAURAN. W. R. S. — T. K. C.

HAZAR-GADDAH (הַזָּר גַּדָּה), § 105; צֶרֶי [B?], אֶצֶרֶגַּדָּה [A], אֶצֶר. [L?], a place on the Edomite border of Judah (Josh. 15.27). Eusebius and Jerome (*OG* 245.35; 127.28) identify 'Gadda' with a village in the extreme parts of the Daroma, overhanging the Dead Sea. More than one site agrees with this description (see Ruhl, *Geog.* 1853); but most probably Eusebius and Jerome are mistaken, and the village Hazar-gaddah lies nearer to Beer-sheba than to the Dead Sea. Cp the name Migdal-gad, and see HAZOR, 1 (end). T. K. C.

HAZAR-HATTICON, RV HAZER-HATTICON (הַצֵּר הַחֲטִיכֹן)—*i.e.*, 'the middle village'; **ΔΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΝΝΑ** [13], **ΕΥΑΝΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΝΝΑ** [Λ], *om.* **ΔΥΛΗ** [Q*], **ΔΥΛΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΙΧΩΝ** [Q^{mg}], on the ideal N. frontier of Canaan (Ezek. 47.16).

It is probable, both on external grounds and on the evidence of **Q**, that we should read **Hazar-enon** (חֶזְקֶן for חֶזְקָן) (so Sm., Co.). Van Kasteren's attempted identification (*Kat. Bibl.*, '95, p. 39) is therefore needless. See **HAZAR-ENAN**.

HAZARMAVETH (חַזְרַמַּוֶּתַי, \$105; Sab. חַזְרַמַּוֶּתַי; in Gen. Ἀζαρμαῶθ [A'], Ὀζαρμαῶθ [A'], σαλμαῶθ [E], Ἀζαρμαῶθ [L]; in Ch. Ἀρμαῶθ [A], om. B, Ἀρμαῶθ [L]; the eponym of an Arabian clan, called son of JOKTAN (q.v.); Gen. 10:26, t Ch 1:20f. The name (which occurs in Sabeian, see above) represents the mod. Haḍramaut (or Haḍramūt), the name of a broad valley running for 100 m. or more parallel to the coast, by which the valleys of the high Arabian tableland discharge their not abundant supply of water into the sea at Sahūt.¹ A similar name occurs in Asia Minor (ΑΔΡΑΜΥΤΤΗΝ); the final syllable was probably

¹ Read **יָצָא** (cp **וַיָּצֵא**), and cp **KINGS**, § 1.

³ On Wi. *debetur*. *Debetur*.

³ Cp Wi. Alltest. l'nters, 64-66.

¹ Bent, *Southern Arabia*, 71 [1900].

HAZAR-SHUAL

-mōth or -muth (cp AZMAVETIT). The modern district is less extensive than the ancient. The kings of Hadramaut have left inscriptions which Glaser has lately discovered.

According to Strabo (xvi. 42), the *χατρωαῖται* were one of the four chief tribes dwelling in southern Arabia (their capital was Sabatia or Sabatas (the SABTAN of v. 7). See Glaser, *Skizze*, 230, 423 ff.; Hommel, *AHJ*, 77 f., 80 etc., and cp BDB.

Here dwelt the people who in v. 7 are called SABTAN (*q.v.*).

HAZAR-SHUAL (חָצֵר שִׁינְעָל, § 105), a city, on the extreme southern border of Judah, assigned to Simeon: Josh. 15 28 (χαλασιουλα [B]), ασαρσουλα [A]; Josh. 19 1 (αρωαλα [B], αρωαλα [A], αρωαλα [L]); 1 Ch. 4 28 (αρωαλαβ [B], αρωαλα [A], αρωαλαβ [L]); Neh. 11 27 (om. *חָצֵר*, αρωαλα [B], αρωαλα [L]).

It is very probably identical with the *חָצֵר* ASAREEL of 1 Ch. 4 16, and *αρωαλα*, the brother of 'I-nahash' (Beer-sheba), 1 Ch. 4 12. Conder identifies with the ruin Sa'weh, on a hill E. of Beersheba. But the name is almost certainly a Hebrew form of Ar. *siyāl*, a kind of acacia tree, which grows in Arabia (see Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 291). Cp SHITTAN-TREE. T. K. C.

HAZAR-BUSAH (חָצֵר בִּסְיָה), Josh. 19 51; *αρωαλαβ* [B], *αρωαλαβ* [A], *αρωαλαβ* [L]; also called HAZAR-SUM (Σ in Josh.; and MT, 1 Ch. 4 31 f., סוּמִים; *חָצֵר* *חָצֵר* [B*], *חָצֵר* *חָצֵר* [A], *חָצֵר* *חָצֵר* [L]), where a Simeonite village. The name apparently means 'station of a mare.' But this is an early editor's guess, not a record of Solomon's importation of horses (cp MARCABOTH). Possibly a corruption of *חָצֵר* *חָצֵר*, Hazer 'aziz, 'strong enclosure.' Keplar 'Ariz was a place in the province of Idumea where R. Ishmael, a contemporary of R. Akiba, resided (Neub. *Geogr.* 117). T. K. C.

HAZAZON-TAMAR, RV AV HAZAZON-TAMAR (חָצֵר תְּמָרָה [in Ch. חָצֵר תְּמָרָה], § 103; *αρωαλαβ* [B], *αρωαλαβ* [A], *αρωαλαβ* [L]), in Ch. *αρωαλαβ* [B], *αρωαλαβ* [A], *αρωαλαβ* [L]; *ASAZONTHAMAR*, mentioned as inhabited by Amorites, and as conquered by Chedorlaomer, together with the region of the Amalekites, after he had come to Kadesh, Gen. 14 7. In 2 Ch. 20 2 it is identified with En-gedi, which was probably suggested by the meaning of Tamar (date-palm), En-gedi having been famous for its palms. But the situation of En-gedi does not suit. Hence Knobel thought of the important site called Thamar or Thamara, and identified by some with Kurnub, NE. of 'Ain Qadis (see TAMAR); but palms, we may be sure, have never grown at Kurnub. There must be a corruption in the text, which in so ill-preserved a narrative need not surprise us. Probably we should read for '(the Amorites that dwelt) in Hazazon-tamar' '(the Amorites that dwelt) in the land of Misrim,' *בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם*.²

In truth, it is difficult to see how the N. Arabian land of Misri (see MIZRAIM, § 26) could have been passed over. The neighbourhood of Kadesh and Jerahmeel are probably thought of. In 1 Ch. 20 2 the note 'that is, En-gedi' may fairly be taken as a gloss, and 'Hazazon-tamar' be explained as a conventional expression for the country S. of Judaea, derived from Gen. 14 7 in its already corrupt form. T. K. C.

HAZEL (חֲזֵל, Gen. 30 37 f.). This very interesting tree-name (*haz*) is wrongly rendered.

Note (1) that the scene of the narrative in Gen. 30 11-43 is laid in Haran, whereas the hazel-tree is said not to grow in this region, and (2) that this tree is also not known in S. Palestine, to which the author of the narrative (J) belongs.

The fact that in Syr. and Ar. the cognate word means 'almond-tree,' strongly favours RV's rendering ALMOND (*q.v.*), which is also given by Vg. (*amygdalinus*) and is not inconsistent with the *καρύδην* of *ἈΡ*, *καρύδην* being a general term. It may be a foreign word; the

¹ חָצֵר *חָצֵר*: a simple transposition.

² חָצֵר became *חָצֵר*; *חָצֵר* was corrupted into *חָצֵר* (חָצֵר = *חָצֵר*). For an analogous corruption see Ps. 120 4 (Che. *P₂* 120).

HAZOR

proper Heb. term for 'almond' is *חָצֵר*. See Löw, no. 319; Celsius, 1253 f.

HAZELELPONI, RV Hazelelponi (חָצֵרֶלְפוֹנִי; *ΕΧΛΕΒΩΝ* [B], *ΕΧΛΕΛΦΩΝ* [A], *ΑΕΛΑΦΩΝΕΙ* [L]), sister of JEZREEL, ISHMA, and IDRAH (*q.v.*) (1 Ch. 4 3).

One of the oldest names in Chronicles, mentioned in connection with (the Judahite) Jezreel, Ham, and (probably) Hur b. Judah (1 Ch. 4 3). Olshausen (*Lehrb. d. bibl. Syr.* 618) explains, 'Give shade, thou who lookest upon me'; Cullis (in Hastings, *DB* 2124 a) 'the Zelophonites.' Neither view commends itself. *חָצֵר* (*haz*) is a duplication of *זַר* (*zār*) in *חָצֵר* (Penuel) which follows; *חָצֵר* is miswritten for *חָצֵר*, Halasel, the true original of *חָצֵר* *חָצֵר* (*q.v.*). Possibly Halasel is the full name of *חָצֵר* Halusa (better known to us as ZIKLAG). The name would correspond to Jerahmeel (see JEROME, JERAMEEL). T. K. C.

HAZER-HATTICON, or 'the middle Hazer' (חָצֵר הַחֲטִיכֹן), Ezek. 47 16 RV, AV HAZAR-HATTICON (*q.v.*).

HAZERIM (חָצֵרִים), *αρωαλαβ* [B], *αρωαλαβ* [AFL]), AV's mistake, derived from *חָצֵר* for 'villages' (so RV Dt. 2 23). See AVVIM.

HAZEROTH (חָצֵרוֹת), *αρωαλαב* [BAFL]; in Dt. 1 1 translated *αρωαλαב* [BAFL], an unknown locality mentioned in Nu. 11 35 12 16 33 17 f. Dt. 1 1. See WANDERING, § 7.

HAZEON-TAMAR (חָצֵר תְּמָרָה) Gen. 14 7 AV, RV HAZAZON-TAMAR.

HAZIEL (חָזִיאל, § 32 prob. = JAHAZIEL (*q.v.*)). 'El sees': *ΕΙΣΙΗΛ* [B], *ΑΖΙΗΛ* [A], a Gershonite Levite, temp. David (1 Ch. 23 9).

HAZO (חָזוֹ), *αρωαλαב* [ADL]), Nahor's fifth son (Gen. 22 22). The name resembles Ass. *Ḫazû* (= *חָזוֹ*), which was a mountain region of volcanic conical hills (so Fr. Del.) in N. Arabia (*KB* 2 131). See BUZ.

HAZOR (חָצֹר; *αρωαλαב* [BAFL]; *αρωαλαב*), like HEZRON (*q.v.*), is a name corresponding, probably, not to the Ar. *hizar* ('fort') but to *hazira* ('sheep-fold,' cp CATTLE, § 6 n. 5), an enclosure of thorny branches or of stone. The name Hazor or Hazur occurs frequently as a place-name in the pastoral Nages, the region of the 'Hezronites'—nomads who dwell within such enclosures (cp HEZRON). The phrase 'the kingdoms of Hazor' (Jer. 49 30 31; *חָצֹר* [BNAQ]) is a collective term for the region of the settled Arabs in the S. or E. of Palestine (cp Jer. 25 34 Is. 42 11); cp the Ar. *ḫidir* used (in the plur.) of the settled Arabs living in towns and villages as contrasted with the purely nomad Arabs (cp Rob. *BR* 1 305 and Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1274).

1. The Hazor of king JABIN (*q.v.*) lay near the waters of Merom, not far from Kadesh (Jos. 11 and *Ἀρωαλαβ*, *Ἀρωαλαβ* 12 19 Judg. 4 2 17 1 S. 12 9; *αρωαλαβ* Jos. *Ant.* v. 5 1 xiii. 5 6 f.). Its identification is doubtful. Wilson and Guerin think of the *Tell Harreh*, SE. of Kadesh, where there are extensive ruins. Conder and others prefer *Jebel Hadireh* ('Mt. of the sheep-fold'; cp the plain *Merj-Hadireh*), a little to the W. of Dīshūn, about three quarters of an hour S. from Kadesh (cp Baed., 262). On the whole, Robinson's identification with the *Tell Khreibe*, 1680 ft. above sea-level, 2½ m. S. from Kadesh, seems the most suitable; but no ruins have as yet been discovered there.

As *Ḫadara* (*חָדָרָה*) it seems to be mentioned on the old Egyptian lists of Thotmes and the papyrus Anastasi (*WM* *At. u. Eur.* 173), and its importance in the fourteenth century is perhaps revealed by the Amarna Tablets, where the king of *Ḫadira* or *Ḫadira* is mentioned several times; it had smaller dependent towns, and its king is mentioned with the king of Sidon (from which Peirce infers that a Hazor 11 m. SE. of Tyre is meant).

In Jos. 19 16 (P) Hazor appears as a 'fenced' city and is allotted to Naphtali. Its inhabitants were carried off by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 15 29). It is

¹ Syria and *EB* 94 173.

HEAD

choice but to emend מִגִּדּוֹ 'his body' into מִגִּדְּלֵהוּ 'his skull,' in spite of the fact that, according to usage, it was not merely the skull, but the whole head of an enemy, that was the victor's trophy.

A critical translation of Chronicles would therefore have to render, in 1 Ch. 10.10, 'and they stuck up his skull in the house of Dagon.' Why the head was chosen as a trophy (Judg. 7.25 & S. 17.34 57.31 & 2 S. 4.7 20.21 f. 2 K. 106. ff.) may at first seem to need no investigation; was not the severed head a convincing proof of death? It may have become no more than this when the grim narrative in 2 K. 106. ff. was written. When, however, we read of the Australians that one of the trophies which they carry home after killing an enemy is the kidney fat, and that this is kept by the assassin to lubricate himself, because he thinks that thus he acquires the strength of his victim,¹ we begin to suspect that there is something more than we at first supposed in the custom of decapitating a dead enemy. What is it, then? It is the idea that the head is a special seat of life (which accounts for the phrase 'to swear by the head,' Mt. 5.36). Hence among the Iranians the head of a victim was dedicated to Haoma, in order that the life, represented by the head, might return to its divine giver. That was not indeed the usage of the Egyptians or of the Hebrews. Yet both peoples had a reverence for the head. 'There are twenty-two vessels in the head which draw the spirits into it, and send them thence to all parts of the body,' is the assertion of the *Elbers Papyrus* (Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 2:6), and shows what the feeling of the Egyptians was.

It is true Herodotus (2.30, quoted by WRS, *Rel. Sem.* (2) 379) states that the head of a sacrificial victim was not offered on the altar, but sold to Greek traders, or thrown into the Nile; but this is opposed to the clear evidence of the Egyptian monuments.²

The Hebrews, too, doubtless offered the head, among the other chief parts of the body, upon the altar, and there is considerable improbability (see DOVE'S DUNG, col. 1130) in the statement in the MT of 2 K. 623 that heads of asses were eaten during a great famine in Samaria,—first, because ass's flesh was forbidden food, and next, because the dried head of any animal being used by the Semites as an amulet, it was not natural for them to eat the head.³ (The eating of the head of the paschal lamb was an exception.) It is also probable that there is a sense of the sacredness of the head in the statement of 1 S. 1734 and 1 Ch. 1010 respecting the head of Goliath and the skull of Saul respectively. In the former passage the MT tells us that David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem (יְרוּשָׁלַם), but this anachronism is probably an error of the scribes (Che. *Exp. T.* 10322 [99]); the true reading is to 'Saul' (שָׁאֻל). Saul who had not stirred from his place could not regard the head of Goliath as a trophy; but he may have valued it greatly as a supernatural guardian or amulet. And so in 1 Ch. 1010 even the Chronicler feels that the skull (representing the head) of Saul may well have been affixed as a sacred object to the wall of a Philistine temple. Possibly we may connect his statement with the view certainly held in Talmudic times that a mummified human head (*Teraphim*) or even a human skull (*ʿēb*), could give the knowledge of the future.⁴

Among the various idioms in which the head finds a place a few may be mentioned.

(1) To 'lift up the head,' when spoken of another, most naturally means 'to raise to honour' (see e.g. Gen 40:13 & K.25:27). In Gen. 40:19, however, it means 'to take off the head' as a punishment. It is one of those plays on words in which Hebrew writers delight.

(2) Yahwè' will take away thy master from thy head' (x K. 235 E.V) alludes to the customary position of pupils at the feet of their teacher (cp Acts 22:3).

1 WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 380.

³ WPS 8.1.6.

³ WRS Rel. Sem. (2), 181.

⁴ For the references see Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud.* 2660 ff.; Selden, *De Dis Syris*, 50; Levy, *VIII B.*, 37.

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HEADBAND

(3) 'They shoot out the lip, they shake the head' (Ps. 22:7a) may strike us as a strange combination of phrases. With the Hebrews, however, shaking the head is a sign of mockery (cp Ps. 44:14 [15], 2 K. 19:21), though it may also be a gesture of sympathy (Job 16:4).

(4) 'Thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head' (Prov. 25:22) would most naturally mean, 'Thou shalt take vengeance upon him by destroying him' (Gen. 19:24, Ps. 116:7). Of course, this does not suit the context, nor can *תָּקַף* mean anything but 'fetch' or 'carry away'. Hence the text must be out of order. Read, 'for (so) thou wilt quench coals of fire' (i.e. evil passions, Eccles. 8:10). Certainly the reference to the head can be well spared; the ethical gain is considerable.

In a Zend scripture we read, after an exhortation to charity on the ground that the Law begs for charity in the person of thy brethren who beg for bread, 'Ever will that bread be burning coal upon thy head' (Vistasp Yasht, 5, in Oxford *Zendavesta*, part II, by Darmesteter, 338). The 'burning coal on the head' seems to be a figurative expression for the vengeance imprecated on him who refuses the bread of alms. If so, it suggests what the MT of Prov. 25:22 ought to mean. On the phrase 'to cover the head,' etc. (in mourning), see MOURNING.

T. K. C.

HEADBAND. For (1) *קִיְשִׁירִים*, *qīšīrīm*, Is. 3:20. AV (RV 'sashes'); see GIRDLE, 4; and for (2) *אֶפֶר*, *aphēr*, 1 K. 20:38. 41. RV (AV 'ashes'); see TURBAN, 2.

HEADTIRE. 1. RV for *מִגְבָּה*, *migbā'ah*, the priestly 'bonnet' of AV (Ex. 28:40 etc.). See MITRE, 1. 2. RV for *מִגְבֵּי*, *migbē*, in 1 S. 2:20 (AV 'bonnet'), Ezek. 24:17 (AV 'tire'). See TURBAN, 2. 3. EV for *κίβητος*, 1 Esd. 8:6; see CROWN.

HEART (לֵב or לֶבָב) on the distribution of which respectively in OT writings see Briggs, *Kohut Memorial Studies*, 94-105 ('97); *καρδιά*.³ There are some interesting varieties in the biblical use of the term 'heart.' Primarily the heart is the seat and principle of vitality, for 'the life of the flesh is in the blood' (Lev. 17:11), and the receptacle of the blood is the heart.

Hence the expressions, 'let your heart live' (Ps. 22:26 [27]); 'it reaches to thy heart' (Jer. 4:18; cp 7:10 'to the soul'); 'the whole heart is faint' (Is. 1:5).

'Heart' and 'flesh' (לֶבָב and בָּשָׂר) combined designate the whole inner and outer man (as in Ass. *šēru* and *libbu*); see Ps. 16:9 73:26 (cp ESCHATOLOGY); and for 'heart' in the sense of 'inner man' note the phrase so frequent in Dt. (e.g., 4:29), 'with all the heart and with all the soul.'

More special meanings are the following:—

(a) The seat of the appetites, emotions, and passions; see, e.g., Ps. 104:15 Dt. 19:5 1 K. 8:38 Is. 30:29.

(b) Mind, intellect, purpose, memory; so 'men of heart' 'men of understanding,' Job 34 to 34; 'all the wickedness which thine heart (= thy mind) is privy to,' 1 K. 2:44 EV; 'wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart,' 1 K. 4:29 EV; 'it is in his heart (i.e. purpose) to destroy,' Is. 10:7; 'the heart (purpose) of Pharaoh was changed,' Ex. 14:5; 'David laid up these words in his heart,' i.e. in his memory, 1 S. 21:12 (cp 1 K. 2:19 51). So Ps. 31:12 131:1, 'a dead man out of heart' would mean 'a dead man, forgotten,' if the Hebrew text were correct.

(c) Consciousness, conscience, character. So Prov. 14 to (a fine passage even in EV; but 'intermeddled with his joy' strikes a false note, for even a stranger feels some sympathy with simple human joys), where read—

A heart that feels its deep vexation

Cannot intermingle with the joy of a stranger.⁴

Hitzig would give the sense of 'consciousness' to the word 'heart' in the well-known phrase 'a clean heart,' Ps. 51:10 [12]. He supports this by a reference to Prov. 22:114; a clear consciousness—i.e., a joyous temper—would then be the boon sought for by the speaker. But the reference is not tenable, for in the passage referred to enables us to restore an all-important word which has been lost—viz., 'Vahwē.' A human king may be partial to joyous-hearted subjects, but Vahwē loves those whose conscience, or moral character, is spotless; *ἀπαρτος* *καρδίας* *καρδίας*.

As to Ps. 51:10 [12], the true sense of this religiously

1 Toy (*Prov.*, 468) still adheres to the traditional view that the pang of contrition is meant. But what unsophisticated Jewish reader could so have interpreted the words?

2 *בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים* *benē 'ēlōhīm*.

3 Lazarus (*Ethik d. Judenthums* [98], 231) notes that Talm. *לֵב* has a narrower reference than the biblical *לֵב*, and designates the inward disposition as distinguished from external acts.

4 In *ḥ* read, with Chajes, *וְיָאֵל תְּחַרְבֵּנִי*. Deep sorrow incapacitates a man for sympathy with the joys of others. Frankenberg reads *וְיָאֵל* (*עָשָׂה*) for *וְיָאֵל*; but the result is not simple enough for a proverb.

HEATH

important passage is shown by Ezek. 11:19f. 18:31 36:26f., where 'a new heart,' or 'a heart of flesh,' is the organ of that new life which Israel is to lead in the ideal age. A 'clean heart' is therefore 'a pure conscience and character.' The consciousness of being free from guilt had often been possessed by the early Israelites temporarily as a consequence of the due performance of ritual forms; but the future Israelites would possess it permanently, because they would have a moral organ which would guard them against displeasing their righteous and holy God.

Such a 'clean heart' is otherwise described as a 'steadfast spirit' (RVmg; cp Ps. 78:37, EV 'a right spirit') by which the Psalmist must mean 'a steady impulse towards all that is good.' For the sense of 'conscience' see also Job 27:6, EV 'my heart doth not reproach me' (?), and especially 1 K. 8:38 where EV's rendering, 'every man the plague of his own heart,' should rather be 'every man a stroke in (lit. of) his own conscience.' The idea is that God not only strikes the body or the possessions of a sinner, but forcibly touches his heart, or conscience, with conviction of sin (see Klu., Ki.).

In the books admitted into the Heb. canon (for the Apocrypha cp Wisd. 7:11 Eccles. 42:18 [8]) *καρδία* has the proper Greek term for conscience, *συνείδησις*, only once—viz. in Eccles. 10:20, where the Hebrew text has the late word *לֵב*.¹ It is, however, common in NT, though it occurs only once in the Gospels (Jn. 8:9 in a disputed section). For the sense of 'character,' see also Jer. 12:3, 'Thou hast tried my heart'; Ps. 79:10 1 Thess. 2:4.

Here we find ourselves on the line of progress to NT religion. The Pauline epistles give the heart a central position in the moral nature of man. It has the power of immediate perception of the spiritual truths revealed by God's spirit. God, we are told, has shone in the hearts of Christians to give the light of the knowledge of the divine glory (2 Cor. 4:6); we even meet with the strange expression 'the eyes of your heart' (Eph. 1:18). Here the 'heart' is in fact almost a Hebraistic synonym for that 'reason' or 'understanding' (*νοῦς* or *διδασκαλία*) which is the responsive element in man to the divine spirit (cp GNOSIS, § 5). The germ of this representation, however, is to be found in the teaching of Jesus. 'Happy are the pure in heart, for they will see God' (Mt. 5:8). Indeed, the entire Sermon on the Mount impresses the necessity of keeping the 'heart' pure and in constant contact with God and with heavenly things as the condition of pure morality. This again is but the clear expression of the OT view that it is affinity of character that brings a man near to God; and that the moral and spiritual life which produces character is seated in the innermost part of man—i.e., in his 'heart.'

T. K. C.

HEARTH. For (1) *אֵל*, *āl* (εἰς *αἶμα*; *arula*), Jer.

36:22f.; (2) *כִּיּוֹר*, *kiyyōr*, Zech. 12:6 RV 'pan (of fire)' (*δαλός*, *caminum*); (3) *מִקְדָּה*, *mikdā*, Ps. 102:14 (*φρυγίον*, *cremunt*, i.e., dry wood). RV 'firebrand'; plur. *מִקְדָּה*, *mikdā*, Is. 33:14. EV 'burnings,' see COAL, § 3.

Lev. 6:9 [2] is difficult (see below); RV 'on the hearth,' RVmg. 'on its firewood'; neither is right. The small *ע* proceeds from an ancient corrector (cp the small *ע* in Is. 44:14) and (as in Is. 44:1) is conjectural. Read *עַל הַמִּקְדָּה*, 'on the fire' (see 4); the letters *מִקְדָּה* were accidentally misarranged as *מִקְדָּה*, and a corrector changed *ע* into *ע* (suggested by SS).

4. *יָקִיד*, *yikīd*, Is. 30:14 (*καὶ καὶ* om., al. [see Field] *καυστρά*, *incendium*); 'the fire burning on the hearth.'

On the 'hearth of God,' Is. 29:1 (RVmg), see ALTAR, ARIEL; on the 'cakes upon the hearth' of Gen. 18:6 see BREAD, § 2(a); on the 'hearthstones' of Ezek. 40:43 (AVmg) see HOOK, 7.

HEATH. RVmg. 'tamarisk' (*'arār*, *אֲרָר*; *αἰθρία* *myriki*, Jdt. 17:6 18:6f.). The Heb. word may be connected with *עָרָה*, signifying nakedness, and so point to the stunted appearance of the plant (see below).

1 *כִּיּוֹר*, however, in Eccles. 10:20, is probably corrupt; Perles reads *בִּנְיָן*, 'on thy couch.'

2 The same form occurs as an adj., 'naked' in Ps. 102:17 (10); but cp Che. *Psal.*

HEATHEN

The form *ḥēṭhēn*, קֶהֱתָן in Jer. 48:—for which *ḥēṭhēn* read *ḥēṭhēn* (implied in *ḥēṭhēn*)—is most naturally explained as a 'broken plural' of *ḥēṭhēn* (Hitz. *Jer.* 201, Lag. *Sem.* 137); Barth's view of it as a sing. adjectival form (*NB* 166) is less likely. 'Tamarisk' is the rendering of *ḥēṭhēn* in Jer. 17:6 (*ḥēṭhēn* [Hitz.], of *ḥēṭhēn* in Jer. 17:6 (in 486 *ḥēṭhēn*) and of *ḥēṭhēn*; Tg. has in the former place *ḥēṭhēn* = *ḥēṭhēn*, 'edible thistle,' but in the other takes *ḥēṭhēn* to be a proper name (so Sym. *apropos*); Pesh. simply renders by 'root' in both places.

The plant intended is almost certainly a juniper, as that is the meaning of Ar. *ḥēṭhēn*, and the most likely sort is, according to Tristram (*NIB* 358), the *Juniperus Sabina* L., or *Savin*. This tree abounds on the rocks above Petra, where ns Robinson (*BA* 236) says, it grows to the height of 10 or 15 feet, and hangs upon the rocks even to the summit of the cliffs and needles.

Its gloomy stunted appearance, with its scale-like leaves pressed close to its gnarled stem, and cropped close by the wild goats, gives great force to the contrast suggested by the prophet. Tristram adds, 'There is no true heath in Palestine S. of the Lower Lebanon.' Hooker states that this particular plant is still called *ḥēṭhēn* by the Arabs. See also *AKOEN*.

[The *ḥēṭhēn*, or juniper, has been found in 1 S. 20:19 f. 47, (crit. emend.), where David is said to have sat down beside a juniper tree, while Jonathan shot arrows at three prominent rocks near. The passage gains in picturesqueness. (הַיָּדֵי הַיָּדֵי in v. 20 should be *הַיָּדֵי*; *הַיָּדֵי* was originally *הַיָּדֵי*, and intended as a correction of *הַיָּדֵי*; see Che. *Crit. Bib.* and cp *EZEL*.)

N. M.]

HEATHEN (הֶעָתָן; ἑθνη). The rendering is plainly wrong in AV of Lev. 25:44 26:45, but is admissible when *gōyīm* or *ḥēṭhēn* is used of nations whose religion is neither Jewish, nor Jewish-Christian, nor Christian, with consciousness of this fact.

Cp Sanderson (1627), 'Abimelech, an heathen-man, who had not the knowledge of the true God of heaven to direct him'; Caxton, Pref. to Malory's *Arthur* (1485), 'in al places cry-sten and liechen.' Possibly the Gothic original of 'heathen' may be traced to Armenian *heṭhēn*, an adaptation of Gk. *ḥēṭhēn*, though the stem-vowel seems to have been assimilated to Gothic *heṭhēn* 'heath' (Murray, *New Eng. Dict.*). See *GENTILE*, § 2.

HEAVEN. On the various Hebrew conceptions of a heaven as the abode of supernatural beings and (later) of the risen dead, see *ESCHATOLOGY*, and cp *EARTH AND WORLD*, *EARTH* [FOUR QUARTERS], *PARADISE*.

The usual Hebrew term is *ḥēṭhēn* (plur., not dual; *ḥēṭhēn*), but 'heaven' is used also by AV to render *ḥēṭhēn* Ps. 77:18 [19] (RV, 'whirlwind,' see *WINDS*), and *ḥēṭhēn* Ps. 89:17 [18] (RV 'sky'). In the NT besides *οὐρανός* and *ἐπουρανός* the only feature which calls for remark is the reference to a belief in a plurality of heavens (*τὰ ἑπουράνια*, Eph. 1:3 2:6 8:10, etc.), probably due to Persian influence; see especially Charles, *Secrets of Enoch*, xxx-xxvii.

HEAVENLY BODIES (στοιχεῖα). 2 Pet. 3:10 12 RVmg. See *ELEMENTS*, § 2.

HEAVE OFFERING (תְּרוּמָה; ἀραιεμα; *primitiv*; Ex. 29:27, etc.). See *SACRIFICE*, and cp *TAXATION AND TRIBUTE*.

HEBEL (הֶבֶל), Josh. 19:29 RVmg. See *AMAR*, II.

HEBER (הֶבֶר), but *ḥēṭhēn* in Nu. 26:45; *ḥēṭhēn* [BA]; see *NAMES*, § 701.

1. The husband of *Jael* (q.v.), and head of a Kenite sept which separated from the main body of the tribe (see *KENITES*), and in the course of its nomadic wanderings went as far north as a certain sacred tree near Kedesh (see *ZANAANIM*, THE PLAIN OF); Judg. 4:11 (oi *ḥēṭhēn* [B]) 17:21. In Judg. 5:24 (*ḥēṭhēn* [A]) he has been introduced by a glossator. WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 174, cp 193) connects *ḥēṭhēn* with *King*, mentioned in the *Ep. Anastasi*, and apparently situated E. of Megiddo (see Jensen, *Z. A.* 10:355 f., and cp *AMAR*). Thus there is an apparent coincidence between *Heber* of *King*, and the eponym of the neighbouring tribe of *Asher* (see 2 below). See *ENGANNIM*, *JETHRO*.

2. The eponym of an Asherite clan; Gen. 46:17 (P) (*ḥēṭhēn* [A], *ḥēṭhēn* [D], *ḥēṭhēn* [H]); Nu. 26:45 (*ḥēṭhēn* [BA]; and 1 Ch.

1 Of the form *ḥēṭhēn* (Wright's *Arab. Gram.*, § 305).

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731 f. (*ḥēṭhēn* [B v. 31], *ḥēṭhēn* [L]). The clan is called the *Heberites* in Nu. 26:45 (732 f.; *ḥēṭhēn* [BA]; Jastrow connects this name with the *Habiri* of the Amarna tablets (cp his view on *MALECHIAH*, q.v.); *JBL* 11:114 ff., 1261 ff.; so also Hommel, *AHT*, 235 260 n. This is problematical. See *ASHER*, § 1.

3. A clan in Judah, the 'father' of *Socoh* (1 Ch. 4:18; *ḥēṭhēn* [BA], *ḥēṭhēn* [L]). See *SUCON*, 1.

4. A Benjaminite (1 Ch. 8:17; *ḥēṭhēn* [BA], *ḥēṭhēn* [L]).

5. 1 Ch. 6:13. See *EBER* (3).

6. 1 Ch. 8:22. See *EBER* (4).

7. 1 Ch. 3:35. See *EBER* (1).

S. A. C.

HEBREW LANGUAGE. The name *Hebrew* (Lat. *Hebraeus*; Gr. ἑβραῖος) is a transcription of *ḥēṭhēn*, the Aramaic equivalent of the original OT word *ḥēṭhēn*, *ḥēṭhēn*, pl. *ḥēṭhēn*, which is the

proper gentile name of the people who also bore the collective name of Israel or Children of Israel (*Bnē Isra'el*). The name of Israel with its sacred associations in the patriarchal history is that by which the OT writers prefer to designate their nation; and this circumstance, combined with the fact that the term *Hebrews* is frequently employed where foreigners are introduced as speaking or spoken to (e.g., Ex. 26:1 S. 469 Gen. 40:15 Ex. 3:18), has led to the conjecture that the name of *Hebrews* (men from the other side, *ḥēṭhēn* of the Euphrates) was originally given to the descendants of Abraham by their Canaanite neighbours, and continued to be the usual designation of the Israelites among foreigners, just as the Magyars are known to other Europeans as *Hungarians* (foreigners), as we call the High-Dutch Germans (warriors), or as the Greeks gave the name of *Phoenicians* to the people that called themselves *Canaanites*.² A closer view of the case, does not confirm this conjecture.

Stade's theory, however,—that the Israelites were called *Hebrews*, after their passage of the Jordan, in contradistinction to the other West-Jordanic peoples, though connected with a historical theory not borne out by the (later) Israelite tradition—is still maintained by its author, *Akad. Reden*, 99, p. 110. As to the *Habiri* of Am. Tab. Wi. (*Kohut Memorial Studies*, 604 ff.; cp *GL* 1:18 f.) defends the view that the people so-called are nomads from the other side of the Jordan, such as the *Suti* or pre-Aramaic bedawins of the Syrian desert. These nomads were the *earlier* *Hebrews*. But cp Hommel, *AHT*, 230 ff., 258 ff. Nor has the word *Hebrew* been hitherto found in the early monuments of other Eastern nations (unless indeed the *Habiri* of the Am. Tab., who give such trouble to *Alad-hiba* of Jerusalem, may be identified with the *Hebrews*—a theory which in its newer form deserves consideration). The identification proposed by Chabas which finds the *Hebrews* in the hieroglyphic *Apurii* is more than doubtful, whereas the name of *Israel* appears on the stone of Mesha, king of Moab (l. 7), and perhaps has been deciphered on Assyrian monuments.³ [On the occurrence of this name in an old Egyptian inscription, see *EXODUS* i, § 2, 9-1.]

The form *ḥēṭhēn* is, in the language of Semitic grammarians, a relative noun, presupposing the word *ḥēṭhēn* as the name of the tribe, place, or common ancestor, from whom the *Hebrews* are designated. See *EBER*.

Accordingly we find *Eber* as a nation side by side with *Assyria* in the obscure poetical passage Nu. 24:24, and *Eber* as ancestor of the *Hebrews* in the genealogical lists of Gen. 10 f. Here we must distinguish two records.⁴ According to Gen. 11 (and Gen. 10:24) *Eber* is the great-grandson of *Shem* through *Arphaxad*, and the ancestor of *Terah* through *Peleg*, *Ken*, *Serug*, and *Nahor*. These are not to be taken as the names of individual men. Several of them are designations of places or districts near the upper waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and among other circumstances the place at the head of the series assigned to the district of *Arrapachitis* (see, however, *ARPHAXAD*), through which a migration from *Ararat* to the lands occupied by the Semites in historical times would first pass, suggests the probability that the genealogy is not even meant to exhibit a table

1 For these forms we may compare the way in which the term *ḥēṭhēn* is in one place transliterated *ḥēṭhēn* and in another *ḥēṭhēn*.

2 Hebrew literature is dealt with in the following articles: *POETICAL LIT.*, *HISTORICAL LIT.*, *PROPHETICAL LIT.*, *LAW LIT.*, *WISDOM LIT.*, *EXTRALIT.* In the labours of the Masoretes see *WRITING*, 1, xxi.

3 See especially Ges. *Gen. der heb. Sprache u. Schrift*, 9 f.; more recently Kautsch in *Kiehl's HEB.*

4 See *EBER*, § 61; *EPHRAIM*, § 1.

5 Scht., *AG* 359 536 (78), defends this not undisputed reading; cp *AMAR*, § 4.

6 See De Goeje in *Th. T.*, tom. p. 243; and We. in *Jahrb. f. D. Theol.*, 70, p. 395.

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of ethnological affinities, but rather presents a geographical sketch of the supposed early movements of the Hebrews, who are personified under the name of Eber. If this is so, we can hardly venture to assert (with some scholars) that the author of the list (the Priestly Writer) extended the name of Hebrews to all descendants of Terah.¹

The case is different with another (doubtless older) record of which a fragment seems to be preserved in Gen. 10:21-25:30. Here there is no intermediate link between Shem and Eber. Sons of Shem and sons of Eber appear to be co-extensive ideas, and to the latter are reckoned not only the descendants of Peleg (Arameans, Israelites, Ishmaelite Arabs, etc.), but also the South Arabian tribes of Joktan.

As to the etymological origin of the name of Hebrews we have an early statement in Gen. 14:13, where GADL renders 'Abram the Hebrew' [see Dn.] by *ὁ περὶ τῆς*, 'the crosser'.²

Grammatically more accurate, while resting on the same etymology, is the rendering of Aquila, *ὁ περὶ τῆς*, 'the man from the other side' of the Euphrates, which is the explanation of Jewish tradition (*Ber. R.*, and *Rashi*); cp *Ew. Gt. 1407 f.* (E.T. 1224).

Steiner, however, takes *Heber* in the Arabic sense of a river bank, and makes the Hebrews 'dwellers in a land of rivers' (*Bib. Lex.* 2613). This goes well with Peleg (watercourse), as in Arabia we have the district Falag, so named because it is furrowed by waters (*Sprenger, Geog. Arab.* 214). Cp *Eber.*

By the Hebrew language we understand the ancient tongue of the Hebrews in Canaan—the language in

2. Name of Hebrew language. which the OT is composed, with the exception of the Aramaic passages (Jer. 10:11; Ezra 4:8-18; 7:12-26; Dan. 2:4-7:28). We do not find, however, that this language was called Hebrew by those who spoke it. It is the *lip*—i.e. speech—of Canaan (Is. 19:18), or, as spoken in southern Palestine, *יְהוּדִית*, *Jewish* (2 K. 18:26 [Is. 36:11]; Neh. 13:24). The later Jews call it the *holy tongue* (*קַדְשׁ הַלֵּשׁוֹן*) in contrast to the *profane* Aramaic dialect (commonly though improperly enough called Syro-Chaldaic) which long before the time of Christ had superseded the old language as the vernacular of the Jews. This change had already taken place at the time when the expression 'in Hebrew' (*ἐν ἑβραϊστὶ*) first occurs (Prologue to Sirach); and both in the Apocrypha and in the NT the ambiguous term, naming the language after those who used it, often denotes the contemporary vernacular, not the obsolete idiom of the OT. The other sense, however, was admissible (e.g., Rev. 9:11, and so frequently in Josephus), and naturally became the prevalent one among Christian writers who had little occasion to speak of anything but the OT Hebrew.³ See ARAMAIC LANGUAGE.

Hebrew is a language of the group which, since Eichenhorn, has generally been known as Semitic, the affinities of the several members of which are so close that they may fairly be compared with a sub-group of the Indo-Germanic family—for example, with the Teutonic languages.

The fundamental unity of the Semitic vocabulary is easily observed from the absence of compounds (except in proper names) and from the fact that almost all words are derived from their roots in definite patterns (*measures*) as regular as those of grammatical inflection. The roots regularly consist of three consonants (seldom four or five), the accompanying vowels having no radical value, but shifting according to grammatical rules to express various embodiments of the root idea.

The trilateral roots are substantially common to the whole Semitic group, subject to certain consonantal permutations, of which the most important are strikingly

¹ The Terahites, according to other testimonies, are Arameans (Gen. 22:20 f.; Dt. 26:5); but the Priestly Writer, who cannot be pre-exilic, makes Aram a separate offshoot of Shem, having nothing to do with Eber (Gen. 10:22 f.).

² Cp Jerome, *Quest. Hebr.*, on the passage, and Theodoret, *Qu. LXI. in Gen.*

³ The term 'Hebrew language' seems to have originated with the Greeks or Hellenists. Philo, however, calls the language of the OT Chaldean (*De Vita Mos.* 25 f.; cp Jerome on Dan. 7). On the use of the expression 'Hebrew language' in the Talmud, see Berliner, *Beitrag zur heb. Gr.* 5 (Berlin, 79).

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analogous to those laid down by Grimm for the Teutonic languages.

There are in Arabic four aspirated dentals, which in Hebrew and Assyrian are regularly represented by sibilants, as follows:—
Arabic *dh* = Hebrew-Assyrian *z*; Ar. *dh* = Hebrew-Assyrian *z*; Ar. *z* = Hebrew-Assyrian *z*; Ar. *z* = Hebrew-Assyrian *z*.

In most of the Aramaic dialects the first three of these sounds are represented by *z*, *dh*, and *f* respectively, while the fourth is usually changed into the guttural sound *g*. But it would appear from recent discoveries that in very ancient times some at least of the Aramaic dialects approximated to the Hebrew and Assyrian as regards the treatment of the first three sounds, and changed the fourth into *g* (p. ARAMAIC, § 2, beginning, and see below, § 6).

Derivation from the roots and inflection proceed partly by the reduplication of root letters and the addition of

4. Their inflection. certain preformatives and affirmatives (more rarely by the insertion of formative consonants in the body of the root), partly by modifications of the vowels with which the radicals are pronounced. In its origin almost every root expresses something that can be grasped by the senses.

The mechanism by which words are formed from the root is adapted to present sensible notions in a variety of *nuances* and in all possible embodiments and connections, so that there are regular forms to express in a single word the intensity, the repetition, the production of the root idea—the place, the instrument, the time of its occurrence, and so forth. Thus the expression of intellectual ideas is necessarily metaphorical, almost every word being capable of a material sense, or at least conveying the distinct suggestion of some sensible notion. For example, the names of passions depict their physiological expression; 'to confer honour' means also 'to make heavy,' and so on.

The same concrete character, the same inadequacy to convey purely abstract thoughts without a substratum appealing to the senses, appears in the grammatical structure of the Semitic tongues.

This is to be seen, for example, in the absence of the neuter gender, in the extreme paucity of particles, in the scanty provision for the subordination of propositions, which deprives the Semitic style of all involved periods and reduces it to a succession of short sentences linked by the simple copula *and*.

The fundamental element of these languages is the noun, and in the fundamental type of sentence the predicate is a noun set down without any copula and therefore without distinction of past, present, or future time. The finite verb is developed from nominal forms (participial or infinitive), and is equally without distinction of time. Instead of tenses we find two forms, the perfect and the imperfect, which are used according as the speaker contemplates the verbal action as a thing complete or as conditional, imperfect, or in process.

It lies in the nature of this distinction that the imperfect alone has moods. In their later stages the languages seek to supply the lack of tenses by circumlocutions with a substantive verb and participles.

Other notable features (common to the Semitic tongues) are the use of appended suffixes to denote the possessive pronouns with a substantive, or the accusative of a personal pronoun with a verb, and the expression of the genitive relation by what is called construction or annexation, the governing noun being placed immediately before the genitive, and, if possible, slightly shortened in pronunciation so that the two words may run together as one idea.

A characteristic of the later stages of the languages is the resolution of this relation into a prepositional clause.

These and other peculiarities are sufficient to establish the original unity of the group, and entitle us to postulate an original language from which all the Semitic dialects have sprung.

Of the relation of this language to other linguistic stems, especially to the Indo-Germanic on the E. and the North-African languages on the W., we cannot yet speak with certainty; but it appears that the present system of trilateral roots has grown out of an earlier biliteral system which, so far as it can be reconstructed, must form the basis of scientific inquiry into the ultimate affinities of the Semitic group.²

¹ See Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, s. p. p. 61.

² Renan, *Hist. des Langues Sem.*, sketches the history of research in this direction. Noteworthy are the remarks of Lagarde, *Symmachia*, 121. On survivals from the biliteral stage, see Nöld. *Mand. Gram.* 96.

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Before the rise of comparative philology it was a familiar opinion that Hebrew was the original speech of mankind.

6. Age of Hebrew.

Taken from the Jews, and as already expressed in the Palestinian Targum on Gen. 11.1, this opinion drew its main support from etymologies and other data in the earlier chapters of Genesis, which, however, were as plausibly turned by Syriac writers in favour of their own tongue.¹

Till recent times many excellent scholars (including Ewald) claimed for Hebrew the greatest relative antiquity among Semitic tongues. It is now, however, generally recognised that in grammatical structure the Arabic, shut up within its native deserts till the epoch of Islam, preserved much more of the original Semitic forms than either Hebrew or Aramaic.

In its richer vocalisation, in the possession of distinct case endings,² in the use for feminine nouns of the affirmative *t*, which in the northern dialect has passed through *h* (originally audible as in Egyptian Arabic) into a mere vowel, in the more extensive range of passive and modal forms, and in other refinements of inflection, Arabic represents no later development, but the original wealth and primitive subtlety of Semitic speech, as appears not only from fragmentary survivals in the other dialects, but also from an examination of the process of decay which has brought the spoken Arabic of the present day into a grammatical condition closely parallel to the OT Hebrew.

Whilst Arabic is in many respects the elder brother, it is not the parent of Hebrew or Aramaic. Each member of the group had an independent development from a stage prior to any existing language, though it would seem that Hebrew did not branch off from Aramaic so soon as from Arabic, whilst in its later stages it came under direct Aramaic influence.

[On the relation which Hebrew bears to the other Semitic languages, see Wright, *Comp. Gram.*; Driver, *Lenses* (App. iii.); and Noldeke's art. 'Semitic Languages' in *EB* (9), published separately in German, with some additions (*Die sem. Sprachen*, '87; 2^a, '99).]

The Hebrew spoken by the Israelites in Canaan was separated only by very minor differences (like those of our provincial dialects) from the speech of neighbouring tribes. We know this so far as the Moabite language is concerned from the stone of Mesha; and the indications furnished by proper names, as well as the acknowledged affinity of Israel with these tribes, make the same thing probable in the case of Ammon and Edom. More remarkable is the fact that the Phœnicians and Canaanites, with whom the Israelites acknowledged no brotherhood, spoke a language which, at least as written, differs but little from biblical Hebrew. This observation has been used in support of the very old idea that the Hebrews originally spoke Aramaic, and changed their language in Canaan. An exact study of the Phœnician inscriptions, however, shows differences from Hebrew which suffice to constitute a distinct dialect, and combine with other indications to favour the view that the descendants of Abraham brought their Hebrew idiom with them. In this connection it is important to observe that the old Assyrian, which preceded Aramaic in regions with which the book of Genesis connects the origins of Abraham, is

¹ Theodoret (*Quest. in Gen.* 11), Barhebraeus, and others cited by Assenani, *Bib. Or.* iii. 134. The same opinion appears among the Babylonian Jews (Rab in *Synh.* 38b). Conversely, Jacob of Sarag concedes the priority of Hebrew (see *ZDMG* 25.520). The Arabs, whose language is in many points older than either, yield priority to Hebrew (Abulfeda, *HA* 18), or to Syriac (Tabari, 1220; Abu 'Isa in Abulfeda, 143), the language of the race to which they owed their first knowledge of letters.

² That the case endings in classical Arabic are survivals of a very ancient system of inflection can hardly be doubted. It does not necessarily follow, however, that in the primitive Semitic language these terminations were used for precisely the same purposes as in Arabic. Moreover, the three Arabic case-endings commonly called by European scholars the nominative, genitive, and accusative, do not by any means correspond exactly, as regards their usage, to the respective cases in the Indo-European languages; that is to say, the Arabic language sometimes employs the accusative where we should, on logical grounds, have expected the nominative and *vice versa*. These apparent anomalies are probably relics of a time when the use of the case-endings was determined by principles which differed, to a considerable extent, from those known to the Arabic grammarians.

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in many respects closely akin to Hebrew.¹ [Certain inscriptions, moreover, recently discovered at Zenjirli, in the extreme N. of Syria, are written in a dialect which exhibits many striking points of resemblance to Hebrew, although it would seem, on the whole, to belong to the Aramaic branch.²]

As the origin of Hebrew is lost in the obscurity that hangs over the early movements of the Semitic tribes, so we know very little of the changes which the language underwent in Canaan. The existence of local differences of speech is proved by Judg. 126;³ but the attempt to make out in the OT records a Northern and a Judæan dialect, or even besides these a third dialect for the Simeonites of the extreme S.⁴ has led to no certain results. In general it may be said that the OT text supplies inadequate data for studying the history of the language. Semitic writing, especially a purely consonantal text such as the OT originally was, gives an imperfect picture of the very grammatical and phonetic details most likely to vary dialectically or in course of time.

The later punctuation (including the notation of vowels; see below, § 9, and WRITING) and even many things in the present consonantal text, represent the formal pronunciation of the Synagogue as it took shape after Hebrew became a dead language—for even *Q* has often a more primitive pronunciation of proper names (cp NAMES, § 5f.). This modern system being applied to all parts of the OT alike, many archaisms were obliterated or disguised, and the earlier and later writings present in the received text a grammatical uniformity which is certainly not original. It is true that occasional consonantal forms inconsistent with the accompanying vowels have survived—especially in the books least read by the Jews—and appear in the light of comparative grammar as indications of more primitive forms. These sporadic survivals show that the correction of obsolete forms was not carried through with perfect consistency; but it is never safe to argue as if we possessed the original form of the texts (cp WRITING).

The chief historical changes in the Hebrew language which we can still trace are due to Aramaic influence.

7. Hebrew yields to Aramaic.

The Northern Israelites were in immediate contact with Aramaean populations and some Aramaic loan-words were used, at least in Northern Israel, from a very early date. At the time of Hezekiah Aramaic seems to have been the usual language of diplomacy spoken by the statesmen of Judah and Assyria alike (2 K. 18.26). After the fall of Samaria the Hebrew population of Northern Israel was partly deported, their place being taken by new colonists, most of whom probably had Aramaic as their mother-tongue. It is not therefore surprising that even in the language of Judah increasing signs of Aramaic influence appear before the Exile.⁵ The fall of the Jewish kingdom accelerated the decay of Hebrew as a spoken language. Not indeed that those of the people who were transported forgot their own tongue in their new home, as older scholars supposed on the basis of Jewish tradition: the exile and post-exile prophets do not write in a lifeless tongue. Hebrew was still the language of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (13.24) in the middle of the fifth century B.C.⁶ After the fall of Jerusalem, however, the petty Jewish people were in daily intercourse with a surrounding Aramaean

¹ See Stade's essay on the relation of Phœnician and Hebrew, *Morgenländische Forschungen* (75), which, with Noldeke's criticism, *ZDMG*, 29.135, also the latter's article, 'Sprache, hebräische', in *BL*, 5.362 f.

² One of these inscriptions, set up by Panammū, king of Ya'di, probably dates from the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century B.C. Two other inscriptions set up by a king named Bar-Kekūh, belong to the latter half of the eighth century. See ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 2; in addition to the works on the subject which are there specified, the reader may consult Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, '98), p. 440 f.

³ On the difficulty of drawing precise inferences from this narrative see Marq. *ZATW* '88, pp. 151-155.

⁴ Böttch. *Lehrb. d. hebr. Sprache*, 113 f. ('66).

⁵ Details in Ryssel, *Die Elohisten Pentateuchi Sermone* (Leipzig, '78), the most important collection of materials since Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Spr. u. Schrift* (15).

⁶ An argument to the contrary drawn by Jewish interpreters from Neh. 8.2 tests on false exegesis.

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population, and the Aramaic tongue, which was the official language of the western provinces of the Persian empire, began to take rank as the recognised medium of polite intercourse and letters even among the tribes of Arabic blood—the Nabateans—whose inscriptions in the Haurān are written in Aramaic. Thus Hebrew as a spoken language gradually yielded to its more powerful neighbour, and the style of the latest OT writers is not only full of Aramaic words and forms but also largely coloured with Aramaic idiom, whilst their Hebrew has lost the force and freedom of a living tongue (Ecclesiastes, Esther, some Psalms, Daniel). The Chronicler no longer thoroughly understood the Old Hebrew sources from which he worked, while for the latest part of his history he used a Jewish Aramaic document, part of which he incorporated in the book of Ezra. Long before the time of Christ Hebrew was the exclusive property of scholars.

About 200 B.C., Jesus the son of Sirach (Ben Sirā), a Palestinian Jew, composed in Hebrew the famous treatise known in the West as Ecclesiasticus. A large portion of the original text has recently come to light, unfortunately in a mutilated condition. Though Ben Sirā uses a considerable number of late words, mostly borrowed from the Aramaic, the general character of his Hebrew style is decidedly purer and more classical than that of some parts of the OT (e.g., Ecclesiastes), and it is specially to be noted that the recovered fragments, as far as is known at present, contain not a single word derived from the Greek. See ECCLESIASTICS.

Several other books of the Apocrypha appear to be translated from Hebrew originals—Judith, 1 Macc.—the last according to the express testimony of Jerome. It is certain that the

8. Scholastic Hebrew. OT canon contains elements as late as the epoch of national revival under the Maccabees (Daniel, certain Psalms), for Hebrew was the language of religion as well as of scholarship. As for the scholars, they affected not only to write but also to speak in Hebrew; but they could not resist the influence of the Aramaic vernacular, and indeed made no attempt to imitate the classical models of the OT, which neither furnished the necessary terminology for the new ideas with which they operated, nor offered in its forms and constructions a suitable vehicle for their favourite processes of legal dialectic. Thus was developed a new scholastic Hebrew, 'the language of the wise' (לשון חכמים), preserving some genuine old Hebrew words which happen not to be found in the OT, and supplying some new necessities of expression by legitimate developments of germs that lay in the classical idiom, but thoroughly interpenetrated with foreign elements, and as little fit for higher literary purposes as the Latin of the mediæval schoolmen. The chief monument of this dialect is the body of traditional law called the Mishna, which is formed of materials of various dates, but was collected in its present form about the close of the second century A.D. (see LAW LITERATURE).

[A remarkable feature in the Hebrew of the Mishna is the large use made of Greek and even of Latin words.

That these words were actually current among the Jews of the period and are not mere literary embellishments (as is sometimes the case with Greek words used by Syriac authors) appears from the fact that they often present themselves in strangely distorted forms—the result of popular mispronunciation.]

The doctors of the subsequent period still retained some fluency in the use of Hebrew; but the mass of their teaching preserved in the Gemāra is Aramaic.¹

The language of the Mishna has been described by Geiger, *Lehr- und Lesebuch zur Sprache der Mischnah* (Breslau, '45); L. Dukes, *Die Sprache der Mischna* (Esslingen, '46) and *Zur rabbinischen Sprachkunde* (Vienna, '51); J. H. Weiss, *Mishpat L'shon ham-Mishna* (Vienna, '67).

¹ See Bacher, *Die Aggada der babylonischen Amoraer* (Strasbourg, '79), for many illustrations of the Hebrew scholarship of the Gemarists.

HEBREWS, EPISTLE

During the Talmudic period nothing was done for the grammatical study of the old language; but there was a traditional pronunciation for the synagogue, and a traditional interpretation of the sacred text. The earliest monument of Jewish interpretation is the Septuagint; but the final form of traditional exegesis is embodied in the Targums or Aramaic paraphrases, especially in the more literal Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, which are often cited by the Talmudic doctors. Many things in the language of the OT were already obscure, and the meaning of words was discussed in the schools, sometimes by the aid of legitimate analogies from living dialects,¹ but more often by fantastic etymological devices such as the *Notarikon*, or use of analogies from shorthand.

The invention and application of means for preserving the traditional text and indicating the traditional pronunciation are spoken of elsewhere (see WRITING, TEXT).

The old traditional scholarship declined, however, till the tenth century, when a revival of Hebrew study under the influence of Mohammedan learning took place among the Arabic-speaking Jews (Saadia of the Fayyum, Menahem ben Sarug, etc.).² Then, early in the eleventh century, came the acknowledged fathers of mediæval Jewish philology,—the grammarian Judah surnamed Hayyij, discoverer of the system of triliteral roots,³ and the lexicographer Abulwalid Merwān ibn Ganāh (Rabbi Jonah), who made excellent use of Arabic analogies as well as of the traditional material.⁴

A succession of able scholars continued their work, of whom the most famous are Abraham ben Meir of Toledo, surnamed Ibn Ezra—also written Aben Ezra—(1092-1167), a man of great originality and freedom of view; Solomon (Isaaki) of Troyes, called Rashi (i.e., Rabbenu Shlomo), (died 1105), and sometimes by error Jarchi—i.e., of Lunel (57, 'luna')—(died 1105), whose writings are a storehouse of traditional lore; and David Kimhi of Narbonne, called Radak (c. 1200), whose commentaries, grammar, and lexicon exercised an enormous and lasting influence. Our own authorised version bears the stamp of Kimhi on every page.

In the later Middle Ages Jewish learning was cramped by a narrow Talmudical orthodoxy; but a succession of scholars held their ground till Elias Levita and others of his age transmitted the torch to the Christian universities.

[The *Jewish Encyclopedia*, now in preparation, will for English readers give an adequate account of the Jewish scholars and their work. The portion dealing with Philology will be contributed by Prof. G. F. Moore.] W. R. S.—A. A. B.

HEBREWS (הֵבְרִיִּים), Gen. 40 15 etc. See above and cp ISRAEL, § 1.

HEBREWS (EPISTLE). The NT writing usually known under the name of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

1. Title. or, less correctly, as the Epistle of Paul the apostle to the Hebrews, bears in the oldest MSS no other title than the words *προς ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ* [so Ti. WH, etc.], 'To the Hebrews.' This brief heading embraces the whole information as to the origin of the epistle on which Christian tradition is unanimous. Everything else—the authorship, the address, the date—was unknown or disputed in the early church, and continues to form matter of dispute in the present day. As far back as the latter part of the second century, however, the destination of the epistle 'to the Hebrews' [though it cannot be proved for Rome at so early a date] was acknowledged alike in Alexandria, where it was ascribed to Paul, and in Carthage, where it passed by the name of Barnabas; and there is no indication that it ever circulated under another title. At the same

¹ See B. Rōsh hash-Shānā, 26 b; Del. on Ps. 55 23 [24] and 14. 1423.

² The connecting link between the Massoretes and the grammarians is Rabbi Aaron ben Mosheh ben Asher, whose *Dikduke ha-Tanakh* has been published by Baer and Strack (Leips. '70).

³ See his *Tree Treatises*, edited by Noll, London, '70.

⁴ His *Book of Roots*, in Arabic, edited by Neubauer, Oxford, 1875.

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time we must not suppose, as has sometimes been supposed, that the author prefixed these words to his original manuscript. The title says no more than that the readers addressed were Christians of Jewish extraction, and this would be no sufficient address for an epistolary writing (1322) directed to a definite circle of readers, a local church or group of churches to whose history repeated reference is made, and with which the author had personal relations (131923). The original address, which according to custom must have stood on the outside of the folded letter, was probably never copied, and the universal prevalence of the present title, which tells no more than can be gathered (as a hypothesis) from the epistle itself, seems to indicate that when the book first passed from local into general circulation its history had already been forgotten.

With this it agrees that the early Roman church, where the epistle was known about the end of the first century, and where indeed the first traces of the use of it occur (Clement and *Shepherd of Hermas*)—had nothing to contribute to the question of authorship and origin except the negative opinion that the book is not by Paul.

2. Authorship: history of opinion.

Caius and the Muratorian fragment reckon but thirteen epistles of Paul; Hippolytus (like his master Irenaeus of Lyons) knew our book and declared that it was not Pauline.

The earliest positive traditions of authorship to which we can point belong to Africa and Egypt, where, as we have already seen, divergent views were current by the end of the second century. 1. The African tradition preserved by Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*, 20) but certainly not invented by him, ascribes the epistle to Barnabas.

Direct apostolic authority is not therefore claimed for it; but it has the weight due to one who 'learned from and taught with the apostles,' and we are told that it had more currency among the churches than 'that apocryphal shepherd of the adulterers' (the *Shepherd of Hermas*). This tradition of the African church holds a singularly isolated position. Later writers appear to know it only from Tertullian, and it soon became obsolete, to be revived for a moment after the Reformation by the Scottish theologian Cameron, and then again in our own century by the German critics, among whom at present it is the favourite view (see below, § 4, 1).

2. Very different is the history of the Egyptian tradition, which can be traced back as far as a teacher of the Alexandrian Clement, presumably Pantaenus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 614).

This 'blessed presbyter,' as Clement calls him, sought to explain why Paul did not name himself as usual at the head of the epistle, and found the reason in the modesty of the author, who, in addressing the Hebrews, was going beyond his commission as apostle to the Gentiles. Clement himself takes it for granted that an epistle to the Hebrews must have been written in Hebrew, and supposes that Luke translated it for the Greeks.

Thus far there is no sign that the Pauline authorship was ever questioned in Alexandria, and from the time of Origen the opinion that Paul wrote the epistle became more and more prevalent in the East.

Origen rests on the same tradition, which he refers to 'the ancient men'; but he knows that the tradition is not common to all churches. He feels that the language is un-Pauline, though the admirable thoughts are not second to those of the unquestioned apostolic writings. Thus he is led to the view that the ideas were orally set forth by Paul, but that the language, arrangement, and some features of the exposition are the work of a disciple. According to some, this disciple was Clement of Rome; others (Clement and his school) named Luke; but the truth, says Origen, is known to God alone (Eus. *Op.* 22, pp. 338). It is not surprising that these limitations of the tradition had less influence than the broad fact that Origen accepted the book as of Pauline authority.

In the West this view was still far from established in the fourth century; but it gained ground steadily, and, indeed, the necessity for revising the received view could not be questioned when men began to look at the facts of the case.

Even those who, like Jerome and Augustine, knew the variations of tradition, were unwilling to press an opposite view; and in the fifth century the Pauline authorship was accepted at Rome, and practically throughout Christendom, not to be again disputed till the revival of letters and the rise of a more critical spirit.

It was Erasmus who indicated the imminent change of opinion.

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Erasmus brings out with great force the vacillation of tradition and the dissimilarity of the epistle from the style and thoughts of Paul in his concluding annotation on the book. He ventures the conjecture, based on a passage of his favourite Jerome, that Clement of Rome was the real author. Luther (who suggests Apollonius) and Calvin (who thinks of Luke or Clement) followed with the decisive argument that Paul, who lays such stress on the fact that his gospel was not taught to him by man but was by direct revelation (Gal. 111, 2), could not have written Heb. 217, where the author classes himself among those who received the message of salvation from the personal disciples of the Lord on the evidence of the miracles which confirmed their word.

The force of tradition seemed already broken; but the wave of reaction which so soon overwhelmed the freer tendencies of the first reformers, brought back the old view. Protestant orthodoxy again accepted Paul as the author, and dissenting voices were seldom heard till the revival of free biblical criticism in the eighteenth century. As criticism strengthened its arguments, theologians began to learn that the denial of tradition involves no danger to faith, and at the present moment, scarcely any sound scholar will be found to accept Paul as the direct author of the epistle, though such a modified view as was suggested by Origen still claims adherents among the lovers of compromise with tradition.

The arguments against the Alexandrian tradition are in fact conclusive.

It is probably unfair to hamper that tradition with Clement's notion that the book is a translation from the Hebrew. This monstrous hypothesis received its reduction and

3. Not by Paul. *absurdum* in the attempt of J. H. R. Biesenthal to reconstruct the Hebrew text (*Das Trostschreiben des Apostels Paulus an die Hebräer, kritisch wiederhergestellt*, etc., 1872). Just as little, however, can the Greek be from Paul's pen.

The un-Pauline character of the style, alike in the words used and in the structure of the sentences, strikes every scholar as it struck Origen and Erasmus.

The type of thought is quite unique. The theological ideas are cast in a different mould; and the leading conception of the high-priesthood of Christ, which is no mere occasional thought but a central point in the author's conception of Christianity, finds its nearest analogy not in the Pauline epistles but in John 1719. The Old Testament is cited after the Alexandrian translation more exactly and exclusively than is the custom of Paul, and that even where the Hebrew original is divergent. Nor is this an accidental circumstance. There is every appearance that the author was a Hellenist whose learning did not embrace a knowledge of the Hebrew text, and who derived his metaphysical and allegorical method from the Alexandrian rather than the Palestinian schools.

The force of these arguments can be brought out only by the accumulation of a multitude of details too tedious for this place; but the evidence from the few personal indications contained in the epistle is easily grasped and not less powerful.

The argument from 237, which appeared decisive to Luther and Calvin, has been referred to already (§ 2). Again, we read in 1319 that the writer is absent from the church which he addresses, but hopes to be speedily restored to them. This expression is not to be understood as implying that the epistle was written in prison, for 1323 shows that the author is master of his own movements.

The plain sense is that the author's home is with the church addressed, but that he is at present absent, and begs their prayers for a speedy return. The external authority of the Alexandrian tradition can have no weight against such difficulties. If that tradition was original and continuous, the long ignorance of the Roman church and the opposite tradition of Africa are inexplicable. No tradition, however, was more likely to arise in circles where the epistle was valued and its origin forgotten. In spite of its divergences from the

1 For the Alexandrian elements in the epistle, consult the list of passages in Hilgenfeld's *Einleitung* 384, n. (Leipzig, '75). A large mass of valuable material is collected in J. B. Carpov's *Sacra Exercitationes in Ep. ad Heb. ex Philone Alexandrino* (Helmstadt, 1750). [Von Soden (*Handcomm.* 4) gives additional instances of dependence on Philo, and proves the literary influence also of the Wisdom of Solomon; cp Plumptre in *Expositor*, 1st ser. vol. i. ('74).]

2 In 1034 the true reading is not 'of me in my bonds,' but 'on them that were in bonds' (*τοῖς δεσμοῖς συνδεδεμένοις*). The false reading, which was that of Clement of Alexandria, is probably connected with the tradition that Paul was the author.

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standard of Pauline authorship, the book has manifest Pauline affinities, and can hardly have originated beyond the Pauline circle, to which it is referred, not only by the author's friendship with Timothy (1 Tim. 1:3), but also by many unquestionable echoes of the Pauline theology, and even by distinct allusions to passages in Paul's epistles.¹

In an uncritical age these features might easily suggest Paul as the author of a book which [doubtless, because its Pauline origin was universally believed in Alexandria] took its place in MSS immediately after the recognised epistles of that apostle, and contained nothing in its title to distinguish it from the preceding books with similar headings, 'To the Romans,' 'To the Corinthians,' and the like.² A similar history, as Zahn has pointed out, attaches to the so-called second epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.

When we see that the tradition which names Paul as author does not possess an authentic historical basis, we are necessarily carried on to deny historical authority to the subsidiary conjectures or traditions which speak of Luke and Clement of Rome.

The history of the Alexandrian tradition shows that these names were brought in merely to lessen the difficulties attached to the view that Paul wrote the book exactly as we have it.

The name of Luke seems to be a conjecture of the Alexandrian Clement, for it has no place in the tradition received from his master.

Origen attaches no importance to either name. Some had mentioned one, and some the other; God alone knows the truth. We have no reason to think more highly of these suggestions than Origen did. Indeed, no Protestant scholar now proposes the name of Clement, whose extant epistle to the Corinthians shows his familiarity with the epistle to the Hebrews, and at the same time excludes the idea that he composed it. The name of Luke has still partisans—Deitzsch carefully collected linguistic parallels between our epistle and the Lucan writings (*Comm.*, 57; *E. T.*, 68-70). The arguments of Deitzsch are generally met with the objection that our author must have been a born Jew, which from his standpoint and culture is in the highest degree probable, though not perhaps absolutely certain. In any case we cannot suppose that Luke wrote the epistle on Paul's commission, or that the work is substantially the apostle's; for such a theory takes no account of the strongly-marked individuality of the book in thought and method as well as expression.

The theory that Luke was the independent author of the epistle (Grotius and others) has no right to appeal to antiquity, and must stand entirely on the very inadequate grounds of internal probability afforded by language and style.

If Alexandria fail us, can we suppose that Africa preserved the original tradition? This is a difficult question. The intrinsic objections to authorship by Barnabas are not important.

The so-called Epistle of Barnabas was not written by our author; but then it is admittedly not by Barnabas. The superior elegance of the style of our epistle as compared with that of Paul is not inconsistent with Acts 14:12; nor is there, as we shall see presently, any real force in the once favourite objection that the ordinances of the temple are described with less accuracy than might be looked for in Barnabas, a Levite and one who had resided in Jerusalem (see below, § 8). On the other hand, it is hard to believe that the correct account of the authorship of our book was preserved only in Africa, and in a tradition so isolated that Tertullian seems to be its only independent witness. How could Africa know this thing and Rome be ignorant? Zahn, who is the latest exponent of the Barnabas hypothesis, argues that in the West, where the so-called epistle of Barnabas was long unknown, there was nothing to suggest the idea of Barnabas as an author; that the true tradition might perish the more readily

¹ An unambiguous proof that our author had read the epistle to the Romans seems to lie in 10:30. This is the one OT citation of the epistle which does not follow the LXX (De. 32:15); but it is word for word from Rom. 12:9. [The proof is not, however, conclusive. Dependence on Romans cannot be shown elsewhere in the epistle, and this particular citation is found exactly as it is in Origenes.] Further signs of dependence on Romans and Corinthians (which require sifting) have been collected by Holtmann (*Einl.*, 332); see also Hilgenfeld's *Zt.*, 94 f.

² The place of the epistle in MSS varies. The order of EV is that of the Latin Church, the oldest Greek codices placing it before the pastoral epistles. The Latin order, which expresses the original uncertainty of the Pauline tradition, was formerly current even in the East.

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in other parts of the church after the name of Barnabas had been falsely attached to another epistle dealing with the typology of the ceremonial law; and finally, that the false epistle of Barnabas, which was first so named in Alexandria, may there have carried off the true title of the epistle to the Hebrews after the latter was ascribed to Paul. That is not plausible, and it is more likely that an epistle which calls itself *λογος παρακλητικός* (Heb. 13:22) was ascribed to the *λογος παρακλητικός* (Acts 4:36) in the same way as Ps. 127 was ascribed to Solomon, 'the beloved of the Lord' (2 Sam. 12:24 f.), from the allusion in 127:2, than that this coincidence of expression affords a confirmation of the Barnabas hypothesis.

In short, the whole tradition as to the epistle is too uncertain to offer much support to any theory of authorship, and if the name of Barnabas is to be accepted, it must stand mainly on internal evidence. See further below, § 11.

5. Original readers: the epistle's use of OT.

Being thus thrown back on what the epistle itself can tell us, we must look at the first readers, with whom, as we have already seen, the author stood in very close relations.

Until comparatively recently there was a general agreement among scholars that the church addressed was composed of Hebrews, or Christians of Jewish birth. We are not, however, entitled to take this simply on the authority of the title, which is hardly more than a reflection of the impression produced on an early copyist, an impression the justice of which is now seen to be more than doubtful. It is plain, indeed, that the writer is at one with his readers in approaching all Christian truth through the OT.

He and they alike are accustomed to regard Christianity as a continuous development of Judaism, in which the benefits of Christ's death belong to the ancient people of God and supply the shortcomings of the old dispensation (4:9 ff.; 13:17). With all the weight that is laid on the superiority of Christianity, the religion of finality, over Judaism, the dispensation which brought nothing to its goal, the sphere of the two dispensations is throughout treated as identical.

This, however, is no less the position of Paul and of Acts. Not only Jews by birth, but Gentiles also, are reckoned as belonging to the people of God, children of Abraham, heirs of the promise, as soon as they become believers in Christ.

The OT is the book of this true people of God; it is the original record of the promises which have been fulfilled to it in Christ; and the institutions of the Old Covenant equally with the histories of the ancient people are types for Christian times.

The difference between Paul and the author of our epistle is only one of temperament. With respect to the two stages, Paul brings into bolder prominence the differences, the incompatibilities, which render compromise impossible, and compel a man either to abide in the one or to make the decisive forward step to the other. Our author, on the other hand, lays stress rather on their common features, with the object of pointing out the advance they show from the imperfect to the perfect. Moreover, as an Alexandrian, he is bolder in the freedom, rendered possible by the allegorising method, with which he adapts OT prescriptions to NT times. In the same degree in which our author comes behind Paul in originality and force of character does he rely in a more academic and thoroughgoing manner on the absolute and superior authority of the OT for Gentile Christians also.

The whole tendency of the epistle, however, is against the theory that it was originally addressed to Jewish Christians. That the readers were in

6. Not Jewish Christian.

no danger of relapsing into participation in the Jewish sacrifices, that the tenor of the epistle in like manner forbids the assumption that they had consistently followed the ceremonial observances that had their centre in the temple ritual, has been shown conclusively by the original author of the present article. Nowhere is any warning raised against taking part in the worship of the temple, against the retention of circumcision, or against separation from

¹ §§ 5-9 of the present article have undergone very considerable revision, the view that the epistle was originally addressed to Jewish Christians being here abandoned.

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those who are not Jews. Nor could any such warning be necessary in the case of readers who so plainly were at one with the author of the epistle with regard to the Alexandrian allegorizing methods. Robertson Smith concedes that at least their ritualism seems to have been rather theoretical than practical, and goes on to say—and with truth—that among men of this type (of the Hellenistic Diaspora and of such a habit of thought as enabled them readily to sympathise with the typological method of our author) there was no great danger of a relapse into practical ceremonialism. They would rather be akin to the school of Judaism characterised by Philo (*De Migr. Abr.* 16, ed. Mangey, 149), who neglected the observance of the ceremonial laws because they took them as symbols of ideal things.

Over and above all this, however, we learn quite clearly from the admonitions of the letter itself, what were the dangers that threatened its readers.

Its theoretical expositions constantly end in exhortations to hold fast to the end their confession, their confidence, the firm convictions with which they had begun their Christian life, to draw near with boldness to the throne of grace in full assurance of faith, to serve God acceptably, earnestly to seek an entrance into rest, and so forth. On the usual assumption that the readers were Jewish Christians who were in danger of going back to Judaism, these are precisely the objects which they would have hoped to realise by taking this step. The exhortations, expressed in such terms as these would not have been appropriate to their case.

Still more does this hold good of the negative precepts of the epistle. Assuming that they had thoughts of returning to Judaism, how could they have felt themselves touched by a warning not to depart from the living God (3.12), not to reject him that is from heaven (*ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, 12.25), not to despise so great salvation (2.3), not to sin willingly (10.26), not to tread under foot the Son of God, not to reckon the blood of the covenant an unholy thing, not to do despite to the spirit of grace (10.29)? How could they be exhorted to persevere in the heart of unbelief (4.12), or as if they were being hardened in the deceitfulness of sin (3.13), or in danger from regard to outward show, and from clinging sin (12.1)? How could the OT (16.29-18.12) figure of the root of bitterness (12.15), or, still more, that of Esau (12.16), appeal to them?

Such expressions as these can refer only to an open apostasy from Christianity out of very unworthy motives, and if applied to a proposed return to Judaism on religious motives working upon a pious but unenlightened conscience would be harsh, unreasonable, and tactless. The reproaches would seem so unjust to the person addressed as to lose all their force.

Further, the remonstrance in 6.1f. would even be absolutely meaningless, for the points there named are for the most part positions that are common to Jews and Christians, and none of them touches upon what is distinctive of Christianity as contrasted with Judaism.

Nowhere does our author speak a word of warning against participation in heathen sacrifices. As causes of the apostasy that is feared, no prominence is given nor indeed is any mention made of any inclination to legalism. Indeed it was the exact opposite of this that was the temptation of the Israelites in the wilderness with whom the readers are compared (3.1-4.13). Apart from the references to moral infirmity in 12.13, the only positive fault that the author mentions in connection with the lesson drawn from his doctrine to use with diligence the specifically Christian way of access to God (10.19f.) is a disposition to neglect the privileges of social worship (10.25). This, again, is plainly connected, not with an inclination to return to the synagogue, but with a relaxation of the zeal and patience of the first days of their Christian profession (9.4f. 10.12f. 12.1f.), associated with a less firm hold than they once had of the essentials of Christian faith, a less clear vision of the heavenly hope of their calling (3.12-4.11 5.12).

The writer fears lest his readers fall away not merely from the higher standpoint of Christianity into Judaizing practices, but from all faith in God and judgment and immortality (3.12-4.1f.).

What, in fact, threatens to threaten the readers of the epistle from Christianity is the character of the outward circumstances in which they are placed. In this their case resembles that of Israel in the wilderness. This comes clearly into view in the second part of the epistle, in which the theological arguments are practically applied.

At the very outset of this second part (10.12-34) we learn that the readers have been passing through sore persecutions. How

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long these have lasted is not said; but the present attitude of the readers is different from what it had been. Once they had kept steadfast; but now their endurance threatens to give way; they are in danger of casting away their confidence. In chap. 11 they are pointed to the examples of a faith that triumphed over every obstacle, and exhorting to a similar conflict even unto blood, inasmuch as Jesus has gone before them as the beginner and ender of faith (12.1-2). The writer grants that their circumstances are such as may well make hands listless and knees feeble and souls weary and faint (12.3-12f. 6.12); but the proper course is to take all this as *eadem* (12.4-11), to remember the persecuted and imprisoned with true fellow-feeling (13.3), to find strength in recalling the memory of their departed teachers (13.7), to go forth *ὡς ἡμεῖς* *μαρτυροῦμεθα* *ἑαυτοῖς*, in the allegorical style of the epistle, to quit the world (see below)—with Jesus, bearing his reproach (13.1).

Now it is quite true that troubles of the kind indicated might very well tend to tempt back to Judaism those who, originally Jews, had experienced on account of their Christianity persecution that contrasted with the religious freedom they had enjoyed as Jews. In that case, however, their Jewish character would certainly have appeared otherwise also—which, as we have seen, is not the case—or the theoretical ground work on which the hortatory part proceeds must have aimed at depreciating the Jewish religion and bringing it into irreconcilable antithesis to the Christian. This is certainly not the tenor of chaps. 1-10. On the contrary, the close connection of Christianity with the old Covenant, and the high significance of the latter, is elaborated in every way; it is so at the very outset (1.1), and again in 2.7-3.2-6 and elsewhere.

The argument in chaps. 7-10 is not intended to prove the abrogation of the law; it assumes it and proceeds upon it as an acknowledged fact. The elaborate description of the OT sacrificial system in 8.1-5 9.1-10.12 is at no point accompanied with a warning against participation in it. The author draws conclusions as to the glory of the new covenant from the significant ordinances of the old, which are regarded as shadows of the other; but his argumentation has not for its aim the desire to detach the readers from Judaism any more than has Philo's manner of proving from the OT the truth of his philosophy and ethics, which he regards as constituting its kernel.

The author knows no better way to prove the truth of Christianity than simply by showing that it is in every respect the complete fulfilment of all that was prefigured and promised in the OT, the record of the pre-Christian revelation of God.

This manner of using the OT in argument must not, however, be held to imply on the part of the readers a previous acquaintance with the OT, such as would have been possible only in the case of Jews. A similar line of argument is addressed in Gal. 3f. 2 Cor. 3.10f. to the Pauline, and admittedly Gentile, Christian communities of Galatia and Corinth; Philo also, addressing pagan readers, takes all his proofs from the OT.

The view that those originally addressed in the epistle were Jewish Christians, although supported by the ancient tradition implied in its superscription, must thus be given up. With this, the difficult problem of finding a local habitation for such a community disappears.

The following are the hypotheses as to the place of abode of the readers of the epistle that have been offered.

1. To some writers the 7. At Jerusalem? 1. To some writers the 10.25 13.17, have suggested the possibility that the Hebrews addressed were but part, a somewhat discontented part, of a larger community in which Gentile elements had a considerable place. This appears a strained conclusion (Phil. 4.21 1 Thim. 5.26), distinctly contrary to the general tone of the epistle, which moves altogether outside of the antithesis between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. We must think not of a party but of a church, and such a church can be sought only in Palestine, or in one of the great centres of the Jewish dispersion.

That the epistle was addressed to Palestine, or more specifically to Jerusalem, has been a prevalent opinion from the time of Clement of Alexandria, mainly because it was assumed that the word Hebrews must naturally mean Jews whose mother-tongue was Aramaic. The

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term has this restricted sense, however, only when put in contrast to Hellenists. In itself, according to ordinary usage, it simply denotes Jews by race, and in Christian writings especially Jewish Christians.

There are several things in the epistle that seem to exclude Palestine, and above all Jerusalem. The Hellenistic culture of the writer and the language in which he writes furnish one argument.

Then the most marked proof of Christian love and zeal in the church addressed was that they had ever been assiduous in ministering to the saints (6:10). This expression may conceivably have a general sense (1 Cor. 16:15?), but it is far more likely that it has the specific meaning which it generally bears in the NT—viz., the collection of alms for the church in Jerusalem.

At any rate it was clearly understood in the first age of Christianity that the Jewish church took alms and did not give them, receiving in temporal things an acknowledgment for the spiritual things they had imparted (Rom. 15:27). In fact, the great weight laid in the epistles of Paul on this—the only manifestation of the catholicity of the church then possible (Gal. 2:10)—alone explains the emphasis with which our author cites this one proof of Christian feeling.

Again, the expressions in 2:1 already referred to imply that the readers did not include in their number direct disciples of Jesus, but had been brought to Christ by the words and miracles of apostolic missionaries now dead (13:7).

This conversion, as it appears from 10:32, was a thing of precise date immediately followed by persecution (note the aorists *ἐκτίθησθε*—*you were put*). Accordingly we cannot suppose those addressed to represent a second generation in the Palestinian Church; we are referred to some part of the Diaspora.

Against these difficulties—which have led some of the defenders of the Palestinian address, as Grimm (who, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 70, proposes *Jauma*) and Moulton (*New Testament Commentary for English Readers*, vol. iii., 79), to give up Jerusalem altogether, whilst others, as Richin, suppose that the Hellenists of Jerusalem (Acts 6:1) are primarily addressed [and B. Weiss thinks of the epistle as having been a circular to Palestine generally]—it is commonly urged that the readers are exposed to peculiar danger from the persecutions and solicitations of unbelieving Jews, that they are in danger of relapsing into participation in the Jewish sacrifices, or even that they appear to have never ceased to follow the ceremonial observances that had their centre in the temple ritual.

The capital argument for this is drawn from 13:13, where the exhortation to go forth to Jesus without the camp is taken as an injunction to renounce fellowship with the synagogue and with the ceremonies and ritual of Judaism. This exegesis, however, rests on a false view of the context, which does not include v. 9, and expresses by a figure that Christians (as the priests of the new covenant) have no temporal advantage to expect by their participation in the sacrifice of Christ, but must be content to share his reproach, renouncing this earthly country for the heavenly kingdom (cp. 11:16, 25-27 with 13:14 Phil. 3:20).

Altogether, this view of the situation of the first readers of the epistle appears distorted or exaggerated.

It is obvious that our Hebrews were familiar with the law, and had a high regard for the ordinances of temple worship. In particular it appears that they had not fully understood how the mediatorial functions of the OT were superseded by the mediatorship of Christ. Their ritualism, however, seems to have been rather theoretical than practical. Had they been actually entangled in the daily practice of superseded ordinances, the author, whose insight into the true worth of these ordinances is clear, and whose personal relations to the Pauline circle are obvious, could hardly have been so nearly one of themselves as appears in 13:10, and at any rate could not have failed to give an express precept on the subject. On the contrary, he is in thorough sympathy with the type of doctrine on which their church was formed (13:1); the easy way in which he touches on the 'meats and drinks and divers washings' of Judaism seems to show that on this head he could count on carrying his readers along with him; and 13:9 hardly refers to sacrifices or to Levitical laws of clean and unclean, but rather to some such form of asceticism (cp. 5:2) as is spoken of in Rom. 14:10, still more probably, to the question discussed in 1 Cor. 8:10, about the eating of meat that has been offered to idols).

Nowhere does our author speak a warning against participation in sacrifices; nowhere does he touch on the burning questions that divided the Pharisaic Christians of Jerusalem from the converts of Paul.

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2. This accordingly has led other critics to think of one or other of the centres of the Diaspora—Hofmann

8. **Alexandria.** suggests Antioch, Ewald, Ravenna; but Rome and Alexandria are the places for and against which most has been said. One argument for Alexandria on which great stress has been laid must certainly be dismissed. Wieseler (*Untersuchung über den Hebräerbrief*, 2 [61]), combining the arguments against a Palestinian address with the impression, which we have seen to be without sufficient foundation, that the readers lived in the neighbourhood of a Jewish temple, seeks them among the Egyptian Jews who frequented the schismatical temple of Leontopolis. See HERES, CITY OF.

Wieseler tries to show that in his description of the temple and the functions of the high priests our author diverges from the Jewish pattern and the peculiarities of the Egyptian temple. This argument rests on a series of improbable assumptions. The peculiarities of Philo's temple are proved by quotations from Philo, who apparently never can it be shown that it was the part which Wieseler

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For Alexandria be adduced.

The use in chap. 1 in an Apocryphon [and of the Book of Wisdom, says also of Philo's writings], and the general sympathy of the argument with Alexandrian thought, can at best be adduced as proving something with regard to the writer, but not with regard to the readers. Against Alexandria, on the other hand, is the whole history of the epistle. It was in Rome that it first became known; in Alexandria, when evidence of its presence there becomes forthcoming during the last third of the second century, men have ceased to be aware that Paul is not its author. If, however, the original recipients of the epistle were not Jewish Christians (above, § 5/.) there is no need to think of Alexandria, which presented itself to men's minds only in the search for a place where a community of Jewish Christians might be conceived to have existed.

Among Continental scholars the disposition at present is to favour the Roman address.

It is true that as long as the Jewish character of the addressees is maintained there is a great deal to be said

9. **Probably** against regarding Rome as their home.

In that case one must, to begin with, assume that, even in the post-Pauline period, either the Roman church consisted mainly of believers who had been born Jews (which even for the Pauline period is justly called in question by the most recent investigators), or that, assuming the Roman church to have been a mixed one, the letter was originally directed to a Jewish section of the Roman Christians. This is not quite plausible, especially since we find in the epistle no trace of the division of parties alluded to by Paul in his epistle from Rome to the Philippians.

As soon, however, as the Gentile character of the addressees is conceded, everything else fits admirably with the assumption that the epistle was directed to

1 *Das Sendschreiben an die Hebräer und Jakobus Rundschreiben*, übersetzt und erklärt, Göttingen, 70.

2 The Syriac word in Danish is *Præd.* To the passages cited by Harnack to establish for this word the sense of censor, not incense altar, may be added Bar Ali, ed. Hoffmann, No. 2578; Barhebr. Chron. Eccl. 503. Ezek. 8:10 (Pesh. and Syr. Hex.).

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Rome, where it was read as early as in the days of Clem. Rom. The salutation by 'those of Italy' (cf. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας: 13.24) permits the inference that not only the entourage of the writer, but also the readers, had some relations with Italy. As the writer, as well as 'those of Italy,' is away from his own home, it is not too much to infer that both are in the same case—that both the writer and those who join in the salutation have their home in Italy. The Roman church had, as presupposed of the readers here, received the gospel through intermediary persons. From the beginning also it had had to suffer persecution. The atrocities of Nero had been confined to Rome. Chap. 13.7 could apply very specially to Peter and Paul. If it be thought that the same episode is referred to in 10.11, the word θεαρρῆσθαι ('made a gazing stock') would be intended to be taken literally. 1 Cor. 4.9, however, leaves room also for a less literal meaning. There is much to be said for the view that there were two persecutions, in the midst of the second of which the readers at present are, although as yet there has been no actual shedding of blood (cp. Von Soden, *Hebr.* vi).

On this assumption we should have to think, if Rome be the place, of the reign of Domitian (others suggest that of Trajan). The many coincidences between our epistle and that to the Romans are explained most easily in this way. That Hippolytus no longer has any knowledge about the author of the letter is no objection to the view at present being set forth. The address of the epistle was doubtless lost soon after it had been received. It would not take long for the name of the writer also to drop into oblivion, especially when the church was passing through such troublous times. It is impossible to tell whether the writer's hope of one day revisiting the afflicted church was ever realised.

It has generally been argued that the epistle to the Hebrews, which describes the temple services in the present tense, must necessarily have been written before they ceased to be performed.

10. Date. It has been shown in the most conclusive manner, however, from the similar use of the present tense in Rabbinical writers as well as in Josephus and elsewhere, that this argument goes for nothing—especially as our Alexandrian theologian is dealing, not with external facts, but with truths which continue valid whether the temple be standing or not—and the most recent writers, since Holtzmann's discussion of the subject in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, 2621 f., generally admit that the epistle may have been written after the fall of the temple. If this be so it can hardly be questioned that the most natural view of the apostle's argument, as it comes to a point in such passages as 8.13-14, is that the disappearance of the obsolete ritual of the old covenant is no blow to Christian faith, because in Christ ascended into glory the Church possesses in heavenly reality all that the old ritual presented in merely earthly symbol. It was the ruin of the Jewish state and worship that compelled Christianity to find what is offered in our epistle—a theory of the disappearance of the old dispensation in the new.

For attempts to determine the date of the epistle more precisely, see the close of the preceding section.

The author shows himself fully aware of the intellectual movement of the Christianity of his time (so far as these are known to us).

11. Literary and theological character. He is acquainted with the theology, and with some of the letters, of Paul; he shares Paul's view that the followers of Christ are the people of God, the true successors of the people Israel, but freed from all the external ordinances imposed upon the latter in the OT. Within the Christian community he recognises no distinction between Jew and Gentile. The whole problem as to these distinctions has for him disappeared. In seeking to arrive at an intelligent view of the Christian redemp-

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tion, and at a right appreciation of the relation of the New Covenant to the Old, from which it proceeded and in which it passed through its initial stages, he follows a path entirely his own, and shows himself to be an original thinker in no way dependent on Paul. 1 Peter, Ephesians, and the writings of 'Luke' show closer affinities with his epistle. Their authors seem all to have been influenced by him; or at least they move in the same sphere—a region of thought which he alone, however, has systematically surveyed and is able to set forth with classical exactness. The movement of primitive Christianity which finds its highest expression in the Fourth Gospel and 1 John is only the ripest fruit of a growth to the maturing of which his way of looking at things contributed most, next to Paul. The epistle of Clement of Rome shows his dominating influence no less, though in a much more mechanical way; the one is the shadow of the other.

The author is the most 'cultured' of all the primitive Christian writers, with the possible exception of 'Luke.' He has a rich vocabulary at his command, and uses it with great skill. His epistle is full of rhetoric, and has the character of an urgent address more than of a letter. Cp. *EPISTOLARY LITERATURE*.

The epistle is constructed in accordance with the rules of the later Greek rhetoric: 1.1-4.11, προομιον πρὸς ὑμῶν with statement of the πρόθεσις; 4.14-6.20, διήγησις πρὸς πιθανότητα; 7.1-10.18, ἀποδείξις πρὸς πείθω; 10.19-13.21 ἐπιλογος, deducing the practical conclusion and pressing them home.

The writer is master of the Greek OT, down to minute details, and has thoughtfully and intelligently considered the Jewish ritual system. He is acquainted with Hellenistic literature (Wisdom of Solomon; cp. § 3, u. 1) and, whether as a diligent disciple or as an independent intellectual kinsman of Philo, understands the Alexandrian method of spiritualising literal facts and appreciating their significance. His main interest, however, is in religion, not in mere speculation, although in immediacy of experience and in spiritual depth he cannot compare with Paul.

Although we may not know his name, we have what is better, a piece of spiritual self-portraiture by his own hand—one of the most precious possessions of Christendom, a picture full of character, clearly and finely drawn. Perhaps the eye of Luther was not mistaken in reading the signature as that of Apollon; all that we know of Apollon—his origin, his individuality, his relation to Paul—admirably agrees with the self-portraiture of this anonymous writer.

This Apollon—or whoever he may be—was the leader of those Alexandrian thinkers whose vocation it was to present Christianity in such a form as would admit of its being appropriated by the ancient world of culture, but who at the same time, as the process went on, exceeding their vocation, so involved the simple religious kernel in speculations that interest was more and more concentrated on this until at last—must it be said?—the kernel was lost sight of and disappeared. For this last result, however, Apollon cannot be held responsible; on the contrary, in universal history he has the noble distinction of having been the first to lead Alexandria to Bethlehem.

A full account of the older literature will be found in Dehnbach's *Commentary*; and in the great work of Bleek (*Der Brief an die Hebräer erläutert durch Einleitung, Übersetzung, und fortlaufenden Commentar*, Alth. I, Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung, Berlin, 28; Alth. II, Übersetzung und Commentar, 36, 40), which has formed the basis for all subsequent work on the epistle, and is an indispensable storehouse of material for the student. Bleek's ultimate views on the exposition of the book may be gathered from the latter posthumous work edited by Windrath (Elberfeld, 68). To the recent commentaries cited in the course of the article may be added those of Ewald (50; F.T., Edinburgh, 51); Tholuck (150, F.T., Edinburgh, 49); Lange (Göttingen, 62); H. Knitz (Mann, 70); H. Weiss in Meyer's *Comm.*; Westcott (62); A. B. Davidson (82).

12. Literature. For the doctrine of the epistle the most elaborate work is Riehm's very useful *Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefs* (Leipzig, 58/59); with which, in addition to the general works on NT theology by Weiss, Reuss, Beyerlag,

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Stevens, and others, the reader may compare Ritschl's *Entstehung der Altkatholischen Kirche*, 159 f. (Bonn, '57), Pfeiderer's *Paulinismus*, chap. 9 (Leipzig, '73, '90), *Christentum* (Berlin, '87), and (for the latest advocate of Harnack's) Ayres, *Destination, Date, and Authorship of the Ep. to the Hebrews* (1904). An excellent summary of the present state of the critical questions bearing on the epistle is given by Zahn in the art. 'Hebräerbrief' in *PKBib.* W. R. S. -tt. v. S.

[Harnack ('*Probabilia* ob die Adresse u. den Verfasser des H.-briefs,' *ZNTW* 116 ff. [1904]) accepts the results of Zahn (*Eist.* 2110 ff.) as decisive, viz. that the epistle was addressed to a small circle of Christians (a *Hausgemeinde*) within a large and complex Christian community—the Roman—and most ingeniously argues that the author of the epistle was Prisca, the wife of Aquila. See PRISCA.]

HEBRON (הֶבְרוֹן, 'league' [BDB], χεβρων [BAL]), one of the oldest and most important cities of S. Judah, supposed to have been founded seven years before Tanis (Nu. 13.22, see ZOAN),¹ is the mod. *el-Halil* (see below), situated about midway between Beer-sheba and Jerusalem.

Little is known of the history of Hebron. According to Josh. 15.13 f. it was taken by CALEB [q.v., § 2], who overthrew its three chieftains AHIKIM (חִיקִים), SHESHAI, and TALMAI (חִלְמַי) (see ANAKIM), and changed its name from Kirjath-arba (קִרְיַת אַרְבָּע) to Hebron. This move may probably form part of the 'Calebite' migration from Kadesh in Musri to the N., fragmentary notices of which may be discovered in JE (see EXODUS I. § 6; KATHESH I. § 3).² Since other clans besides Caleb shared in this move (see JERAMEEL, KENTIES), one is tempted to conjecture that the new name of Kirjath-arba was derived from the confederation of these allies.

On this view the immigrants were of Misrite origin, a supposition which may illuminate some obscure details in the patriarchal legends which centre around Hebron (see MIRIAM, § 2). If, too, our interpretation of the genealogy in 1 Ch. 2.4 ff. be correct (see JARNA, SHESHAN), we actually possess a record of a marriage alliance with older inhabitants of the district. Earlier than this we can scarcely ascend. The identification of Hebron with the *Khîber* in the lists of Rameses III., suggested by Sayce (*RPBib.* 42.19, *HM* 113, cp 336 f.), is most improbable (cp Moore, *Judge*, 24 n.), for we are obliged to connect the name with the Halil of the Am. Tab., who overran Canaan in the fourteenth century B.C. On the other hand, it is just possible that Kirjath-Arba (the earlier name of Hebron) is no other than the *Khûite* mentioned in the same records.³

Under David Hebron attained considerable prominence. He had already been on friendly terms with its inhabitants (cp 1 S. 30.31), and on his departure from ZIKLAG he made it his royal city and the base of his operations against Jerusalem (2 S. 21.3; see DAVID, § 6). Here he is said to have reigned for seven years, his position being rendered secure by alliances with the surrounding districts (cp DAVID, § 11, col. 1032). The conquest and occupation of Jerusalem gave the opportunity for those who had chafed under David's rule to revolt. Absalom, who had spent some time at the court of his grandfather Achish⁴ in GESHUR (q.v., 2), made Hebron his centre, and was supported by such prominent S. Judean officers as Abithophel (cp GITON) and Amasa. The result of the rebellion is well known, and when—at a later time—another revolt occurred, the whole of this district supported the king (2 S. 20.2; see SHEBA [ii. 1]).⁵

Hebron was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11.10), and

¹ Josephus says (*BJ* iv.9.2) that it was founded before Memphis and was 2300 years old.

² Cp Caleb's expedition to Hebron in the oldest account of the story of the spies (Nu. 13). See HAZON, *Triph. Prod. Fr.* 177 ff. Hebron appears, appropriately enough, in the Calebite genealogical lists (1 Ch. 2.43).

³ So Hommel, *MTF* 211, n. 1; see, however, KENOMOTH. The view that the name Kirjath-arba ('city-four') is derived from the circumstance that four patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam) were buried here, or that the town was divided into four quarters—as was formerly the case with the mod. *el-Halil* (*PDMG* 12.48; Hadd. 115 speaks of seven quarters)—may be mentioned here.

⁴ The name is identical with that of one of the 'sons of Anak' expelled from Hebron.

⁵ The view adopted above rests upon the belief (a) that 2 S. 13.29 has been heavily redacted, (b) that the rebellion of

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remained Jewish (cp Neh. 11.25) until it was seized by the Edomites in their movement northwards (see EDOM, § 9). It was recovered again by Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5.65 Jos. *Ant.* xii.8.2). During the great war it was taken by Simon Giorias, but was recaptured and burnt by Cerealis, an officer of Vespasian (Jos. *BJ* iv.9.79).

A place of such importance could not be without its traditions, and in the patriarchal representations we find it closely connected with the figure of ABRAHAM (q.v., 4 [1]). His son,

however (see ISAAC, § 5, end), belongs rather to the more southerly district, and though the 'vale of Hebron' (עֶקֶב הַחֵבְרוֹן) is once associated with Jacob (Gen. 37.14), it is probable that either the text is corrupt (see JOSEPH, ii. § 3, where 'Beeroth' is proposed; cp also EPHRAIM, 1), or else 'Hebron' has been inserted by a harmonising redactor.¹ Nor does the cycle of Samson-legends contain any perfectly safe reference to Hebron, for in Judg. 16.3 we should very possibly read SHARITEN [q.v.]. But what better expression of Hebron's primordial sanctity could there be than Abraham's altar (Gen. 13.18, 1), or than the cave of MAHPELI-AM [q.v.] where Abraham and Isaac² were said to have been buried; or than the ancient 'oaks' (rather 'oak') connected with the name of MAMRE? Accordingly we find Hebron recognised in the time of David as pre-eminently the holy city of Judah³ (2 S. 5.1157).

Hebron gave its name to a family of Levites (see next art., and cp GERSHONITES I. § 7 [v. 1]), and P makes it a city of refuge (Josh. 21.13), and assigns it to the line Aaron (1 Ch. 6.57 [4]).

Later generalising tradition believed that Caleb's conquest of Hebron⁴ was due to the initiative of Josh. 4 (Josh. 15.13), or inconsistently made its capture part of a great S. Palestinian campaign in which Joshua took the leading part (Josh. 10.27); see JOSHUA.

From the time of Josephus onwards the traditional tombs of the patriarchs formed the great attraction of Hebron, and the name 'Castle of Abraham' from being applied to these structures by an easy transition was applied to the city itself till in the time of the crusades the names of 'Hebron' and 'Castle of Abraham' were used interchangeably. Hence since Abraham is known among the Mohammedans as *Halil Allah*, 'the friend of God,' their name for Hebron is 'the town of the friend of God,' or briefly *el-Halil*.

3. Modern town. The modern town lies low down on the sloping sides of a narrow valley, to the W. of which on the hill *Kumdeh* lay the ancient Hebron. Still farther to the W. is the traditional 'oak of Abraham' (see MAMRE). To the E. of the hill is the *Ain Sara*, the probable scene of the murder of Abner (see SIRAH, WELL OF). The environs are very fertile. Vineyards and plantations of fruit-trees, chiefly olive-trees, cover the valleys and arable grounds, and it has therefore been customary to seek for *ESCHOL* [q.v., 1] in the neighbourhood (for another view see NUTRIT). The chief antiquities of the place consist of ruins of ancient walls on the hill *Kumdeh*, two large reservoirs (*Birket el-Kāzzāzin* and *B. es-Sullān*) the latter of which has been identified with the pool mentioned in 2 S. 4.12—and the famous *Harām* which, tradition states, encloses the grave of Mahpehah. On the sites of Hebron see *PEPQ*, '81, pp. 206-271, and on the contents, etc., of the *Harām* see Conder, *PEPQ*, '82, p. 197 = *Survey of W. Pal., Memoirs*, 3.333 ff.; cp *Tentwork*, 2.79-86. S. A. C.

HEBRON (הֶבְרוֹן; χεβρων [BALH]).

1. b. Kohath, 1. Levi (1.5.18 [1], Nu. 3.10 [1], 1 Ch. 6.13 [23.12]), eponym of the **Hebronites** (הֶבְרוֹנִי; δ χεβρων(ε) [BALH]; Nu. 3.27 [1], 26.58 [1] χεβρων [V], 1 Ch. 26.21, χεβρων [BALH] 25 f.) or Bne Hebron (1 Ch. 15.23.10); see GERSHONITES I. § 7 (v.). Hebron (see preceding art., § 2) was a Levitical city. According to

Absalom happened early in David's reign (cp JOON, 1), previous to his wars (2 S. 8.10, cp SIMON); and (c) that the revolt of SHEBA (ic. 1) has been authoritatively appended to the rebellion (see *MTF*, 16.159 f., 164.166 ff. [1900]).

¹ So Kue. (*Heb.* § 11, n. 7), Kautsch Socin, Holzinger.

² The redactor to Judas Jacob; cp Gen. 37.14 above.

³ Note that in 1 K. 3.4 Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 21) reads 'Hebron' for 'Gibson' (see GIBSON, § 2).

⁴ In Judg. 1 to the deed is ascribed to Judah; but see Moore, *ad loc.*

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1 Ch. 26³⁰ f. both Hashabiah and Jerijah were Hebronite Levites. The latter's name and position is substantiated by 23¹⁹; but the enumeration of the four Levitical subdivisions in 26²³ suggests that להבתי ns applied to Hashabiah (v. 30) is simply a blunder for להבתי (to the Amramites), or להבתי (to the Uzzielites); observe that in v. 29 the Izharites are mentioned.¹

2. In 1 Ch. 24² Hebron figures in the Calebite genealogy. See **HEBRON** I, § 1, n. 2.

HEBRON, RV' EBRON (עברון). Josh. 19²⁸, an error for **ABDON** (q.v., 1.).

HEDGE. 1. The word for a thorn-hedge is סִטְוֶה.

mit'kah (סִטְוֶה, *hédék*, see **BRIAR**, 6; Mic. 7⁴¹; 8 differs) or סִטְוֶה, *mit'akkah*; φραγμός (φράγμ., *gádr*, see below; Is. 55). See **AGRICULTURE**, § 5.

2. סִטְוֶה, *gádr*, and סִטְוֶה, *gádrak*, are frequently rendered 'hedge' in AV; RV substitutes 'fence' in all cases, except in Ps. 39⁴⁰, where 'hedge' is retained, and in 1 Ch. 4²³, where **GERAZAH** (q.v., 2) is given.

3. φραγμός ('hedge') in Mt. 21³¹ Mk. 12¹ Lk. 14²³, 'partition' in Eph. 2¹⁴ is 8's rendering of סִטְוֶה; also of סִטְוֶה in Nu. 22²⁴ Ezra 9⁹ Ps. 82¹⁴ 80¹² [13] Prov. 24³¹ Eccl. 10⁸, and of סִטְוֶה in Ps. 89⁴⁰ [41] Nah. 3⁷.

HEGAI (הגאי), keeper of the harem of Ahasuerus (שֹׁמֵר הַנְּשִׁים, Esth. 2⁸ פאי [HAI. 8], v. 15 [HAI. 8]); in v. 3 called הַגַּי (so Ba., Ginsb.). **Hego**, RVmg., RV **HEGAI** (BAI. om.). The name is probably Persian; Rodiger compares 'Hyar', the name of a courtier of Xerxes (Ctesias, *Pers.* 24).

Marq. *Funt.* 71, however, noticing that in 23 Esth. 1⁸ has γυγαιον and in 28 Βουγαιον, identifies the name with **HIGAI** (q.v.).

In v. 14 (פאי [HAI. 14], פאי [N°], Te [A]), **SHAASU-GAZ** (שַׁאסוּגַז, *shasugazi* [Vg.] *šangāšgir* [Pesh.]), the keeper of the concubines (שֹׁמֵר הַנְּשִׁים), would appear to be a different personage, although שַׁאסוּ reads γα[or], thus identifying him with Hegai.

HEIFER. See generally **CATTLE**.

The EV rendering of (1) שֹׁמֵר הַנְּשִׁים, in Nu. 19²⁵, etc., Hos. 4¹⁶. In Nu. 1² for the ritual of the 'red heifer' (שֹׁמֵר הַנְּשִׁים, *šim'ah* 'adummah) see **CLAN**, § 17.

2. שֹׁמֵר, *eglah*, Gen. 15⁹ Judg. 14¹⁸ Jer. 40²⁰ Hos. 10¹¹; cp שֹׁמֵר, *eglah* *ekhar*, Dt. 21³ 1 S. 10² 1 S. 7²¹, and see **EGGATH-SHELESHYAH**.

3. שֹׁמֵר, Heb. 9¹³ (referring to Nu. 19²), cp Tob. 1⁵, and see **CALF**, **GOLDEN**, § 2, n. 1.

HELAH (הלח): אלה [A], a wife of ASIMUR, the father of Tekoa; 1 Ch. 4⁵⁷ (v. 5, אלה [B], אלה [L]); v. 7, אלה [B], 80. [B], אלה [L]. See **NAARAH**.

HELAM (הלם): in v. 17 הלם, Krē הלם; אלה [A], of which χαλαμακ [B], χαλαμα [L], inserted in v. 16 after τοῦ ποταμοῦ, are misplaced variants;² a place 'beyond the river' (i.e., W. of the Euphrates), near which the Syrians under Hadadezer are said to have been defeated by David (2 S. 10¹⁶ f.); χαλαμα [L]; probably Aleppo, the Halman of the Assyrian inscriptions. 8 seems to have read the name in Ezek. 47¹⁰ (הלם [BAQ]), and assuming this to be correct we might infer that Helam lay between the territory of Damascus and that of Hamath, probably not far from Sidraim (q.v.), which is mentioned just before. This may have been the view of the translator of 8 in Ezekiel; but it would be hasty to assume its correctness. The place associated with the traditional defeat of the Syrians (see **DAVID**, § 8 d) must have been

¹ If we omit the parenthesis in v. 31 ('even of the Hebronites . . . Gilead'), the close similarity between *gōr* and *gōr* becomes very striking.

² Jos. (*Ant.* vii. 8 1), following I, but misunderstanding the expression τὸν ὕπορ, makes χαλαμας the name of the Syrian king.

³ In the parallel passage 1 Ch. 19 הלם is omitted in v. 16; but in v. 17 it has been corrupted into הלם ('unto them') and also (corruptly) repeated in הלם הלם (the latter is omitted, however, by L. and the Gr. of the *Compl. Polyg.*).

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some famous and ancient city. Such a place was Aleppo, which is mentioned in Egyptian records between 2000 and 1000 B.C., and by Shalmaneser II. (860-824 B.C.), to whom it surrendered without a siege, whereupon Shalmaneser sacrificed to Dadda the god of Halman. (So G. Hoffm., *Phön. Inschr.* 39; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 314; Peters, *Nippur* 177.) T. K. C.

HELBAB (הלבב, 'fat'; cp **AULAB**; χεββα [B], χεδιαν [A], ελβα [L]), a Canaanite town within the nominal territory of Asher (Judg. 1³¹, and Josh. 19²⁵ emended text, see **HAITI**). Schrader (*KAT*, ad loc.; cp *AB* 290 f.) and Delitzsch (*Par* 234) compare the Mahalliba of the Prism inscription of Sennacherib, and, with Moore, we cannot doubt that they are right. Mahalliba is a Phœnician town mentioned with Sidon, Bit-ziti, Sarpitu, Ušu, Akzibi, and Akko, and, to judge from the order of the names, must have lain between Sarpitu (Zarephath) and Ušu (see **HOSAI**). If we may assume that **AULAB** (q.v.) and **Helbah** are variations of the same name, this Assyrian inscription gives us reason to think that **Helbah** is nearer the correct form than **Ahlah**. T. K. C.

HELBON (הלבון, χελβων [B], χεδβων [A]), the wine of which is noticed by Ezekiel (27¹⁸) as one of the articles exported from Damascus to Tyre, is surely the present Halban 13 m. NNW. of Damascus in the E. offshoots of Antilibanus. Halban, whose antiquity is indicated by the Greek inscriptions found in it, lies at the top of the fertile wady of the same name, the upper end of which not only bears the marks of ancient vineyard terraces, but also still has the vine as its staple produce, and is famed for producing the best grapes in the country (Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, 134 f.). An inscription of Nebuchadrezzar (IK. 65, cp **JAVAN**, § 1 g) speaks of the dedication of wine from '(the country of) Hi-il-bu-nim' and another Assyrian list of wines (II. R. 44) includes the wine of Hi-il-bu-ni.

Strabo (15⁷³⁵) describes the Syrian wine from Halban, οἶνον ἐκ Συρίας τὸν χαλβωνιον as drunk in the court of Persia. The χαλβων of Ptol. v. 15¹⁷ is hardly the same place (see *OP* 2121). Cp further *ZDP* 837, *Act. Par.* 281, Waddington, *Inscr.* 25, 226.

G. A. S.

HELCHIAH. AV **Helchias** (χελκ(ε)ιογ [BAI.]), 1 Esd. 8¹ = Ezra 7¹, **HULKIAH**.

HELDAI (הלדי) [probably to be vocalised Huldai or Huldai; cp readings below, and **HULDAI**], or perhaps more correctly הלדי, Hôled, 'weasel'; cp again **HULDAI**, and note the form **HELED** (rather Hôled) below, also the Sab. name הלר, in **HELM** *Ap. Denk* 35; otherwise we might explain 'long-lived'; see **NAMES**, § 67 f.

1. b. Baanah the Netophathite, one of David's heroes, in Ch. one of his twelve captains (1 Ch. 27¹⁵, χαλδαια [B], δαι [A], αλδαι [L], **HOLDAI** [Vg.]). The name also appears under the shortened form **HELED** (1 Ch. 11³⁰, הלר, 81 [B], χαλδ[8], αλδ[8], αλ [L], **HELED** [Vg.]), and the corrupt **HELEB** (2 S. 23²⁹, הלר om. B, αλδ[8], αλδαν [L], **HELED** [Vg.]).

2. One of a deputation of Babylonian Jews, temp. Zerubbabel, see **JOSIAH** 2, **ZERUBBABEL** (*Zech.* 6¹⁰, αλδαι [Vg.], **HOLDAI** [Vg.]; in v. 14, by an error (7 became 8 or 8), **HELEB**, הלר, which 8 misunderstands; αλδαι [Aq. Theod.], *helem* [Vg.], *seleph* [Pesh. in both]).

HELEB (הלב), 2 S. 23²⁹. See **HELDAI** 1.

HELED (הלד), 1 Ch. 11³⁰. See **HELDAI** 1.

¹ There is a place of this name in 3 Mac. 1¹, four schol. re from Alexandria (Strabo).

² ΧΑΛΔΑΙΩΝ and ΧΑΛΔΑΙΩΝ apparently originate from ΧΑΛΔΑΙΩΝ and ΧΑΛΔΑΙΩΝ, i.e., הלר, which is probably the correct vocalisation here.

³ τ 10, τὸν ἀρχόντων [HNAQT]; v. 14, τοὺς ὑπομενοῦντες [HNAQT], τοὺς πορευομένους; Αὐτ. αὐτοὺς [Bab.] Int. 14 Symm. apparently read הלר (τὸν ἀρχόντι ἐνυμνῶν).

HELEK

HELEK (הֶלֶק), a Manassite and Gileadite clan (Josh. 17:2. כְּלֶאֶז [B]. פֶּלֶק [A]. עַל [L]; Nu. 26:30. חֶלֶק [B]. -עַק [AL]. -עַח [F]; patronymic הֶלְקִי. **Helekite**, Nu. 26:30 (חֶלְעָרַי [B]. -עַקִּי [AFI]). Cp LXXIII.

HELEM (הֶלֶם). 1. A name in a genealogy of ASHER (q.v., § 4 n. and n.) (1 Ch. 7:13).
הֶלֶם is represented by καὶ βαλαὰμ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ [B]. καὶ υἱὸς ελαμ ἀδ. αὐ. [A]. καὶ υἱοὶ αἰσουλ ἀδελφοὶ αὐ. [L]. In v. 12 the name is ΗΟΥΙΑΜ (q.v., 1).
2. A Babylonian Jew, temp. Zerubbabel (Zech. 8:14. τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν [BMAQ]). miswritten for ΗΕΙΔΑΙ; cp ΗΕΙΔΑΙ, 2.

HELEPH (הֶלֶף; מוֹלֶאֱמ [B]. מֶלֶפ [A]. מֶלֶפֶף [L]), a place-name (?) in Naphtali (Josh. 19:34).
הֶלֶף, however, does not look much like a place-name, hence regards as part of the name. The text is corrupt, and מֶלֶפ suggests the (probable) remedy. הֶלֶף (read מֶלֶפֶף) has arisen out of a dittographed מֶלֶפֶף, the letters of which were transposed, and partly corrupted. 'From Heleph' should therefore be omitted, and the derivation of ΜΟΛΑΙΣ (q.v.) from the place-name Heleph abandoned.
T. K. C.

HELEZ (הֶלֶז. הֶלֶן probably should be הֶלֶן, an abbreviated name, '[God] has delivered,' § 50; חֶלְאֵח [BNAI]).

1. The Pelonite or PALTITE (q.v.) (1 Ch. 27:10. חֶלְאֵח [B]; 1 Ch. 12:7. חֶלְאֵח [L]; 2 S. 23:26. חֶלְאֵח [B]. -s precedes), חֶלְאֵח [A]. חֶלְאֵח [L]).
2. A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2:39. חֶלְאֵח [L]). Cp Elusa (Heb. 1).

HELL. 1. (117) ancestor of Ezra (4 Esd. 1:1), see ELL.
2. (941 [Ti. WH]) the father of Joseph, Mary's husband, according to Lk. 3:23 (called Jacob in Mt. 1:16). See GENEALOGIES II. The commentators have misunderstood a Talmudic passage (Jer. Talm. Chag. 77b) to mean that Miriam or Mary was known as חֶלְאֵח, 'daughter of Eli.' The mistake is set right by G. A. Cooke, *Expositor*, Oct. '95, 316 ff.

HELIAH (HELIAS [ed. Bends]). 4 Esd. 7:30. AV; RV ELIJAH.

HELIODORUS (ἡλιόδωρος [VA]; but in 37 ἡλιόδωρος [V*], and so B in 17, 8, 13, and 518). The chancellor (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων) of Seleucus IV, Philopator, whom he murdered, and hoped in vain to succeed (App. Syr. 45; cp Lxx. 41:24; 2 Macc. 3:41). The picturesque story of the horse with the terrible rider dashing into the temple precinct, and trampling the sacrilegious officer of the Syrian king under foot, is well known; Dante in poetry (*Purgat.* 20:113) and Raphael on the walls of the Vatican have given it fresh life. According to the author of the so-called 4 Macc., who turns the story to account for education, it was ANTOCHUS (q.v., 1) who attempted to plunder the Jewish temple.

The story may have a historical kernel; Jason of Cyprus was often well informed (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3). We know that the priests of Delphi, when their treasures were threatened by Xerxes, knew how to protect them (Herod. 8:17 ff.); cp also the story in Paus. 10:23.

That Heliödorus was the 'chancellor' (RV; see 2 Macc. 10:11 13:2 3 Macc. 7:1; and cp 1 Macc. 3:12 2 Macc. 3:7 13:23, similarly Polyh., Jos.) and not the 'treasurer' (AV χρημάτων with Cod. 19, etc. for πραγμάτων) is shown by an inscription in which Heliödorus, son of Archelus, of Antioch, the ἀντράφορ (or intimate friend, cp MANASS), of King Seleucus Philopator, is described as ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένον.

There is also another inscription referring to the same Heliödorus, who is, according to Homolle and Deissmann, the Heliödorus of the Jewish story. If so, Heliödorus deserved a better fate than to be immortalised as a robber of temples. Let us leave the name of the author of the attempted outrage uncertain. See Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 171-75 ('95).

HELIOPOLIS. See OX.

HELKAI (הֶלְכַּי, abbrev. from Hilkiah), head of the priestly line Merathai (or Meremoth) in the time of the high-priest Josiah (see EZRA II, §§ 6A, 11; Neh. 12:15 [BNAI om.]; חֶלְכַּי [BNAI om.], חֶלְכַּי [L]).

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HELKATH (הֶלְקָת, 'portion' ? Josh. 19:25. ΕΛΕΚΕΘ [B]. ΧΕΛΚΑΘ [A]. ΕΛ [L], or הֶלְקָת, ib. 21:31. ΧΕΛΚΑΤ [B]. ΘΕΛΚΑΘ [A]. ΧΑΛ [L]), once, by a textual error, ΗΕΚΟΚ (הֶלְקָק, 1 Ch. 6:75. ΙΚΑΚ [B]. ΙΑΚ [A*]. ΔΚΩΚ [L]), an unidentified Asherite locality.¹ The name, if correct, is virtually identical with the forms *hakaru, hukrua*, etc. ('district'), which occur no fewer than eight times in Shishak's list (WMJ *As. u. Eur.* 170 f.).

It is to be noted that Josh. 19:25 is the oldest of the three passages cited (Addis), and that it does not describe a boundary, but consists only of a list of towns.² Most probably it should be emended thus: 'And the territory of their inheritance (שְׁבִיט) הֶלְקָת, as in v. 41) was Heliath (see HATH, etc.), unless indeed we suppose the name to be incomplete (cp. HELKATH-HAZZURIM). P in Josh. 21:31 may have had the text before him in a corrupt form. That the Asherite list (19:24 f.) is composite and fragmentary is shown by Addis (*Doc. Hebr.*, 1:230; cp RENTON [L], 23).

S. A. C.

HELKATH-HAZZURIM (הֶלְקַת הַצִּירִים, ΜΕΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΩΝ [BAL]), the scene of the encounter between the men of Joab and Abner (2 S. 21:6). Whatever its meaning may be, Budde (*Rv. Sa.* 240) and Lohr (*Sam.* 129, n. 1) plausibly see in 17:14-16 a typical etymologising explanation of a name which has become corrupt and enigmatical. Observe further that the skirmish has no obvious bearing upon the rest of the chapter, since Joab's words in v. 27 refer not hither (as RVmg suggests), but to v. 26 (cp Driver, *ad loc.*). It would be unreasonable to assume that Abner's invitation (v. 14) was the sole cause of the fight; a battle would surely have ensued between the contending parties under any circumstances. Moreover, as Budde has observed, v. 17 follows immediately upon v. 13 d, and therefore it is quite possible that the original scene of the skirmish was neither at Gibeon, nor even in its neighbourhood. 'Which is in Gibeon' (בְּגִבְעֹן) (= 16b) may well be a gloss; a later writer knew, of course, that Gibeon was not destitute of pools (see Jer. 41:12 f.).

With regard to the name, most moderns follow Schleusner, and read הֶלְקָת (after B, cp D, *ad loc.*). Against this, however, see H. P. Smith, who (with Thienius) points out that 'there is no question of *plotters* or *hens-in-tooth*, but of determined *enemies* (cp ἐπιβουλή for 'pl. Est. 7:11 [planning]). It is also possible to read הֶלְקָת, 'field of the reapers'; or הֶלְקָת, 'field of the men of Hazor' (cp 'nomads' see HAZOR).³ But in ch. 2 we may plausibly distinguish (a) a fragmentary account of a battle against Abner and all Israel, the scene of which is Gibeon (12, 13, 17, 28 f.), and (b) a narrative wherein Abner is supported by Benjaminites only (1:6-10, 18-24; cp 28, 29, 31 f.). Now in (b), v. 24 finds Abner at the hill of Adummim, before the valley of Zeboim (on text, see GIBBEON, § 2 f.). It is therefore conceivable that the 'field of blades' (retaining the MT; cp RVmg) is connected with Josh. 5:2 f.,⁴ and that it lay in the neighbourhood of the Gibeon-hill (Gibeah) (see GIBBEON, § 2 f.). If so, the vanquished followers of Abner fled from Gilgal along by the ascent of Adummim to their homes in Benjamin.

S. A. C.

HELKIAS (ΧΕΛΚΙΑC [BAL]). 1 Esd. 18:2 Ch. 358. HILKIAH.

HELL, an unfortunate and misleading rendering of the Heb. חֶלֶם (on etym. cp Jastrow, *Heb. Lex. Rel.* 665; חֶלֶם cp HADES), for which the RV (cp.ially) and Amer. Vers. (wholly) substitute SINAI. In the NT 'hell' renders (1) חֶלֶם (Mt. 12: etc.); (2) the derivative of *raptaos* (1 Pet. 2:4 RVmg 1 Cor. 15:5), and (3) *yerusa* (Mt. 5:2 etc., see GEBENSA, HINSON). See generally ESCHATOLOGY.

HELLENISM. The writer of the article GENTILES closes with a reference to the epoch-making declaration of Paul that in Christ 'there is neither Jew nor Greek.'

¹ Guerin's identification with *Yekel*, § NE. of Aco, is extremely improbable.

² Hence B's 'from Helkath' is incorrect.

³ v. 16a may imply a reading חֶלְקָת. With respect to the first suggestion above it may be noticed that v. 17a is Ass. and Aram. rather than Heb., the use of חֶלְקָת itself is equally noteworthy (see FIELD, 3).

⁴ See *HAL*, 1000, p. 14 ff.

⁵ Perhaps another etiological legend.

⁶ See the revisers' preface.

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(Gal. 3:28). How this distinction of 'Jew and Greek' arose, he has himself partly indicated; how far it is an absolute one, has to be considered in the present article.

References to the Greeks are not wholly wanting in the OT. This JAVAN (גִּיזָר) is the Heb. term for the Ionians and Greeks generally; in Zechariah and Daniel it even stands for the Graeco-Macedonian world-empire.

1. Greeks in the OT.
In Is. 9:12 (11) *ḥayyāw* speaks of the Syrians of the East and the Greeks of the West as destroyers of Israel; but in the original it is Aram and the Philistines. A fact that shows that the translator lived in the days of the Diaspora when the Greeks were the chief danger for the Jewish people. The *ḥayyāw* *ḥayyāw*, too, of Jer. 23:40 to 27:50 is due to a misunderstanding of the Hebrew, which is naturally to be ascribed to a period when the thought of the sword of the Greeks was often present to the Jews.

Of the OT Apocrypha, the books of the Maccabees manifest intimate acquaintance with the Greeks.

Thus 1 Macc. begins with the statement that Alexander the Macedonian defeated Darius and reigned over Greece in his stead, while the Macedonian empire is in 1 Macc. 1:10 called *ḥayyāw*. Armies raised by the Syrian king are called Greek in 2 Macc. 13:2, and by Greek cities in 2 Macc. 13:2 are meant Macedonian colonies. With Greece proper, however, the Jews were not unacquainted. We find references to Athenians and Spartans in 2 Macc. 11:15, 1 Macc. 12:11, and a long list of Greek cities in 1 Macc. 15:21; nay, according to 1 Macc. 12:6, Jonathan the Hasmonaean greets the Spartans, whose alliance he seeks against the Syrians, as brothers.

The name 'Greeks', however, now acquires a special sense in the mouth of Jews: the inhabitants of a city are distinguished in 2 Macc. 4:36 into

2. Secondary application of name.
Greek and Greeks (cp 11:23 Macc. 3:18), heathen (2 Macc. 4:1015 6:9 11:24); and in 2 Macc. 4:11 Hellenism is paralleled to *ḥayyāw* (RV 'then religion'), as summing up all that a Jew could attain only by abandoning the principles of his fathers (2 Macc. 6:24 4 Macc. 18:5).

Hellenism thus no longer denotes what is characteristic of the Greek people or makes use of their language, but what represents heathen as opposed to Jewish religion and morals, and promotes heathen error. The idolatry that confronted the Jews of Palestine and more than ever those of the Diaspora was now always in Greek forms; for the Greek kingdoms of the Hellenistic world ruled almost the whole world, and, at least in the cities, had with wonderful rapidity secured for Greek civilisation as well as for the Greek language an unquestioned supremacy; and heathenism was a danger to Israel only in so far as there lay behind it Greek civilisation and Greek life. Hence it is natural that it soon became customary, even for those who themselves spoke Greek, to oppose anything as heathen if only it was Greek, and to identify Greek with anti-Jewish.

In the NT we see completed the development by which 'Greeks' (*Ἕλληνες*) was substituted for 'gentiles,' *ἔθνη*, and mankind was divided, from the most important, the religious, point of view, into Jews and Greeks. The original meaning of the word, however, is not yet quite forgotten.

Ἕλληνες, *ἡ γῆ Ἑλληνική* (Acts 21:17 Jn. 12:20 Rev. 9:11, cp. the interpolation in Lk. 23:8) mean simply 'in the Greek language', and Acts 20:2 makes Paul journey from Macedonia into Greece, thus using 'Greece' in the older sense, whilst Luke himself is no less at home in these matters than the apostle of the Gentiles. When too in Rom. 1:14 Paul calls himself a debtor to Greeks and barbarians, to wise and foolish, he is following a classical usage; and even in Col. 3:11 where to Greeks and Jew are added barbarian and Syrian, we seem to have an echo of the same usage (see BARBARIAN).

In Col. 3:11, however, alongside of the antithesis of Greek and Jew we have that of uncircumcised and Jew, and so we find, almost everywhere in Paul, 'Greek' used as a name for uncircumcised, no doubt representing a terminology already prevailing in the Jewish world.

Even Luke, however, a Christian, is reckoned to the Greeks as being uncircumcised (Col. 2:3 cp. Rom. 1:10 2:10 1 Cor. 1:13 12:13). Here similar is the usage in Acts where the most characteristic passages are 16:1 17:14 18:4, and, as by 'Greek women' in Berea (17:12) we are to understand heathens, so is the meaning of the Syrochthonian (Mk. 7:26).

Thus in the NT the distinction between Jews and Greeks is used in exactly the same sense as the Jewish distinction between 'heathen and Israelites,' as 'nations' (*ἔθνη*) and chosen people (*ἑσῆ*) respectively. Cp Wisd. 15:14f. and many passages in the NT (e.g., Mt. 10:5 Mk.

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10:33 Lk. 21:24 Acts 26:7 Rom. 3:29 1 Tim. 3:16 Rev. 16:19).

The adjective *ἑθνικός*, 'heathen' (Mt. 18:17 3 Jn. 7), and Paul's phrase 'live as do the nations' (*ἑθνικῶς ζῆτε* [Gal. 2:14]), are used to describe a life regardless of the prescriptions of the Jewish law. It is significant, however, for the standpoint of Paul that he uses both 'nations' (*ἔθνη*) and 'Greeks' (*Ἕλληνες*) even of Christians, if they are of heathen origin.

The same man who in 1 Cor. 5:1 treats the *ἔθνη* as a community separated from his readers by a great gulf, and reminds them in 1 Cor. 12:2 of the time when they were *ἔθνη*, writes, e.g., to the Roman church, 'I speak to you that are Gentiles' (Rom. 11:13, cp. Gal. 2:14 1 Ep. 3:1). The same man who divides mankind (1 Cor. 10:12) into the three classes, Jews, Greeks, and Christians (church of God), divides the called (1 Cor. 1:24) into Jews and Greeks, an apparent inconsistency that is to be explained in this case only by the fact that for him circumcision and uncircumcision, Jew and Greek, had really ceased to exist alongside of the 'new creature' (Gal. 3:28 5:6 6:15), and it was only by a sort of accommodation to the imperfect conditions of the present that such distinctions could any longer be regarded.

The Fourth Gospel occupies an exceptional position; it never once mentions the *ἔθνη*, and five times applies the term *Ἕβραῖοι* to the Jews. Thrice indeed it mentions the *Ἕλληνες* but in one passage (12:20) they are men who had gone up to the feast of passover at Jerusalem, and in the other (7:35 8:15) not only are they the supposed objects of Jesus' teaching, but in the beginning of the verse 'the Diaspora of the Greeks' are the goal of a tour to be made by him. It is therefore most probable that in this gospel *Ἕλληνες* are Greek-speaking Jews living in Greek cities, called elsewhere Hellenists (cp Acts 6:1). In Acts 9:29 11:20 also *Ἕλληνες* is a variant for Hellenists.

That to almost all the writers of the Hebrew OT Greek was an unknown language, will hardly be questioned by any one. Daniel is the only book that has adopted one or two Greek words in Aramaic form (3:5 7:15, see DANIEL II, § 11). Even the parts of the OT that are later than

3. Jews' acquaintance with Greek language.
Daniel were still in some cases (such as 1 Macc. 1:10, 2:10, 3:1, 4:1, 5:1, 6:1, 7:1, 8:1, 9:1, 10:1, 11:1, 12:1, 13:1, 14:1, 15:1, 16:1, 17:1, 18:1, 19:1, 20:1, 21:1, 22:1, 23:1, 24:1, 25:1, 26:1, 27:1, 28:1, 29:1, 30:1, 31:1, 32:1, 33:1, 34:1, 35:1, 36:1, 37:1, 38:1, 39:1, 40:1, 41:1, 42:1, 43:1, 44:1, 45:1, 46:1, 47:1, 48:1, 49:1, 50:1, 51:1, 52:1, 53:1, 54:1, 55:1, 56:1, 57:1, 58:1, 59:1, 60:1, 61:1, 62:1, 63:1, 64:1, 65:1, 66:1, 67:1, 68:1, 69:1, 70:1, 71:1, 72:1, 73:1, 74:1, 75:1, 76:1, 77:1, 78:1, 79:1, 80:1, 81:1, 82:1, 83:1, 84:1, 85:1, 86:1, 87:1, 88:1, 89:1, 90:1, 91:1, 92:1, 93:1, 94:1, 95:1, 96:1, 97:1, 98:1, 99:1, 100:1) written in Hebrew; though to secure a wider circulation they had, like the already canonised books, to be translated into Greek.

Greek, however, was certainly the common language of the men who wrote 2, 3, and 4 Macc. and Wisd. of Sol. The Jews settled outside of Palestine lost almost completely their original tongue, and used Greek even in religious worship; and the Hellenistic literature that sprang up between 250 B.C. and 100 A.D., which had its most famous representatives in Philo and Josephus, and was in no sense confined to Alexandria and its neighbourhood, is Greek in language, only with a Semitic flavour. (See HISTORICAL LIT., §§ 20-22).

Indeed, had not a reaction against the Hellenising tendency begun after the catastrophe of 70 A.D., Hebrew would then perhaps have succumbed to Greek even in Palestine and amongst its theologians. To suppose, however (as, e.g., G. B. Winer supposes, because of Mk. 7:24 Jn. 7:35 12:20), that Jesus used the Greek language is quite out of the question, although as a Galilean, belonging to a province where language was very much mixed, he must have understood some Greek words, and in particular must have been able, like other Palestinians, to read Greek inscriptions on coins (Mt. 22:20 f.). The earliest notes on his history may have been in the Aramaic dialect that he himself used, but none of our four gospels is a translation from Aramaic. Although they make use in part of such translations, they have all been written from the first in Greek, and the author of the Third Gospel, as of Acts, may have been a born Greek who knew no Hebrew. The epistles of NT are one and all originally Greek. Biesenthal (*Das Christentum des Ap. Paulus an die Hebräer*, 76) stands alone in recent times in venturing to deny this in the case of the eminently smoothly written epistle to the Hebrews (cp HEBREWS, § 11). Even the Apocalypse,

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notwithstanding the abundance of its Hellenistic defects of style, cannot have had a Hebrew original.

The necessary consequence of the employment of the Greek language was that the influence of the Greek spirit and of Greek forms of thought

4. Greek ideas. made itself felt. Even parts of the Greek version of the OT marked by gross literalism of rendering do not fail to betray this influence. How much more plainly must it reveal itself in the originally Greek writings of Jewish or Christian origin? Inevitably the Jews appropriated from the rich vocabulary of the Greek language expressions for conceptions that would always have lain beyond the scope of Hebrew.

These is, e.g., no Hebrew word corresponding to *θεοσδομία*, *θεοσπορία* and most of the compound nouns: *θεοστροφία* and *θεοστροφία*, or for *αθανασία* and *αβυσσος* (see *THEOLOGY*).

On the other hand, old Greek expressions acquire new significations corresponding to Jewish conceptions such as *δικαιοσύνη* and *πίστις*.

This linguistic change, the most important stage of which is traced in Paul, began with the Hellenistic period of the LXX (cp. *J. Freudenthal, Die Hellenistische Sprache in der griechischen Bibel*, *Hebr. u. Christ. Bibl.* 1907, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 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It is in Wisd. Sol., however, that the Hellenistic colouring becomes most prominent when we compare it with Ecclesi. In fact Wisd. Sol. aims at effecting a reconciliation between Greek philosophy and the religious spirit represented in the OT. Just as its conception of the deity and the supplementary conceptions of Wisdom and Logos, almost counting as personifications mediating between God and the world, show Platonic influences; so are its ethics and psychology set forth under the forms of the popular philosophy of the age.

According to 87 wisdom teaches the four cardinal virtues; in place of a creation out of nothing we have the assumption of an original substance; the body is viewed as a prison for the soul, the latter as pre-existent and immortal, life a trust from God—all ideas derived from Hellenism.

Before turning our attention to the NT we must lay emphasis upon the fact that this absorption of Hellenic elements by Jewish thought, even in Palestine, reaches much further than can be shown from writings that could in any sense be called biblical, and that much in the NT and early Christianity can be explained only on this supposition. Those Jews who, from the third century B.C., thought to diffuse Jewish piety by means of Greek verses, whether attributed to Orpheus or to the Sibyl (see APOCALYPTIC, § 86 f.), or to Hystaspes, combined with prose writers like Philo, to break a way for the freeing of Jewish life and thought from its exclusiveness, and so helped to bring about the conditions necessary for its more complete reformation. The ideas of Satan and demons, of the kingdom of heaven and of the world, of hell and the life of the blest, which he really made in the NT, if they naturally rested on a thoroughly Jewish basis, were not without contributions from Greek theology (esp. ESCHATOLOGY, and the several *asides*). So Essenism can be understood only when regarded as a blending of Jewish and Greek ideas (cf. ESSENEES), and the gnosis of the later Jews, older than Christianity though it was, even surrendered to Hellenism. Accordingly the possibility most, to begin with, be kept in view, that NT writers have been influenced by ideas originating in such ways.

At the present time, however, there is more danger of overestimating than of underestimating the Hellenistic elements in later Judaism and the earliest stages of Christianity. Books, for example, like Winckler's *Der Stoicismus eine Wurzel des Christenthums* ('78), or M. Friedländer's *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums* ('94), generalise from certain perfectly just observations in this direction in a most unguarded manner, not a single idea derived from a Greek source can be attributed to Jesus, and it may almost be regarded as the strongest evidence of the trustworthiness of the Synoptic account of him that in respect of their contents, they too know of no approach to Hellenism. Such parallels to the Synoptic speeches of Jesus as have been hunted out in Greek—or Latin—writers are accidental coincidences.

Still more in Hellenic in both subject and spirit is the Apocalypse of John, yet it is not improbable that the mysterious figure of the dragon pursuing a woman with child (ch. 12) is to be traced intimately to the Greek myth of the Pythie dragon and the pregnant Lato (see A. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 110 f. ['91]).

In the case of Paul, contact with the Greek world unquestionably goes deeper. Socrates, the church

9. Paul, historian (*Acts* 4:10) felt justified (13:16) in crediting the apostle with a knowledge of numerous sayings of the Greek classic writers, relying in so doing on *Acts* 17:22 (1 Cor 15:11 Tit 1:12). The metrical form of the passages in question is indeed enough to show that they are drawn from the poetical literature of the Greeks, and as a matter of fact *Acts* 17:23 has been found in Archias and the Stoic Chalcidius, Tit 1:12 in Epicurean and Cynicisms, 1 Cor 15:11 in

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Menander and Euphrates. If, however, the Pastoral Epistles are the work of an unknown writer about 100 A.D., Tit 1:12 proves nothing regarding the culture of Paul; whilst *Acts* 17 is in no sense a stenographic report of a speech of Paul in Athens; it is the historian that puts it in the mouth of his hero; and that this writer is a Greek of no mean culture, whose memory could have supplied him with still other quotations of like nature, is already clear on other grounds. Hence there remains only 1 Cor 15:33. Here, however, there is no introductory formula, and it is at least doubtful whether Paul in using the verse knew whence it came; it is not by such means that an acquaintance of Paul with Greek literature can be established. If, according to *Acts* 17:18 f., Paul discussed in Athens with Epicureans and Stoics, this does not prove that he had read their writings. When, e.g., Ramsay (*St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 237 f. ['95]) treats the account in *Acts* 17, of how Paul at Athens forthwith adopted the Socratic method of free discussion in the Agora, and became for the time an Athenian, as evidence that Paul had, at least in part the same 'education' as those Athenians, this may be too rash a conclusion; what we really have here is the author of *Acts* showing his own knowledge, his own 'education,' and his own fine historical feeling.

Those go too far on the other side, however, who, like Hausrath (*Der Apostel Paulus*, 11 f. ['72]), would deny Paul any influence from the Greek learning that surrounded him at Tarsus from his youth up. We know only that writing presented difficulties for him, not simply or particularly writing in Greek. The absence of real quotations from Greek authors in what he has written, shows not, 'that, apart from the Apocrypha, Paul had never had a Greek book in his hand,' but simply that Christ had become to him all in all, and that he would allow nothing but words of God a place in his heart and on his lips. He may very well have been trained in the Greek schools even if his style 'has little grace to show'; few Jewish Greeks, even when their Greek 'school education' is beyond question (Philo, Josephus), can surpass him in grace or even in power over the language. The fact itself that Paul was acquainted with the OT in the Greek translation of the LXX, and knew much of this version by heart, counts for something here; and the very probable points of contact between him and Philo (e.g., Col. 1:15 f.) permit us to conclude that he had made himself acquainted also with other books written in Greek; he must have had a vernacular knowledge of both Greek and Aramaic, and received both a Jewish and a Greek education.

How far this education, which he certainly after his conversion did not care to extend, wrought as a leaven in the formulation of that magnificent system of thought by which he sought to fuse together Judaism and the Gospel, it is hard to say. His universalism, his cosmopolitanism, his doctrine of freedom, notwithstanding cognate ideas and expressions in Greek literature, need not have been derived thence, or at least may have been only suggested there; they are the outcome of his struggle to effect an adjustment between what he inherited and what he himself experienced.

If, e.g., he mentions and correctly uses allegories and types drawn from names (1 Cor. 10:1-11 Gal. 4:24), although this was a play that flourished on Greek soil, it was not there that he made its acquaintance, but in his Jewish schools of theology. Other features of resemblance between his ideas and those of Greek philosophers may have reached him through the same channel.

In the main, however, Paul is original, and cannot be understood on any other supposition. The ascetic, unworldly character of his ethic corresponds to the temper of the age he lived in, so also the proneness to the mysterious, and the high estimate of knowledge, and of the intellectual element in religion, is common to him with his whole environment. Hence there remains

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as representing the direct influence of Hellenism on his theology, only minor secondary features. The denomination, however, of the good as τὸ καλόν (Rom. 7:12; 2 Cor. 13:7; Gal. 4:18; 6:9; 1 Thess. 5:1), the emphasis laid on virtue (ἀρετή, Phil. 4:8), the classification of man as pneumatic, psychic, and sarnic, the glorification of the Stoic moderation (αὐτάρκεα; Phil. 4:11), such features are no accidental points of contact between Paul and Greek thought; and the appeal to 'nature itself' and its teachings (1 Cor. 11:14, cp the frequent 'against nature,' or 'according to nature') has a specifically Greek sound. Notwithstanding all this, however, we are never able to detect any traces of direct borrowing from Greek literature. Paul may have acquired what he had through intercourse with Greeks or even through the medium of the Alexandrian religious philosophy (cp. e.g., Lightfoot, 'St. Paul's preparation for the ministry,' in *Biblical Essays*, 109 ff. [193]; Hinks, 'St. Paul and Hellenism,' in *Studia Biblica et Eccles.* 4:1 (190)).

Nor is there anything essentially different in the case of the NT books that stand closely related to Paul.

10. Remaining parts of NT.

We feel that we have moved more out of a Hebrew into a Greek atmosphere in the Pastoral Epistles, in Hebrews—which is beyond doubt, dependent both in form and in contents on the Alexandrians (e.g., 1:13-14)—and in the Catholic Epistles, the Epistle of James, even if, with Spitta, we should class it with the Jewish writings, must have had for its author a man with a Greek education. It was a born Greek that wrote Acts. If his Hellenic character does not find very marked expression it is merely due to the nature of his work, no pure Jew would have uttered the almost pantheistic-sounding sentence, 'in God we live and move and have our being' (17:3). In the Fourth Gospel, finally, the influence of Greek philosophy is incontestable. Not only is the Logos, which plays so important a part in the prologue (1:1-13), of Greek origin; the gnosticising tendency of John, his enthusiasm for 'the truth' (without genitive), his dualism (God and the world almost treated as absolute antithesis), his predilection for abstractions, compel us to regard the author, few by birth as he certainly was, as strongly under the influence of Hellenic ideas. Here again, however, we must leave open the possibility that these Greek elements reached him through the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy; just as little can his Logos theory have originated independently of Philo, as the figure of the Paraclete in chaps. 14-16 (see J. Réville, *La doctrine du Logos dans le quatrième Évangile*, Paris, '81). Cp JOHN [SON OF ZEBEDEE], § 31.

We must conclude with the following guarded thesis. There is in the circle of ideas in the NT, in addition to

11. Result. what is new, and what is taken over from Judaism, much that is Greek; but whether this is adopted directly from the Greek or borrowed from the Alexandrians, who indeed aimed at a complete fusion of Hellenism and Judaism, is, in the most important cases, not to be determined, and primitive Christianity as a whole stands considerably nearer to the Hebrew world than to the Greek.

Cp E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, 1902; A. F. Dale, *Griech. Darstellung der jud.-alex. Rel.-philosophie*, '34; C. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandrien*, '29, esp. p. 303 ff.; M. Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos in der griech. Philosophie*, '27; H. Bois, *Philo des législateur de la philosophie judéo-alexandrine*, '29; H. J. Holmwood, *Lehrbuch d. N. T. Philol.*, '27. A. J. F. K. C.

HELMET (כֶּסֶת, or קַסֵּת, כֶּסֶת)

The pronunciation with initial k is sustained by the Aramaic form of the word קֶסֶת. We may perhaps compare the word קֶסֶת, 'comp. Ass. *kaššu* in *Ar. kaššat*, *Kāša* occurs in 1 S. 17:3 and Ezek. 23:24 (cp see 6 and Cornill), whereas we find קֶסֶת in 1 S. 17:1, 1 S. 54:17; Jer. 16:4; Ezek. 27:2; 2 Ch. 26:14. A cognate is *περικεφαλαία*, a designation which is not found in the *Septuagint*, but is not infrequent in *LXX* texts.

Helmet made of bronze were worn by distinguished

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men and leaders in war (as Goliath and David, 1 S. 17:5-8); but we can infer from Jer. 46:4 and 2 Ch. 26:14 that helmets—probably of leather or felt—were worn also by the ordinary warrior. It is impossible to determine the precise material or form, yet it is probable that the helmet of the common Israelite soldier consisted simply of a solid cap adorned perhaps with horse-hair tassels as well as with a prolonged flap or cheek-piece to cover the side of the face or ears. Max Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 302 ff. 325 ff. 361 ff. 375-378 380 ff. 384) gives copious illustrations of the various forms of helmets and caps worn by the Bedouin, Syrian, and Hittite warriors. The Hittite head-gear was mostly a round and flat covering with prolongations at the side and at the back of the head, sometimes surmounted by a tassel. Frequently there is a band tied behind the ear and back of the head and passing round the forehead in front of the cap (see the figures in *As. u. Eur.* pp. 232, 323); the LXX therefore was guided probably by a right instinct in selecting the term *περικεφαλαία* as the most apt term to designate a kind of head-gear which covered not only the head but also a portion of the cheek and neck. Probably the kings and nobles, in order to distinguish their persons as leaders, wore a taller covering made of bronze like that of the Egyptian monarchs. Among the Hittites, however, the head-covering of the leaders was often considerably broader at the top than at the base. See *As. u. Eur.* p. 361.

On the other hand, the helmet worn by the Assyrians and Babylonians was loftier than that which was in vogue among the Syrians and Hittites and was pointed at the summit. There was also a side piece for the protection of the ears (see illustrations, s. v. GREAVES), resembling the *phalapa*, flaps or cheek-pieces (*παπαγαθίδες*), of the ancient Greeks.

The Cypriot helmet figured in Warre-Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiqs.*, p. 70, fig. 158, presents a close analogy. For the different forms of Greek helmet the reader is referred to the article 'Arms and Armour' in that work. The Greek helmet presented varieties and complications of detail, as well as ornament in the form of crests, altogether unknown among the plainest and more modest accoutrements of Egypt and Western Asia.

The helmet, like the coat of mail, is metaphorically employed by the writer of Is. 59:17, the helmet designating salvation, an image which is borrowed by Paul (Eph. 6:17; 1 Thess. 5:8). Cp TURBAN. D. W. W.

HELOD (חֶלֶד; חֶלֶדָּה [BAF], חֶלֶד [L.]), a Zebulunite (Nu. 10:27; 24:29; 10:16 [L]).

HELPER (ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΗC), Ju. 11:16 RV^{mg}, EV COMFORTER. See PARACLETE.

HEMAN (חֶמָן, חֶמָן [BADEL], h. Sem. the Horite (Gen. 36:22), called in 1 Ch. 1:9 HOMAM (חֶמָן, חֶמָן [L.]). Probably with 6 (cp Vg. *III. M. L. V.* in Gen.) we should read HEMAN (see below).

HEMAN (חֶמָן, חֶמָן [BADEL]), one of the three sons of MAHOI, [7:7] who were renowned for their wisdom, 1 K. 4:6 [5:1] (*אֲנָשִׁים* [B], *חֶמָן* [A]). The name appears again in 1 Ch. 26 (*חֶמָן* [B]) among the sons of the Judahite Zerah. The same legendary personage, however, is intended, the clan of Zerah was Edomite before it became Judahite (see Gen. 36:13-17). Possibly (as S. A. Cook suggests) the name 'Heman' may be identified with the Edomite HEMAM (חֶמָן); more probably, however, HEMAN and ETHAN, 2, are both corrupt forms of חֶמָן, HEMAN, one of the oldest districts of Edom, sometimes used poetically as a synonym for Edom. The whole force of the passage (1 K. 4:6) depends on this. See MAHOI.

In post-exilic times Heman, like Ethan, gives his name to one of the guilds of singers (see PSALMS). According to the Chronicler he took part in the dedication of the temple (2 Ch. 5:12, RV; cp 1 Ch. 16:4 f. 25:6 [*אֲנָשִׁים* B]). A levitical genealogy is produced for

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him; he becomes the grandson of Samuel, and traces his origin to Kohath, son of LEVI (see GENEALOGIES v. § 7 it a, iii. c.). In this connection it may be remarked that Samuel himself is represented in 1 S. 11 as grandson of Jeroham, a shortened form of JERAHMEEL (y. v. § 3; cp JEROHAM, t). The double heading of Ps. 88 assigns that psalm first to the sons of Korah and then to Heman (אֶמְנָן [A]) the Ezrahite. Heman was indeed, according to 1 Ch. 26, a Zarhite (= Ezrahite); but this made him of the tribe of Judah; as a singer he was a Korahite. There is thus a confusion of two representations implied in this heading.

In 1 Ch. 25 4 f. (אֶמְנָן [A]) once in v. 4) a little section, full of difficulty, is devoted to Heman. He is called the 'king's seer' (just like his ancestor Samuel, but also like Asaph and Jeduthun), and is said to have had fourteen sons and three daughters. The difficulty lies in the words which follow 'the king's seer,' and in the closing names in the list of Heman's sons. These are as follows:—Giddali, Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth (יִשְׁבָּקָשׁ, מַלְלוּתִי, הוֹתִיר, מַחֲזִיּוֹת, גִּדְּדָלִי, רֹמַמְתִּי-עֶזֶר). Ewald long ago suggested that these names might be so rendered as to form, in combination, a poetical couplet, 'I have given great and majestic help; I have spoken in abundance oracles.' One word (שֶׁבַע) he omitted; later scholars have sought to repair his omission by rendering 'to him that sat in distress' (see also NAMES, § 21). The theory was plausible as long as it was supposed that the Chronicler was in the habit of framing uncommon names in the interest of edification. Now, however, that the evidence for this supposition is beginning to break down elsewhere,¹ we are bound to be more strict in criticising Ewald's suggestion. It is safe to maintain not only that the rendering is extremely unnatural, but that the clause produced by combining the last four names is execrable Hebrew. This objection cannot be raised against the reading proposed by Kau² in lieu of 'Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah,' viz. אֶמְנָן יְהוֹנָדָב בְּנֵי יְהוֹנָדָב—i.e., 'Have pity upon me, O Yahweh, have pity upon me; thou art my God'; still we must ask, How comes such a passage to be introduced just here, even as a marginal note? 'Eliathah' is no doubt an impossible name; but is there no better theory to account for it? Certainly there is a better one. Joshbekashah (יִשְׁבָּקָשׁ) and Mahazioth (מַחֲזִיּוֹת) are corruptions of the same word, and Mallothi (מַלְלוּתִי) and Hothir (הוֹתִיר) are corrupt fragments of it. Again and again we find different corruptions of the same word side by side, and this is the case here; or rather, there are two words in construction, viz. קָרָה, קָרָה. As for Giddali and Romamti-ezer, the former is miswritten for Gedaliah (גִּדְּדָלִי), the latter for a dittographed Jerimoth (יִרְמִיּוֹת) and Azar'el (אֶזְרָאֵל), a variant to Uziel in v. 18). Gedaliah was introduced as a correction of the corrupt Eliathah (אֶלִּיָּאֵתָה). 'Hanani' is really a dittographed Hananiah, and is to be omitted. In v. 5 בְּנֵי קָרָה ('to lift up the horn') is miswritten for בְּנֵי רִחֻם, 'to praise his compassion.' 'All these'—viz., Bukkiah, Mananiah, Ezziel, Shebuel (Samuel?), Jerimoth (Jeroham?), Hanani, Gedaliah—were the sons of Heman, the king's seer (who prophesied?) with words of God to praise his compassion. God gave to Heman seven (שֶׁבַע) sons and three daughters. The seven sons are called, quite correctly, 'sons of Korah' (Joshbekashah, etc.), i.e., members of the Korahite guild. This is a sign that the Chronicler draws here from a Midrashic source (cp 2 Ch. 20. 1), and WRS OTJC², 205, n. 2). T. K. C.

HEMATH, RV Hammath (חֲמַת), MECHMA [H], ΑΙΜΑΘ [A], ΕΜΑΘ [I.], 'the father of the house of Rechab' (1 Ch. 255†). Elsewhere Jonadab is the 'father' of the Rechabites, and if any one can dispute this title with him it is Hobab, 'the father-in-law of Moses.'

The Chronicler must have known of Hobab; and if so he must mean Hobab. The easiest solution of the problem is to suppose that חֲמַת is a fragment of חֲמַת, 'father-in-law of Moses,' and to see in this an allusion to the phrase in Judg. 1. 16. See HOBAB, JONADAB, 2, and on the Kenite connection see RECHABITES, KENITES. In 1 Ch. 4. 12, the ἀδελφὸς πατρὸς [H.] (MT 'Rechab') appear among the 12 tribes (pointed out by Meyer, *Ent.* 1474, which seems to agree with the notice in 1 Ch. 255). T. K. C.

HEMATH (חֲמַת), Am. 6. 14, RV HAMATH [γ. γ.]

HEMDAN (חֲמַדָּן), 'desirable' [γ. γ.], § 77, Gray [HPN]

¹ Klostermann, who identifies Heman and Job, sees here a coincidence with Job 42. 13 (taking שְׁבַע as a dual fourteen).

² *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprachk.* 6, 2 (161).

³ See, e.g., BENODIAH, BEZALEL, ELIDENAI, HAZZELFOND, JONAH-HEVED.

⁴ *ZATW* 6 [166] 260.

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64), however, suggests [חֲפֵר]: cp חֲפֵר, and see ABIDAN; but the analogy of most of the other names in the list suggests that the [p] is not radical, a Horite clan-name (Gen. 36. 20; אַמְנָדָא [AHI], אַמְנָדָא [E]), in 1 Ch. 1. 41, apparently by a scribe's error, HANMAN, AV AMMAN (חֲמָן; חֲמָן [B], אַמְנָדָא [A], אַמ [I.]) See DIXON.

HEMLOCK. For (1) חֲמָן, חֲמָן, Hos. 10. 4, see GATL, 1 and for (2) חֲמָן, *la'Amah*, Am. 6. 12, see WORMWOOD.

HEN (חֲנָן), Mt. 23. 17 Lk. 13. 34 (δραξί Ti.). See FOWLS, §§ 2 4.

HEN (חֲנָן), one of the Babylonian Jewish delegates, temp. Zerubbabel (*Zech.* 6. 14). *CHENAI* has εἰς χεῖρα; so also RVing; 'for the kindness of the son of Zephaniah.' The text is plainly in disorder. Read probably, 'Joshua the son of Z.' (We.). See JOSHUA, 2.

HENA (חֲנָן), an imaginary name which, through a scribe's error, has found its way into the Rabshakeh's message to Hezekiah (2 K. 19. 13, אֲנָע [B], אֲנָא [A], אֲנָ [I.]; Is. 37. 33, אֲנָא [H.], אֲנָא [N.], אֲנָ [A], אֲנָא [Q.], אֲנָא [Q.]). The text stands thus, 'Where is . . . the king of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivah?' (RV). Underlying this is a witty editorial suggestion that the existence of cities called חֲנָן and אֲנָ respectively has passed out of mind (cp Ps. 96 [7]), for חֲנָן clearly means 'he has driven away and overturned' (so Tg., Sym.). To look out for names resembling Hena and Ivah is waste of time. The context further makes it plain that only one city was mentioned. Either חֲנָן or אֲנָ must therefore be omitted, and a comparison of 2 K. 17. 24 shows that חֲנָן is the superfluous word. Probably חֲנָן was miswritten for חֲנָן, or rather (see AVVA) for חֲנָן, 'Gaza.' T. K. C.

HENADAD (חֲנָדָד), חֲנָדָד [HNA], note confusions of א and א below). A Levitical name (see below), the peculiarity of which requires notice. The name may be corrupt, and, if so, an easy emendation would be חֲנָדָד Jonadab, a not unnatural name for a Levite. Baethgen, however (*Beitr.* 68, n. 4) and BDB explain as חֲנָדָד, 'favour of Hadad' (so also § 42), cp 1 Ch. 2. 27. The bearer of the name is a Levite, mentioned as the father of BINSU [y. v. 3] in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 f., EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15d), Neh. 3. 18 (חֲנָדָדָר [H.], חֲנָדָד [I.]), 1 Ch. 24 (חֲנָדָד [I.]), also as a signatory to the covenant (EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10. 9 [10] (חֲנָדָד [H.], חֲנָדָד [I.], חֲנָדָד [I.]). The name occurs once again in the difficult passage Ezra 3. 9, out which see Ryle, *Camb. Bible*, ad loc. (חֲנָדָד [H.], חֲנָדָדָר [I.]). In Ezra 3. 9 it is best, perhaps, misread חֲנָדָדָר to read חֲנָדָדָר; the corruption would arise through a misunderstanding of the name Ham (as in Ezra 2. 4, etc.), helped by the preceding חֲנָדָד. As regards Henadad, it is clear that the concluding words are out of place (cp 1 Ch. 2. 27 [158], and see MARIANUS), and supported by Neh. 10. 9 [10] it may be suggested that חֲנָדָד was a marginal gloss to Ham which, on being taken into the text, was rounded off by the addition of the words חֲנָדָדָר חֲנָדָדָר.

HENNA (חֲנָנָה), Cant. 1. 14. See CAMPHIRE.

HENOCH (חֲנוֹךְ), ENOCH [BAI.], 1 Ch. 1. 4, AV, RV ENOCH (y. v. 1), 2 Ch. 1. 3, AV, RV HANOKH (I.).

HEPHER (חֲפֵר), חֲפֵר [BAI.], Cp GATH HEPHER. 1. A Canaanite city mentioned between Tappuah and Aphek in Sharon (see APHEK, 3); Josh. 12. 17 (חֲפֵר [I.]). Cp EPHRAIM, § 12, end.

¹ Compare also 2 K. 18. 34 (om. B, אֲנָ [A], I. differs) Is. 36. 2 Ch. 32. om.

² Cp 2 Ch. 32. Neh. 10. 9 (10). The manner in which the name-lists in Ez. Neh. have been compiled and the harmonising labours of the earliest scribes will account for the circumstance that such a familiar name could ever have gone astray.

³ Not only does one expect (nūn with daghesh) on the analogy of חֲנָנִי and Hannibal, but such a Levitical name is unlooked for; the case of AZAD is different.

⁴ חֲנָן, חֲנָן, or חֲנָן, cp Neh. 9. 4, 12, also 7. 41 (see BANI, 3), and 12. 24 (see BINSU, 2).

HEPHER

¹ A district in Judah (?) which fell into Solomon's third prefecture, 1 K. 4:10 (פְּרָפְרָא) [H], פֶּפֶר [L]. See **HERES**, § 5.

HEPHER (הֶפֶר). 1. (הֶפֶר [H], וְהֶפֶר [L]). A has [וְהֶפֶר] פֶּפֶר [וְהֶפֶר] (H). A name in the Chronicler's list of David's heroes, 1 Ch. 11:36. The passage is plainly corrupt; see **HEPHER**, § 2.

2. (הֶפֶר [BAFL]). The founder, or eponym, of a Gileadite clan, who is variously described as the son (Josh. 17:2, JE, הֶפֶר [L]) and as the great-grandson of Manasseh (Nu. 26:12 f. [H] 36 f. [L] 27:1, 1'). The clan itself is called the **Hepherites** (הֶפֶרִיתִּים, הֶפֶרִיתִּים [BAFL]), Nu. 26:12 or 'sons of Hephher' (Josh. 17:2).

3. (הֶפֶר [BAFL]). הֶפֶר [L]. The eponym of a family of Judah, called the 'son' of Asinith (1 Ch. 4:6).

HEPHZIBAH (הֶפְזִיבָּה), usually 'in whom is my delight,' §§ 22, 107; but analogy favours Smend's rendering, 'in whom is delight'; see, however, 1).

1. The mother of King Manasseh, 2 K. 21:1 (וְהֶפְזִיבָּה [H], וְהֶפְזִיבָּה [L]). The Phen. form הֶפְזִיבָּה suggests that Hephzibah may be a deliberate distortion of the name Hephzibah, 'delight of Baal' (i.e., either of Baal, or of a husband). The Chronicler (2 Ch. 33:1) passes over Manasseh's mother.

2. The symbolical name of restored Zion, Is. 62:4 (וְהֶפְזִיבָּה [H], וְהֶפְזִיבָּה [L]). Here, too, the reading הֶפְזִיבָּה seems preferable; Yahweh is the Baal or 'husband' who 'delights' in his bride Zion (v. 5; see **SHO**).

T. K. C. — S. A. 17.

HERALD appears three times in NT (RVMS) as the rendering of κηρύξ, for which EV has 'preacher' (1 Th. 2:7 2 Th. 1:11 2 Pet. 2:5) κηρύσσω means simply 'to proclaim'; see, e.g., Jon. 3:5 (H), Mt. 3:1. See **MINISTRY**.

In H κηρύξ represents the קִרְיָה EV, 'herald,' of Dan. 3:4. On the probable philological connection of קִרְיָה (Dan. 3:4) Aph. 'made proclamation' with κηρύσσω (2 Th. 2:5) cf. *Levan* on Dan. 3:4; *Kau.*, *Gramm. der bibl. Aram.*, § 64; *No. Bibl.*, 24, p. 109. κηρύξ also occurs in Gen. 41:43 (see *Anchor*), *Ecclus.* 20:15 4 Marc. 9:4.

HERBS. A rendering of various Hebrew terms.

1. קָנִי, *qani*, 'that which is green,' 'a garden of herbs,' Dt. 11:10 2 K. 21:2. A dinner (AV, Che, cp *Ass. ardu*, 'to eat'; RVMS, 'portion' of herbs) Prov. 13:17.

2. קֶשֶׁת, *qeshet*, 'herbage,' including grasses and cereals, Gen. 1:11, etc.

3 and 4. קָנִי, *qani*, and קָנִי, *qani*. See **ASS**. 5 and 6. קָנִי, *qani* (MH קָנִי), 2 K. 4:3 (קָנִי [BAFL], *herbs agrestes*). Elisha had just 'come down' to Gilgal in time of famine and sent a man to gather 'herbs,' 'herbs' or vegetables for a pottage. The Talmud (*Oroth*, 18) explains 'herbs' by the word *garzer* (קָנִי), which means 'colewort' (*crucifera*). Royle (*Kil's Bib. C.*, s.v. 'Oroth'), indeed, insists that the 'herbs' must have been the fruit of some plant for which the so-called 'wild gourds' (EV) might have been mistaken. This, however, is not at all clear. The man spoken of in the story need not have confined himself to colewort. If he found a cucumber, or what he thought to be such, he would not reject it. See *Guthrie*, *Win.*

In Is. 28:19 קָנִי (קָנִי [BAFL]) *qani* *herbs*; EV 'dew of herbs'; if correct, means 'dew of lights' (RVMS: 'dew of light'). See **DEW**, § 26. But H suggests קָנִי, 'their healing' (see **1 Ch. 11**). And in Is. 18:4 AV's rendering of קָנִי (as if קָנִי) 'upon herbs' (see *φύε καυματος μεσημβρίας* [BAFL]); *meridiana* (L), is generally abandoned; RV gives 'in sunshine'. But the text probably needs emendation (see **VINE**).

7. קָנִי, *qani*, קָנִי, *qani*, 'grass'; Heb. 6:7.

8. קָנִי, *qani*, קָנִי, *qani*, 'herbs'; Heb. 6:7.

9. קָנִי, *qani*, קָנִי, *qani*, 'herbs'; Heb. 6:7.

HERCULES (Ἡρακλῆς [VA]), mentioned only in 2 Macc. 4:10 f. in connection with the games held in his honour at Tyre, for which Jason [γ' r. 2] sent 300 drachmas of silver.² The contest was held every fifth year, and was probably based upon the Olympic games (cp further *Schürer*, *Gal. 2:21* §). Hercules was the

¹ Or an abbreviated form.

² According to Polyb. 31.20, Arr. *Alc.* 2.4, etc. it was customary for the colonies to send embassies to Tyre to honour their hero.

HERES, THE ASCENT OF

Greek name for the Tyrian Melkarth¹ מֶלְכָּרְתַּךְ, king of the city), whence the Greek Melkartes (see *Roscher*, *Lex.*, s.v.). See **BAAL**, § 6, **HELEENISM**, § 5.

HERD (הֶרֶד). Ex. 10:9. **Herdman** (רֹעֵה), Gen. 13:7. See **CATTLE**, §§ 20, 6.

HERES, CITY OF, EVMS, or, CITY OF DESTRUCTION, EV; (הֶרֶס) שִׁיר הַהֶרֶס; so MT. (Fesh.), or, CITY OF THE SEN, EV second margin (הֶרֶס שִׁיר הַהֶרֶס, so Symm., Vg., Talm., *Alendheth* 110a, Saad,² and some Heb. MSS), or, 'city of righteousness' (עִיר הַצְדִּיקָה) [?], *πολις ἀρετῆς* [BAFL], *ἀρετῆς* [L]. Theod., may be either (הֶרֶס) (הֶרֶס) or (הֶרֶס) (הֶרֶס). The name which was to be given at a future day to one of five cities in Egypt, where Hebrew would be spoken and the Jewish religion practised (Is. 19:18).

Opinion is much divided as to the reading of the name, and as to the date of the section to which the clause containing the name belongs. Some critics (Dillmann, Guthe) even hold that the clause is a later addition to the section; this, however, seems an unnecessary refinement of criticism, suggested by a wish to push the date of the rest of the chapter as high up as possible. Considering that there is nothing in vv. 18-25 that is decidedly favourable, and much that is adverse, to the authorship of Isaiah, and that the section only becomes fully intelligible in the light of the history of the Greek period, it is best to interpret v. 17 as the translation of a fact of history into the language of prophecy. The meaning of the verse seems to be that early in the Greek period there were to be in Egypt colonies of Jewish worshippers of Yahweh, among whom the 'language of Canaan' was not exchanged for Greek, and that one of them would be settled in the city of Heres, or (shall we say?) of Heres. Probably Heres, not Heres, is the right reading, i.e. Heropolis, the city of the Sun god, that is, Heropolis—the city which before the foundation of Alexandria was perhaps best known to the Jews (see **ON**). The rare word *heres* is preferred to *heres* (contrast Jeremiah's procedure, if 'Beth-shemesh' in Jer. 43:1 is correct). The reading Heres (i.e., destruction) is no doubt an intentional alteration of Heres (a few MSS even read *heres* = *anathema*), just as Tinnath-heres (Judg. 2:9) is altered into Tinnath-serah in Josh. 19:50 21:30.

H's reading 'city of Zedek' (i.e., 'city of righteousness'), though it is defended by Geiger (*Ueber*, 79), Brecken, Guthe, and half accepted by Dillmann, is very improbable, and may seem to have arisen out of a desire for a distinct prediction of the temple of Onias at Leontopolis (see *Jos. Ant.* xii. 31) *heres* will then mean 'legal correctness' (עִיר צֶדֶק, Is. 51:1); the *Onion* was not at first regarded with dislike in Palestine. But *heres* suggests *heres*, which perhaps arose through transposition of letters; *heres* in fact suggests *heres* or *heres*. On the critical questions, see further *Che. Intr.* Is. p. xxxi. 109 f. Kattel's revision of Dillmann's *Levia* (93), and Marti's commentary. To recapitulate fantastic theories which have small claim on consideration would lead the reader away from the main point (on which cp *Heb. PLACE*, § 9, n.).

HERES, THE ASCENT OF. So RV, in Judg. 8:13, to define the road which Gideon took in returning to Succoth from the battlefield. RV partly follows certain versions, which read מִסְכֵּלָה הֶרֶס for מִסְכֵּלָה הֶרֶס (MT). This, however, is not enough, we do not expect a place name here. מִסְכֵּלָה (Symm., Theod.) would be a slight improvement.

Most probably, however, the true reading is מִסְכֵּלָה הֶרֶס 'he deviated the host to destruction,' originally a marginal correction of מִסְכֵּלָה הֶרֶס (v. 13, end) מִסְכֵּלָה is in fact a weak

¹ So especially *CAT* 1. 100, 127, where for מֶלְכָּרְתַּךְ the parallel Gr. has *melkartes melkartes*; cp *Baethg. Intr.* 216.

² The Oxford MS has distinctly *heres* *heres*. Derenbourg, however, emends *heres* into *heres*, and conjectures that Saad. gave this word the Arabianizing sense of 'crushing' (*2.4 TH* v. 17).

³ On the supposed reading *heres* *heres* (in the Complutensian edition), see *Del. on Isaiah*, *Is.*

HERESY, HERETIC, SECT

HERETH

something abominable, a work of falsehood, and the additional word *ἀσέβεια* is simply the expression of his belief that hell, or everlasting destruction (RVmg. 'acts of perdition') is then destined end. In like manner also Tit 3:10 enjoins that a factious man (*αἰρετικὸς ἀσέβητος*) is to be shunned if a repeated effort to bring him to a better state of mind has failed; in that case he is an irreclaimable sinner, self-condemned, cp. EXCOMMUNICATION. This employment of an adjective *αἰρετικὸς* shows merely (cp. *αἰρεσιῶται*, Just. Dial. c. Tryph. 80) how freely, even at that early date, the idea of all that is ungodly and against the church had attached itself to the word *αἰρεσις*; an idea which, further heightened by the distinction drawn between heresy and schism, remains to this day inseparably bound up with it in ecclesiastical phraseology.

On the New Heb. term *מִרְסָה* (*mirsa*), the origin and exact references of which are disputed, but which many (e.g., Schenker, *Studies in Judaism* 1901, 420) render 'heretics', see H. Kraus, *Begriff und Form der Häresie nach Talmud u. Midrash* (1908); Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jud. Monotheismus* (1908); Schürer, *GH* and *TLZ*, 24:165 ff. (1908).

A. 1

HERETH (הֶרֶת) (S. 225 RV, AV HARETH (9)).

HERMAS (ΕΡΜΑΣ [Ti. VII]), an abbreviated name) is one of five—Hermes being another—who 'with the brethren that are with them' are saluted in Rom. 16:14 (cp. ROMANS, § 4, 10). They seem to have been heads of Christian households, or perhaps class-leaders of some sort.

The names Hermas and Hermes occur twice in inscriptions belonging to the province of Asia (the former in CIG 2742, 2743, the latter in CIG 2747, 2748). In the lists of the seventy apostles by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus, Hermas figures as bishop of Philipp. No one any longer supposes that he was the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the date of which is about 140 A.D., though from Origen (in *Ep. ad Rom.*) onwards church-writers have expressed this view, and accordingly have given that allegorical work a place among the writings of the apostolical fathers or immediate disciples of the apostles. Against this view see *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, and Lipsius, *Hermas*, *Bib. Lex.* 320 ff.

HERMES (ΕΡΜΗΣ [Ti. VII]) is one of five who are mentioned together in Rom. 16:14 (cp. ROMANS, § 4, 10).

The name is of frequent occurrence among slaves, especially members of the imperial household of the first century. In Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus Hermes is called bishop of Balastris. Cp. HERMAS.

HERMOGENES (ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ [Ti. VII]) is mentioned in 2 Tim. 1:15. 'All that are in Asia turned away from me, of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.' Nothing is really known of him, though the 'list of the seventy disciples of our Lord' by the Pseudo-Dorotheus of Tyre (*Chr. Pasch.*, Bonn ed. 2:221) makes him bishop of Megara, while in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* he appears (with Demas) as a hypocritical fellow-traveller of Paul.

A certain Hermogenes, a magician, figures largely along with his disciple Philetus in the Apocryphal *Evangelium Jacobi* 19:1; the names are obviously borrowed from 2 Tim. 1:15, and the story is a commonplace narrative of magical wonders (see Lipsius, *Apocr. Ap. Geseh.* 2:201 ff.).

HERMON (הֶרְמון, 'belonging to, or connected with, a sanctuary,' אֶרְמֹנִים [HAF. I]), the great mountain-huttrass of Antilibanus; cp. SENIR, SIRDON, STON.

'Mount Hermon' (הַר הֶרְמון) occurs in Dt. 3:8 f. (אֶרְמון [H] in n. 9) Josh. 11:17, 12:15, 13:11, 1 Ch. 5:23 (1st Babel-hermon and Senir); 'Hermon' alone in Josh. 11:3 (אֶרְמון [H]), Ps. 89:12 (3) (אֶרְמון [H]), 133:3.

1. **References.** אֶרְמון [H], Ps. 89:12 (3) (אֶרְמון [H]), 133:3. Cant. 4:4 (אֶרְמון [H]) אֶרְמֹנִים [HAF. I] (where 'Senir' and 'Hermon' are combined). In Judg. 3:7 we find 'Mount Babel-hermon'; but comparing Josh. 11:17 (where 'Babel-gad' in the valley of the Lebanon at the foot of Mt. Hermon' appears as the N. boundary of Israel), Budde rightly reads 'the Hittites that dwell from Babel-gad which is at the foot of Mt. Hermon to the approach to Hamath' (cp. also Josh. 12:7). As the ideal N. boundary of Israel Mt. Hermon appears again in Dt. 3:8 (cp. Josh. 12:3).

The poetical references to Hermon are not very many; and those which apparently occur need careful testing. Ps. 42:6 [7] ('the Hermons' RV, AV HERMONITES) is considered under

HERMON

HERMON, HIRZOR, Ps. 89:12 (3) (under PAROSIS), Ps. 133 (under HIRZOR, § 2 (2)); Cant. 4:4 (under AERSON, 1, and 4:4 (under HIRZOR, § 15 (2)). In the first two of these passages 'Hermonim' and 'Hermon' are not genuine.

That Ezechiel (27:3) should prefer the name 'Senir' to that of 'Hermon' is remarkable, but we must remember that the OT passages in which 'Hermon' occurs are not (unless Judg. 3:1 be an exception) represent at all an early period.

In the NT 'Hermon' is not mentioned, but neither is Lebanon, and 'Gerizim' is only referred to in John 4:20 f. as 'this mountain.' It would be delightful to think that Hermon was the 'high mountain' of the Transfiguration scene, but though, as Stanley (NT 369) remarks, 'high upon its southern slopes there must be many a point where the disciples could be taken apart by themselves,' and Keim (*Leben Jesu* Aus 2:583) sees no difficulty in supposing that the narrator thought of one of the spurs of Hermon, good reason has been urged by Weiss for placing the scene in Christ's usual haunts in the NW of the Sea of Galilee (*Leben Jesu* 2:117 f.).

We have still to notice a strange reference to Hermon in the Book of Enoch (16), where the wicked angels are

2. **Sanctity.** said to have descended in the days of Jared ('descend') on the summit of Mt. Hermon, and to have called it Hermon, because of the oath which they had sworn upon it. This is a proof of the persistent sacredness of Mt. Hermon, and reminds us of the statement of Philo of Byblos that the giants were named after the mountains of Syria—Casius (Mt. Casius) Libanus, Antilibanus (Hermon) and Hapsis (עֶרְסָה). A notable temple on the summit is referred to by Eusebius and Jerome (DS 217 (9), 80 (1)) as the seat of pagan worship, and recent exploration has confirmed this statement. Not only have the ruins of many Roman temples been discovered round the base and sides of the mountain, but also on its highest crag there are the traces of an open-air sanctuary, and close by on the plateau is an underground chamber, hewn in the rock, perhaps a Mithraeum.

Mount Hermon has in fact three craggy summits, which rise out of a plateau, hence it is usual to explain

3. **Description.** the plural noun 'Hermonim' in Ps. 126 [7]. 'Mount,' which is a Hebrew expression, means in this phrase a range of mountains, stretching from SW to NE, and separated from Antilibanus by a ravine in the N. Its modern names are *Jebel el Sh.* 'the mountain of the (white-haired) old man,' and *Jebel eth Thel.* 'the snow mountain.' The latter agrees with the appellation found in the Targum *hermon* (עֶרְמֹן), and is specially suitable, Hermon being widely visible in Palestine. It is rare for the snow to disappear entirely, and hence, as a rule, snow from Hermon is still, as in Jerome's time (note on Prov. 25:3), used for cooling drinks in the hot weather.

Hermon is 9166 feet above the sea-level. As one approaches it from the S., it seems to swell up like a vast dome, but it is also visible in the Jordan Valley nearly as far south as Jericho. The lower part of the mountain, says Conder,² consists of Nubian sandstone, which appears also in the Lebanon. The upper part is 'a very rugged and barren dome of hard grey fossiliferous dolomitic limestone.' Snow and frost combined have produced 'a sort of shingle which covers the higher slopes between the rocks and pinnacles of the mountain side.' Conder and Tristram give pleasing descriptions of the vegetation on the lower slopes; both the fauna and the flora present a remarkable contrast to those of the Jordan Valley, at the foot of the mountain. On the N. and the W. slopes are vineyards and orchards, which, however, are liable to visita from Syrian bears. On the S., the main source of the Jordan bursts from its cavern (see CASAREA, § 7). The oak and the poplar are the chief trees on the lower slopes; higher up, the Aleppo pine is conspicuous. Nor must we forget the famous 'flow of Hermon.' So abundant is the moisture of the night mist on Hermon that those who encamp there

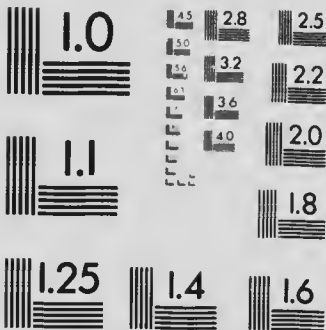
¹ Conder, in Smith's *DBD*, 1:140 n.

² *Ibid.*



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HERMONITES

during a summer night will find their tent as completely saturated as if heavy rain had fallen (p. DeW. § 11).

HERMONITES (Ἡρμονῖται; Ἡρμονίται [ΒΣΑΚ Γ]. Ἡρμονίται [R¹ V¹]; *Hermonitai* i.e., dwellers on Mt Hermon (so Kimchi, Answorth, etc.), PS 126 [7], AV, RV: the *Herimons* i.e., the three summits of HERMON (p. 11). See MIZAR.

HEROD (FAMILY OF). The ancestor of the Herodian family was Antipater, whom Alexander Jannaeus (103-78 B.C.) had made governor of Idumea (στρατηγὸς Ἰδουμαίας, *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 13). The accounts of his origin are contradictory.

Nicolas of Damascus represented him as belonging to the stock of Jews (ἐκ τῶν πατρῶν Ἰουδαίων) who returned from Babel (Jos. *Ant.* i. 10); but because Nicolas was Herod's minister and apologist Josephus rejects his testimony. His own belief is that Antipater was an Idumean of honorable family (πρωτοκλήτωρ τοῦ εἴρους; *BT* i. 62; p. *Ant.* xiv. 81).

The Idumeans had been subjugated by John Hyrcanus in 128 B.C., and compelled to embrace Judaism.

In course of time they came to regard themselves as Jews (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 90); though they were sometimes reminded that they were only 'half-Jews' (*BT* xiv. 100, Ἡρώδης . . . ἡμιεὶς ὄντι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, τούτους ἡμιεὶς ἡμιεὶς ἡμιεὶς). On the other hand, when it was convenient, Herod was claimed as a Jew (*Ant.* xv. 52, τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον).

The stories of the servile and Philistine origin of the family, spread abroad by Jewish, and perhaps also Christian, foes, are to be rejected (e.g., *Just. Mart. Dial.* 52, Ἡρώδης Ἀσσυρίων; *Jul. Afr. in Eus. Hist.* i. 70; see Schür. *Hist.* 1314 n.). The occurrence of an Antipater of Ascalon on a tombstone in Athens (*IG* 1115), and of a Herod of Ascalon on one at Puteoli (*IG* 101749), is interpreted in favour of origin from that town by Stark (*Gaza*, 535 f.).

1a. *Antipater (the younger).*—The history of the family begins with Antipater's son, himself also called Antipater, or Antipas—a diminutive form,

perhaps used to avoid ambiguity during his father's lifetime (so Wilcken, in Pauly's *Realencyc.*, s.v. 'Antipatros,' no. 17). Antipater the younger, who may perhaps have succeeded to his father's governorship,¹ threw himself devotedly into the cause of Hyrcanus II. in his struggle against the usurpation of the crown and high-priesthood by his brother Aristobolus II. in 65 B.C.

This struggle, in which Antipater enlisted the arms of the Arabian (Nabataean) king Aretas (Hārithā), ultimately cost the Jews their independence. The bold and vigorous character of Aristobolus injured, in fact, a resumption of the national policy of the Hasmonaean house, with which the Sadducean nobles were in sympathy. The accession of Queen Alexandra (75-69 B.C.) had marked the abandonment of this policy, and the adoption of the Pharisaic² abnegation of political development. (On this conflict of ideals between the two sects, see *Isr.* § 52 f.; Momms. *Hist. of Rome*, EF 4132; *Id. Proc. of R. Emp.* 2161.) The Pharisees attempted to attain their object under the merely nominal rule of the weak Hyrcanus, and it was among them, as well as among the legitimist Sadducees, that Antipater found support (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 13).

It is unnecessary to tell at length the story of the overthrow of the Maccabee state, effected by Pompeius as a part of his policy for the organization of Syria.

The gates of Jerusalem were opened to the legions of Pompeius by the party of Hyrcanus; but the national party seized the temple-rock and bravely defended it for three months (*Ant.* xiv. 42 f.). This was in the autumn of 63 B.C. The final result of the struggle was the curtailment of Jewish territory. In conformity with the general policy of Rome in the East, of basing rule upon the (Greek)³ urban communities, Pompeius 'liberated'

¹ *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 11, however, calls him merely δῖλος τις Ὑρκανοῦ. Hence Momms. *Proc. of R. Emp.* 2174 n. wrongly says, 'Antipater began his career as governor of Idumea'; unless we suppose the 'governorship' to have been merely a vague commission of superintendence attached to the hereditary chieftainship.

² *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 162, πάντα τοὺς Φαρισαίους ἐπέτρεπον ποιεῖν, οἷς καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκείνων μετέβηκεν.

³ For the meaning of 'Greek' in this connection, as contrasted with 'Jewish,' see Kuhn, *Die Stadt u. ihre Verfassung des Röm. Reichs*, 2137 f. It signifies not nationality so much as mode of organization.

HEROD, FAMILY OF

from the Jewish rule all the coast towns from Raphia to Ptolemais, and all the non-Jewish towns of the Peraea together with Sythopolis and Samaria. To all these communal freedom was restored, whilst in other respects they were under the rule of the governor of the newly constituted province of Syria.

The purely Jewish portion of the Hasmonaean kingdom was left under Hyrcanus, who was recognised as high priest, but had neither the title nor the powers of a king (*Jos. Ant.* xv. 104). The whole country was made tributary, paying its taxes through the governor of Syria (*id. Ant.* xiv. 44; *BT* i. 76).

It is clear that as a civil governor Hyrcanus was a complete failure, succumbing, as he did, before the first attack of Alexander, son of Aristobolus. Gabinius therefore deprived him of all his secular powers, and divided the whole country (i.e., Judaea, Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea) into five independent districts.

These districts (συνδοαί, *synhedria*) were administered by governing colleges with an aristocratic organisation (*Jos. Ant.* i. 85, ἀριστοὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνης ἐπιμετείαν ἐκτελεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀριστοὺς ἀποστοκατὰ διακοῦντο). This was in 57 B.C. Two following years were also marked by abortive attempts—the part of Aristobolus or his son to recover the lost crown (see on the position of parties at this time, Wellh. *Proleg.* I. I, 327 f.).

The position of Antipater at this period is described by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 81).

Josephus calls Antipater 'governor of the Jews' (τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμελητής); so also Strabo, quoted by Josephus (*Geog.* 16). This office was probably in the main concerned with finance, for the five districts above mentioned must have been connected, not with the administration of law merely, but also with the arrangements for collecting the taxes. In any case Antipater was an officer, not of Hyrcanus, whose power was at this time purely ecclesiastical, but of the Roman governor of Syria. The degree to which this was evident in practice depended entirely upon the attitude of Antipater towards Hyrcanus, and it was easy for him to act as though he were merely his first minister. Probably he owed this position to Gabinius, who in 55 B.C. 'settled the affairs of Jerusalem according to the wishes of Antipater' (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 64).

It is, therefore, an inversion of the facts when Josephus assigns to the initiative of Hyrcanus the services of Antipater to Caesar in Egypt in 48-7 B.C. (*Ant.* xiv. 81, ἐξ ἐπιτολῆς Ὑρκανοῦ). There was, in fact, no alternative open, once Pompeius had fallen. An additional reason for this policy was that in 49 B.C. Caesar had attempted to use the defeated rival of Hyrcanus against the Pompeian party in Syria. The plan was frustrated by the poisoning of Aristobolus even before he left Rome, and by the execution of his son Alexander at Antioch by the proconsul of Syria, Q. Metellus Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius. Antigonus, the second son of Aristobolus, still lived and had strong claims on Caesar's gratitude. The personal services of Antipater, however, carried the day; he fought bravely and successfully for Caesar at Pelusium and in the Delta. Hyrcanus was consequently confirmed in his high-priestly office and appointed hereditary 'ethnarch' of the Jews—i.e., he was reinstated in the political authority of which he had been deprived by Gabinius. Antipater was made procurator (ἐπιτροπος; not the procuratorship of the imperial period, but an office delegated, in theory, by Hyrcanus; cp Momms. *Proc. of R. Emp.* 2174 n.). In addition, he was granted Roman citizenship, and freedom from taxation (*immunitas*; *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 83; *BT* i. 95).

The real control of the country was in the hands of Antipater (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 93; *BT* i. 105 f.), who strengthened his position by appointing Phasael and Herod (two of his sons by Cypros, an Arabian; *Ant.* xiv. 74) governors (στρατηγοὶ)—the former in Jerusalem and the south, the latter in Galilee (*Ant.* xiv. 92). This is the first occasion on which we hear of Herod. He was at this time, according to Josephus (i.e.; cp *BT* i. 104, κομῶν ῥέον), only fifteen years old. Probably we should read 'twenty-five,' for Herod was about seventy at the time of his death (*BT* i. 331; see Schür. *Hist.* 1381 n.).

Once again before his end Antipater had an opportunity of displaying that sagacity in choosing sides, to which he owed his success.

In 46 B.C., Cerealis Bassus, a member of the Pompeian party, aided Sextus Caesar, the governor of Syria, to be assassinated.

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and made himself master of Syria. He was besieged in Apameia by the Caesarians under C. Antistius Vetus, who was assisted by troops sent by Antipater (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 114; Dio Cass. 47.22). The new governor, L. Statius Murus, obtained no advantage over Cassius, and the siege continued without result, when the assassination of Cassius, and the arrival in Syria of Gaius Cassius Longinus, one of his murderers, changed the aspect of affairs. Both besiegers and besieged went over to Cassius, and the republican party was, for a time at least, dominant in the East. The *de facto* rulers of Palestine, Antipater and Herod, displayed their zeal for raising the 70 talents demanded as the Jewish contribution to the republican war-chest (44 B.C.).

In the following year, after the withdrawal of Cassius, Antipater fell a victim to poison administered at the instigation of a certain Malchus.

The object of the conspiracy is not clear. Was Malchus a leader of the Pharisaic section anxious for a reinstatement of the old theocratic government under Hyrcanus (so Matthews, *Hist. of J. P. Times in Palestine*, 190, cp. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 114; *την ταύτην τελευτήν ἀποβλέπων Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νομίζων*); or was he prompted merely by ambition (so Schürer, *Hist.* I. 36; cp. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 114; *σπουδαῖον ἀνέστη Ἀντιπάτρου τὸν ἐκτελεῖν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, and ibid. 7)? Or, thirdly, was he a patriot who saw in the civil war an opportunity of getting rid of Roman domination altogether; including both Antipater and (if necessary) Hyrcanus, who were its representatives (cp. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 118, end)? Lastly, was Hyrcanus himself possibly privy to the murder of Antipater?*

16. *Herod the Great*.—The services rendered by Herod to the cause of Cassius were rewarded by his appointment as *strategos* of Coele-Syria (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 114); it was typical of the man that he should have held this position originally under the Caesarian governor, Sextus Caesar (*ibid.* *Ant.* xiv. 95).

Already in Galilee he had given proof of his energy and ability, and at the same time of his thorough enmity to anti-Roman sentiments, by his capture and execution of Ezekias, a noted brigand chief or patriot, who for long had harassed the Syrian border (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 105). It was not long, however, before (44 B.C.), the year in which Antigonus, son of Aristobolus II., was defeated by Herod, Herod performed another *tour-de-force*, the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi having thrown all the East into the power of Antonius.

Partly by reason of the friendship which there had been between Antonius and Antipater in the days of Galilee, partly also no doubt by reason of the remarkable similarity in character between the Roman and the Idumean, Herod had no difficulty in securing the thorough support of Antonius. Deputation after deputation from the Sadducean party (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 122 f.) appeared before Antonius with accusations against Phasael and Herod; but in vain. Hyrcanus himself was fain to admit the ability of the accused.

Antonius was only consulting the interests of peace and good government in declaring both Phasael and Herod tetrarchs (*Ant.* xiv. 131).

In the following year (40 B.C.) Herod experienced the strangest vicissitudes of fortune. The Parthians were induced by Antigonus to espouse his cause.

They passed from Syria into Judaea, where the legitimists (*i.e.*, the aristocrats, in the main Sadducees) rallied round Antigonus, who, seeing that Hyrcanus was bound hand and foot to the hated Idumeans, was now the real representative of the Hasmonaean line. Hyrcanus and Phasael incautiously put themselves in the power of their enemies. The ears of Hyrcanus were cut off in order to make it impossible for him ever again to hold the high-priesthood (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 131). Phasael, happy in his knowledge that he had an avenger in his brother who was free, dashed out his own brains.

Herod himself, too crafty to be deceived by the Parthians, had made his escape eastwards with his mother Cypros, his sister Salome, and Mariamne, to whom he was betrothed; Mariamne was also accompanied by her mother, Alexandra. These Herod deposited for safety in the strong castle of Masada by the Dead Sea (*Ant.* xiv. 136). He himself made his way with difficulty to Alexandria, and at length arrived at Rome, where he was welcomed both by Antonius and by Octavian. Within a week he was declared king of Judaea by the Senate; his restoration indeed was to the interest of the Romans, seeing that Antigonus had allied himself with the Parthian enemy.

P. Ventidius, the legate of Antonius in Syria, succeeded in expelling the Parthians from Syria and Palestine (Dio

1 For an earlier notice, see above, § 2 end.

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Cass. 18.41), but neither he nor his subordinate Silius gave Herod any help in regaining Jerusalem.

Herod was in fact compelled to rest content for this year (39 B.C.) with the seizure of Jaffa, the raising of the blockade of Masada, and the extermination of the robbers (*i.e.*, patriots) of Galilee in the almost inaccessible caverns of Atchafrazza, in the *Wady el-Burhan*, see *Ant.* xiv. § 13. Next year he joined Antonius, then besieging Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, in Samosata, probably with the object of securing more effective assistance. At Daphne (Antioch), on his homeward journey, he received news of the defeat of Galilee, and the complete defeat and death of his brother Joseph at the hands of Archelaus.

It was not until the following year that the fall of Samosata enabled Antonius to reinforce Herod before Jerusalem with the bulk of his army under C. Sosius, the new governor of Syria (37 B.C.). Herod chose this moment for the celebration of his marriage with Mariamne, to whom he had been betrothed for the past five years (*Ant.* xiv. 1504). The ceremony took place at Samaria.¹ This central district of Palestine remained loyal to Herod throughout these troublous years, and a large part of his forces was recruited therefrom.

After a three months' siege Antigonus surrendered, and was carried in chains to Amoech, where, by Herod's wish, Antonius had him beheaded.² The last king, we are told, to be so dealt with by the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 12; Phil. *Ant.* 36). This was the end of the Hasmonaean dynasty, and from this year dates Herod's reign (37 B.C.).

Herod's reign is generally divided into three periods:— (1) 37-25 B.C., in which his power was consolidated;

(2) 25-13 B.C., the period of prosperity;

4. Herod as king. (3) 13-4 B.C., the period of domestic troubles.

1. *The consolidation of Herod's power* (37-25 B.C.).—During the early years of his reign Herod had to contend with several enemies.

It is true that the immediate execution of forty-five of the most wealthy and prominent of the Sadducean *aristocracy*, which favoured Antigonus (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 94, *πέντε ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀρχαῖῳ ἔθνεϊ*, *Ant.* xv. 12, *τοὺς πλουτοῦντες ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἀρχαίας*) broke the native resistance of the rival house, whilst the confiscation of their property filled the new king's coffers.

With the Pharisaic party resistance was of a more passive nature; but the leaders of even the more moderate section, Pollio and Sannas,³ in advising the surrender of Jerusalem, could only speak of his dominion as a judgment of God, to which the people must submit. Opposition on the part of the surviving members of the Hasmonaean house never ceased; its mainspring was Alexandra, Herod's mother-in-law, who found an ally in Cleopatra of Egypt. The enmity of Cleopatra was possibly due simply to pique (*Ant.* xiv. 142, end). Hyrcanus, who had been set at liberty, and was held in great honour by the Babylonian Jews, was invited by Herod to return to Jerusalem, and, on his arrival, was treated with all respect by the king.⁴

As Hyrcanus could no longer hold the high-priesthood (Lev. 21.16 f.), Ananel, an obscure Babylonian Jew of priestly family, was selected for the post, which he occupied for a time; but the machinations of Alexandra soon compelled Herod to depose him in favour of Aristobolus (III.), son of Alexandra (35 B.C.). The acclamations of the populace, when the young Hasmonaean prince (he was only seventeen years of age) officiated at the Feast of Tabernacles, warned Herod that he had escaped one danger only to incur a greater.

Shortly afterwards Aristobolus was drowned by Herod's orders in the bath at Jericho.

Cleopatra constituted a real danger for Herod during the first six years of his reign, owing to her boundless rapacity and her strange influence over Antonius. In 34 B.C. she induced Antonius to bestow upon her the whole of Phoenicia (with the exception of Tyre and

1 Mariamne was Herod's second wife. His first wife was Doris (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 121; *Ant.* xiv. 221). By her he had one son, Antipater.

2 Dio Cass. 49.22 says that he was crucified.

3 Possibly the celebrated Abtalion, and his pupil Shammai.

4 Jos. *Ant.* xv. 232 absurdly explains this as merely a piece of flattery by Herod's party.

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Sidon, part of the Arabian territory (for the revenue of which Herod was held responsible), and the valuable district of Jericho (which Herod was compelled to take in lease from the queen, for 200 talents yearly; *B/i* i. 183). Loyalty, combined with prudence, enabled the harassed king to resist the fascinations of the Egyptian enchantress when she passed through Judaea (*Ant* xv. 42).

When the Roman Senate declared war against Antonius and Cleopatra, it was Herod's good fortune not to be compelled to champion the failing cause. In obedience to the wishes of Cleopatra herself, he was engaged in a war with the Arabian king Malchus for no nobler cause than the queen's arrears of tribute. On the news of Octavian's victory at Actium (20 Sept. 31 B.C.), he passed over at once to the victorious side (*Jos*, *Ant* xv. 67; Dio Cass. 51.7). He did not venture to appear before Octavian until he had removed the aged Hyrcanus on a feeble charge of conspiracy with Malchus the Arabian (*Ant* xv. 63). The interview upon which his fate depended took place at Rhodes.

Herod accurately gauged the character of Octavian, and frankly confessing his past loyalty to Antonius, left it to Octavian to say whether he should serve him as faithfully. It should not be forgotten that Herod and Octavian were no strangers to each other, and that no one was better able to estimate the necessities of Herod's position during the past few years than Octavian; probably Herod was in less danger than is sometimes imagined.

The result was that Octavian confirmed Herod's royal title; and, after the suicide of Antonius and Cleopatra, restored to him all the territory of which the queen had deprived him, together with the cities of Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower. The 400 Celts who had formed Cleopatra's guard were also given to him (*B/i* i. 203). These external successes were counterbalanced by domestic troubles.

These troubles had their origin in the eternal breach between Mariamne and her mother on the one side, and Herod's own mother and sister on the other. The contempt of the Hasmonæans was reinforced with hatred by the Idumean Salome. The machinations of the latter bore fruit when in a paroxysm of anger and jealousy Herod ordered Mariamne to execution. Renewed court piracy soon brought her vile mother also to her doom (23 B.C.).

The extermination of the Hasmonæan family was completed by the execution of Costobar, Salome's second husband.

Salome's first husband, Joseph had been put to death in 34 B.C. Costobar, as governor of Idumea, had given asylum to the sons of Baba, a son of the rival house; these also were executed, and thus the last male representatives of the Hasmonæan line were swept from Herod's path (25 B.C.).

ii. *The period of Herod's prosperity, 25-13 B.C.*—Secure at last from external and internal foes, Herod was free for the next twelve years to carry out his programme of development. He was governing for the Romans a part of the empire, and he was bound to spread western customs and language and civilisation among his subjects, and fit them for their position in the Roman world. Above all, the prime requirement was that he must maintain peace and order; the Romans knew well that no civilising process could go on, so long as disorder and disturbance and insecurity remained in the country. Herod's duty was to keep the peace and naturalise the Græco-Roman civilisation in Palestine (Rams. *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 174).

The great buildings were the most obvious fruit of this period.

Strato's Tower was entirely rebuilt (*B/i* i. 215 f.), and furnished with a splendid harbour (see CESAREA, § 1). Samaria, also, was rebuilt and renamed Sebaste (*Strabo*, p. 760). Both these cities contained a temple of Augustus, and Herod showed his zeal for the empire by similar foundations in other cities, outside the limits of Judaea (*Jos*, *Ant* xv. 93). Connected with this was the establishment of games, celebrated every fourth year, in honour of the Emperor (*Ant*, 16.5, τὴν ἀγῶνα καθ' ἑκάστην τετραετίαν . . . ἄγειν, at Cesarea; cp. *ibid.* *Ant* xv. 84; also at Jerusalem, *ibid.*).¹ With this went, of course, the erection of the necessary buildings (theatre, amphitheatre, and hippodrome at Jerusalem, *Ant* xv. 84; *B/i* ii. 34; the same at Jericho, *Ant* xvii. 6.5; *B/i*

¹ Cp. Suet. *Aug.* 59 on the games and the 'Cæsareæ urbes' built by the 'reges amicitiae socii'.

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i. 334; at Cesarea, *Ant* xv. 96). The games were necessarily after the Greek model. Even in the time of the Maccabæes Hellenism in this form had not yet taken root (*Jos* i. 114; see *Herod* 2884).

The defensive system of the country was highly developed, by the erection of new fortresses, or the rebuilding of dismantled Hasmonæan strongholds. Some of these fortresses were destined to give the Romans much trouble in the great war (*B/i* vii. 64, vii. 82 f.). They were designed by Herod for the suppression of brigandage (a standing evil) and the defence of the frontier against the roving tribes of the desert (*Ant* xvi. 92). So successful was he in fulfilling this primary requirement, that in 23 B.C. Augustus put under his administration the districts of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea, inhabited by nomad robber-tribes, which the neighbouring tetrarch Zenodorus had failed to keep in order (*B/i* i. 204; cp. *Strabo* 750, κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν περὶ Τηρόδαρον Ἀσσύρων). In 20 B.C., on the death of Zenodorus, Herod was given his tetrarchy, the regions of Uthla and Panias (*Ant* xv. 103; cp. Dio Cass. 54.6); and he obtained permission to appoint his brother Pheroras tetrarch of Peraea. On Herod's work cp. Momms. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 212.

Much might be said of Herod's munificence both to his own subjects and far beyond the limits of his kingdom.

The Syrian Antioch (*Jos*, *Ant* xvi. 53), the cities of Chios and Rhodes, the new foundation of Augustus, Nicopolis, in Epirus, and many others, experienced Herod's liberality. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians counted him among their benefactors (*B/i* i. 211; cp. *CLL* iii. 1550). The ancient festival at Olympia recovered something of its old glory through his munificence (*Ant* xvi. 53). At home, in 20 B.C., he remitted one-third of the taxes (*Ant* xv. 104), and in 14 B.C. one-fourth (*Ant* xvi. 25). In 25 B.C. he had converted into coin even his own plate in order to relieve the sufferers from famine by importing corn from Egypt (*Ant* xv. 91 f.).

The greatest benefit of all, however, in the eyes of Jews must have been his restoration of the Temple, a work which was carried out with the nicest regard for the religious scruples of the nation (*Ant* xv. 116). Begun in 20 B.C., it was not entirely finished until the time of the Procurator Albinus (62-64 A.D.), a few years before its total destruction (cp. *Jn* 2.20). Its beauty and magnificence were proverbial (cp. Mt. 24. Mk. 13. Lk. 21.5).

iii. *Period of domestic troubles, 13-4 B.C.*—The last nine years of Herod's life were marked in a special degree by domestic miseries. Of his ten wives (enumerated in *Jos*, *Ant* xvii. 13; *B/i* i. 284), the first, Doris (col. 2026 n. 1), had been repudiated, along with her son Antipater (*B/i* i. 221). By his marriage with Mariamne Herod had hoped to give his position a certain legitimacy.

Mariamne's mother, Alexandra, was the daughter of Hyrcanus II., whilst her father, Alexander, was a son of Aristobolus II. (brother of Hyrcanus); consequently Mariamne represented the direct line of the Hasmonæan (Maccabæan) family.

The political intrigues of Mariamne's mother, and the mutual enmity of Mariamne and Herod's mother (Cypros) and sister (Salome), effectually frustrated these hopes. Of the three sons borne to Herod by Mariamne, the youngest died in Rome (*B/i* i. 222); but Alexander and Aristobolus were fated to die on the gibbet at that very Sebastê which, thirty years before, had seen Herod's marriage with their mother.

Salome had in the second tragedy also a large share, notwithstanding the fact that Berenice, the wife of Aristobolus, was her own daughter (by Costobar, see above, i. end). The recall of the banished Antipater, son of Doris, brought a more deadly intriguer upon the scene (14 B.C.; *B/i* i. 234). Under the combined attack of Antipater and Salome, the two sons of Mariamne incurred the suspicions of the king. The reconciliation effected by Augustus himself (*Ant* xvi. 45; in 12 B.C.) at Aquileia, and two years later by Archelaus, the Cappadocian king (*Ant* xvi. 8), had no long continuance. The elements of discord and intrigue were reinforced by the arrival at Herod's court of the Lacedæmonian adventurer Eurykles (*B/i* i. 261 f.). The brothers were again accused of treason, and Augustus gave leave to Herod

¹ The wife of Alexander was Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Glaphyra and Berenice were also on terms of bitterest enmity (*B/i* i. 242 f.).

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to deal with them as he saw fit. They were tried at Berytus before C. Sentius Saturninus, the governor of Syria (*Ant.* 17.272), and condemned to death. The execution took place at Sebaste (7.100).

Antipater, whose life, says Josephus, was a 'mystery of iniquity' (*Ant.* 17.210), next plotted with Pheroras to remove the king by poison. Herod's days, indeed, were already numbered, as he was afflicted with a painful and loathsome disease (*Ant.* 17.335). He lived long enough, however, to summon the arch-plotter from Italy, and to bring him to trial before Quinctilius Varus, then governor of Syria, and finally to receive the emperor's permission for his execution (*Ant.* 17.337).¹

Herod is said to have contemplated the wholesale massacre of the chief men of Judaea, in the hippodrome of Jerusalem, in order that his funeral might be accompanied by the genuine lamentations of the people; but Salome released them during his last days (*Ant.* xvii.65). We may reasonably doubt whether Jewish tradition has not intensified the colours in which the closing scenes of the hated king's life are painted (*Ant.* xvii.81).

Herod died in 4 B.C., five days after the execution of Antipater. There is probably no royal house of any age in which bloody feuds raged in an equal degree between parents and children, between husbands and wives, and between brothers and sisters' (Mommsen, *Proc. of Rom. Emp.* 2130).

We cannot here discuss the question whether Herod is rightly called 'the Great'.² Certainly it is not easy to be strictly fair towards him; but so much must be clear, that, judged by the standard of material benefits conferred, few princes have less reason to shrink from the test. In addition to the benefits of his rule at home, there were gains for the Jews of the Dispersion in Asia Minor. By his personal influence with Agrippa, he obtained safety for them: Temple contributions, exemption from military service, and other privileges (*Jos. Ant.* xvi.64*f.*). In estimating these services, Herod's position in the imperial system must be remembered.

Herod was only one of a large number of 'allied kings' (*reges socii*), whose use even of the royal title was dependent upon the goodwill of the emperor, and their exercise of royal authority no less so.³ In the most favourable case, their sovereign rights were strictly limited within the boundaries of their own land, so that a foreign policy was impossible. The right of coining money was limited; and as, of the Herodian line, only copper coins are known, we must correct the impression of Herod's importance derived from many of the statements of Josephus. The fact that no tribute was imposed, at least upon Judaea, made all the more imperative Herod's obligations in respect of frontier defence and internal good government.

The connection of Herod the Great with the NT is slight. Both Mt. (21) and Lk. (21) agree that the birth of Jesus took place during his reign; but the additional information given by Lk. as to the date has caused serious difficulties (see CHRONOLOGY, § 57*ff.*). On the narrative of the Massacre of the Innocents, see NativITY.

Herod made several wills. As a *rex socius*, indeed, he could not bequeath his kingdom without the consent of Rome. It had been, therefore, a distinct mark of favour that, on his visit to Rome to accuse Alexander and Aristobolus, he had been given leave by Augustus to dispose

of his kingdom as he saw fit (*Ant.* xvi.140). Apparently it was only on the express command of the emperor that he refrained then from abdication.

On his return to Jerusalem he announced to the people, assembled in the temple, that his sons should succeed him: first Antipater, and then Alexander and Aristobolus. The first formal testament did, in fact, designate Antipater as heir; but, as the sons of Mariamne were then dead, Herod, the son of the high priest's daughter, was to succeed in the event of Antipater's dying before the king (*Ant.* xvii.32). After Antipater's disgrace a second will was made, bequeathing the kingdom to his youngest son Antipas (*Ant.* xvii.61). This was in its turn revoked by a will drawn up in his last hours, by which he divided his realm among three of his sons: Archelaus, to whom he gave Judaea, with the title of king; Antipas, to whom he gave Galilee and Peraea, with the title of tetrarch; and Philip, to whom he gave the NE districts, also with the title of tetrarch (*Ant.* xvii.81).

2. Herod Antipas. — (Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης [Ti. WH], Mt. 14.1, Lk. 3.19, 27, Acts 13.1, v. correctly called 'king' in Mk. 6.14, ὁ βασιλεὺς).

7. Antipas. Ἡρώδης (ἁδ.) [Ti. WH] (so also in Mt. 14.9, ὁ βασιλεὺς); cp. Mk. 6.22*f.* Sometimes called simply Herod (Acts 4.27); as often by Josephus, who also calls him Antipas [Ἀντίπας, an abbreviated form of Ἀντιπατρός].

Son of Herod the Great by the Samaritan Malthace, consequently full brother of Archelaus (*Jos. Ant.* xvii.130). By Herod's last will he received the prosperous regions of Galilee and Peraea, with the title of tetrarch.¹ The confederation of independent Graeco-Roman communities called the Decapolis lay between the two parts of his territory which brought in an annual revenue of two hundred talents (*Ant.* xvii.114). He had the characteristically Herodian passion for building. In Galilee he rebuilt Sepphoris (*Ant.* xvii.24), and in Peraea Betharamphtha (see BETH-HARAN); and after 20 A.D. he created the splendid capital named by him TIBERIAS [7.7]. Little is told us of the course of his long reign (4 B.C. - 39 A.D.). We may believe that he was a successful ruler and administrator; but the diplomacy which distinguished Herod the Great became something far less admirable in Antipas, as we may see from the contemptuous expression used of the tetrarch by Jesus in Lk. 13.32, 'Go ye, and tell that fox.'

Perhaps, however, this intemperance should be restricted to the particular occasion that called it forth and should not be regarded as an epitome of the tetrarch's character; nevertheless we have an illustration of this trait in the story told by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii.45) of his out-manoeuvring Aelius in forwarding the report of the treaty with the Parthian king Artabanus to Tiberius. Antipas certainly did not inherit his father's qualities as a leader in war.

Perhaps it was consciousness of his weakness in this respect that prompted Antipas to seek the hand of the daughter of the Arabian king Aretas, or he may have been urged to the alliance by Augustus, in obedience to the principle enunciated with reference to the intermarriage of *reges socii* by Suetonius (*Aug.* 48).

The connection with Herodias, wife of his half-brother Herod (son of the second Mariamne), gained Antipas his notoriety in evangelic tradition. The flight of the daughter of Aretas to her father involved him ultimately in hostilities with the Arabians, in which the tetrarch was severely defeated: a divine punishment in the eyes of many, for his murder of John the Baptist (*Ant.* xviii.52). There was apparently no need for Antipas to divorce his first wife in order to marry Herodias; but Herodias perhaps refused to tolerate a possible rival (*Ant.* xviii.51; cp. *Ant.* xvi.121).²

The story of the connection of JOHN THE BAPTIST [7.7] with the court of Antipas need not be repeated here. Later, the Pharisees warn Jesus that the tetrarch seeks his life (Lk. 13.31). On the phrase 'the leaven of Herod' (Mk. 8.15) see HERODIANS. Again in the

1 Since Herod Antipas is the only Herod who bore the title of tetrarch, we must refer to him an inscription on the island of Cos (*IG 12.2302*), and another on the island of Rhodes (*IG 12.2303*), but nothing is known about his connection with these places.

2 According to the Mishna, *Sanh.* 24, eighteen wives were allowed to the king (see authorities quoted by Schür. *Hist.* 1455 n.).

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closing scene in the life of Jesus we meet with Antipas. Pilate, we are told by Lk. (23:7), sent Jesus to the tetrarch 'as soon as he knew that he belonged into Herod's jurisdiction'.

The death of his firm friend Tiberius, and the accession of Gaius (Caligula), in 37 A.D., led to the fall of Antipas.

The advancement of Agrippa I to the position of king over Philip's old tetrarchy by the new emperor was galling to his sister Herodias; and against his better judgment Antipas was prevailed upon by her to go to Rome to sue for the royal title. The interview with Gaius took place at Baiae. Agrippa meanwhile had sent on his freedman Fortunatus with a document accusing Antipas of having been in treasonable correspondence, not only with Sejanus (who had been executed in 31 A.D.) but also with the Parthian king Artabanus. Antipas could not, in fact, deny that his magazines contained a great accumulation of arms (probably in view of his war with the Arabians).

The deposition and banishment of Antipas, however, were in all probability due as much to the caprice of the mad emperor as to real suspicions of disloyalty.

His place of banishment was Lugdunum (Lyon) in Gaul (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 7-9); according to B. ii. 9, he died in Spain¹ and it has been suggested that his place of exile was actually Lugdunum Convenarum, at the northern foot of the Pyrenees, near the sources of the Garonne; but this will not save the statement of Josephus. A confused remark of Dio Cassius (61-5) seems to imply that he was put to death by Caligula.

3. *Herod Archelaus*.—(Ἀρχαῖος [Ti. VII]: Mt. 22:7). Son of Herod the Great by Malthace, and

8. *Archelaus*. Antipas actually put in a claim for the crown against him before Augustus, on the ground that he had been himself named sole heir in the will drawn up when Herod was under the influence of the accusations made by Antipater against Archelaus and Philip (see § 6). The majority of the people, under the influence of the orthodox (the Pharisees), seized the opportunity afforded by Herod's death to attempt to re-establish the sacerdotal government under the Roman protectorate. Herod was scarcely buried before the masses in Jerusalem gathered with the demand for the deposition of the high-priest nominated by him, and for the ejection of foreigners from the city, where the Passover was just about to be celebrated. Archelaus was under the necessity of sending his troops among the rioters. A deputation of fifty persons was sent to Rome requesting the abolition of the monarchy. To Rome also went Archelaus claiming the kingdom—a journey which probably suggested the framework of the parable in Lk. 19:12. Augustus practically confirmed Herod's last will, and assigned to Archelaus Judaea proper, with Samaria and Idumaea, including the cities of Caesarea, Samaria, Joppa, and Jerusalem; but the royal title was withheld, at least until he should have shown that he deserved it (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 11-14, B/i. 63). The city of Gaza was excepted from this arrangement, and attached to the province of Syria.

The proper title of Archelaus was ethnarch. Mt. 22:2 uses the inaccurate expression βασιλεύς (and so Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 43 ὁ ἐπικρατατής αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἀρχαῖος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ). The troops indeed had saluted him as king on Herod's death (*Ant.* xviii. 82); but he refused to accept the title until it should be confirmed by Augustus (B/i. 11). Probably in popular speech it was given as a matter of courtesy. The coins with ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ must be his, for no other member of the family bore the title; and, like Antipas, he used the family name of Herod (so Dio Cass. 61:27 calls him Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνιος; Josephus never calls him Herod.)

Of the details of the administration of Archelaus we know nothing, nor apparently did Josephus. He indeed says that his rule was violent and tyrannical (cp B/i. 73, and *Ant.* xviii. 132, where he is charged with ὀμότης and τυραννίς). The description in the parable is apt—Lk. 19:11 (ἀνθρώπος ἀσσηρός), and hence we can the better understand the statement in Mt. 22:2 respecting Joseph's fear to go to Judaea. Apparently Archelaus did not take the pains to handle gently the religious prejudices of his subjects.

¹ Niese, however, rejects the reading Σπανία or Ἰσπανία in this passage, and restores Γαλλία from *Ant.* xviii. 7:2.

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Not only did he depose and set up high-priests at his pleasure, but he also took to wife Cleopatra, the daughter of the Cappadocian king Archelaus (probably between 4 B.C. and 4 A.D.). Cleopatra had been wife of Alexander, half-brother of Archelaus, who was executed in 7 B.C. (see § 4, n. 3). Her second husband was Juba, king of Mauretania, who was killed still living when she married Archelaus. Moreover, she had had children by Alexander, and for this reason marriage with her was unlawful.

After nine years of rule the chief men of Judaea and Samaria invoked the interference of the emperor, and Archelaus was banished to Vienna (Vienna) in Gaul (*Ant.* xviii. 132; cp Dio Cass. 55:27).²

It is to Archelaus that Strabo (763) refers when he says that a son of Herod was living, at the time of his writing, among the Allobroges, for Vienna was their capital town. If the statement of Jerome (DN 101:11) that Archelaus' grave was near Bethlehem is trustworthy (cp RACON), he must have returned to Palestine to die.

The territory of Archelaus was taken under the immediate rule of Rome, and received a governor of its own of the equestrian order (ἐπίτροπος, procurator, see ISRAEL, § 901); but it was under the general supervision of the imperial legate of Syria (on the status of Judaea at this time, see Momms, *Prov. of R. Emp.* 2:185, n. 1). Forthwith, of course, the obligation to Roman tribute fell upon the territory thus created into a province (hence, in Judaea, Jesus was brought face to face with the whole question of the compatibility or otherwise of Judaism with the imperial claims; cp Mt. 22:15 ff. Mk. 12:13 ff. Lk. 20:20 ff.).

4. *Herod Philip*.—[Ἡρώδης, Jos.; Φίλιππος, Mk. 6:17; see below.] Son of Herod the Great by Mariamme,

9. *Herod*. Herod made high priest (about 24 B.C.),

(Philip?). In spite of Mk. 6:17 (see below), we cannot hold that he ever really bore the name Philip; the confusion, which is doubtless primitive, arose from the fact that the son-in-law of Herodias was called Philip (see CLEOPAS, § 2). Herod's first will arranged that Philip should succeed in the event of Antipater's dying before coming to the throne (see § 6); but Philip was disinherited owing to his mother's share in Antipater's intrigues (*Ant.* xviii. 12, B/i. 30:7). 'Philip' lived and died, therefore, in a private station, apparently in Rome (*Ant.* xviii. 51); for it seems to have been in Rome that his half-brother Antipas saw Herodias. It is indeed only in connection with his wife Herodias, sister of Agrippa I., that the name of this Herod occurs in the NT.

In Mk. 6:17 all MSS read 'his brother Philip's wife' (τῆς γυναικὸς Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ), from which it would appear that this Herod also bore the name Philip. When, however, we find that Josephus knows only the name Herod for him (cp *Ant.* xviii. 11:3 ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐξ ἧς ἐν καὶ ὀνομαζομένη αὐτῷ πατρὶς γεγενῆσθαι), and that another son of Herod the Great also certainly bore the name Philip (see § 11), suspicion is aroused, and this is confirmed when we find that 'of Philip' is omitted in Mt. 14:3 by D and some Lat. MSS (followed by Zahn, *Eint.* 2:309), whilst in Lk. 3:19 it is omitted by BEDE. That Lk. does not give the name is highly significant. An appeal to the fact that several sons of Herod the Great bore the name Herod cannot save the credit of Mt. and Mk. in this particular; for Herod was a family and a dynastic title.⁵ The coexistence in the family of the names Antipas and Antipater is also no argument, for they are in fact different names.

5. *Herodias*.—(Ἡρώδης [Ti.], φῶδ. [VII]: Mt.

¹ He deposed Joazar because of his share in the political disturbances, and appointed his brother Eleazar. Soon Jesus took the place of Eleazar. Finally Joazar was reinstated (*Ant.* xviii. 21).

² ὁ τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνιος, αἰτῶν τὰ ὑπο τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβῶν, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπερωρήθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσίωσεν.

³ Sed et propter eandem Bethleem regis quondam Judaea Archelaus tumulus ostenditur.

⁴ So Jos. *Ant.* xv. 93. In other places Boethus is the name of her father. The family belonged originally to Alexandria.

⁵ The name was borne not only by Archelaus (see his coins, cp § 8) and Antipas (see § 7), after their rise to semi-royal dignity, but also by two sons of Herod the Great who never attained thereto—viz., the subject of this section, the son of the second Mariamme, and also one of the sons of Cleopatra of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 13, B/i. 28:4).

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113-14 Mk. 6:17-21 Lk. 3:19. Daughter of Aristobulus

10. Herodias. (Herod's second son by Mariamne, granddaughter of Hircanus.) Her mother was Bernice (Berenece), daughter of Salome, Herod's sister. Herod of Chalcis (see § 12), Agrippa I., and the younger Aristobulus, were therefore full brothers of Herodias. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xviii, 54) she was wife first of her half uncle Herod (see preceding section), who is erroneously supposed to have been also called Philip. The issue of this marriage was the famous Salome who danced before Herod Antipas, and thus became the instrument of her mother's vengeance upon the Baptist. Herodias deserted her first husband in order to marry his half-brother Antipas, thus transgressing the Law (cp Lev. 18:16 Dt. 25:7).

In Mk. 6:22 the reading "his daughter Herodias (*τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡροδίας*)" [WH¹⁹] that of **8810.13**. This would make the girl daughter of Antipas and Herodias, bearing her mother's name. Certainly the expression applied to her in the same verse (*καρπὸς*) is in favor of this; conversely, if the ordinary reading which designates the daughter as Salome is accepted, we must admit a great disparity in age between her and her first husband Philip the tetrarch, if she is rightly called *καρπὸς* about 23 A.D.; for Philip died in 34 A.D., at the age of sixty, or thereabouts. As the priest of John the Baptist in reference to the marriage by no means implies as to assume that the union was recent, it is scarcely possible to maintain that a daughter if it must have been too young to dance at a banquet. In our ignorance of the chronology of the reign of Antipas a solution is not to be had; though it is always possible by means of assumptions to create a scheme that fits in with the received reading (cp Schür, *Hist.* 2:27 n., and authorities there quoted).

It would scarcely be just to ascribe the action of Herodias solely to ambition; it was rather a case of real and intense affection. It is true that it was Herodias who goaded her husband, in spite of his desire for quiet and in spite of his misgivings (*Ant.* xviii, 72), to undertake the fatal journey to Rome; but she made what amends she could by refusing to accept exemption from the sentence of exile pronounced upon her husband by the emperor. See above, § 7.

6. *Philip*. —Φιλιππος, Lk. 3:1, Φιλιππου δὲ . . . τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Τραχωνιτιδὸς χώρας [T¹, WH¹⁹].

11. Philip. —Κλεοπάτρα Ἰεροσολυμίτης. He was left in charge of the son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra, a woman of Jerusalem (*Jos.* *Ant.* xvii, 13, Κλεοπάτρα Ἰεροσολυμίτης). He was left in charge of the son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra, a woman of Jerusalem when Archelaus hastened to Rome to secure his inheritance, but subsequently appeared in Rome in support of his brother's claims (*Ant.* vii, 61). By the decision of Augustus in accordance with the terms of Herod's last will (see § 6), Philip succeeded to a tetrarchy consisting of Batanaea, Auranitis, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and the district of Panias (which last is, apparently, what Lk. 3:1 calls 'the Ituraean region,' though not indeed the whole of it). Cp **147.13**. This list is obtained by combining the different statements in Josephus (*Ant.* xvii, 8; 114 xviii, 16, *B/1*, 63). This Philip's territory embraced the poorest parts of his father's kingdom—those lying E. and N.E. of the sea of Galilee as far as Mt. Hermon: the annual revenue from it was estimated at one hundred talents.² The population was mixed, but was mostly Syrian and Greek—i.e., it was predominantly pagan.

Hence Philip's coins bear the image of Augustus or Tiberius, contrasting in this respect with those of Herod the Great (which have neither name nor image of the emperor) and those of Antipas (some of which bear the emperor's name, without his image). In addition, all the coins of Philip bear the image of a temple (the splendid temple of Augustus built by Herod the Great near the Grotto of Pan—*Ant.* vii, 13; *Ant.* vii, 213).

Having been brought up, like all Herod's sons, at Rome, Philip's sympathies were entirely Roman. Owing to the non-Jewish character of his territory his Hellenistic and Roman policy was more successful than was the case with his brothers. Of the events of his

¹ *Jos.* *Ant.* xvii, 81 inaccurately describes Philip as full brother of Archelaus—Ἀρχελαῦ ἀδελφῷ γνησίῳ.

² The Greek cities of the Decapolis were, of course, outside Philip's jurisdiction.

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thirty-seven years of rule (4 B.C.—34 A.D.) we know indeed nothing beyond the summary given by Josephus.

His rule was marked by moderation and quiet, and his whole life was spent in his own territory. His possessions were attended by a few Roman troops, and the seat on which he sat to give judgment always bore witness to him; so that when any one, who wanted him, could not find him in haste, he delayed, but set down the judgment whenever he might be, and heard the case (*Ant.* xviii, 1).

Philip's consorts have had no great fame, judging from the story told of his supposed divorce and the fact that the sources of the Jordan were really connected by a subterranean passage with the circular lake called Pithul (Hebrew *Becket Ramit*), 120 stades from Caesarea (*Ant.* iii, 107).

Apart from his evident administrative ability, Philip retained only one quality of his race—the passion for building. Early in his rule he rebuilt Ptolemais (Havas, *Havās*), at the head-waters of the Jordan, and named it Caesarea; he also created the city of Julias, formerly the village of Bethsaida. See **147.13**, **147.14**, **147.15**. He was only once married, to Salome, the daughter of Herodias—and died without issue. After his death his territory was attached to the province of Syria, retaining, however, the right of separate administration of its finances (*Ant.* xviii, 16). Gains on his accession (37 A.D.) gave it to Agrippa I., with the title of king.

7. *Herod Agrippa I.* —Ἡρώδης [T¹], Ἡρώδης [WH¹⁹]. *Ant.* xviii, 16; *Ant.* xviii, 16; *Ant.* xviii, 16.

Son of Aristobulus (Herod the Great's son by Mariamne I.) and Bernice (daughter of Salome, Herod the Great's sister) (*Jos.* *Ant.* xviii, 54).

12. Herod Agrippa I. —Ἡρώδης [T¹], Ἡρώδης [WH¹⁹]. He was called after his grandfather's friend Agrippa (see § 4).

Shortly before the death of Herod the Great, Agrippa and his mother were sent to Rome, where they were befriended by Antonia, widow of the elder Drusus (brother of the emperor Tiberius). Agrippa and the younger Drusus (the emperor's son) became fast friends; but when Drusus died, in 23 A.D., Agrippa found himself obliged to leave Rome with nothing but the memory of his debts and extravagances. He retired to Malatha, a stronghold in Idumea, and meditated suicide; but his wife Cypros appealed to his sister Herodias, with the result that Antipas gave him a pension and the office of *logothetes* (controller of the market) at Tiberias. Before very long there was a quarrel, and Agrippa resumed his career as adventurer. For a time he was with the Roman governor Flaccus in Antioch; but ultimately he arrived again in Italy (cp A.D.), after running the gauntlet of his creditors (*Ant.* xviii, 63). He attached himself to Gaius, the grandson of Antonia. An incautiously uttered wish for the speedy accession of Gaius (Caligula) was overheard and reported to the old emperor, and Agrippa lay in prison during the last six months of Tiberius.

Caligula, on his accession (37 A.D.) at once set Agrippa free, and bestowed upon him what had been the tetrarchy of his half-uncle Philip, together with that of Lysanias (viz., **147.13**, **147.14**, **147.15**). Cp **147.13**, 593, with the title of king (cp *Ant.* 121) and the right to wear the diadem; he also presented him with a golden chain equal in weight to his iron fetters (*Ant.* xviii, 61). The Senate conferred upon him the honorary rank of praetor (*Philo.* *in Flacc.* § 6). Three years later he obtained the forfeited tetrarchy of Herod Antipas (*Ant.* xviii, 72). He adroitly used his influence with the emperor to induce him to abandon his mad design of erecting a statue of himself in the temple at Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii, 87).² Agrippa was in Rome when Gaius fell by the dagger of Cherea (Jan. 41 A.D.), and by his coolness at a critical moment contributed largely to securing the empire for Claudius (*Ant.* xix, 41 f.). In return for this service he received Judaea and Samaria, being also confirmed in his previous possessions; he also obtained consular rank (*Ant.*

¹ Cypros was daughter of Phasael, whose wife was his cousin Salampio, Herod the Great's daughter by the Hasmonaean Mariamne.

² Apparently this abandonment was only temporary: a peremptory decree was finally sent, and the crisis was averted only by the emperor's assassination. The account given by Josephus of the manner of Agrippa's intervention differs from that given by Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, § 35 f., and seems worked up on conventional lines—this romantic apocryphal element is very conspicuous in the whole account of Agrippa's life.

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ix. 51; *Ant. xiv*; Dio Cass. 60.2, τὰς ἱππίας (i.e. i.e.). These grants were confirmed by edicts in the Forum (cp Suet. *Claud.* 25). For his brother Herod he obtained the grant of the kingdom of Chalcis in Lebanon. In part also at least his influence must be seen in the edicts published by Claudius in favour of the Jews throughout the empire, freeing them from those public obligations which were incompatible with their religious convictions. In putting under Agrippa the whole extent of territory ruled by his grandfather, it was certainly the design of Claudius to restore the system followed at the time of Herod the Great and to obviate the dangers of the immediate contact between the Romans and the Jews' (Mommien, *Proc. of R. Emp.* 230).

Now begin the second period in Agrippa's life, in which the spendthrift adventurer appears as a model of Pharisaic piety. He began his three years of actual rule with significant acts: the dedication in the temple of the golden chain received from Gaius, the offering of sacrifices in all their details, and the payment of the charges of a great number of Nazirites (cp Acts 21.24). 'He loved to live continually in Jerusalem, and strictly observed the laws of his country, keeping himself in perfect purity, and not allowing a single day to pass over his head without its sacrifice' (Jos. *Ant. xiv*. 7); so in the Talmud, if the references are not in part to the younger Agrippa. His appeal to Petronius, governor of Syria, in the matter of an outrage against Judaism in the Phoenician town of Dora was based on general grounds of policy and national self-respect, and need not be traced specially to his correct attitude with regard to Pharisaism. It was undoubtedly a consequence of this attitude that, though of a mild disposition (*Ant. xiv*. 73), he began a persecution of the Christians (Acts 12.1). James the great was sacrificed, and Peter escaped only by a miracle.

Agrippa's action against the Christians is supposed by some to have been due to the famine over 'all the world' (Acts 11.2), a generalisation which cannot be entirely defended by the *assidue sterilitates* that marked the reign of Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 13), or the enumeration of the calamities mentioned by other authors (in Rome, at the beginning of his reign, Dio Cass. 60.11; in Greece, in his eighth or ninth year, Jos. *Ant. xiv*. 252; in Rome, in his eleventh year, Tac. *Ann.* 13.45. Cp Zahn, *Einf.* 2415). Just as little can we defend the word-*βουδρωσις* . . . κόσμου ἐπεσσεύε πάντα of the inscr. of Apollonia in Galatia referring to famine in Asia Minor in 57 A.D. (IG 3973; Rams. *Stud. Oron.* IV, 56, p. 527). The exaggeration is natural. It is indeed true that often subsequently public calamities were the signal for persecution (cp Blass, *Act. Apost. Ec.*); but the famine referred to in the prophecy of Agabus occurred in 45-46 A.D. (cp Rams. *Paul the Traveller*, pp. 47, 69), after the death of Agrippa. Nevertheless the latest date that will fit the prophecy is 41 A.D. if not earlier. Such a prophecy might well be regarded outside the Christian circle as a threat.

The outspoken Jewish sympathies of the king cost him the affection of the towns that adhered to the Romans, and of the troops organised in Roman fashion: at any rate the report of his death was received with outrageous jubilation on the part of the troops in Caesarea on the coast (Καίσαρς καὶ Σεβαστηνοί, Jos. *Ant. xiv*. 91 xx. 87).

The striking incident recorded in the Mishna (*Sabb.* 7.9) is to be referred to this Agrippa rather than to Agrippa II. When at the Feast of Tabernacles (consequently in 41 A.D.) he read, according to custom, the Book of Deuteronomy, he burst into tears at the passage 'Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother' (Dt. 17.15); but the people cried out, 'Be not grieved, Agrippa! Thou art our brother!'

The question as to how far Agrippa was sincere in all this is difficult.

It must be remembered that Agrippa was not only a vassal king (see § 4), but a Roman citizen, belonging by adoption to the *gens Julia* (cp the inscr. quoted under Festus, and Schür. *Inst.* 2.62 n.), so that he owed concessions to the imperial system that were not in strictness compatible with his position as a Jewish monarch. This fact must have been recognised by the strictest Jew (always excepting the fanatical Zealots), who must perforce have tacitly consented to the king's playing on behalf of the nation two contradictory parts. It is true, the

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difficulty with which he had to grapple was only the standing problem of his house. As compared with his grandfather, however, he had this advantage: that rival claims were silenced, or rather in his own person he combined those of both Hasmonaean and Herodian. At the same time, his long residence in Rome, where he had been in closest contact with the main-spring of the imperial machinery, had given him an insight into the possibilities of his rule far superior to that possessed by any other member of the family. Two episodes of his reign show clearly that he grasped these possibilities. On the N. of Jerusalem he began the building of a wall which, if completed, would have rendered the city impregnable to direct assault. It was stopped by the emperor on the report of C. Vibius Marsus, who, as governor of Syria, had the duty of watching the imperial interests in the protected states in his neighbourhood (Jos. *Ant. xiv*. 72; cp *Enc. Hist.* 512). Of still greater significance was the conference of vassal princes of Rome assembled by Agrippa at Tiburtus, viz. Antiochus of Commagene, Sampricatus of Emesa, C. Tys of Armenia Minor, Polemon, of Pontus, and Herod of Chalcis. This was rudely broken up by Marsus himself (*Ant. xiv*. 84).

The skill with which Agrippa brought into alliance with himself the Pharisaic element, which, alike in its moderate and in its extreme forms, constituted the backbone of the nation, with the intention of finding therein a basis for a really national policy, proves him to have possessed statesmanlike qualities even superior to those of Herod the Great. His premature death prevented the realisation of his schemes; but it is at least doubtful whether we shall not be right in holding that the glory of the Herodian rule reached its real culmination in Agrippa's reign.

Of Agrippa's death we have two accounts.

According to Josephus, he went to Caesarea in order to celebrate games in honour of the emperor (*Ant. xiv*. 82, ὅπως τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σωματίων, which can only refer to the safe return of Claudius from his victorious British expedition; spring of 44 A.D.; cp Dio Cass. 60.23; Suet. *Claud.* 17). The leading men of the kingdom were there gathered (Acts 12.20 mentions particularly a delegation from Tyre and Sidon introduced by Blatus, the king's chamberlain). On the second day of the festival, as he entered the theatre clad in a robe of silver tissue gleaming in the sun, Agrippa was saluted by his courtiers as more than mortal. The shouts of *θεός* and *εὐεργετὴς*, as if to a divine being, remind us of Acts 12.22, 'a god's voice and not man's' (θεοὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων). Shortly afterwards, looking upwards, the king spied an owl sitting over his head on one of the ropes, and recognised it as the messenger of doom! (alluding to the omen which, during his early imprisonment, portended his good fortune, *Ant. xiv*. 67). He was seized at that instant with severe pains, and in five days he was dead. Though more detailed, this account agrees substantially with that in the NT.

It has been suggested, however, that the two narratives are actually connected with each other, and that the intermediate stage is marked by the rendering of the story in Eusebius (*III*:210), in which the owl of Josephus appears as an angel. The narrative of Acts is not without its apocryphal features.

Note especially the expression 'he was eaten of worms' (5.23, γενόμενος σκαληρόβρωτος). For this there is no warrant in Josephus, who describes perhaps an attack of peritonitis (cp διακαρδίον εἶχεν ὄνυχον, ἄβρυν δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κοιλίας προσέβηκεν ἀλγῆμα μετὰ σφοδρότητος ἀρδαινοῦ). To be eaten of worms was the conventional ending of tyrants and monumental criminals (e.g. Phieretime, queen of Cyrene, Herod. 4.205; Sulla the Dictator, Plut., who gives other instances; Ammoclus Epiphanes, 2 Macc. 9.9, but not in 1 Macc. 6.84; the end of Herod the Great is evidently regarded as very similar). In this way tradition, Christian and pagan, took its revenge.

8. *Herod Agrippa II.* (Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς [Γλ. WH]. Acts 25.13; βασ. Ἀγρ., 262. Ἀγρ. ὁ νεώτερος, and after his accession Ἀγρ.

13. *Herod Agrippa II.* simply, or ὁ βασ. Ἀγρ. in Jos. His full name, Marcus Julius Agrippa, is found on coins and inscriptions, see refl. in Schür. *Inst.* 2.101 n.).

Son of Agrippa I. and Cypros. He was only seventeen years old at the time of his father's death, and Claudius, though personally inclined to the contrary, was advised not to allow him to succeed to his father's kingdom (*Ant. xiv*. 91).

Consequently, the whole of Palestine came under the direct rule of Rome, and was administered by procurators under the supervision of the governor of Syria (cp Marq. *Röm. Staatsg.* 12).

¹ ἀγγέλον τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν κακῶς εἶναι: cp Acts 12.23, παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλος κυρίου.

¹ Strictly justified by Dt. 23.17-18.

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tion. The Claudian government had here, as elsewhere, lighted on the right course, but had not the energy to carry it out irrespective of necessary considerations (Momm. *Proc. of Rom. Emp.* 2.2.1). The death of the elder Agrippa, in fact, had as its consequence the final absorption of all Palestine west of the Jordan (with the exception of certain parts of Galilee subsequently given to his son) within the circle of directly governed territory (Tac. *Hist.* 5.6).

Agrippa II resided in Rome, where he was able to use his influence with some effect on behalf of the Jews (Ant. xv. 1.6.3). His uncle, Herod of Chalcis, had been invested by Claudius with the superintendence of the temple and the sacred treasury, together with the right of nominating the high priest (Ant. xv. 1.7.1); on his death in 48 A.D. these privileges were transferred to Agrippa II.¹ Agrippa also received his uncle's kingdom of Chalcis (50 A.D. = B/ii. 12.1). Ten years later he surrendered this and received in return what had been the tetrarchy of Philip (viz. B. n. n. 1.1.1, Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, with Abila, which had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias (B/ii. 12.4). This was in 54 A.D. This realm was further enlarged by Nero, who conferred upon him the cities and territories of Tiberias and Tanchumon on the sea of Galilee, and the city of Julias with fourteen surrounding villages (B/ii. 13.1, Ant. xv. 8.4). This accession of territory was made probably in 56 A.D. (see Schür. *Hist.* 2.104 n.).

Agrippa gratified his hereditary passion for landings by the improvement of his capital Caesarea (Philippi), which he named Neronias (see his coins), and by adding to the magnificence of the Roman colony of Berytus (Ant. xv. 9.4). In all other directions his hands were tied, and the history of the previous few years must have convinced him that it was no longer possible for a Jewish king to play any independent part. It is probable that his general policy should be ascribed to astuteness rather than to 'indolence and general feebleness' (Schür. *Hist.* 2.106). By training he was far more a Roman than a Jew.² Occasionally, indeed, he yielded to the claims of his Jewish descent (see, however, col. 754, 69p); but as a rule he was utterly indifferent to the religious interests of his time and country, and the subtleties of the scribes can only have amused him.

(See Graetz, 'Agrippa II. und der Zustand Judas nach dem Untergang Jerusalems,' *Mit. J.* 30.451-491 [31].)

In Acts 25.1-26.32 we have an interesting account of an appearance of Paul before the Jewish king and the Roman governor Festus at Caesarea. The utterance of Agrippa in 26.3 has been well explained by R. Weiss (*Jahrbuch*, in: Texte u. Untersuch. zur Gesch. der altchristl. Lit. ix. 34). In accordance with what we know of Agrippa's character, it must be viewed as a virtual repudiation of that belief in the prophets which was attributed to him by Paul. 'King Agrippa! believest thou the prophets?' Paul had said; 'I know that thou believest' (v. 27). The gently ironical rejoinder amounts to this: 'on slight grounds you would make me a believer in your assertion that the Messiah has come.' (For another view see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, col. 754, n. 1).

Agrippa did all in his power to restrain his countrymen from going to war with Rome and rushing on destruction (B/ii. 16.4); and he steadfastly maintained his own loyalty to Rome, even after his Galilean cities joined the revolutionary party. There was no other course to pursue. The catastrophe was inevitable; the last of the Herods could not help witnessing, and to some extent aiding it. For a time he was at Rome; but on his return to Palestine he went to the camp of Titus, where he remained until the end of the war. Probably he was present at the magnificent games with which Titus celebrated at Caesarea (Philippi) his conquest of Jerusalem (B/ii. 21). On the conclusion of the war Agrippa's dominions were extended in a northerly

¹ There is indeed no mention of the conferring of the right of appointing the high priest; but Agrippa is found exercising it (Ant. xv. 8.4.1, etc.).

² His coins, almost without exception, bear the name and image of the reigning emperor—Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

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direction. In 75 A.D. he went to Rome and was raised to the rank of *pater* (Dio Cass. 66.1). We know that he corresponded with Josephus about the latter's *History of the Jewish War*, which he praised for its accuracy (Jos. *J. W.* 6.5.1, c. 16.1.6). He appears to have died in Trajan's third year (c. 110 A.D.). He left no descendants; perhaps, indeed, he was never married. His dominions were incorporated in the province of Syria.

9. *Berenice* (Βερνίκη [II. WH]), the Macedonian form of Βερνίκη. The oldest of the three daughters of Agrippa I. (Jos. Ant. xiv. 9.1). She was betrothed to Marcus, son

of Alexander the Abitarch, but he died before the marriage took place (Ant. xiv. 5.1). About 41 A.D. being then about thirteen years old, Berenice became the second wife of her uncle Herod of Chalcis,¹ by whom she had two sons, Beronians and Hyrcanus (B/ii. 11.1).

When Herod died in 48 A.D. Berenice joined her brother in Rome, and black stones were circulated as to their relationship.² With the object of giving these rumors the lie, Berenice at length,³ by means of her wealth, induced Ptolemy II, king of Chalcis, to be circumcised and to marry her; but she soon deserted him (δὲ ἀκολούθειν ὡς ἐφασαν, Jos. xv. 7.3) and returned to Agrippa. She accompanied him on his visit to Festus, as above related (see § 13. Acts 25.23, μὲν πολλὰς φαντασίας, 'with great pomp,' refers especially to her, as is clear from the order of the words). She is next heard of in Jerusalem, fulfilling a vow of a Nazirite (cp. Nu. 6.17). That she inherited the personal courage which distinguished her family was shown by her brave attempt, at the risk of her life, to stay the massacre ordered by Flavian, the last and worst of the procurators of Judaea (B/ii. 15.1). Her sympathy was not allowed to blind her to the prudent course; but, like her brother, she was an ardent supporter of the Roman cause, and of the Flavian dynasty in particular (Tac. *Hist.* 2.5).

She was, in fact, a Jewish Cleopatra (on a small scale; Momm. *Proc. of Rom. Emp.* 2.109), and Titus, as early apparently as 67 A.D., had fallen a victim to her charms; his return to Judaea from Corinth in order to concert measures with his father on the downfall of Galilee was ascribed by gossip to his passion (Tac. *Hist.* 2.2, 'caecus desiderio Berenices reginae'). The intimacy was renewed in Rome in 75 A.D. Berenice lived on the Palatine with him as his wife (Dio Cass. 66.15, πάντα ᾧδ' ὡς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ὄσα ἐποίησεν), and it was said that Titus had promised to make her his consort (Suet. *Tit.* 7). He was, however, too shrewd to endanger his popularity by opposition to the public feeling, and insisted upon her departure from the capital. After Vespasian's death she returned; but Titus took no notice at all of her—she had played for an empire, and lost.⁴

For these notices of her life we can only add the inscription found in Athens (C. I. G. i. 1.31, no. 536): 'Ἡ βουλή η' ἐξ Ἀριστεύου καὶ ἡ βουλή τῶν γ' καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰουδαίου Βερνίκῃ βασιλεῦσαν μεγάλην, Ἰουδαίου Ἀγρίππᾳ βασιλεῦσιν θυγατέρα καὶ μεγάλῃ βασιλεῦσιν ἐργετῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐχομένην.'

10. *Drusilla* (Δρουσίλλα [II. WH]), Acts 24.24. A diminutive form, from Drusus; like Priscilla, Acts 18.2.

15. *Drusilla*. The youngest of the three daughters of Agrippa I.,⁵ born about 38 A.D. (Jos.

¹ His first wife was Mariamme, a granddaughter of Herod the Great; by her he had one son, Aristobolus (Ant. xviii. 5.4).

² The scandal was evidently current in Roman fashionable circles (Ant. xv. 7.3, δημοὶ ἐπισχουοντες, ὅτι τὰ ἐλεφάνθ' συνείη; cp. Jos. *J. W.* 6.12.6).

³ '... adamas notissimus et Beronices in digito latus pretiosior: hunc dedit olim Barbarus incestui, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori, Observant ubi festa mero pede sablata reges, Et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.'

⁴ ποῦν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ χερσὶν ἔσται; Jos. Ant. xv. 7.3.

⁵ Dio Cass. 66.15; Suet. *Tit.* 7. Berenice in statu ab urbe dimisit, invitavit in domum; Aur. Vict. *Epit.* ix. Dio Cassius alone clearly distinguishes the two occasions.

⁶ The second daughter, Mariamme, is not mentioned in the NT. For her career, curiously parallel to that of her sisters, see Ant. xv. 7.3.

HEROD, FAMILY OF

Int. vii 94). She was betrothed by her father to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus, king of Commagene, but he refused to be circumcised, and the marriage did not take place. After Agrippa II. received his kingdom from Claudius, he gave his sister in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, on condition of his accepting circumcision. Antonius Felix, brother of the emperor's powerful friend Pallas, was captivated by her beauty,¹ and employed as his agent in seducing her attentions one Simon,² a Cypriote, who had the reputation of being a magician (some would identify him with Simon Magus of Acts 8.9). Partly in order to escape the persecutions of her sister Bernice, who was jealous of her beauty, Drusilla deserted her husband and became the third wife of Felix, who was then procurator of Judaea (for his character, see *Tac. Hist.* 5.9; *Ann.* 12.44; *Suet. Claud.* 28, 'trium regidarum maritus'). This was in 53 A.D. It is not always realised that Drusilla can only have been about sixteen years old at the time.

In Acts 24.21 we read how Felix 'with his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess' (so AV; *τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναίκα*, WH; RV, 'with Drusilla, his wife'; marg., 'his own wife'; *ἰδίᾳ* is omitted by all unad MSS., except BCP, heard Paul 'concerning the faith in Christ' (in 25 A.D.). Drusilla would naturally be interested (like her brother Agrippa later, Acts 26.6) to hear some account of what professed to be the fulfilment of Jewish prophecy. According to some authorities for the western text, indeed, the interview took place at her special request (so restored in *m. g.* by Blass, *Int. Text.* ed. phil. 1898, *loc. cit.* ἡ αὐτὴ ἵκετο τοῦ Π. καὶ ἰσοῦσαι τοῦ λόγου· βουλόμενος αὐτὴν τοῦ ἱκανοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτὴν, κτλ.; and in

¹ *Int.* xx. 7: καὶ γὰρ ἦν καλεῖται πᾶσαν διαφθορᾶν.
² But Niese here reads Ἀντιόχου.

HEROD, FAMILY OF

Int. 27 the western text has τοῦ δὲ Π. ἑταίρου ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τοῦ Ἀντιόχου· we must then suppose Drusilla to have been attracted by a spirit of revenge, like Herodias in the very similar case of John the Baptist.

Drusilla bore to Felix a son, called Agrippa, who perished in the great eruption of Vesuvius (in the reign of Titus), by which Pompeii and Herulanum were destroyed (*Jos. Ant.* xx. 7, ὁ νεανίας οὗτος σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ . . . ἤφρασθη; some take this to mean 'along with Drusilla', but more probably it signifies his own wife).

The authority for the history of the whole Herodian family is Josephus; isolated references only are found in other writers.

Of modern books dealing with the history we have 16. **Authorities.** not only mention Schürer's *work*, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volks*, *Zeitalter Jesu Christi*; the second edition of which is available in an English translation (6 vols.). Two vols. of a new edition in German have appeared (2, 3, 4). Farrar's *Herod* is a popular account written without sympathy or historical insight. The various 'Histories of NT Times,' both English and German, deal with the family, deriving their facts from Schürer. The evidence of the coins will be found in Madden's *Coins of the Jews*.

Appended is a genealogy of the Herodian family. Names printed in heavy type are those of members of the family mentioned in the NT. All

17. **Genealogy** the names in any one upright column are names either (a) of sons (or daughters) or (b) of husbands (or wives) or (c) of fathers (or mothers) of the persons named in the adjacent columns to right or to left respectively. The numbers attached to the names are the same as those attached to them in the annexed index. W. J. W.

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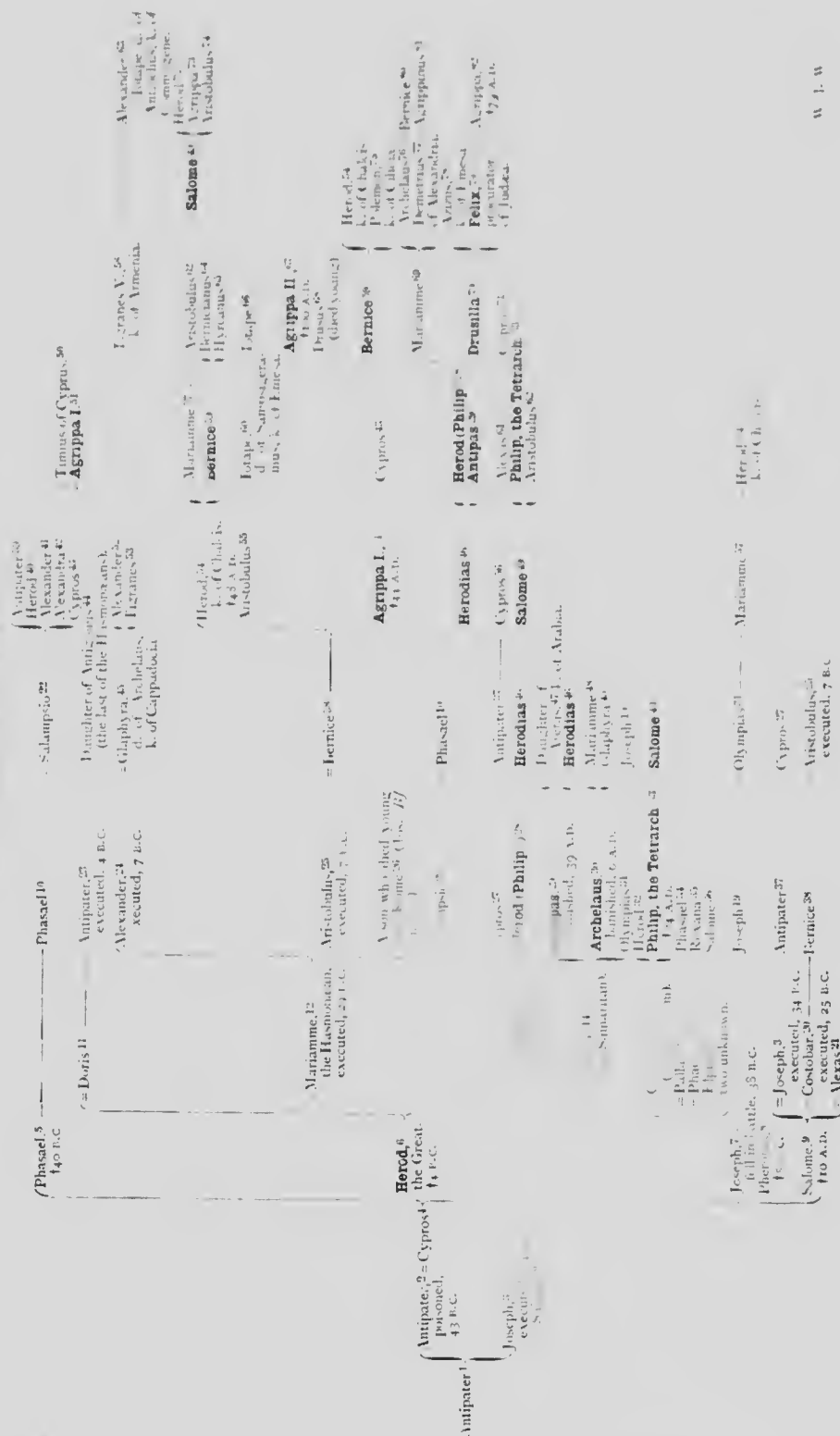
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THE HERODIAN FAMILY



HEROD ANS

HERODIANS HERMANUS [1] L. BOA [WIL]

The Pharisees were not a minority of the democracy of Israel, who made common cause with the Pharisees against Jesus as they had previously done against John the Baptist (Lk 11: 57). Jesus has his side, did not dispute denunciation of his opponents, in whom he recognized in different form, the same corrupting power, the same "leaven" of wickedness. Because, he said (Mt 23: 13), of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod, you may devour the rightly suppressed ruling law of God (Mt 23: 23).

[illegible]

At the time when the question respecting the tribute money was put to Jesus (Mt. 22:17 Mk. 12:14) a question in putting which the "Herodians" as well as the Pharisees were concerned. And he was not under any member of the Herodian family, but only a Roman procurator. Still, the Herodian spirit lived on. It was not true as the Herodians pretend, that they scrupled about paying tribute to Caesar; what they longed for was the re-establishment of the Herodian kingdom in spite of its subjection to Rome, as representing that union of Hellenism and Judaism which seemed to enable Jews to "make the best of both worlds." Such a re-establishment, however, was hindered by the preachers of Messianism, and the friends of Herodianism recognised Jesus as one of these. So these "spies," as they are called (Lk. 20:20), put the insidious question to him: "Is it lawful to give tribute into Caesar, or not, say to us that they might catch him in talk," and cause him to the governor.

The Herodians are referred to again in Mk. 8. Early in the Galilee ministry of Jesus they are said to have joined the Pharisees in plotting his destruction. This, however, is evidently a mistake. In the country of the tetrarch Antipas there could not be a party called 'Herodians'. If Greek speaking Jews in Galilee ever used the term Ἡρώδαι, they could only mean by it 'members of the household of Herod', a meaning which, to be sure, is not unsupported in modern times, but is unsuitable in Mk. 12:13 and is not favoured by the phraseology of Josephus.¹

It is remarkable that in Mt 166 the place of the 'Herodians' is taken by the Sadducees. No stress, however, can be laid upon this; there is no evidence that there was a fusion of the Sadducees which was devoted to the interests of the Herodian family. It was more natural to the evangelist to speak of the Pharisees and the Sadducees; he had no thought of suggesting that the Sadducees and the Herodians had any point in common. Still less can the Pharisees and the Herodians have had any real sympathy. There is in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 34 a story that the Pharisees predicted the fall of Herod and his house and the accession of his brother Ptolemais to the throne of Israel; this is rightly rejected by Wellhausen (*UW* 633 n.). Just as little could they have attached their hopes for the future to Herod or to any Herodian prince. Yet as early a writer as Tertullian (*De praescriptis contra haereticos*, Appendix) speaks of those who 'Christian Herodesse dicuntur' and as much later a writer as Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, 220) supposes the Boethusian section of the Sadducees to be intended by the Herodians of the evangelist. Hengstenberg (*UW* 551) apparently agrees with Tertullian. These views and a similar theory of Ewald (*UW* 425) no longer had any support.

On the name Ἡρώδης, i.e. the remarks on the form 'Christians,' CHRISTIAN, NAB. vi, § 4. See also Keim, 'Herodian,' in *Bib. Rev.*

¹ Ἡρωστικοί (*Heroic*) = those of Herod's party, in antithesis to the *μαρτυρικοί*.

LESHMON

HERODIAS (Ἡρώδης) 31 14 etc 30

HERODION (Ἡρώδιον [1. Will]) is mentioned in John 10:41 as my friend, in a place in which suggests that he was of Jewish origin (cp. ROMANS 24:4-10). The name would indicate the brotherhood of some prince of the dynasty of Herod. Wiersbörger (*op. cit.* 196, 197) suggests that he may have worked for Christ within the household of Nazareth mentioned just afterwards (cp. MATTHEWS).

In the fall of the Peard Brothers, Herold Hughes, a high priest of the Aungmye, took the monastic name of Peter, and Paul, the Peard Brothers, and Monks of the monastery of Peter and Paul, and the 400 monks were both the head of the monastery and the monastery was founded there. He is a monk of the monastery of the Greek Monastery in April.

HERON (𐤁𐤏𐤍) an inch in bird (Lev 11 to Dt 14) **𐤁𐤏𐤍** *ḥap̄ap̄ur* [BM 1] for which RV suggests this as an alternative rendering (Cn 12:8). According to the lexicon *ʿAnphāh* is of quite uncertain meaning. Lidd and Scott translate *Ḥs ḥap̄ap̄ur* the 'stone embow' or 'thick-kneed' bustard (*dromae. exp̄hina*), but even if this be correct one hesitates to identify this bird with the *ʿanphāh*. Unless the word *ʿanphāh* is misapplied, we may with some confidence infer from the proximity of 𐤁𐤏𐤍 'stork,' that it means the *order* of herons (note 'after its kind'). At least seven species of heron are common in Palestine.

Both the Common and the Purple Herons (*Ardea cinerea* and *A. purpurea*), the Egrets (*Egretta alba* and *E. garzetta*), and the Spotted Heron (*E. maculosa*), as well as the Bull-headed, very often be seen fishing by the Sea of Galilee, and of the Bull-headed Heron (*E. bulianus*), often called the White Heron, immense flocks live and breed in the impenetrable swamps of the Hulch' (Christman *NHR* 243/4).

It is this class of birds which is presumably meant by the Ass. *anphah*, with which the Lexicons (after Friedr. Dief.) naturally compare *anphah*. The bird, both white and black, is common in the swamps of the Egyptian Delta, and may in the winter be seen anywhere in the basin of the Upper Nile. The Egyptians call it *sacud* to Theb. This, however, is too definite a reading.

$$T, K, C, \dots = A, B, S,$$

HESED (חֶסֶד), 1 K. 4:10, AV¹⁹⁰⁸ RV BHS-HESED.

HESHBON (הֶשְׁבֹּן, ἑσέβων *HN* M¹; *hesēbon*), a town of Moab, often mentioned in the Hesateuch (HE, D, and P), in Is. 154 168 f., Jer. 182 34 45 194; in Cant. 7 4 [5] (MT, Q, but see BATH-RABIM, and in Judith 15 169, 300 [e] 305 [B], 352, 350 [SM]). Heshbon (*ḥesēbon*, *ḥesēbōn*, and *ḥesēbōn*), the 'Hesedonites' (*ḥesēbōnīṭ*, *ḥesēbōnī* 3 363 f.) are named repeatedly also in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 174 xiii. 154 xv. 85, *B. J.* i. 184 i. 230) and *esēbōn* or *ḥesēbōn* is defined in *OS* II 20 f. 253 24 f. as being the contemporary *ḥesēbōn* or *Esban*, 'a notable city of Arabia in the mountains facing Jericho, 20 R. m. from the Jordan.' It is the modern *Heshān*, which is finely situated on the edge of the W. Heshān at a height of 600 feet above the 'Am Heshān, and close to the watershed from which the W. Hales drains southwards into the Zerka Ma'in. The ruins, chiefly Roman, are mainly on two hills, 2030 and 2054 feet above sea level; Mt. Nebo, 5 miles to the SW, is considerably lower (2643 ft.). There are remains of a castle and of a temple and on the east, at the base of the castle hill, a great reservoir, now ruinous and dry. 'It is a difficult thing,' remarks Post (*P. P. Q.*, '83, p. 190), 'for the imagination to refuse to the reservoir the beauty which made the fish-pond of Heshān, a suitable simile for the eyes of Solomon's bride' (Cant. 7 4 [5]). There are, of course, plenty of pools near the 'Am Heshān (see Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 340). The text, however, is open to suspicion. See BATH-RABIM.

For the ancient history of Heshbon see MOAB, SHIBON. On the modern topography see TRISTRANUS above; and SURVEY OF L. PALESTINE, esp. 154 ff., and map.

HESHMON (חֶשְׁמוֹן; Ἀσμον [I.], BA om.), an unidentified place on the E. white border of Judah.

HETH

(Josh. 15:71, mentions it with Melchidai and Beersheba; Heth is perhaps one of the Hittites mentioned in Josh. 17:11.)

HETH (הֶתֶּךָ), Gen. 10:10. See HETH.

HETHLON (הֶתְלוֹן), THE KATABAION OF THE

ΠΕΡΙΟΡΙΣΜΟΙ, and the KATABAION of the ΕΙΣΙΟΝΤΟΙ of 82 do not recognize the proper name, *Swi Hethlon*. The way of Hethlon is one of a series of landmarks by which Ezekiel (17:15) defines the ideal north boundary of Canaan. In Nu. 31:7 ff. (post exilic), where the boundary is on the whole the same, Hethlon does not appear. In Ezekiel it seems to lie between the point where the border leaves the Mediterranean and that at which it strikes the Hamathite frontier. It is, as seems possible, Ezekiel (like Josh. 13:1) contemplates the inclusion in Canaan of Phoenicia as far as Gebel and of all Lebanon, the 'way of Hethlon' may be identical

HEXATEUCH

with the from the east to the south (A. H. A. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

The scholar who worked on the Pentateuch against dwelling too much on possible sources and on the names would not have been sorry for an excuse to abandon this hazardous enterprise for another. See van Eesteren, *Re. A. H. A.*, p. 24, 25; H. H. H. in *H. H. H.*, p. 24, 25. As H. H. H. (p. 24, 25) has seen, and the words preceding p. 24 in *Lev. 17:13* and *18:13* are exactly the same (see H. H. H. p. 24, 25). It is a corruption of *Hev. 17:13* and *18:13* (see H. H. H. p. 24, 25). For the reason of the corruption of *Hev. 17:13* and *18:13* see H. H. H. p. 24, 25.

HEXATEUCH

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- ii. Analysis, Astruc, etc. (§§ 2-7).
- iii. Synthesis, Volke, etc. (§§ 8-13).

The name Pentateuch, found already in Tertullian and Origen, corresponds to the Jewish חומש התורה (the five books of the Torah, or Law), the several books were named by the Jews from their initial words, though, at least, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy had also titles resembling those we use - viz., 'Priests, Torah (תורה כהנים), 'The Fifth containing the enumeration of the people, the mustering,' חומש הכנסת (אמנועפאכאנסעו, Origen, in *Th. H. E.* 6:13), and 'Duplicate of the Torah' (חומש תורה). The Pentateuch, together with Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, with which it is usually united in Greek MSS. makes up the Octateuch; the Pentateuch and Joshua together have recently been named the Hexateuch. The date of the division of the Torah into five books cannot be made out; it is probably older than the Septuagint translation. See CANON, § 23 ff.

II. EARLIEST CRITICISM

At an early date, doubts suggested themselves as to the Mosaic authorship; but it was not till the seventeenth century that these became so strong that they could not be suppressed.¹

It was observed that Moses does not speak of himself in the first person, but that some other writer speaks of him in the third, - a writer, too, who lived long after. The expression of Gen. 12:6, 'The Canaanite was then in the land,' is spoken of readers who had long forgotten that a different nation from Israel had once occupied the Holy Land; the words of Gen. 36:31, 'these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there

¹ [The general articles on the several books of the Hexateuch and on HISTORICAL LITERATURE and LAW LITERATURE, as well as the special articles on such subjects as the EXODUS and also on the different persons and places named in the Hexateuch narratives, deal with the critical investigations relative to the constitution and history of the Hexateuch and the problems connected therewith. But it will be manifestly have been out of place to attempt to give under any one of these headings a connected history of the long march of Pentateuch criticism from its earliest beginnings down to the period when the 'Graf-Wellhausen' hypothesis may be held to have met with the general acceptance of scholars, or march with the stages of which it is nevertheless important that every serious student should be familiar. The following authoritative survey of its course, originally made in the *Ency. Brit.* (vol. 18 'Pentateuch and Ex. Sin. 1913), has had the benefit of a recent revision by its distinguished author. - F. H.]

² H. H. H., *Leviticus*, 301; Peyerinus, *Syst. theol. ex. Pro. ad. am. 1790*, Hypothesis, 41 f.; Spinnuz, *Tr. Theolog. 1790*, 171; R. Simon, *Hist. Crit. du P. T.*, 1:157, i.e. Clero, *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande* (Amst., 1685), let. 6.

2. GRAF-WELHAUSEN-HYPOTHESIS (§§ 14-24)

- i. Layers of Law (§§ 14-15).
- ii. Of literary history (§§ 16-18).
- iii. Of attempts to keep the story (§§ 19-24).

reigned any king over the children of Israel, have no prophetic aspect, they point to an author who wrote under the Hebrew monarchy. Again, the 'book of the wars of Yahwe' (Nu. 21:14) cannot possibly be cited by Moses himself, as it contains a record of his own deeds, and, what is more, Cp. Nu. 22:5, 'there is no one to a prophet since in Canaan had not Moses,' the writer is necessarily one who looked back to Moses through a long series of later prophets.

At the same time attention was drawn to a variety of contradictions, inequalities, transpositions, and repetitions of events in the Pentateuch, such as excluded the idea that the whole came from a single pen. Thus Peyerinus remarked that Gen. 20 and 26 stand in an impossible chronological context, and on the incongruity of Gen. 1 and 2, which he pressed very strongly, he rested his hypothesis of the Pentateuch. Such observations could not but gravely shake the persuasion that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, whilst at the same time they directed criticism to a less negative task - viz., the analysis of the Pentateuch. For this, indeed, the seventeenth century did not effect anything considerable; but at least two conclusions came out with sufficient clearness. The first of these was the self-contained character of Deuteronomy, which in those days there was a disposition to regard as the oldest book of the Pentateuch, and that with the best claims to authenticity. In the second place the Pentateuchal laws and the Pentateuchal history were sharply distinguished; the chief difficulties were felt to be in the narrative, and there seemed to be less reason for questioning the Mosaic authorship of the laws.

Spinoza's bold conjecture that in their present form not only the Pentateuch but also the other historical books of the O.T. were composed by Ezra

2. Astruc. ran far ahead of the laborious investigation of details necessary to solve the previous question of the composition of the Pentateuch. Jean Astruc has the merit of opening the true path of this investigation. He recognised in Genesis two main sources, between which he divided the whole materials of the book, with some few exceptions, and these sources he distinguished by the mark that the one used for God the name Elohim (Gen. 1:1, cp. Ex. 6:3) and the other the name Yahwe (Gen. 2:1). Astruc's hypothesis, fortified by the observation of other linguistic differences which regularly accompanied the variation in the names of

¹ Cf. *Gen. 1:1*, *Gen. 2:1*, *Gen. 3:1*, *Gen. 4:1*, *Gen. 5:1*, *Gen. 6:1*, *Gen. 7:1*, *Gen. 8:1*, *Gen. 9:1*, *Gen. 10:1*, *Gen. 11:1*, *Gen. 12:1*, *Gen. 13:1*, *Gen. 14:1*, *Gen. 15:1*, *Gen. 16:1*, *Gen. 17:1*, *Gen. 18:1*, *Gen. 19:1*, *Gen. 20:1*, *Gen. 21:1*, *Gen. 22:1*, *Gen. 23:1*, *Gen. 24:1*, *Gen. 25:1*, *Gen. 26:1*, *Gen. 27:1*, *Gen. 28:1*, *Gen. 29:1*, *Gen. 30:1*, *Gen. 31:1*, *Gen. 32:1*, *Gen. 33:1*, *Gen. 34:1*, *Gen. 35:1*, *Gen. 36:1*, *Gen. 37:1*, *Gen. 38:1*, *Gen. 39:1*, *Gen. 40:1*, *Gen. 41:1*, *Gen. 42:1*, *Gen. 43:1*, *Gen. 44:1*, *Gen. 45:1*, *Gen. 46:1*, *Gen. 47:1*, *Gen. 48:1*, *Gen. 49:1*, *Gen. 50:1*, *Gen. 51:1*, *Gen. 52:1*, *Gen. 53:1*, *Gen. 54:1*, *Gen. 55:1*, *Gen. 56:1*, *Gen. 57:1*, *Gen. 58:1*, *Gen. 59:1*, *Gen. 60:1*, *Gen. 61:1*, *Gen. 62:1*, *Gen. 63:1*, *Gen. 64:1*, *Gen. 65:1*, *Gen. 66:1*, *Gen. 67:1*, *Gen. 68:1*, *Gen. 69:1*, *Gen. 70:1*, *Gen. 71:1*, *Gen. 72:1*, *Gen. 73:1*, *Gen. 74:1*, *Gen. 75:1*, *Gen. 76:1*, *Gen. 77:1*, *Gen. 78:1*, *Gen. 79:1*, *Gen. 80:1*, *Gen. 81:1*, *Gen. 82:1*, *Gen. 83:1*, *Gen. 84:1*, *Gen. 85:1*, *Gen. 86:1*, *Gen. 87:1*, *Gen. 88:1*, *Gen. 89:1*, *Gen. 90:1*, *Gen. 91:1*, *Gen. 92:1*, *Gen. 93:1*, *Gen. 94:1*, *Gen. 95:1*, *Gen. 96:1*, *Gen. 97:1*, *Gen. 98:1*, *Gen. 99:1*, *Gen. 100:1*.

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God, was introduced into Germany by Eichhorn (*Eint. in d. AT*), and proved there the fruitful and just point of departure for all further inquiry. At first, indeed, it was with but uncertain steps that critics advanced from the analysis of Genesis to that of the other books, where the simple criterion of the alternation of the

3. Fragment hypothesis.

divine names was no longer available. In the hands of the Scotsman Geddes and the German Vater the Pentateuch resolved itself into an agglomeration of longer and shorter fragments, between which no threads of continuous connection could be traced ('Fragment-hypothesis'). The Fragment-hypothesis was mainly supported by arguments drawn from the middle books of the Pentateuch, and as limited to these it long found wide support. Even De Wette started from it in his investigations; but this was really an inconsistency, for his fundamental idea was to show throughout all parts of the Pentateuch traces of certain common tendencies, and even of one deliberate plan; nor was he far from recognizing the close relation between the Elohist of Genesis and the legislation of the middle books.

De Wette's chief concern, however, was not with the literary but with the historical criticism of the Pentateuch, and in the latter he made an epoch.

In his *Dissertatio Critica* of 1805 (*Opusc. Theol.* 149-182) he placed the composition of Deuteronomy in the time of King Josiah (gerging from a comparison of 2 K. 22 f. with Dt. 12), and pronounced it to be the most recent stratum of the Pentateuch, not, as had previously been supposed, the oldest.

In his *Kritischer Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik* (1808) he showed that the laws of Moses are unknown to the post-Mosaic history; this he did by instituting a close comparison of Samuel and Kings with Chronicles, from which it appeared that the variations of the latter are to be explained not by the use of other sources, but solely by the desire of the Jewish scribes to shape the history in conformity with the law, and to give the law that place in history which, to their surprise, had not been conceded to it by the older historical books.

Finally, in his *Kritik der Mos. ischen Geschichte* (1808), De Wette attacked the method then prevalent in Germany of eliminating all miracles and prophecies from the Bible by explaining them away, and then rationalizing what remained into a dry prosaic pragmatism. De Wette refuses to find any history in the Pentateuch; all is legend and poetry. The Pentateuch is an authority not for the history of the time it deals with, but only for the time in which it was written; it is, he says, the conditions of this much later time which the author idealizes and throws back into the past, whether in the form of narrative or of law.

De Wette's brilliant *début*, which made his reputation for the rest of his life,¹ exercised a powerful influence on his contemporaries. For several decades all who were open to critical ideas at all stood under his influence.

Gramberg, Leo, and Von Bohnen wrote under this influence; Gesenius in Halle, the greatest Hebraist then living, taught under it; nay, Vatke and George were guided by De Wette's ideas and started from the ground that he had conquered, although they advanced beyond him to a much more definite and better established position, and were also diametrically opposed to him in one most important point, of which we shall have more to say presently.²

Meantime a reaction was rising which sought to direct criticism towards positive rather than negative results. The chief representatives of this positive criticism, which now took up a distinct attitude of opposition to the negative criticism of De Wette, were Bleek, Ewald, Movers, and Hitzig. By giving up certain parts of the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy, they thought themselves able to vindicate certain other parts as beyond

5. Literary criticism.

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¹ Alex. Geddes, *Crit. Remarks on the Heb. Script.* 1809; J. S. Vater, *Comm. ab. den Pent.* (1802-5).

² De Wette scarcely maintained the high position as a critic which he conquered by his early writings. What the causes of this were, and what were De Wette's services to the general critical and theological movement, have been described by Che. Fourniers, 93.

³ H. Leo, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des jüdischen Staats*, 28; C. P. W. Gramberg, *Kritische Geschichte der Religionen des AT*, 20-30; P. v. Bohnen, *Die Genesis*, 18; W. Vatke, *Biblische Theologie*, 35; J. F. L. George, *Die älteren jüdischen Feste*, 35.

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doubt genuinely Mosais, just in the same way as they threw over the Davidic authorship of certain psalms in order to strengthen the claim of others to bear his name. The procedure by which particular ancient hymns or laws were sifted out from the Psalter or the Pentateuch was arbitrary; but up to a certain point the reaction was in the right.

De Wette and his followers had really gone too far in applying the same measure to all parts of the Pentateuch, and had been satisfied with a very inadequate insight into its composition and the relation of its parts. Historical criticism had hurried on too fast, and literary criticism had now to overtake it. De Wette himself felt the necessity for this, and from the year 1817 onwards—the year of the first edition of his *Einführung*—he took an active and useful part in the solution of the problems of Pentateuchal analysis.

The Fragment-hypothesis was now superseded; the connection of the Elohist of Genesis with the legislation of the middle books was clearly

6. Supplement-hypothesis.

recognized, and the book of Joshua was included as the conclusion of the Pentateuch. The closely-knit connection and regular structure of the narrative of the Elohist impressed the critics; it seemed to supply the skeleton which had been clothed with flesh and blood by the Yahwist, in whose contributions there was no such obvious conformity to a plan. From all this it was naturally concluded that the Elohist had written the *Grundchrift* or primary narrative, which lay before the Yahwist and was supplemented by him ('Supplement-hypothesis').¹

This view remained dominant till Hupfeld in 1853 published his *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung*. Hupfeld denied

that the Yahwist followed the context of the Elohist narrative, merely supplementing it by additions of his own. He pointed out that such Elohist passages in Genesis as clearly have undergone a Yahwistic redaction (e.g., chaps. 20-22) belong to an Elohist different from the author of Gen. 1. Thus he distinguished three independent sources in Genesis; and he assumed further, somewhat rashly, that no one of them had anything to do with the others till a fourth and later writer wove them all together into a single whole. This assumption was corrected by Noldeke,

who showed that the second Elohist is preserved only in extracts embodied in the Yahwistic book, that the Yahwist and 'second' Elohist form one whole and the *Grundchrift* another, and that thus, in spite of Hupfeld's discovery, the Pentateuch (Deuteronomy being excluded) was still to be regarded as made up of two great layers. Noldeke² has also the honour of having been the first to trace in detail how the Elohist *Grundchrift* runs through the whole Hexateuch, and of having described with masterly hand the peculiar and inflexible type of its ideas and language. In this task he was aided by the valuable material collected in Knobel's commentaries.³

The work of synthesis, however, did not hold even pace with the critical analysis; indeed, the true scope of the problem was not as yet realized.

As regards the narrative matter it was forgotten that, after the Yahwistic (i.e., JE's), the Deuteronomic, and the priestly versions of the history had been happily disentangled from one another, it was necessary to examine the mutual relations of the three, to consider them as marking so many stages of a historical tradition, which had passed through its successive phases under the action of living causes, and the growth of which could and must be traced and historically explained. Still greater faults of omission characterized the critical treatment of the legal parts of the Pentateuch. Bleek⁴ the oracle in all such matters

¹ Bleek, in Rosenmüller's *Repertorium*, 1827, and in *St. Kr.*, 1831; Ewald, *St. Kr.*, 1831; Tuch, *Genesis*, 1833; especially De Wette in the various editions of his *Einführung*.

² *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des AT*, 60.

³ *Gen.*, 52; *Ex.-Lev.*, 57; *Nam. Dt. Josh.*, 61.

⁴ For critical sketches of Bleek, Ewald, and Hitzig see Che. Fourniers.

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of the German school of 'Vermittlungstheologen' (the theologians who tried to mediate between orthodoxy and criticism alike in doctrine and in history), never looked beyond the historical framework of the priestly laws, altogether shutting his eyes to their substance. He never thought of instituting an exact comparison between them and the Deuteronomie law, still less of examining their relation to the historical and prophetic books, with which, in truth, as appears from his *Introduction*, he had only a very superficial acquaintance. Ewald, on the other hand, whose views as to the Priestly Code were cognate to those of Bleek, undoubtedly had an intimate acquaintance with Hebrew antiquity, and understood the prophets as no one else did. But he too neglected the task of a careful comparison between the different strata of the Pentateuchal legislation, and the equally necessary task of determining how the several laws agreed with or differed from such definite data for the history of religion as could be collected from the historical and prophetic books. He had therefore no fixed measure to apply to the criticism of the laws, though his conception of the history suffered little, and his conception of prophecy still less, from the fact that in shaping them he left the law practically out of sight, or only called it in from time to time in an irregular and rather unnatural way.

Meanwhile, two Hegelian writers, starting from the original position of De Wette, and moving on lines

10. True method. apart from the beaten track of criticism, had actually effected the solution of the most important problem in the whole sphere of OT study. Vatke (on whom see Cheyne's book already mentioned) and George have the honour of being the first by whom the question of the historical sequence of the several stages of the law was attacked on a sound method, with full mastery over the available evidence, and with a clear insight into the far-reaching scope of the problem. Their works made no permanent impression, however, and were neglected even by Reuss, although this scholar had fallen at the same time upon quite similar ideas, which he did not venture to publish.

The following propositions were formulated by Reuss in 1834 (or, as he elsewhere gives the date, in 1834), though they were not published till 1870. 1. L'élément historique du

11. Reuss. Pentateuque peut et doit être examiné à part et ne pas être confondu avec l'élément législatif. 2. L'un et l'autre ont pu exister sans révélation écrite. La mention, chez d'anciens écrivains, de certaines traditions patriarcales ou mosaïques, ne prouve pas l'existence du Pentateuque, et une nation peut avoir un droit canonique sans code écrit. 3. Les traditions nationales des Israélites remontent plus haut que les lois du Pentateuque et la rédaction des premières est antérieure à celle des secondes. 4. L'indécision principale de l'historien doit porter sur la date des lois, parce que sur ce terrain il a plus de chance d'arriver à des résultats certains. Il faut en conséquence procéder à l'interrogatoire des témoins. 5. L'histoire racontée dans les livres des Juges et de Saoul, et même en partie celle comprise dans les livres des Rois, est en contradiction avec des lois dites mosaïques; donc celles-ci étaient inconnues à l'époque de la rédaction de ces livres, à plus forte raison elles n'ont pas existé dans les temps qui y sont décrits. 6. Les prophètes du 8^e et du 7^e siècle ne savent rien du code mosaïque. 7. Jérémie est le premier prophète qui connaisse une loi écrite et ses citations rapportent au Deutéronome. 8. Le Deutéronome (34:28-29) est le livre que les prêtres prétendaient avoir trouvé dans le temple, du temps du roi Josias. Ce code est la partie la plus ancienne de la législation (rédigée) comprise dans le Pentateuque. 9. L'histoire des Israélites, en tant qu'il s'agit du développement national déterminé par des lois écrites, se divise en deux périodes, avant et après Josias. 10. Ezéchiel est antérieur à la rédaction du code rituel et des lois qui ont définitivement organisé la hiérarchie. 11. Le livre de Josué n'est pas, tout entier, le produit de la plus récente de l'époque. 12. Le rédacteur du Pentateuque se distingue clairement de l'ancien prophète Moïse. (*L'histoire sainte et la loi*, 217 f. [Paris, 179].)

The new ideas lay dormant for thirty years when they were revived through a pupil of Reuss, K. H.

12. Attempts of Graf. Graf. He too was deemed at first to offer an easy victory to the weapons of 'critical analysis,' which found many vulnerable points in the original statement of his views. For while Graf placed the legislation of the middle books very late, holding it to have been framed after

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the great captivity, he at first still held fast to the doctrine of the great antiquity of the so-called Elohist of Genesis (in the sense which that term bore before Hupfeld's discovery), thus violently rending the Priestly Code in twain, and separating its members by an interval of half a millennium. This he was compelled to do, because, for Genesis at least, he still adhered to the supplement hypothesis, according to which the Yahwist worked on the basis laid by the (priestly) Elohist. Here, however, he was tying himself by bonds which had been already loosed by Hupfeld; and, as literary criticism actually stood, it could show no reason for holding that the Yahwist was necessarily later than the Elohist. In the end, therefore, literary criticism offered itself as Graf's auxiliary. Following a hint of Kuenen's, he embraced the proffered alliance, gave up the violent attempt to divide the Priestly Code, and proceeded without further obstacle to extend to the historical part of that code as found in Genesis those conclusions which he had already established for its main or legislative part. Graf himself did not live to see the victory of his cause. The task of developing and cementing his hypothesis was left to others, primarily to the great Leyden critic, A. Kuenen.¹

B. GRAF-WELLMANSEN HYPOTHESIS.

The characteristic feature in the hypothesis of Graf is that the Priestly Code is placed later than Deuteronomy,

13. Grafian hypothesis. so that the order is no longer Priestly Code, Yahwist (JE), Deuteronomy, but Jehovist (JE), Deuteronomy, Priestly Code. The method of inquiry has been already indicated; the three strata of the Pentateuch are compared with one another, and at the same time the investigator seeks to place them in their proper relation to the successive phases of Hebrew history as these are known to us from other and undisputed evidence. The process may be shortened if it is taken as agreed that the date of Deuteronomy is known from 2 K. 22 (see DEUTERONOMY, §§ 2 ff.); for this gives us at starting a fixed point, to which the less certain points can be referred.

The method can be applied alike to the historical and to the legal parts of the three strata of the Hexateuch. For JE gives legislative matter in Ex. 20:23, 34, and Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code embrace historical matters; moreover, we always find that the legal standpoint of each author influences his presentation of the history, and *vice versa*. The most important point, however, is the comparison of the laws, especially of the laws about worship, with the statements in the historical and prophetic books.

1. The principal law-book embodied in JE, the so-called Book of the Covenant, takes it for granted in Ex. 20:24-26

14. Laws: First period: JE. that altars are many, not one. Here there is no idea of attaching value to the retention of a single place for the altar; earth and rough stones are to be found everywhere, and an altar of these materials falls into ruins as easily as it is built. Again a choice of materials is given, presumably for the construction of different altars, and Yahwé proposes to come to his worshippers and bless them, not in the place where he causes his name to be celebrated, but at every such place. The law adopted in JE therefore agrees with the customary usage of the earlier period of Hebrew history; and so too does the narrative, according to which the patriarchs wherever they reside erect altars, set up cippi (*masséboth*), plant trees, and dig wells.

The places of which these acts of the patriarchs are related are not fortifications, they are the same places as were afterwards famous shrines. This is why the narrator speaks of them; his interest in the sites is not antiquarian; it is due to the practical importance they held in the worship of his own day. The altar which Abraham built at Shechem is the same on which

¹ K. H. Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des A.T.*, 166; essays by Graf, in *Merx's Archiv*, 1895, ff. 266 ff.; A. Kuenen in *Die Geschiedenis van Israël*, 2 vols., 66-70 (ET 74-75), and his essays in *Th.F.*, 77-84. See also [especially] J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 89.

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sacrifices still continued to be offered; Jacob's anointed stone at Bethel was still anointed, and idols were still offered at it in fulfilment of vows, in the writer's own generation.

The things which a later generation deemed offensive and heathenish—high places, *magbāth*, sacred trees, and wells—all appear here as consecrated by patriarchal precedent, and the narrative can be understood only as a picture of what occurred daily in the first century (or thereabout) after the division of the kingdoms, thrown back into the past and clothed with ancient authority.

2. The Deuteronomic legislation begins (Deut. 12), just like the Book of the Covenant, with a law for the

15. Second period: D. place of worship. Now, however, there is a complete change; Yahwē is to be worshipped only in Jerusalem. The new law-book is never weary of repeating this command and developing its consequences in every direction. All this is directed against current usage, against what we are accustomed to do at this day; the law is polemical and aims at reformation. This law therefore belongs to the second period of the history, the time when the party of reform in Jerusalem was attacking the high places.

When we read, then, that King Josiah was moved to destroy the local sanctuaries by the discovery of a law-book, this book, if we assume it to be preserved in the Pentateuch, can be none other than the legislative part of Deuteronomy in a shorter form (see further, DEUTERONOMY).

3. In the Priestly Code all worship depends on the tabernacle, and would fall to nothing apart from it.

The tabernacle is simply a means of putting the law of unity of worship in a historical form; it is the only legitimate sanctuary; there is no other spot where God dwells and shows himself, no other where man can approach God and seek his face with sacrifice and gifts. But, while Deuteronomy demands, the Priestly Code presupposes, the limitation of worship to one sanctuary. This principle is tacitly assumed as the basis of everything else, but is never asserted in so many words; the principle, it appears, is now no novelty; it can be taken for granted. Hence we conclude that the Priestly Code builds on the realization of the object aimed at in Deuteronomy, and therefore belongs to the post-exilic period, when this object had been fully secured.

An institution which in its origin must necessarily have had a negative significance as an instrument in the hands of polemical reformers is here taken to have been from the first the only intelligible and legitimate form of worship. It is so taken because established customs always appear to be natural and to need no reason for their existence.

The abolition of the local shrines in favour of Jerusalem necessarily involved the deposition of the provincial priesthood in favour of the

17. Priesthood: in Dt. sons of Zadok in the temple of Solomon.

The law of Deuteronomy tries to avoid this consequence by conceding the privilege of offering sacrifices at Jerusalem to the Levites from other places; Levites in Deuteronomy is the general name for priests whose right to officiate is hereditary. This privilege, however, was never realized, no doubt because the sons of Zadok opposed it. The latter, therefore, were now the only real priests, and the priests of the high places lost their office with the destruction of their altars; for the loss of their sacrificial dues they received a sort of eleemosynary compensation from their aristocratic brethren (2 K. 23.9). The displacing of the provincial priests, though practically almost inevitable, went against the law of Deuteronomy; but an argument to justify it was

18. In Ezekiel, supplied by Ezekiel (Ezek. 41). The other Levites, he says, forfeited their priesthood by abusing it in the service of the high places; and for this they shall be degraded to be mere servants of the Levites of Jerusalem, who have not been guilty of the offence of doing sacrifice in provincial shrines, and thus alone deserve to remain priests. If we start from Deuteronomy, where all Levites have equal priestly rights, this argument and ordinance are plain enough; but it is utterly impossible to understand

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them if the Priestly Code is taken as already existing. Ezekiel views the priesthood as originally the right of all Levites, whilst by the Priestly Code a Levite who claims this right is guilty of baseless and wicked presumption, such as once cost the lives of all the company of Korah. On the other hand, the position of the Levites, which Ezekiel qualifies as a punishment and a degradation, appears to the Code as the natural position, which their ancestors from father to son had held from the first. The distinction between priest and Levite, which Ezekiel introduces expressly as an innovation, and which elsewhere in the OT is known only to the author of Chronicles, is, according to the Code, a Mosaic institution fixed and settled from the beginning. Ezekiel's ideas and aims are entirely in the same direction as the Priestly Code, and yet he plainly does not know the Code itself. This can only mean that in his day there was no such Code, and that his ordinances formed one of the steps that prepared the way for it.

The Priestly Code gives us a hierarchy fully developed, such as we find after the exile. Aaron

19. P. stands above his sons as the sons of Aaron stand above the Levites.

He has not only the highest place, but a place quite unique, like that of the Roman pontiff; his sons minister under his superintendence (Nu. 34); he himself is the only priest with full rights; as such he wears the Urim and Thummim, and the golden ephod; and none but he can enter the holy of holies and offer incense there.

Before the Exile there were, of course, differences of rank among the priests; but the chief priest was only *primus inter pares*; even Ezekiel knows no high priest in the sense of the Priestly Code.

The Urim and Thummim were the insignia of the Levites in general (Deut. 33.8), and the linen ephod was worn by them all, whilst the golden ephod was not a garment, but a metal-plated image, such as the greater sanctuaries used to possess (Judg. 8.27, Is. 30.22). Moreover, down to the Exile the temple at Jerusalem was the king's chapel, and the priests were his servants; even Ezekiel, who in most points aims at securing the independence of the priests, gives the prince a weighty part in matters of worship, for it is he who receives the dues of the people, and in return defrays the sacrificial service. In the Priestly Code, on the other hand, the dues are paid direct to the sanctuary, the ritual service has full autonomy, and it has its own head, who holds his place by divine right.

Now, the high priest represents more than the church's independence of the state; he exercises sovereignty over Israel.

Though sceptre and sword are lacking to the high priest, his spiritual dignity makes him the head of the theocracy. He alone is the responsible representative of the commonwealth; the names of the twelve tribes are written on his shoulders and his breast. An offence on his part incalculates the whole people and demands the same expiation as a national sin, whilst the sin-offerings prescribed for the princes mark them out as mere private persons compared with him. His death makes an epoch; the fugitive manslayer is amnestied, not on the death of the king, but on the death of the high priest. On investiture the high priest receives a kingly unction (whence his name, 'the anointed priest'); he wears the diadem and tiara of a monarch, and is clad in royal purple, the most unpriestly dress possible. When now we find that the head of the national worship is as such, and merely as such—for no political powers accompany the high-priesthood—also the head of the nation, this can only mean that the nation is one which has been deprived of its civil autonomy, that it no longer enjoys political existence, but survives merely as a church.

In truth the Priestly Code never contemplates Israel as a nation, but only as a religious community, the whole life of which is summed up in the service of the sanctuary. The community is that of the second temple, the Jewish hierarchy under that foreign dominion which alone made such an hierarchy possible.

The pattern of the so-called Mosaic theocracy, which does not suit the conditions of any earlier age, and of which Hebrew prophecy knows nothing, even in its ideal descriptions of the commonwealth of Israel as it ought to be, fits post-exilic Judaism to a nicety, and was never an actual thing till then. After the Exile the Jews were deprived by their foreign rulers of all the functions of public political life; they were thus able, indeed compelled, to devote their whole energies to sacred things, in which full freedom was left them. The temple became the one centre of national life, and the prince of the temple head of the spiritual commonwealth, while, at the same time, the

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administration of the few political affairs which were still left to the Jews themselves, fell into his hands as a matter of course, because the nation had no other chief.

20. Sacred dues in P.

The material basis of the hierarchy was supplied by the sacred dues. In the Priestly Code the priests receive all sin-offerings and guilt-offerings, the greater part of the cereal accompaniments of sacrifices, the skin of the burnt-offering, the breast and shoulder of thank-offerings. Further, they receive the male firstlings and the tithes of cattle, as also the firstfruits and tithes of the fruits of the land. Yet with all this they are not even obliged to support at their own cost the stated services and offerings of the temple, which are provided for by a poll-tax. The poll-tax is not ordained in the main body of the Code; but such a tax, of the amount of one-third of a shekel, began to be paid in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 10:32-33), and in a novel of the law (Ex. 30:15) it is demanded at the higher rate of half a shekel per head. That these exorbitant taxes were paid to or claimed by the priests in the wilderness, or during the anarchy of the period of the judges, is inconceivable. Nor in the period of the kingship is it conceivable that the priests laid claim to contributions much in excess of what the king himself received from his subjects; certainly no such claim would have been supported by the royal authority. In 1 S. 8:15 the tithes appear as paid to the king, and are viewed as an oppressive exaction, yet they form but a single element in the multiplicity of dues which the priests claim under the Priestly Code. Above all, the fundamental principles of the system of priestly dues in the Code are absolutely irreconcilable with the fact that, as long as Solomon's temple stood, the king had the power to dispose of its revenues as he pleased.

The sacred taxes are the financial expression of the hierocratic system; they accord with the condition of the Jews after the exile, and under the second temple they were actually paid according to the Code, or with only minor departures from its provisions.

In pre-exilic times the sacred gifts were paid not to the priests but to Yahwe; they had no resemblance to taxes, and their religious meaning, which in the later system is hardly recognizable, was quite plainly marked. They were in fact identical with the great public festival offerings which the offerers consumed in solemn sacrificial meals before Yahwe, that is, at the sanctuary. The change of these offerings into a kind of tax was connected with an entire transformation of the old character of Israel's worship, which resulted from its centralization at Jerusalem. In the old days the public worship of the nation consisted essentially in the celebration of the

21. Before the Exile.

yearly feasts; that this was so can be plainly seen from the prophecies—from Amos, but especially from Hosea. Accordingly the laws of worship are confined to this one point in JE, and even in Deuteronomy. After the Exile the festival observances became much less important than the *tamid*, the regular daily and weekly offerings and services; and so we find it in the Priestly Code. Apart from this, the feasts (especially the paschal feast) underwent a qualitative change, which claims special attention (see FEASTS, § 9 ff.).

22. Early religious feasts.

The conclusions reached by comparing the successive strata of the laws are confirmed by a comparison of the several stages of the historical tradition embodied in the Pentateuch. The several threads of narrative which run side by side in the Pentateuch are so distinct in point of form that critics were long disposed to assume that in point of substance also they are independent narratives, without mutual relation. This, however, is highly improbable on general considerations, and is seen to be quite impossible when regard is paid to the close correspondence of the several sources in regard to the arrangement of the historical matter they contain. It is because the arrangement is so similar in all the narratives that it was possible to weave them together into one book; and besides this we find a close agreement in many notable points of detail. Here, too, analysis does not exhaust the task of the critic; a subsequent synthesis is required. When he has separated out the individual documents the critic has still to examine their mutual relations, to comprehend them as phases in a living process, and in this way to trace

23. The Narrative.

The middle position which the legal part of Deuter-

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the gradual development of the Hebrew historical tradition. In the present article, however, we cannot say anything of the way in which the Deuteronomist views the Hebrew history (see HISTORICAL LIT., § 7), nor shall we attempt to characterize the differences between J and E (see GENESIS, § 4 ff.), but limit ourselves to a general comparison between the narrative of JE and that of the Priestly Code.

Bleek and his school viewed it as a great merit of the latter narrative that it strictly observes the difference between various ages, mixes nothing

24. JE and P narratives contrasted.

Mosaic with the patriarchal period, and in the Mosaic history never forgets that the scene lies in the wilderness of wandering. They also took it as a mark of fidelity to authentic sources that the Code contains so many dry lists, such a mass of unimportant numbers and names, such exact technical descriptions of details which could have no interest for posterity. Against this view Colenso¹ proved that just those parts of the Hexateuch which contain the most precise details, and so have the air of authentic documents, are least consistent with the laws of possibility.

Colenso, when he wrote, had no thought of the several sources of the Hexateuch; but this only makes it the more remarkable that his criticisms mainly affect the Priestly Code. Nöldeke followed Colenso with clear insight, and determined the character and value of the priestly narrative by tracing all through it an artificial construction and a fictitious character.

The supposed marks of historical accuracy and dependence on authentic records are quite out of place in such a narrative as that of the Pentateuch, the substance of which is not historical but legendary. This legendary character is always manifest both in the form and in the substance of the narrative of the Yahwist (JE); his stories of the patriarchs and of Moses are just such as might have been gathered from popular tradition.

In JE the general plan of the history is still quite loose; the individual stories are the important thing, and they have a truly living individuality. They have always a local connection, and we can still often see what motives lie at the root of them. But even when we do not understand these legends they lose none of their charm; for they breathe a sweet poetic fragrance, and in them heaven and earth are magically blended into one.

The Priestly Code, on the other hand, dwells as little as possible on the details of the several stories; the pearls are stripped off in order that the thread on which they were strung may be properly seen.

Love and hate and all the passions, angels, miracles, and theophanies, local and historical allusions, disappear; the old narrative shrivels into a sort of genealogical scheme—a bare scaffolding to support a pragmatic construction of the connection and progress of the sacred history. In legendary narrative, on the other hand, connection is a very secondary matter; indeed it is only brought in when the several legends are collected and written down. When, therefore, the Priestly Code makes the connection the chief thing, it is clear that it has lost all touch of the original sources and starting-points of the legends. It draws therefore, not from oral tradition, but from books; its dry excerpts can have no other source than a tradition already fixed in writing. In point of substance it simply draws on the Yahwistic narrative. The order in which that narrative disposed the popular legends is here made the essential thing; the arrangement, which in the Yahwist (JE) was still quite subordinate to the details, is here brought into the foreground; the old order of events is strictly adhered to, but is so emphasized as to become the one important thing in the history. Obviously it was the intention of the priestly narrator to give by this treatment the historical quintessence of his materials, freed of all superfluous additions. At the same time, he has used all means to dress up the old naive traditions into a learned history. Sorely against its real character, he forces it into a chronological system, which he carries through without a break from Adam to Joshua. Whenever he can he patches the story with things that have the air of authoritative documents. Finally, he rationalises the history after the standard of his own religious ideas and general culture; above all, he shapes it so that it forms a framework, and at the same time a gradual preparation for the Mosaic law. With the spirit of the legend, in which the Yahwist (JE) still lives, he has nothing in common, and so he forces it into conformity with a point of view entirely different from its own.

The middle position which the legal part of Deuter-

¹ *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, pt. 1 (62). For a sketch of Colenso see *Chr. Founders*.

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onomy holds between JE and the Priestly Code is also characteristic of the Deuteronomie narrative, which is founded throughout on JE, but from time to time shows a certain leaning to the points of view characteristic of the priestly narrator. The order of the several parts of the Hexateuch to which we have been led by all these arguments is confirmed by an examination of the other historical books and the books of Chronicles. The original sources of the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings stand on the same platform with JE; the editing they received in the Exile presupposes Deuteronomy; and the latest construction of the history as contained in Chronicles rests on the Priestly Code. This is admitted (see HISTORICAL LIT., § 7); the conclusion to be drawn is obvious.

We have now indicated the chief lines on which criticism must proceed in determining the order of the sources of the Hexateuch, and the age of the Priestly Code in particular—though, of course, it has not been possible at all to exhaust the argument. The objections that have been taken to Graf's hypothesis partly rest on misunderstanding. It is asked, for example, what is left for Moses if he were not the author of the Torah.

Moses may have been the founder of the Torah, though the Pentateuchal legislation was codified almost a thousand years later; for the Torah was originally not a written law, but the oral decisions of the priests at the sanctuary—case-law, in short, by which they decided all manner of questions and controversies that were brought before their tribunal (cf. LAW AND JUSTICE, §§ 1-4); their Torah was the instruction to others that came from their lips, not at all a written document in their hands guaranteeing their own status, and instructing themselves how to proceed in the sacrificial ritual. Questions of clean and unclean belonged to the Torah, because these were matters on which the laity required to be directed; but, generally, the ritual, so far as it consisted in ceremonies performed by the priests themselves, was no part of the Torah. Whilst, however, it was only at a late date that the ritual appeared as Torah as it does in the Priestly Code, its usages and traditions are exceedingly ancient, going back, in fact, to pre-Mosaic and heathenish times.

It is absurd to speak as if Graf's hypothesis meant that the whole ritual is the invention of the Priestly Code, first put into practice after the exile.

All that is affirmed by the advocates of that hypothesis is that in earlier times the ritual was not the substructure of a hierarchy, that there was in fact no hierarchy before the exile, that Yahwe's sovereignty was an ideal thing, not visibly embodied in an organization of the commonwealth under the forms of a specifically spiritual power. Theocracy was the state; the old Israelites regarded their civil constitution as a divine miracle. The later Jews assumed the existence of the state as a natural thing that required no explanation, and built the theocracy over it as a special divine institution.

There are, however, some more serious objections taken to the Grafian hypothesis. It is, indeed, simply a

28. Deuteronomie redaction. misstatement of facts to say that the language of the Priestly Code forbids us to date it so late as post-exilic times. On the other hand, a real difficulty lies in the fact that, whilst the priestly redaction extends to Deuteronomy (Dt. 13), it is also true that the Deuteronomie redaction extends to the Priestly Code (Josh. 20).

The way out of this dilemma is to be found by recognizing that the so-called Deuteronomie redaction was not a single and final act, that the characteristic phrases of Deuteronomy became household words to subsequent generations, and were still current and found application centuries after the time of Josiah. (See further, HISTORICAL LIT., § 7). Thus, for example, the traces of Deuteronomie redaction in Josh. 20 are still lacking in the Septuagint; the text, we see, was retouched at a very late date indeed (cf. JOSHUA, § 18; Bennett *SBOT* 'Heb.' notes).

Of the other objections taken to the Grafian hypothesis only one need be mentioned here—viz., that the Persians are not named in the list of nations in Gen. 10.

This is certainly hard to understand if the passage was written in the Persian period; but the difficulty is not insuperable. The Persians, for example, may have been held to be included in the mention of the Elamites, and this also would give the list the archaic air which the priestly writer affects.

At any rate, a residue of minute difficulties not yet

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thoroughly explained cannot outweigh the decisive arguments that support the view that the Priestly Code originated in and after the Exile. Kuenen observes with justice that 'it is absolutely necessary to start with the plain and unambiguous facts, and to allow them to guide our judgment on questionable points. The study of details is not superfluous in laying down the main lines of the critical construction; but, as soon as our studies have supplied us with some really fixed points, further progress must proceed from them, and we must first gain a general view of the whole field instead of always working away at details, and then coming out with a rounded theory which lacks nothing but a foundation.'

Finally, it is a pure *petitio principii*, nothing more, to say that the post-exilic age was not equal to the task of producing a work like the Priestly Code.

The position of the Jews after the Exile made it imperative on them to reorganize themselves in conformity with the entire change in their situation.

29. Post-exilic needs. Now the Priestly Code is all that we should expect to find in a constitution for the Jews after the Exile. It meets the new requirements as completely as it fails to satisfy the conditions which a law-book older than the Exile would have had to satisfy. After the final destruction of the kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar, they found in the ritual and *personnel* of the temple at Jerusalem the elements out of which a new commonwealth could be built, in conformity with the circumstances and needs of the time. The community of Judaea raised itself from the dust by holding on to its ruined sanctuary. The old usages and ordinances were reshaped in detail; but as a whole they were not replaced by new creations; the novelty lay in their being worked into a system and applied as a means to organize the 'remnant' of Israel. This was the origin of the sacred constitution of Judaism. Religion in old Israel had been a faith which gave its support to the natural ordinances of human society; it was now set forth in external and visible form as a special institution, within an artificial sphere peculiar to itself, which rose far above the level of common life.

30. Production of P. The necessary presupposition of this kind of theocracy is service to a foreign empire, and so the theocracy is essentially the same thing as hierocracy. Its finished picture is drawn in the Priestly Code, the product of the labours of learned priests during the Exile. When the temple was destroyed and the ritual interrupted, the old practices were written down that they might not be lost. Thus in the Exile the ritual became matter of teaching, of Torah; the first who took this step, a step prescribed by the circumstances of the time, was the priest and prophet Ezekiel (see EZEKIEL, i. § 4, ii. § 21 f.). In the last part of his book Ezekiel began the literary record of the customary ritual of the temple; other priests followed in his footsteps (Lev. 17-26); and so there arose during the captivity a school of men who wrote down and systematized what they had formerly practised. When the temple was restored this theocratic zeal still went on and produced further ritual developments, in action and reaction with the actual practice of the new temple; the final result of the long-continued process was the Priestly Code.

[The student who has read and assimilated the foregoing sketch will be qualified to estimate the progress which has been made since the lonely Jewish thinker of Amsterdam (Baruch Spinoza) propounded his doubts on Genesis, and since Jean Astruc, professor of medicine but also student of the Pentateuch, opened the 'true path' of critical investigation. Now, however, we are in a different position from that at which Kuenen had arrived when he rewrote his *Onderzoek* and Welhausen when he wrote his illuminative *Prolegomena*. The criticism of the Hexateuch is approaching a fresh turning-point, and the students of to-day need to be warned that new methods will be necessary to carry the discussion of

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critical problems nearer to definite solutions. A purely literary criticism has had its day, and biblical archaeology and the comparative study of social customs have forced us to undertake a more searching examination of the contents of the Hexateuch, which is leading to a complication of critical problems not before dreamed of. With the problems we hope that we are catching a glimpse of the new methods to be applied in their solutions. These new methods will best be learned by observing the practice of the critical workers. Budde's *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1-12) *untersucht* is not a recent book (it appeared in 1883); but a student of method may learn much from it. With more complete satisfaction, however, we may mention Stade's admirable essays on 'Cain's Sign,' on the 'Tower of Babel,' and on the 'Torah of the Sacrifice of Jealousy,' now reprinted in his *Akademische Reden und Abhandlungen* (1899). The introduction to the Hexateuch by Steuernagel will, it may be hoped, furnish many fruitful hints; but the present writer looks forward with higher hopes to Gunkel's expected commentary on Genesis. From many articles of the present work the student will be able to gather how the present writer views the task that lies before us in Genesis, and by what means we should attempt to accomplish it. Gunkel will doubtless do much more, and for Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers the student will be in safe hands if he begins under the tuition of Baentsch. To Deuteronomy and Joshua reference is made below.

To say more just now about the road which the students of to-day will have to traverse would be unwise. It would be tantamount to doing the work superficially which in a longer or shorter time the investigators of to-day—both those who have worked their way out of purely literary criticism and those who have the advantage of beginning their journey at the point now reached by critics—may modestly but confidently hope to accomplish. Let our last word be this: Hexateuch criticism is passing into a new phase. This phase is largely due to archaeology and the comparative study of social customs, but in part also to the further developments of Hebrew philology and textual criticism. Let the student therefore devote the utmost pains to the critical study of Biblical archaeology, and of the Hebrew texts, for without a better knowledge of what the texts really contain and of the circumstances in which these texts are no secure step in advance can be taken by Hexateuch criticism.

A word, too, may be said on the present position of the study of that part of the Hexateuch which relates to the laws. The immense labour bestowed on the adaptation of the old Hebrew laws is becoming more and more manifest. The Oxford *Hexateuch*¹ indicates the nature of some of the newer problems which are at present engaging the attention of workers, especially in the department of legal literature. Together with Holzinger's (Ge: Introduction to the Hexateuch it can be confidently recommended to all thorough students. It is gratifying to know that defenders of religious truth (even in the Roman church²) are finding out that criticism of the 'Books of Moses' is no enemy to religion. In fact, the wonderful ways by which God led the people of Israel towards the light of life may be studied in that strangely composite work, the Hexateuch, with as much benefit to edification as in the Psalms or the prophecies, and recent works on the religion of Israel (e.g., vol. ii. of Duff's *Old Testament Theology*³) do not neglect to use the main results in

¹ *The Hexateuch according to the RV arranged in its constituent documents by members of the Society of Historical Theology*, Oxford, J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby (London, 1900).

² See, e.g., M. J. Lagrange, 'Les sources du Pentateuque,' *Revue biblique*, 710-32.

³ Prof. Duff's view of Deuteronomy, however, differs from that which is still most prevalent among critics. Cf. Steuernagel's commentary, and the Oxford *Hexateuch*. These three

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pictures both of the popular and of the higher religion of Israel. The bibliographies to be found at the end of the articles on the books of the Hexateuch are so carefully selected that not much more need be said. A really satisfactory history of the religion of Israel still has to be written, and when we have reached the fresh starting-point for which we are looking, this much desired book will be written.

T. K. C.]

J. W.]

HEZEKI, RV HIZKI (חִזְקִיָּה, אֶזְקִיָּה [BA], ΕΖΕΚΙΑ [L]), b. Elpaal in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. β); 1 Ch. 8:17; cp *JQR* 11:103, § 1.

HEZEKIAH (חִזְקִיָּה [usually], חִזְקִיָּה [in 2 K. 18:14-16, which comes from a separate record], also חִזְקִיָּה [no. 1 in Hos. 1:1 Mic. 1:1] and חִזְקִיָּה [no. 1 in Is. 1:1 and constantly in 2 Ch. 1]; see also JEHEZKIAH; the vocalization of the two latter forms is anomalous, ΕΖΕΚΙΑC [BA.]). The name Hizkiyāhū is written Hazaki[i]m in Assyrian; cp also the name חיזק on a seal [see *J. L.*, Feb.-Mar. 1883, p. 134 (no. 7)]. It means 'Yahwē has strengthened,' or 'his strength'; cp ΕΖΕΚΙΕΛ, and the plays upon the name in Eccles. 48:17-22 [Heb. text].

1. King of Judah (?720-691; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 36). Of the reign of this king little is known with

1. **His policy.** certainty. He certainly ascended the throne at a youthful age. McCurdy¹ makes him only fifteen at his accession; he was, by general admission, certainly under twenty-five (the age given by the Redactor in 2 K. 18:2 [cp KINGS, § 4]), we may even confidently say, under twenty. Elsewhere (see ISAIAH i. § 6) reason has been given for supposing that Hezekiah may have been early influenced by the preaching of Isaiah, and unlike his father he responded to the prophet's demand for 'faith.' The kings of Judah, however, did not possess absolute power, and Hezekiah's action was in the main dictated by the political party which happened to be predominant among the nobles. His personal relation to Isaiah was therefore of comparatively slight significance, and it is but a conjecture that the (probable) dismissal of SHEREA (*q.v.*) and the alarm produced by the Assyrian invasion led to something in the nature of a reform which consisted partly in the requirement of a higher standard of morality from the judges (Is. 1:17-23 3:15) and partly in the abolition of certain idolatrous objects at Jerusalem, such as the brazen serpent (2 K. 18:4). A much larger measure of iconoclasm is ascribed to Hezekiah in 2 K. 18:4-7, where the compiler of Kings (to whom the passage in its present form is due) assigns the reformation to one of the first years of Hezekiah's reign (cp 2:22 and 2 Ch. 29:3).

The language, however, which the compiler uses is so strongly suggestive of the influence of Deuteronomy (reign of Josiah) that we cannot venture to take it as strictly historical. There is no sound evidence that Isaiah attacked either the *Massebhoth* or the *Asheroth*, much less the *Bamoth* or high places.² The destruction of these objects seems a detail transferred to Hezekiah's times from those of Josiah, to which it properly belongs.

books show that the origin of Deuteronomy is one of the problems which need a more thorough investigation. Steuernagel's *Joshua* may also be recommended.

¹ *Hist. Proph. Men* 225. This implies dating Hezekiah's accession in 720 or 719. Similarly W. and C. Niebuhr (720) assume that Merodach-baladan's embassy (2 K. 20:12-19 = Is. 37) was sent on Hezekiah's accession, which took place (ex *hyp.*) not long after his own (cp Schr. *COT* 225). McCurdy's assumptions are different, and need testing. Most scholars, with We., prefer 715. The question is not settled. On the doubtful statement 'in the fourteenth year' (2 K. 18:13 = Is. 36:1) see *Is. Jes.* 313; Duhm, *Jes.* 233; Kau, in *Kamph. Chronologie*, 94; *Chr. Intr.* Is. 217 f.; and cp CHRONOLOGY, § 36, and Dr. *Isaiah* 13 f.

² Is. 17:7 f. is an interpolation. See Stade, *ZATW* 317, who is scarcely answered by König, *Hauptprobleme*, 70. Steuernagel's answer to Sta., We., and Smend is not critical enough (*Ent. des deut. Gesetzes*, 100 [96]). Hezekiah's supposed edict for a reformation remains as improbable as before, and should not be mixed up with a discussion of the 'original Deuteronomy.'

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The removal and destruction of the brazen serpent is not to be explained away.¹ That Hezekiah did away with this much misunderstood object (see NAKHUSITAN) is credible, and this may even be the whole historical kernel of the story of the reform of the cultus, which the Chronicler (after his fashion) has still further elaborated (2 Ch. 29-31).

(a) *Philistine campaign*. — It is less doubtful to what period Hezekiah's successful campaign against the Philistines is to be referred (2 K. 18:8).

2. Campaigns. According to Stade (*GIT* 1624) and Kittel (*Hist.* 2:71), the account is to be taken in connection with Sennacherib's statement that he deprived Hezekiah of certain cities, as a punishment for his rebellion, and attached them to the territories of three Philistine kings (*AB* 294 f.). Hezekiah, it is suggested by these critics, may not have submitted tamely to this, and may even have enlarged his own territory at the expense of the Philistines after Sennacherib's departure. This is too arbitrary a view. The cities which Sennacherib wrested from Hezekiah are probably cities which Hezekiah had previously taken from the Philistines.

(b) *Assyrian campaign*. — The other events of Hezekiah's reign, so far as we know them, are treated elsewhere (see ISAAH I., § 5 ff.; MERODACH-BALADAN; SENNACHERIB; EGYPT, § 65; ISRAEL, § 34). To supplement these notices, it is only necessary to point out here: (1) that a thorough criticism of 2 K. 18:13-19:37 (= Is. 36-37) in connection with the Assyrian annals raises the character of Hezekiah considerably; he was a true hero, who, unlike the cowardly Luli of Sidon, stuck to the post of duty, and only gave way when all hope had fled, and Jerusalem was 'like a booth in a vineyard or a lodge in a cucumber-field' (Is. 18); and (2) that great caution must be used in reconstructing the history of Jewish religion on the basis of the imperfectly-known facts of the close of the Assyrian invasion.

Much that has been assigned to Isaiah's pen belongs to a later age, and presupposes a glorification of Isaiah which that great prophet and lover of truth would certainly have deprecated. The circumstances under which Jerusalem was liberated from the blockading Assyrian force were not such as to promote a spiritual religion such as Isaiah would have approved. It is by no means certain that Sennacherib retired in consequence of a pestilence in his army; the evidence is as unsatisfactory as possible, and the story may have been developed out of the words of Isaiah in 17:14, 'At eventide behold terror! before morning he is no more.' This is the portion of those that spoil us; and the lot of those who rob us.'

If Sennacherib's army had been almost destroyed, it is likely that Hezekiah would have sent a special envoy with tribute to Nineveh (*AB* 295 f.).? It is much more probable that the inability of Sennacherib to meet Taharka was due to the receipt of bad news from Babylon. In the failure of historical information, nothing was more natural, especially in the light of Isaiatic prophecies (supposed to have been literally fulfilled), than to postulate a plague as the cause of his retreat. See SENNACHERIB.

To quote on the other side the story of the priest-king Sēthōs (Herod. 2:141) is extremely unsafe, considering Herodotus's ill-fortune in the matter of popular Egyptian stories, and the mythological connections of the detail of the field-mice gnawing the quivers of the invaders.²

The only doubt is whether there may not have been a second invasion of Sennacherib, which may perhaps have been abruptly terminated by a pestilence.

On one point, however, it is safe to adhere still to the older critical view. The fact that Jerusalem escaped

¹ See Stade, *ZATW* 39 (83).

² Hommel's statement (*Gesch. des alten Morgenlandes*, 142 [193]), 'A plague (or, as Herodotus symbolically expresses himself, a "swarm of field-mice") fell upon the Assyrian host so that Sennacherib had to return (with no results to show) to Nineveh,' and McCurdy's in *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 2:298 ff., 428, seem to need no qualification. It has not been proved that mice were a symbol of plague-boils. In 1 S. 5 f. the plague and the mice are two distinct punishments. On the mythological affinities of the field-mice of Sēthōs, see A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 111-114. See EMLERDS, MOUSE.

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being taken when all the other fortified cities fell before the Assyrians, and, as Sennacherib states, 200,150 Judaeans were led into captivity, must have enhanced the prestige of the temple (cp ISRAEL, § 34; DEUTERONOMY, § 13). The religious reaction under Manasseh would rather promote than hinder this. The misinterpretation of Is. 28:1 may have begun very early.

That Hezekiah composed a song in the style of the Psalms, is *a priori* most improbable. The song in Is.

3. Hezekiah's song. 38 is, both on general and on linguistic and phraseological grounds, of post-exilic origin (see ISAAH II., § 15). Nor

can we venture to accept the statement in Prov. 25:1 that 'Hezekiah's men' collected the proverbs contained in Prov. 25-29 (cp PROVERBS). Hezekiah has hardly earned the title of the 'Pisistratus of Judah.' On the reign of Hezekiah see especially Stade, *GIT* 162-624; and cp ISRAEL, § 33 f.

2. *חֲזַקְיָהּ*, RV HEZKIAH, the son of Neriah of the seed of David (1 Ch. 3:21 *חֲזַקְיָהּ* [BA], v. 11 f.).

3. Ater-Hezekiah (Neh. 7:21 = Ezra 2:16 = 1 Esd. 5:15, Neh. 10:17); see ATER (1).

4. An ancestor of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph. 1:1 AV HEZKIAH, *Ἰζεκιὰς* [BNAQ]). Since the genealogy is traced back so far, it has been supposed that he must have been some renowned person, perhaps the king. It is probably accidental that no other prophet's genealogy is carried above the grandfather. No reference is made in Kings to a brother of Manasseh named Amariah; but the chronology is not opposed to the hypothesis which is regarded as probable by Kuenen (ii., § 78, n. 1, cp also Keil, iii., Steiner). In Ezra also accepts; but Abrahams rejects it. See Gray, *EZA*, July 1900, pp. 70 ff.

HEZION (חֲזִיּוֹן) AZAH [AL], AZEIN [B]), an Aramæan king, father of Tab-rimmon, and grandfather of Benhadad I. (1 K. 15:18). The name, however, is plainly corrupt.

Winckler (*AT Unters.* 60 ff.) restores *חֲזִיּוֹן*, Hazel, in accordance with *חֲזִי*. Others (e.g., Ew., *Hist.* 324, n. 5; The, and Klo.) prefer *חֲזִיּוֹן*, Hezon, of which they take *חֲזִי*, Rezon, in 11:23 to be another form, basing this view upon 1 K. 11:23 (*עֲרֹמִי* [B], *-ωρι*), om. *Al*; but *עֲרֹמִי* points rather either to *עֲרֹמִי* Hezron, or to *חֲזִי* (cp Rezon). Probably Winckler is right.

HEZIR (חֲזִיר) 'boar,' the pointing — may be intentional, to avoid a connection with *חֲזִיר* [N. *ZPMG* 40:162 (86)]. Neub. compares Talm. Targ. *חֲזִיר*, 'pomegranate,' 'apple' (*Acad.*, Dec. '87, p. 411 ff.); cp RIMMON. The *חֲזִיר* *חֲזִיר* are mentioned upon a Hebrew inscription dating shortly before the Christian era (Chwolson, *Corp. Inscr. Heb.* no. 6; cp Dr. *TES* xviii. f.). Cp perhaps *Hezri*, Am. Tab. 159, and the Bab. n. pr. *Heziru* (Muss-Arnolt).

1. A priest, to whom, according to the Chronicler, the seventeenth of the twenty-four lots fell in David's time, 1 Ch. 24:15 (*חֲזִיר* [B], 14), *חֲזִיר* [A], *חֲזִיר* [L]).

2. Signatory to the covenant (see *EZA* i., § 7), Neh. 10:20 [18] (*חֲזִיר* [BNA], *חֲזִיר* [L]).

HEZRO (חֲזִיר) 1 Ch. 11:37 and 2 S. 23:35 Kt.) or *Hezrai* (חֲזִיר) 2 S. 23:35, Kr.) or, more probably, Hezron (Klo., Marq.), one of David's thirty, a native of Carmel, in Judah.

חֲזִיר has in Ch. *ἡσέρ* ὁ *χαρμαδῆς* [B], *ἡσέρ* ὁ *χ.* [A], *ασαράι* ὁ *καρμαδῆς* [A], *ασαράι* ὁ *λερμελλῆς* [L]; in 2 S. *ασαράι* ὁ *καρμαδῆς* [BA], [*δαμῖ*] ὁ *εσσερί*, *καρμαδῆς* [*δ'αφαρί*] [L].

HEZRON (חֲזִיר) *אֶשְׁרָוֶם* [B], *עֲרֹמֶם* [A], *עֲרֹמֶם* [L]), one of the points which mark the S. border of Judah in Josh. 15:3, mentioned between Kadesh-barnea and Addar (?), in the passage, Nu. 34:4, Kadesh-barnea is followed by HAZAR-ADDAR (חֲזָר־אֲדָר; *επαλιν αραδ* [BAFL]). There may have been two places, Hazar or Hezron, and Addar, close to one another. The site is uncertain; Sandia in his translation takes it to be Raphia. See, however, HAZAR-AUDAR.

HEZRON (חֲזִיר) 'enclosure,' *עֲרֹמֶם* [AL]; cp *חֲזִיר*, court-yard, village, and see above.

1 The laying of the foundation-stone is future (read *חֲזִיר*), and the promised benefits are only for those who have what Isaiah would recognise as faith. Cp Is. 8:6 f.

HIEL

HIERAPOLIS

The writer of the notice makes Hiel (Jehu) responsible for their deaths, and the inserter of the gloss, 'according to the word of Yahwé which he spoke by Joshua,' supposed the deaths to have been judgments upon Hiel (Jehu) for his impiety in breaking the taboo laid upon the site of Jericho by Joshua. Of this taboo, however, we have no early record, and the explanation is certainly not natural. The key to the passage is supplied by the comparative study of primitive customs. It is not the ordinary sacrifices of children that we have before us (so Kue. *Out.*¹ 1233 = *Hex.* 240), but a special kind of sacrifice to the local supernatural powers such as has been practised in many countries.

This can hardly fail to have suggested itself to many readers of Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1894 ff.), and has for many years been held by the present writer. From Tylor's instances it is enough to quote the Japanese belief (17th cent.) that 'a wall laid on the body of a willing human victim would be secure from accident; accordingly when a great wall was to be built, some wretched slave would offer himself as foundation, lying down in the trench to be crushed by the heavy stones lowered upon him.' Similarly at Algiers 'when the walls were built of blocks of concrete in the sixteenth century, a Christian captive named Hieronimo was placed in one of the blocks and the rampart built over and about him.'¹ In India, to this day, engineers and architects have to reassure the natives at the commencement of any great undertaking, to prevent them from anticipating a sacrifice of human victims (Sewell). It is still more important to notice that the American explorer, J. H. Haynes, in excavating the zikkurat of the temple of Bel at Nippur (the oldest yet found) discovered many skulls built in with the bricks.²

It is probable that in primitive times these foundation-sacrifices were customary in Palestine as well as in Babylonia, and that they even lingered on in northern Israel. Even if we believe that Hiel (Jehu) sacrificed his two sons in the usual way (i.e., not adopting the precise practice referred to by Tylor), we must at any rate suppose that he sprinkled the foundation-stones and the side-posts of the gates (cp Ex. 127 22 f.) with his children's blood, just as Arabian husbandmen, when they build, are still wont to sprinkle the blood of a pecc-offering upon the stones.³

That he selected his firstborn and his youngest sons as the sacrificial victims, is in accordance with the principle implied in 2 K. 327 Mic. 67.⁴ The only biblical critic who has explained the passage by folklore is Winckler (*Gesch.* 1163, n. 3); but the present article is independent of his work. [Cp Ki. *Avn.* 136.]

T. K. C.

HIERAPOLIS (ἱεραπολις, ἱερα πόλις [WH; Str. 629]), a city in Phrygia, mentioned incidentally in Col. 1:13 along with the neighbouring Laodicea. It occupied a shelf, 1100 ft. above the sea, springing from the mountains bounding the Lykos valley on the NE. The modern village *Pambâk Kalesi* ('cotton castle,' from the lime of the springs) lies close to the site. The hot calcareous springs, and the chasms filled with carbonic acid gas, were and are still remarkable features.⁵ The water of the springs falls over the cliffs, 100 ft. or more in height, above which the city stood, and the snowy white stalactites present the appearance of a frozen cascade. The *Plutonium*, a hole from which mephitic vapour issued, was filled up by the Christians between 19 A.D. (Strabo's visit) and 380 A.D.: this appears in legend as the subjugation of Echidna (Snake = Satan) by the Apostles Philip and John.

¹ *Cornhill Magazine*, Feb. 1887 (quoted by Trumbull).

² Peters, *IBL* 1011 1961; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, 43 (96). On p. 46 the author vaguely remarks that there is a 'suggestion' of the idea of the foundation sacrifice in the curse pronounced by Joshua. (See also Fraser, *Journ. Phil.* 14 166 f. [185].)

³ Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1136.

⁴ Cp WKS, *Rel. Sem.* 2, 464.

⁵ Strabo says (629), καταντικρὺ Λαοδικείας ἱερά πόλις, ὅπου τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα καὶ τὸ Πλουτωνιον, ἀμφὶ παραδοξολογίαν τινα ἔχοντα. He calls the chasms χαρύνια, 529; cp Vitr. viii 3 10.

HIGH PLACE

As contrasted with the Seleucid foundation of Laodicea, 6 m. to the S., Hierapolis was the focus of Phrygian national feeling and religious ideas. As Ramsay points out, it exemplifies a phenomenon common in Asia Minor. The sacred cities of the early period grew up in a locality where the divine power was most strikingly manifested in natural phenomena. A sacred village (ἱερά κώμη) arose near the sanctuary (cp Ephesus), and this developed into a city of the native character, with the name Hieropolis.

Wherever native feeling is strong, the form of this name is Hieropolis, 'City of the Sanctuary'; but where Hellenic feeling and education spreads, the Greek form Hierapolis, 'Sacred City,' is introduced. The difference in form corresponds to a difference in spirit. According to the former the sanctuary, according to the latter the city, is the leading idea.

The great goddess of Hierapolis was the Mother Leto (Str. 409 f.; see ΠΙΡΥΓΙΑ). Hence the warnings issued in Col. 35 16 Eph. 417-19 53 f. The churches in the Lykos valley were not founded by Paul personally (see COLOSSE, § 2). That of Hierapolis may have been the creation of Epaphras (Col. 412 f.). Justinian made it the metropolis of a group of bishoprics.

See Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, 84; *Cities and Bishops of Phrygia*, 1. chap. 3.

W. J. W.

HIEREEL (ἱερελ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:21 = Ezra 10:21, JEHIEL, i. 10.

HIEREMOTH.

1. (ἱερεμωθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:27 = Ezra 10:26, JEREMOTH, 10.
2. (ἱερεμωθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:30 = Ezra 10:29, JEREMOTH, 12.

HIERIELUS (ἱερηιλος [A], ἱερορικλος [B]), 1 Esd. 9:27 = Ezra 10:26, JEHIEL, i. 11.

HIERMAS (ἱερμα [B], -c [A]), 1 Esd. 9:26 = Ezra 10:25, RAMIAH.

HIERONYMUS (ἱερωνυμος [VA]), one of the commandants (στρατηγοί) of a district in Palestine in the time of Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 12:2).

HIGGAION (חִגְּגִיּוֹן), coupled with Selah, Ps. 9:15 [17], (ωδὴ [BNART]). A derivation from חָגַג 'to moan, muse' (cp AV^{ms}, 'meditation'), is as unsatisfactory as the EV rendering ('solemn sound') of the same word in Ps. 92:3 [4], for which Wellh.-Furrer ('Psalms,' *SBOT*) substitutes 'with resounding chords.' Cheyne (Ps.²¹) emends the text in both passages.

In Ps. 92:3 [4], with B, he reads חִגְּגִיּוֹן לְיָ, 'to the sweetly-sounding notes of the lyre.' In Ps. 92:15 [17] (for חִגְּגִיּוֹן he reads חִגְּגִיּוֹן, 'the meditation of their heart,' and regards it as a marginal correction of the partly corrupt חִגְּגִיּוֹן of MT in Ps. 10:17, which intruded into the text of another column of the archetype (cp a similar suggestion in HANNAH).¹ Cp SHIGGAION, SELAH.

HIGH PLACE, as a translation of Heb. *hāmāh* (הַמָּאָה, pl. הַמָּאוֹת).² In the literal sense 'heights,' only in the plural and only poetical (2 S. 1:19 25; cp Ezek. 36:2, where however the text is questioned).

The literal sense is found chiefly in certain phrases: to ride or stalk over the 'heights of the earth' (Dt. 32:13 Is. 58:14 Am. 4:13 Mic. 1:3, cp Hab. 3:19), or stand upon them (2 S. 22:34 = Ps. 18:33 [34]); 'heights of the sea' (mountainous waves, Job 9:8); 'cloud heights' (Is. 14:14); cp Assyrian *hamāti ša šadē*, 'mountain heights' (Del. *HWB* 177 f.).³

In prose (sing. and pl.)⁴ *hāmāh* is always a place of worship.

In this use B—which frequently transliterates (cp, e.g.,

¹ So far as the reading חִגְּגִיּוֹן in Ps. 10:17 is concerned, Gr. and Hal. have a claim to priority. חִגְּגִיּוֹן (Hi., We., Du.) does injustice to the parallelism.

² The other words occasionally rendered in EV 'high place' (חִגְּגִיּוֹן, עֲבוֹדָה) are not used in the specific sense of *hāmāh*.

³ Other etymologies, such as that חִגְּגִיּוֹן is an Indo-European loan-word (βαμός; J. D. Michaelis), or that it originally meant not 'height' but 'enclosure' (Thein, Büttcher), need not be discussed. On the origin of the word see below, § 7.

⁴ Sing. 1 S. 9 f. 1 K. 3:4 (Gibeon), 2 K. 23:15 (Bethel), Is. 16:12 Jer. 48:7; Ezek. 20:27.

HIGH PLACE

1 S. 9.12)—renders in Pent. *σῶλα*,¹ in the Prophets generally *בִּמְשָׁלָה*, in the Hist. Books *בִּמְשָׁלָה*, *בִּמְשָׁלָה*; Ar. and prob. Sym. *ὑψηλὰ*, *ὑψηλὰ*; Vg. consistently *excelsa*; Pesh. *alawit'hi*; 'high places,' sometimes *prakhkē*, 'idol shrines.'

The connection of the notion 'place of worship' with the primitive meaning 'high place' is well illustrated by 1 S. 9.10-25; the town (Ramah) lay on the side of the hill, with its spring of water at the foot of the hill below it, and the place of sacrifice (the 'high place') above it on the summit.² That mountain and hill tops were the common places of sacrifice we have abundant evidence in the OT.

See Hos. 4.11 9.1 f. (cp. 2 S. 24.16 ff.), Jer. 17.2 22.36 Ezek. 4.13 20.27-29 1 K. 14.23 2 K. 16.4 17.10 etc.³

In the older prophets 'high place' (בִּמְשָׁלָה) is synonymous with 'holy place, sanctuary' (מִקְדָּשׁ); see Am. 7.9 Is. 16.12, also Lev. 26.30 f. Such places were very numerous; we know of many from the historical books, and may with all confidence assume that every city, town, and village had its own (cp. 2 K. 17.9 11.238). Some of these sanctuaries, like those at Bethel, Gilgal, and Beersheba, had a wider fame, and were frequented at festival seasons by worshippers from near and far.

As a place of sacrifice,⁴ the *bāmāh* had its altar (Hos. 8.11 10.18 12.11 [12] etc.); further, according to a Canaanite custom adopted by the Israelites, a stone stele (*maṣṣebāh*) and a wooden post or pole (*ashērāh*); see Hos.

3.10 10.12 f. Ezek. 6.3-6 11 Lev. 26.30 f.; cp. Philo Byblus, frag. 17 (*FHG* 3.564 B).⁵ Often there was also a sacred tree, as at Gibeon where Saul sat in council (see SAUL) 'under the tamarisk tree in the *bāmāh*' (1 S. 22.6);⁶ see also Hos. 4.13 Dt. 12.2 Jer. 2.20 Ezek. 6.13 etc.⁷ At Ramah there was a hall (מִסְכָּה, cp. *Μοσχῆ*) in which the sacrificial feast was held (1 S. 9.22), and doubtless such an adjunct was common; the greater sanctuaries may have had, like that in Jerusalem, several such rooms. In some places there was also an idol or idols (Hos. 4.17 8.4-6 10.5 11.2 13.2 13.3 [4] 8 [9] Mic. 1.7 Is. 23.13-20 Ezek. 6.3-6 9.13 Lev. 26.30 f.),⁸ such as the bull images of Yahwē at Bethel and Dan (1 K. 12.26-30) and the serpent idol at Jerusalem (2 K. 18.4);⁹ where this was the case there would necessarily be a sacellum or small shrine to protect the idol, which was often made wholly or in part of precious metals (Judg. 17.5 בַּת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, cp. 1 S. 31.9); there was such a structure at Shiloh, in which the ark of Yahwē was kept, with a servant of the priest as *aditus* (1 S. 3.3), and probably at Nob (1 S. 21).

It is possible that the more primitive agalmata, the stone stelēs, obelisks, or cones, were sometimes sheltered by a cella with open front, as we occasionally see it upon Phœnician coins; but of this there is no direct evidence.¹⁰ Small tents or tabernacles may have been used for a similar purpose; David provided such a shelter for the ark (2 S. 6.17 1 K. 2.28-30; cp. Ex. 33.7 ff.), and 2 S.

¹ With this translation cp. the inscription on the stele of Mesha king of Moab, *מִשְׁכָּה וְעֹלָה בְּבִמְשָׁלָה*.

² Such has been in all ages the usual situation of towns in Palestine; Benz. *HA* 373; cp. WRS *Rel. Sem.* 157 470 f., 172 439 f.

³ On holy mountains among the Semites, and in particular among the Hebrews, see Bandissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 223 ff., and art. 'Höhiendienst' in *PRK* 39 6181 ff. On the subject of sacred mountains in general, Andrian, *Höhenkultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker*, '91; Beer, *Heilige Höhen der Griechen und Römer*, '91. See also NATURE WORSHIP, § 4.

⁴ Note the verbs *בָּרַח* and *בָּרַח*, 'slaughter' and 'burn fat,' as the standing description of the high-place worship, 1 K. 3.2 f. 22.43 [44] 2 K. 12.3 [4] 14.4 15.4 35 16.4 23.5 etc.

⁵ See MASSEBAH and ASHERAH.

⁶ Real *בִּמְשָׁלָה* *בִּמְשָׁלָה*; MT *בִּמְשָׁלָה*; *בִּמְשָׁלָה* *בִּמְשָׁלָה*.

⁷ See NATURE WORSHIP.

⁸ In some of these passages domestic idols may be meant; so probably in Is. 17.10.

⁹ See IDOL, § 4; and on the ephod of Gilead and Micah, and at Nob, see EPHOD, §§ 2, 4.

¹⁰ See Per. Chip, *History of Art in Phœnicia*, 1276 f. and fig. 199; cp. Philo Bybl. fig. 17, *FHG* 3.564 B.

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7.2-7 shows that at a comparatively late time there were those who thought that a tent was a more suitable dwelling for Yahwē than a house. Ezek. 16.13 speaks of *bāmōth* (בָּמֹת) made of clothing stuffs, a patchwork of divers colours, by which tents or canopies are perhaps to be understood (Targ., etc.); see also Hos. 9.6 2 K. 23.7.¹

The later Jewish distinction of public and private *bāmōth*, and descriptions of them (*Mish. Meg.* 1.10; *Mish. Zebachim*, 14.10; *Tos. Zebach.* 13.11 ff.), are of no authority for the times with which we are concerned.

All the worship of old Israel was worship at the high places; to them the tithes were brought (Gen. 28.20-22

4. The cultus. 3.440); at them all sacrifices, stated and occasional, by the individual, the family or clan, or the larger sacral community, were offered (1 S. 9.11 ff.; and in general Dt. 12.5-8 11.13 17, whose prohibitions are testimony to the former practice);² there transactions requiring a solemn sanction were ratified before God (Ex. 21.6 22.8 [7] 21.27 etc.), and there councils were held (1 S. 22.6). To the high places the troops of dervish-like *nabhi'im* resorted to work up the prophetic ecstasy by music and whirling dances (1 S. 10.5-10).³ At the great high place at Gibeon Solomon offered his benedictions and practised incubation (1 K. 3.1 ff.). Of the worship at the high places of Israel in the eighth-century Hosea paints for us a vivid picture, the joyous gatherings on festival days—new moons, sabbaths, annual feasts—when the people appeared in gala dress (2.13 [15] 13 [17]); the sacrifices and libations (9.4), and offerings of corn and wine and oil, of flax and wool, of figs and raisin-cakes, in gratitude for the fruits of the year (2.3 [7] 8 [10] f. 12 [14] 31); in times of scarcity the 'cuttings in the flesh' to move the obdurate god (7.14).⁴ cp. 1 K. 18.20; the licentious intercourse of men and women, in which the priests and the consecrated women (*zōzōt*), religious prostitutes; see CLEAN, § 1, col. 837. IDOLATRY, § 6. SACRIFICE set the example—a rite hallowed by sacrifice (11.3 f., cp. 11; and see what is narrated by a late writer of Eh's sons, 1 S. 2.22); the divination (rhabdomancy? 4.12). In similar terms Jeremiah and Ezekiel describe the worship of their time.

In writers of the seventh and the sixth centuries the word *bāmōth* (always plural, even when a single holy place is meant)⁵ is used with the pre-

5. Seventh-century writers. dominating connotation 'sanctuaries of a heathenish or idolatrous cult'; thus Jer.

7.31 19.5 32.35 (Melek), cp. 17.3 (C om.) Ezek. 6.7-6 13 Lev. 26.30 f.⁶ The deuteronomic author and the subsequent editor of Kings apply the name to the sanctuaries of Judah outside of Jerusalem, which they unhistorically represent, not as holy places older than the temple of Solomon, but as originating in the apostasy of Rehoboam's time (1 K. 14.22-24 2 K. 23.5, cp. 8 f.), and as having been, after their destruction by Hezekiah, rebuilt by Manasseh (2 K. 21.3); also to the shrines of other gods in Jerusalem (2 K. 23.8) or its vicinity (1 K. 11.7 2 K. 23.13, on the Mt. of Olives); and particularly to the holy places of the northern kingdom (on which more fully below, § 4). In the same way *בְּנֵי הַבִּמְשָׁלָה*, 'high-place priests,' is an opprobrious title for the priests of the cities of Judah (in distinction from the priesthood of Jerusalem; 2 K. 23.9, cp. 8 = Levites Dt. 18.6), who are also called *בְּנֵי הַבִּמְשָׁלָה*, 'pagan priests' (2 K. 23.5; see CHEMARIM), and for the priests of Israel, whose illegiti-

¹ Note also the names Oholah and Oholibah, Ezek. 23.4 ff., and Oholibamah, Gen. 36.2. Temples were used not only as portable sanctuaries in camps (e.g., by the Carthaginians, Diod. Sic. 20.65), but also, in certain cults, even in temples (e.g., of Belis at Harrān, En-Nedim in Chwolson, *Sacher*, 2.35), and in some mysteries (Maury, *Religions de la Grèce*, 3.294); cp. also the *ναὸς ἑρμαιοποιμενος*, Philo Bybl. *FHG* 3.567 A.

² See further SACRIFICE, and TITHE.

³ See PROPHET.

⁴ See CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, § 1.

⁵ Exceptions 2 K. 23.15 Ezek. 20.20.

⁶ It is noteworthy that the word does not occur in Dt.

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macy is emphasized (1 K. 12:13, 13:2, 2 K. 23:20), as well as for the priests of the heathen colonists of Samaria (1 K. 17:12). In this period the stigma of heathenism thus everywhere attaches to the word.

In several places (none earlier than the end of the 7th cent.) we read of a *ḥāmāh* (sing. plur. *ḥāmāh*).

6. The *bāmōth*-temples. — i.e., a temple of an idolatrous cult; thus, 2 K. 17:29, the old temples of the Samaritans, in which the alien

colonists set up their images and worshipped Yahwē after their fashion; 1 K. 12:11, the temples which Jeroboam I. built in rivalry to the temple of Yahwē at Jerusalem; further, 1 K. 13:2, 2 K. 23:19.

In other cases *ḥāmāh* alone (always plur.) seems to be used in the same sense; note the verbs *ḥāma*, 'build' (1 K. 10:23, 2 K. 17:21, Jer. 7:31, 19:5, 32:35), and *ḥama*, 'pull down, demolish' (2 K. 23:15, cp Ezek. 16:35), though by themselves these verbs do not necessarily imply an edifice, being used, e.g., of an altar.

In the passages just cited the word *bāmāh* has lost the physical meaning 'high place' altogether; the *bāmāh* spoken of were in the cities of Israel and Judah (2 K. 17:29, 23:15), in one of the gates of Jerusalem (2 K. 23:8), in its streets or open places (Ezek. 16:24, 31:39, where *ḥāmāh* [1:22] is equivalent to *ḥāmāh*, if indeed the text should not be so emended);³ the *bāmāh* of the Melek cult were in the valley of Hinnom (Jer. 7:31 etc.); see Mollerat. We often read of *bāmāh* on hills (e.g., Ezek. 6:3, 1 K. 11:7), and under green trees (e.g., 1 K. 14:23); observe also that the sacrifices are always said to be offered *in* or *at* the *bāmāh*, never *on* (*on*), and contrast Is. 16:12. It has been thought that the *bāmāh* in valleys, cities, etc., were artificial mounds, taking the place of the natural 'high places,' the summits of hills and mountains, such as are found among various peoples.⁴ This is in itself possible enough; but evidence of it is lacking in the OT; even in Ezek. 16:24, 31:39 it is doubtful whether this is the prophet's meaning.

The history of the high places is the history of the old religion of Israel. Here we have only to do with

7. History: pre-deuteronomic. — the attitude to them assumed by the religious leaders and reformers.⁵

Most of the high places were doubtless old Canaanite holy places which the Israelites, as they gradually got possession of the land, made their own (see Dt. 12:2, 2 K. 17:11 etc.); the legends in Genesis which tell of the founding of the altars of the more famous sanctuaries by the forefathers, Jacob-Israel and Abraham, often in connection with a theophany or other manifestation of Yahwē's presence at the spot, are at once a recognition that these holy places were older than the Israelite invasion of Palestine and a legitimization of them as altars of Yahwē; the name *bāmāh* itself was probably borrowed from the Canaanites. There can be little doubt that the cultus at the high places was in the main learned by the Israelites from the older occupants together with the agriculture with which it was so closely interwoven (cp ISRAEL, § 26 f.). Not only were the rites the same as those with which the Canaanites worshipped their baals, but it is probable that at the beginning the worship was actually addressed to the baals, the givers of the fruits of the soil (cp BAAL, § 5 f.).

Later, when Canaan had become completely the land of Israel, and thus Yahwē, Israel's God, whose old seats were in the distant south, became the God of

¹ Never *ḥāmāh* (1 K. 12:13, 13:2, 2 K. 23:20), *ḥāmāh* (1 K. 12:13, 13:2, 2 K. 23:20), *ḥāmāh* (1 K. 12:13, 13:2, 2 K. 23:20).

² Often the more general words *ḥāmāh* (Niph.), *ḥāmāh*. In 2 K. 23:15 the text is in disorder; *ḥāmāh* did not originally refer to the *ḥāmāh*.

³ [2], etc. 24:31, 39:1 EV, 'eminent place,' the mound upon which stands the altar (Bertholet, etc.), or a cupola or 'vaulted chamber' (RVmg.) for heathen worship (Davidson). AVmg.'s rendering after Vg. and *ḥāmāh*, etc., is needless.

⁴ [See Gesenius, Preface to Gramberg, *Religions-ideen des AT* 1 pp. xix, xxi.]

⁵ See also HENATEUCH, § 14 f.

HIGH PLACE

the land, the cultus was addressed to him,¹ but as its character was not changed, the consequence was that Yahwē was worshipped as a baal. It is thus easy to understand how, to a prophet like Hosea, the religion of his countrymen should seem to be unmixt Canaanite heathenism (25 [7] cp 8 [10] 12 [14] f. 16 [18] f. 13 etc.), and how, from the same point of view, the religious reformers of the seventh century should demand the abolition of the high places as the first step to restoring the true religion of Yahwē.

From the standpoint of Dt. and the deuteronomistic historians, the high places were legitimate places of sacrifice until the building of the temple at Jerusalem (1 K. 3:2); after that they were forbidden.² The history, however, shows that they continued to be not only the actual, but also the acknowledged sanctuaries of Judah as well as Israel down to the seventh century. The building of the temple in Jerusalem had neither the purpose nor the effect of supplanting them. The author of KINGS (who reckons it a heinous fault) records of all the kings of Judah from Solomon to Hezekiah that they did not do away with the high places. The oldest collections of laws, in Lx. 31:24-26, assume the existence of these local sanctuaries; Ex. 20:24-26 formally legitimizes their altars. The prophets of the ninth century contend (against the foreign religion introduced by Ahab) for the worship of Yahwē alone in Israel; to Elijah the destruction of the altars of Yahwē (high places) is a token of complete apostasy (1 K. 19:10-14); he himself repairs the fallen altars on the sacred mountain Carmel (18:30). Amos and Hosea assail the cultus at the high places as corrupt and heathenish, like the whole religion of their contemporaries; but it is the character of the worship and the worshippers, not the place, that they condemn; the worship in Jerusalem pleases the prophets no better (Is. 1:10 f.; cp 28:7 f., which is at least applied to Judah). Hezekiah is said to have removed the high places (2 K. 18:4, 21:11);³ but it is hardly probable (see HEZEKIAH, § 1) that the king's reforms went beyond an attempt to suppress the idolatry against which Isaiah so incessantly inveighed;⁴ the mention of the high places is from the hand of the deuteronomie author, who thus conforms the account of Hezekiah's good work to that of Josiah (2 K. 23) and to the deuteronomic law. Certainly the high places were in their full glory in the reigns of Hezekiah's successors Manasseh and Amon.

One of the chief aims of Deuteronomy is to restrict the worship of Yahwē to the temple in Jerusalem. All other places of sacrifice—which are significantly described as the places where the Canaanites worshipped their gods—are to be razed; no similar cult is to be offered to Yahwē (12:2-8 and many other places).⁵ Within the limits of his little kingdom Josiah (621) carried out the prescriptions of the new law-book.

We are told that he also destroyed the high places at Bethel and in the other cities of Samaria (2 K. 23:15, 19 f.). In the weakness of the moribund Assyrian empire such an action is conceivable (cp 2 K. 23:29 f.); but the author of 2 K. 23:15-20 is hardly a competent witness.

That the people of the Judæan cities and villages saw unmoved the altars at which their forefathers had worshipped Yahwē for centuries torn down, the venerated

¹ Stade's view, that the high places were ancestral tombs, and that the cult which was supplanted by that of the national god Yahwē was that of a tribal hero (*Git.* 1.40 f.), is perhaps true of some of them; there is no reason to believe that this was the universal development.

² For the Jewish attempts to reconcile this theory and the practice of the times of the Judges, Samuel, and David, with the existence of the tabernacle of P, see *Mish. Zibachim*, 114 f., *Tos. Zibachim*, 13; further, the numerous passages from the Talmuds and Jewish commentators collected by Ugolino in his *Thesaurus*, 10, 550 f.

³ According to Chron.,—in conflict with its sources,—other good kings had done the same before (2 Ch. 14:3 [2], Asa, cp 15:17; 17:6, Jehoshaphat).

⁴ See the notice in 2 K. 18:4, and cp NEHUSHTAN and IDOLATRY, § 5.

⁵ See DEUTERONOMY, § 13.

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HIRAH

¹ They take him though he be on the watch
(literally 'in his own sight').
And pierce through his nose with snares'
(probably ropes with harpoons attached).

This is a more natural rendering of the Hebrew, though it is doubtful if it suits the context so well. The renders amended text.

Who will seize him by the teeth,
And pierce his nose with a snare?

The chief question that arises in connection with this animal (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) is whether it ever lived in Palestine, or whether its fame had spread to the poet from Egypt. At the present time the river-swine (as the ancient Egyptians called them) do not extend north of Dongola, between the second and the third cataracts, and even there they are rare; but both the frescoes and writings of the Egyptians and the fossil remains found in the Delta of the Nile show that in former times it inhabited Lower Egypt and was harpooned by the inhabitants. During the Pleistocene and Pliocene epochs an animal specifically indistinguishable from the hippopotamus was widely spread over southern and middle Europe, extending even into England, so that although at present there is no distinct evidence of its existing in the Jordan it is possible that it may formerly have done so.

The animals are exclusively fluvial, and can remain under water for considerable periods—as much as ten minutes. They are fond of frequenting the reed-covered margins of the rivers, piercing tunnel-shaped paths in the closely-matted vegetation on the banks. They are herbivorous. (See, further, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11, 14.)

[There may be a safer reference to the hippopotamus in Ps. 80:14 (13), where the reading varied between *סָרִיס* and *סָרִיס* (i.e., 'from the forest' and 'from the River'); see Ginsb. *Introd. to the Mas. crit. ed. of the Heb. Bible*, 138 ff. The latter reading was the more popular one in Palestine in pre-Roman times; the swine of the River would naturally be the hippopotamus. Cp SWINE.]

N. M.—A. E. S.

HIRAH (הִירָה, 'noble'? cp Palm. הִיר, an Amalutite, a friend of Judah (Gen. 38:12; [ε]ρακ [ADEL]).

HIRAM (הִרָם, perhaps an abbreviation of אֲחִירָם. AURAM; cp HIRI; Phoen. הִרָם; χ[ε]ραμα [DIAL]).

1. Hiram I., king of Tyre, famous for the help he rendered Solomon in the building of the temple, and in the manning of his 'Tarshish'-fleet' (1 K. 5:1 [15] ff. 9:26 ff.; see OPHIR, § 1), in return for which Solomon gave him twenty cities in the land of Galilee (1 K. 9:11 ff.; see CAMEL). The later tradition that the friendship between the two was strengthened by Solomon's marriage with a daughter of Hiram (Tatian, *Cont. Græc.*, § 37) may rest upon 1 K. 11:1 Ps. 45:12 [13]. David, soon after occupying Jerusalem, is said to have received cedar-wood and workmen from Hiram to help him in his building operations (2 S. 5:11, cp 1 K. 5:1 [15]); but Hiram was also a contemporary of Solomon's. Unless, therefore, we assume that the event referred to in 2 S. relates to the last part of David's reign, we meet with a serious chronological difficulty. Hence some conjecture that the length of Hiram's reign (909-936 B.C., based upon Jos. *Ap.* 1:8) is inexact, or that it was Hiram's father, A'rafal, who really helped David (cp Kittel, *Hist.* 2:15, 1).² More probably Hiram's kindly offices towards Solomon have been anticipated.³ Hiram's reputed tomb (*Kabr Hiram* [Hirān]) is still pointed out to the E. of Tyre; the date is unknown (cp *Bibl.* 6:206); see APOCRYPHA, § 14; CHRONICLES, § 8, n. 3.

2. The artificer sent by Hiram, king of Tyre (1 K. 7:13-45 2 Ch. 2:13 [12] ff. 4:11 [16]). A man of mixed race, it would appear, though 1 K. *l.c.* leaves it open

¹ Reading *סָרִיס* *סָרִיס* *סָרִיס*. Another suggestion is to read *סָרִיס*, 'hook' (cp Am. 4:2) for *סָרִיס*.

² For other conjectures cp *Ew. Hist.* 3:22.

³ Similarly the author of 1 S. 14:47 ff. ascribes to Saul deeds which really belong to David; cp SAUL, § 2.

HIROM

to the reader to suppose that his father, as well as his mother, may have been Israelitish.¹ His name is variously given in Kings and Chronicles. In 2 Ch. 2:13 [12] (not 4:11), according to the common view (see Bertheau), the word *הִרָם*, 'my father' (*הִרָם* *הִרָם* *הִרָם*) (*הִרָם* *הִרָם* *הִרָם*) and *הִרָם* 'his (i.e. the king's) father' (*הִרָם* *הִרָם* *הִרָם*), see note) is appended to Hiram. Giesebrecht (*Z. A. T. F.* 1890 ff.), indeed, has argued ably for the view that Hiram-abi or Hiram-abi ('Hiram is my father') was the real name of the artificer sent from Tyre (*הִרָם* in 2 Ch. 4:11 being supposed to be an error). So, too, Stade (*Monat.* 1890, 11, 2), whilst Kämpfhausen (*Kau. Hs.*) thinks that Hiram-abi² may have been the original form of the name, shortened in our text of Kings and of 2 Ch. 4:11 into Hiram or Hiram, and in our text of 2 Ch. 2:13 [12] into Hiram-abi. These scholars, however, seem too ready to trust the Chronicler in this point; neither form of the solution proposed seems plausible.

We are bound to consider in the first instance whether some error, either of the Chronicler or of the scribe,³ may not be at the root of the strange name or reading Hiram-abi. It appears certain that either the name of the artificer was precisely that of the Tyrian king (for which ancient parallels might be adduced), or that it was near enough to Hiram to be assimilated to this name through corruption. It might, e.g., be (1) *ΑΙΟΛΙΑΝ* [q.v.], a name which has analogies in Phoenician (*הִרָם* *הִרָם* *הִרָם*) and S. Arabian (*הִרָם* *הִרָם* *הִרָם*), and is given by P to the colleague of the artificer, Bezalel, or (2) Hiram (with a *y* for *i*); one renders that Bezalel in P is called *ben Uri*, *ben Hur*.⁴

The more common form of the name is *הִרָם* (cp *הִרָם* above) found in 2 S. 5:11 1 K. 5:1 ff. [15 ff.] 9:11 ff. 27 10:11, 22, and Kt. in 1 Ch. 14:1 2 Ch. 9:10, 6a (11); for (2) in 1 K. 7:13 4:45. A variant is *הִרָם* (EV *HIRAM*, cp *הִרָם* and *הִרָם*) used of no. 1 in 2 Ch. 2:13 [12] 11 [10] ff. 8:2 18 9:21, and Kt. in 1 Ch. 14:1 2 Ch. 9:10; also of no. 2 in 2 Ch. 4:11⁵ and 12 [1 Kt.]. On 2 Ch. 2:13 [12] 15, see above. Finally, the rare form *הִרָם* is met with in 1 K. 5:10 [12] 13 referring to no. 1, and in 1 K. 7:40a for no. 2. This form agrees with the Ass. *Hirammum*, the *ἱερραμμος* of Jos. (the last form used to represent no. 2), and the *ἱερραμμος* of Herod. 7:98. Thus the names of the two Hiram's present identical variations. Kittel on 1 Ch. 14:1 suggests that the original form may have been Hiram (הִרָם), which passed successively into *הִרָם* and *הִרָם* (on this phonetic change see Barth, *NB*, p. xxix); hence, from a combination of these two forms, arose *הִרָם*.

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

HIRCANUS (ἱρκανός [VA]) 2 Macc. 3:11, RV *HYRCANUS* [q.v., 2].

HIKE, HIRELING (הִיכָר) Gen. 31:8, (הִיכָר) Job 7:1. See SLAVERY.

HIROM (הִירָם) 1 K. 7:40 EV *HIRAM*; EV *HIRAM* (q.v., 2).

¹ 1 K. makes his mother of the tribe of Naphtali; 2 Ch., of that of Dan. To the latter belonged Abihah.

² This early reading found favour with the correctors of *SB* and with one corrector of *SA* who may possibly have been the original scribe himself. Swete gives *הִרָם* (A¹). The reading seems to be a guess, corresponding to the guess *הִרָם* presupposed by *SB* in 4:15 (see next note but one).

³ The name *εἰρας*, which the artificer bears in Josephus, *Hep. domesticum*, 63, is only a corruption of *εἰρας* ('*הִרָם*').

⁴ Two views seem possible. (1) The Chronicler may have misread *הִרָם* *הִרָם* ('the fleet of Hiram') in 1 K. 10:11, *הִרָם* *הִרָם*, as if a person called Abi-Hiram were the leader of 'Hiram's servants,' and changed the relative position of Abi and Hiram or Hiram to prevent the mistranslation 'father of (king) Hiram'; see *Ch. Exp.* 1907:1 (July, 1908). (2) For *הִרָם* and *הִרָם* we may read *הִרָם*, 'my servant,' *הִרָם*, 'his servant'; cp readings of *SB* in 2 Ch. 2:13 [12]. But this seems too simple an expedient.

⁵ Josephus names the craftsman's father *Uritas* or *Uritas*; *πατρις δὲ Ουριτος*, he says (*Ant.* viii. 34). Does he think of *Uritas*' father?

⁶ According to Ginsb. some MSS in 4:11 and 8:18 have

⁷ Cp the form *εἰρας*, Eupol. *ap. Eus.*, *Pr. Ec.* 9:34 ff.

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The aim of the present article is to sketch the development of Israelitish and Jewish historiography from its beginnings down to the second century of our era. For fuller information about particular books the reader is referred to the pertinent articles.

The making of history precedes the writing of history, and it is often found that the impulse to write history is

1. Beginnings of Hebrew historical literature.

first given by some great achievement which exalts the self-consciousness of a people and awakens the sense of the memorable character of what it has done. The Persian wars in Greece, the second Punic war in Rome, the empire of Charles the Great among the Germans, are familiar instances. In Israel, the national history begins with the consolidation of the tribes in a kingdom and the throwing off of the Philistine yoke. The circumstances in which this was accomplished, and the personality of the men who freed and united Israel and raised it at once to a leading place among the kingdoms of Syria, were such as powerfully to stimulate the national spirit and kindle the imagination. Internal evidence makes it highly probable that the earliest Hebrew historians wrote in the reign of Solomon (middle of the 10th cent. B.C.), and wrote first of the great events of the preceding half-century.

A large part of 2 S. 9-20 + K. 1 ff. is derived from such a work, the author of which was exceedingly well-informed not only about political affairs but also about the inner history of David's house and court. The story of David's youth, his relations to Saul, his romantic friendship with Jonathan, his adventurous life as a freebooter in the south, forms the natural introduction to the history of his reign. The older form of the history of Saul is probably of approximately the same age¹ (see SAMUEL II.).

The beginnings having thus been made, the Israelite writers naturally turned to the earlier history of their people.

i. *Sources*.—Their sources, like those of the Greek logographers with whom it is natural to compare them,

2. The first comprehensive historical work.

were poems, such as the Song of Deborah, and briefer lyrics like those in Nu. 21, of which collections had been made (see JASHER, BOOK OF; YAHWE, WARS OF);² GENEALOGIES (q.v.), often representing clan-groupings; tribal and local traditions of diverse kinds, such as furnish the material for most of the book of Judges; the historical traditions of sanctuaries; the sacred legends of holy places, relating theophanies and other revelations, the erection of the altar or sacred stone, the origin of peculiar usages—for example, Bethel (Gen. 28); laws; myths of native and foreign origin; folk-lore and fable—in short, everything which seemed to testify of the past.³

To us the greater part of this material is not in any proper sense historical at all; but for the early Israelite as for the early Greek historian it was otherwise; our distinctions between authentic history, legendary history, pure legend, and myth, he made as little as he recognised

our distinction of natural and supernatural. It was all history to him; and if one part of it had a better attestation than another, it was certainly the sacred history as it was told at the ancient sanctuaries of the land.

The sources were not equally copious for all periods. The stories of the heroes who delivered their countrymen from invaders and oppressors gave a vivid picture of the times before the kingdom. Of the crossing of the Jordan and the taking of Jericho the local traditions of Gilgal furnished a pretty full account. Of the further progress of the invasion, the struggles by which the Israelite tribes established themselves in the hill-country, the oldest historian found no tradition.⁴ About the deliverance from Egypt and the adoption of the religion of Yahwe at his holy mountain a mass of legendary and mythical circumstance had gathered (cp EXODUS I., §§ 1 ff.); but of the wandering in the deserts S. of Palestine only the most fragmentary memories were preserved (cp WANDERINGS). Of the sojourn in Egypt, again, there was no tradition (cp MIZRAIM, § 26); the gap is filled by genealogies which really represent later clan-groupings. Beyond these centuries the stream of narration suddenly broadens out; the stories of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Israel and his sons, are told with a wealth of circumstance and a vividness of colour which show that we have entered the realm of pure legend⁵ (see the several articles).

ii. *Limits; remains*.—Whether the earliest comprehensive history of Israel began with the migration of the Terahites, or with the primeval history—the first man, the great flood—is uncertain. The literary analysis cannot decide the question, and the examination of the foreign elements in Gen. 1-11 has as yet led to no positive results. Nor is it quite certain where the history ended. The presumption is that the author brought it down to his own times; but the evidence in our historical books is not as clear as we could wish.

A considerable part of this oldest Hebrew history is preserved in the stratum of the HENATEUCH which critics designate by the symbol J, and in the parts of Judges and Samuel that are akin to J. It has not, indeed, come down to us intact or in its original form; redactors, in combining it with other sources, have omitted parts, and additions to it of diverse character and age have been made. What remains, however, gives us a most favourable impression of the authors' abilities. To this writing we may apply what a Greek critic says of the early Greek historians: μέγαν . . . ἐπετήδευσαν . . . σαφῆ καὶ κοινὴν καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύντομον καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφύῃ, καὶ μηδεμίαν σκνωπρίαν ἐπιβαίνουσαν τεχνικῇ.⁶

The early Hebrew historians did not affix their names to their works; they had, indeed, no idea of authorship.

3. *Recensions*. The traditions and legends which they collected were common property, and did not cease to be so when they were committed to writing; the written book was in every sense the property of the scribe or the possessor of the roll. Only a part of the great volume of tradition was included in

¹ That the earliest Hebrew historians wrote soon after the time of David; and that they began with contemporary history and gradually went back to the remoter past is the view of Graf (40) and of several recent scholars (Kittel, Biddle, etc.).

² The theory that poems form the nucleus of the earliest prose narratives, the chief source of the first historians, has been much exaggerated.

³ For a more particular account of these sources see EXODUS, § 4 ff.; EXODUS, § 3; NUMBERS, § 9; JOSHUA, § 15; JUDGES, § 15.

⁴ Judg. 1 is in the main an attempt to fill this gap by inferences from known facts of a much later time; see JOSHUA, § 15.

⁵ The same phenomenon is observed in Greek and Roman history; see Wachsmuth, *Finl.* 511, 620.

⁶ They affected a diction clear, popular, pure, concise, suitable to the subject, and making no show of painful elaboration; Thom. Halic. *De Thuc. judic.* 5.

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the first books. Transcribers freely added new matter from the same sources on which the original authors had drawn, the traditions of their own locality or sanctuary, variants of historical tradition or legend. Every new copy was thus in some measure a fresh recension. When in the course of time the enrichment of the narrative directly from oral tradition became a less considerable factor, it was succeeded by the more literary process of conflation or contamination of recensions; scribes compared different copies, and combined their contents according to their own judgments or interests. The transmission of the oldest historical writings, even in its earlier stages, before the systematic redactions of R^p and his successors, was thus an extremely complicated process.¹

The problems thus presented to criticism are often insoluble; in general, only those elements can be certainly recognised as secondary which by underscoring the moral of the history or enlarging on its religious aspects in a prophetic spirit betray a different religious point of view from that of the older narrators, and even in these cases the age of the addition is often in doubt.

The oldest Hebrew history (I) was written in the southern kingdom. At a somewhat later time a similar work (E) was produced in Israel.

4. The Ephraimite history.

The material, drawn from the common fund of Israelite tradition,² is in the main the same; but the local interest in E is that of the northern kingdom, and the moral and religious point of view is more advanced.

Thus, in the patriarchal legend traits offensive to a more refined age are frequently tacitly removed (cp. e.g., the way in which Jacob's flocks are increased in J and in E, Gen. 30/2); theological reflection is shown in the substitution of dreams and audible voices for theophanies as modes of revelation; historical reflection, in the representation of the Aramaean forefathers as idolaters, in the avoidance of the name Yahwê before Moses, and so forth.

In later recensions of the work (E₂) the conduct and fortunes of Israel are judged and interpreted from a point of view resembling that of Hosea. If those critics who ascribe to secondary strata in E such chapters as 1 S. 7.12-15 are right, some of these editors approximated very closely to the deuteronomic pragmatism.³

For the period down to the time of Solomon the sources of the historians were almost exclusively oral tradition of the most varied character and contents; of records and monuments there are but few traces, and these for the most part doubtful. With the establishment of the monarchy this is changed in some degree.

The stream of popular tradition flows on and continues to be drawn upon largely by writers of history; but by its side appears matter evidently derived from documentary sources.

Records were doubtless kept in the palace.⁴ From the references to them in the Book of Kings, and from the similar records of Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs we may infer the nature of their contents: the succession to the throne, the chief events of the reign (probably year by year), wars, treaties and alliances, important edicts, the founding or fortifying of cities, the building or restoring of temples, and the like.

Everything goes to show that these ἀναγραφαὶ were brief; there is no reason to imagine that the records of a reign were wrought into narrative memoirs. It is antecedently probable that the kings of Israel and Judah, like other Oriental monarchs—for example, their neighbour, Mesha of Moab—commemorated their prowess or their piety in inscriptions; but there is no evidence of this in the OT, nor has any such monument hitherto been recovered.

The temples also doubtless had their records, running in great part parallel to those of the kingdom.

¹ It has its complete analogy in the transmission of the text, which is, indeed, but a part of the same process.

² The distinctively Judean element in J is small.

³ See further, GENESIS, § 6 end, EXODUS II., § 3, JOSHUA, § 6, JUDGES, § 3, IV.

⁴ Direct evidence of this has frequently been sought in the titles of two official books of the court, the מִשְׁפָּטִים (E.V. RECORDS) and the מִשְׁפָּטִים; but it is doubtful whether rightly. See GOVERNMENT, § 21.

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The succession in the priesthood (dated by the year of the reigning king); repairs of the temple—as under Joash and Josiah—or changes, such as the new altar of Ahaz; the intervention of the priests in the affairs of state, as in the revolution which overthrew Athaliah and brought Joash to the throne, would naturally be set down in the archives of the temple. The priestly annals may, as in other countries, have taken a wider range, and included political events and remarkable occurrences, such as earthquake, famine, pestilence. There may have been also local records of cities and towns.

It is in accordance with frequent observation in other literatures to suppose that the history of the early kingdom of which we have spoken above was carried on from age to age by successive continuators. Such a continuation seems to underlie, e.g., the present accounts of the reign of Solomon and the division of the kingdom, and traces of others may perhaps be recognised in the subsequent narrative. The continuators were doubtless at the same time redactors, who supplemented the work of their predecessors from oral or written sources—as, for example, the history of Solomon is amplified and embellished from the luxuriant Solomonic legend—or abridged those parts which seemed to them less interesting or less important.

The kingdom of Israel also had its own historians, but little of their writing has come down to us; even the reign of a monarch as great as we know from foreign sources that Omri was is an absolute blank in our Book of Kings. There is, however, one portion of the Israelite historical literature that strongly appealed to later Judean writers, and has consequently been largely preserved—viz., the lives of the great Israelite prophets of the ninth century, Elijah and Elisha. These stories are not all of the same age or origin; whether they were taken from an earlier written collection is not certain, though, on the whole, probable. They are of the highest value for the light which they throw on the political as well as on the religious history of the northern kingdom (see KINGS, § 8, and ELLIOTT).

The relations of the two neighbour nations of the same people to each other in peace and war must have filled a large place in the histories of both, which accordingly had much in common; but it is not probable that the attempt to unite them in a parallel history of the two kingdoms was made till some time after the fall of Samaria. In this combined history Judean sources and the Judean point of view naturally preponderated; but it does not appear that any effort was made to exalt Judah at the expense of Israel. The impartiality with which the author records, e.g., the rebuff received by Amaziah from Joash (2 K. 148 ff.) is noteworthy. This history is the basis of our Books of Kings; but the deuteronomic redaction has here been so thorough that the attempt to reconstruct the earlier work or even to determine more exactly its age is attended with unusual difficulty.

The prophets of the eighth century interpreted Yahwê's dealing with his people upon a consistent moral principle: the evils which afflict the nation, and the graver evils which are imminent, are divine judgments upon it for its

sins—the injustice and oppression that are rife, the political fatuity of its statesmen, the religious corruption of priests and people, who desert Yahwe for other gods, or offer him the polluted worship of the baals, or attribute his holiness with the sacrifices and prayers of unrighteous men. Nor was it the present generation only that had sinned; Hosea, in particular, traces the worship of the baals back to the first settlement of the Israelites in Canaan; and in every age sin must bring judgment in its train.

The application of this principle by the writers of the seventh and sixth centuries makes an era in Hebrew historiography; narrative history is succeeded by prag-

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matic history; not the mere succession of events, but also their interdependence and causation engages the author's interest. This step has been taken at some period in most historical literatures; what is peculiar in the Hebrew historians is that their pragmatism is purely religious.

The favour or the displeasure of God is the one cause of prosperity or adversity; and his favour or his displeasure depends in the end solely on the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of the people to the religion of Yahwē. The standard was at first that which the prophets of the eighth century had set up; later, it was the deuteronomistic law. Under the impression of the deuteronomistic movement, of the prophecy of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and of the events of the last half-century of the kingdom of Judah, the interest of the writers was increasingly absorbed in the lesson of the history; history was indeed for them prophecy teaching by example.

The influence of the prophets (orators) is manifested in another way: the pragmatism of the new school of historians, like that of the Greek and Roman historians, especially under the influence of Isocrates, is a rhetorical element. This appears in the amplification and heightening of the congenial portions of the older narratives, and especially in the introduction at critical points in the history of speeches by prophets—often anonymous—in which the author's own comment or reflection is effectively put into the mouth of an actor or a spectator of the action.

This pragmatic historiography is frequently called 'deuteronomistic'; on account of its affinity to Deuteronomy.¹ It flourished in the latter part of the seventh century and especially in the sixth; but the same moralising treatment of the history, the same distinctive turns of thought and phrase, recur in much later writers—e.g., in the Chronicler²—and the fundamental principle of the school is nowhere formulated so clearly and concisely as by Josephus in the introduction to his *Antiquities* (3, § 14, Niese).

i. *Deuteronomistic history of the two kingdoms.*—The first product of the new school of historians was a history of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel from the accession of Solomon,³ written before the fall of Jerusalem, which (in a second redaction dating from after the middle of the 6th century) we have in the Books of Kings. The author took his material from older histories such as have been spoken of above (§ 5). The purpose to enforce the moral of the history appears in the selection of material as well as in the treatment of it. It is presumably to this author that we are to ascribe the omission of all details concerning whole reigns (e.g., Omri), where the recorded facts did not conform to the historical theory. The sovereign is responsible for the purity of the national religion; upon every king a summary judgment is passed from this point of view.

With hardly an exception, all have come short of the strict standard of the deuteronomistic law; but this departure has degrees; some—the good kings of Judah—only tolerated the worship of Yahwē at illegitimate altars (high places); others—Jeroboam and his successors in the northern kingdom—worshipped idols of Yahwē; others still introduced foreign gods and rites. A few suppressed gross abuses such as the *kēdeshim* (see IDOLATRY, § 6); only Hezekiah and Josiah instituted thoroughgoing reforms, which were made the more imperative by the revival and importation of all kinds of heathenism under their predecessors, Ahaz and Manasseh.

The history is interpreted upon deuteronomistic principles, which are clearly set forth at the beginning in the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, and are first applied to Solomon himself.

The earlier part of his reign, we are told, was prosperous; in his later years there were revolts abroad and treasons at home; after his death the kingdom was divided; the cause was that Solomon in his old age, under the influence of his foreign wives, introduced the worship of other gods; the prophet Ahijah the

¹ Particularly to the secondary parts of that book.

² Cf. also 2 Mac.

³ This was the natural beginning under the influence of the prophets and the immediate impression of the deuteronomistic reforms.

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Shilonite declares the sin and denounces the divine judgment (1 K. 11).

The editor, who after the fall of Judah revised the work of his predecessor and gave the Book of Kings substantially its present form, sharpened the pragmatism throughout in the spirit of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and of the contemporary additions to Deuteronomy (esp. 4 29 f. and the end of 28); the Exile itself is the final vindication of the prophetic theology.

The rhetorical character of the new historical writing especially invited amplification; if the older authors seemed not sufficiently to have emphasised the lesson, the later ones supplied the deficiency. Such chapters as 1 K. 13 exemplify the growth of moralising legend in the youngest additions to the book. The systematic chronology also, with its calculated synchronisms, is the work of the exilic editor.¹

ii. *The pre-monarchic period.*—The earlier history was now taken in hand by the new school. The invasions and forays of the neighbouring peoples in the period before the kingdom were divine visitations, just like the invasions of Egyptians, Syrians, Assyrians, Babylonians in later times.² The sin, also, which provoked this judgment was the same, unfaithfulness to the religion of Yahwē. The stories of the judges illustrate this moral.

In a general introduction (Judg. 2 6 36) and in the introductions to the individual stories the author draws out the lesson: whenever Israel fell into the worship of the gods of Canaan, Yahwē gave it over into the power of its foes; when in distress it turned to him again, he raised up a champion and delivered it (see JUDGES, § 2). Those parts of the older book of stories which could not be adapted to this scheme were omitted. A chronology having the same systematic basis as that of Kings, and directly connected with the latter, was supplied (see CHRONOLOGY, § 5).

Here also more than one stage in the deuteronomistic redaction is probably to be recognised. The deuteronomistic book of Judges included Eli and Samuel, and was an introduction to the history of the kings.

In the view of the author, the deliverers formed a continuous succession of extraordinary rulers (*shōphētim*, 'judges'), differing from the kings who followed them in that their office was not hereditary, each being immediately designated by God.

The history of Saul and David (1 S. 13 ff.) was not subjected to so thorough a deuteronomistic redaction.

The rejection of Saul was already sufficiently motivated in the prophetic source—he disobeyed the commandment of God by his prophet (1 S. 15); the glorious reign of David was, from the point of view of the pragmatic school, evidence enough of his fidelity to the religion of Yahwē. The traces of deuteronomistic hands in 1 S. 13-2 S. 21 are limited to relatively inconsiderable additions (see SAMUEL II., §§ 2 f. 5 f.).

iii. *Prehistoric period.*—The peculiar deuteronomistic pragmatism was from its nature little applicable to the patriarchal story or the primeval history. The wanderings, from Horeb to the banks of the Jordan, are briefly recounted from this point of view in Dt. 1-3 (cp also 9 7-10 5); but in the parallel portions of Ex. and Nu. there is no evidence of a deuteronomistic recension. The history of the conquest of Canaan as we have it in Joshua is, on the other hand, largely the work of an author of this school (see JOSHUA, §§ 4 11).

The corruption of the religion of Israel was, as Hosea had taught, the consequence of contamination with the religion of Canaan; the prophetic legislation strictly forbids alliance and especially intermarriage with the inhabitants of the land (e.g., Ex. 34 12-16); the later deuteronomists demanded their extermination as the only sure way to prevent the infection (Dt. 7 2). The generations which followed Joshua had neglected these commands and reaped the bitter consequences (cp Judg. 2 1-5, late); but Joshua and the god-fearing generation, which in the might of Yahwē conquered Canaan, did God's bidding faithfully in this as in all other things. They must, therefore, have destroyed the Canaanites, root and branch; if the older histories did not so represent it, they must be corrected. This is the chief motive of the deuteronomistic account of the conquest (see esp. Josh. 10-12). We have here an instructive example of the way in which the pragmatic dogma overrides a conflicting tradition; what is said to have been has to yield to what *must* have been. The unflinching consequence with which this unhistorical representation of the conquest is carried through reminds us of the Chronicler (see below, § 15), and, with other things, suggests that the deuteronomistic redaction of Joshua is one of the later

¹ See KINGS, § 3, CHRONOLOGY, § 6 f.

² How far this treatment may have been performed in older recensions (Ez K_{je}) is a mooted point; cp JUDGES, § 14.

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products of the school,¹ which continued its work long after the restoration.

Besides the productions of the deuteronomistic school of historians, we have one other work from the sixth century which possesses a peculiar interest; the life of the prophet Jeremiah, which was united with the collections of his oracles by the compiler of our book of Jeremiah. It was written from the memories of the prophet's intimate disciples, apparently not long after his death. In addition to its historical value, especially for the reign of Zedekiah and the years following the fall of Jerusalem, and its still greater value as a revelation of the personality of one of the greatest of the prophets, it is, as far as we know, the first essay in biography, and stands nearly, or quite, alone in the extant literature.²

In the Persian period, probably in the fifth century, appeared a work which treated the ancient history from a new point of view.

i. *The history*.—The author's purpose was to set forth the origin of the sacred institutions and laws of the Jews, thus showing their antiquity and authority. Beginning with the creation of the world, he closed with a minute description of the territories of the several tribes in Canaan. The contents and character of this work, now generally designated by critics by the symbol P, P_g, P_g,³ etc., are sufficiently exhibited elsewhere.⁴

The whole tendency of the book is to carry back the origin of Jewish institutions to the remote past: the sabbath was ordained at the creation; the prohibition of blood was given to Noah; circumcision is the seal of the covenant with Abraham; the developed temple ritual of the kingdom and even the temple itself with all its paraphernalia—in portable form—are Mosaic; the post-exilic high priest has his prototype in Aaron.

This is, no doubt, to some extent to be ascribed to the working of a natural and familiar process which may be observed in the older literature as well as in the later (Chronicles); it may also be surmised that there was a desire to give the laws, in the eyes of the Jews themselves, the authority of immemorial prescription or the sanctity of most solemn promulgation. Besides this, however, the question may properly be asked, whether contact with the ancient civilisation and religion of Babylonia may not have prompted the author to attempt to vindicate the antiquity of the Jewish religion, just as, somewhat later, the Hellenistic historians, especially in Egypt, were moved to do. The same influence may be suspected in the minute chronology, which in its antediluvian parts certainly stands in some connection with that of the Babylonians (see CHRONOLOGY, § 4).

ii. *The laws*.—The Mosaic laws in the 'Origines' are doubtless to be regarded not as a transcript of the actual praxis of the author's own time, but as an ideal of the religious community and its worship, projected into the golden age of the past as Ezekiel's is projected into the golden age of the future. Whether the book was composed with the more definite aim of serving as the basis of a reform in the Jerusalem use, is not so clear; the whole character of the work seems unfavourable to the hypothesis that P_g was from the beginning a reform programme as the original Deuteronomy was.

iii. *Sources*.—The narrative portions of the work present an appearance of statistical exactness in matters of chronology, genealogy, census-lists, and the like, which led earlier scholars, who regarded P as the oldest stratum in the Pentateuch (cp. HEXATEUCH, § 24), to infer that the author had access to ancient documentary records. This supposition is excluded both by the late date of P_g and by the character of the matter in question. See GENESIS, § 2 f.

¹ Perhaps it is a second redaction.

² The older legends of Elijah and Elisha, and the multitudinous prophet legends of later times are hardly to be compared.

³ P_g, the groundwork of P, P_g, secondary extensions of P.

⁴ See HEXATEUCH, § 24; GENESIS, § 2 f.; EXODUS, §§ 2-5; LEVITICUS, § 3; NUMBERS, § 10 f.; JOSHUA, §§ 5-12.

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The semblance of more definite statistical knowledge in P, as compared with the older historians, has an instructive parallel in the younger Roman annalists, for example, Valerius Antias,¹ and is to be explained in the same way. We have another illustration of the same phenomenon in Chronicles.

In the patriarchal story and the narrative of the exodus it is not demonstrable that the author used any other sources than the older historical works which, combined with his own, have been transmitted to us (J and E); but he doubtless had them in a more complete form, and, it may be, in a different recension. Whether in the primeval history he made a fresh draught upon Babylonian tradition—in the account of creation (Gen. 1), for example, or in the variant form of the flood legend—or whether here also he had Hebrew precursors, is a question which seems at present not to admit of a confident answer (see CREATION, §§ 3 f. 11 17 f.; DELUGE, §§ 10 f.).

iv. *Later additions*.—P contained many laws purporting to have been given to Moses; to these a multitude of others were added by later hands, sometimes singly, sometimes in whole collections (P_g), until the symmetry and consistency of the original work was completely destroyed; the result was the heterogeneous conglomerate which it is customary to call the Priests' Code (see HEXATEUCH, LAW LITERATURE). Late additions to the narrative parts of P also can be recognised, especially in Ex. and Nu. (see EXODUS, § 5. NUMBERS, §§ 10 f.).

It has been observed above (§ 3) that copies of the same work, differing in text or in contents, were compared and combined by subsequent transcribers or editors. A process of a similar kind, on a much larger scale, was the union of the parallel histories J and E in one continuous narrative, JE.

i. *Union of J and E*.—This task was accomplished with considerable skill; the redactor (R_{JE}) for the most part reproduces the text of his sources with little change, combining them in different ways as the nature of the case indicated. The additions of his own which he makes are akin to the later strata of the separate books, J and E; they are chiefly enlargements upon prophetic motives in the history, and have frequently a reproductive character, as, e.g., in the renewal of the promises to the patriarchs.² The author (R_{JE}) probably lived in the second half of the seventh century. This composite work can be followed in our historical books from the creation to the reign of David; if it went farther than this, the latter part was supplanted by a history of the kingdoms written on a different plan.

JE did not at once displace the separate works J and E; they continued to circulate till a considerably later time, and later transcribers of JE may have enriched their copies by the introduction from the older books of matter which the first redactor (R_{JE}) had not included.

The deuteronomistic redaction described above (§ 6 f.) is based upon JE, though some of the deuteronomists used E, at least, separately.

ii. *Union of JE with D and P*.—A post-exilic redaction, finally, united P with JE and D. The method of the redactor (R_P) is more mechanical than that of R_{JE}; his religious and historical point of view is that of P—especially of the later additions to P—and Chron.³

iii. *Later priestly editors*.—R_P very likely ended his compilation where P itself ended; but later editors not only made additions to his work, but also extended a priestly redaction over the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, sometimes restoring (from JE) passages which the deuteronomistic redaction had omitted, sometimes adding matter drawn from the mishrash of their

¹ The fondness of Valerius for enormous numbers also is shared by P.

² On the character and method of this redaction see further, HEXATEUCH, § 24; GENESIS, § 6; EXODUS, § 3; NUMBERS, § 6; JOSHUA, § 11; JUDGES, § 14.

³ See HEXATEUCH, § 29 f.; GENESIS, § 2; EXODUS, § 2; LEVITICUS; NUMBERS, § 27; JOSHUA, § 11; JUDGES, § 14.

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time, sometimes combining the old version of a story with the midrash upon it. In this way the great Hebrew history, from the creation to the fall of Judah, which we possess in Gen. 2 K., gradually assumed substantially its present form. In consequence of the essentially compilatory character of the Jewish historiography, this work of the fifth or fourth century B.C. has fortunately preserved, without material change, large parts of the pre-exilic historical literature, from the tenth century to the sixth.¹

The national history of Judah came to an end in the year 586, when Judaea became a Babylonian province.

11. History of the Jews after the restoration of the temple.

During the century which followed, many writers occupied themselves with the history of the kingdoms and of the earlier ages (see above, § 7); but there was little to inspire the Jews either in Judaea or in Babylonia to write the history of their own times. It is plain that when long afterwards the attempt was made to relate the events of this period, the author had hardly any material at his command except the references to the completion of the temple in the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. It is scarcely to be doubted that in the archives of the temple the succession of the priests, repairs and improvements of the edifice, and other matters, were recorded, and official documents relating to the temple and its privileges or to the city were preserved;² perhaps also lists of families (with their domiciles), on the basis of which the capitation tax was collected; some such material is preserved by the Chronicler. There is much less, however, than might have been expected; it is possible that the archives were partially or completely destroyed when the city was taken by the armies of Ochus, as they were almost certainly destroyed in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes.

A new type of Jewish historical literature is represented by the memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra.³

12. Personal memoirs. Nehemiah narrates in a plain and straightforward way, though not without a just appreciation of his own merit, what he had done for his people by restoring in the face of great difficulties the ruinous defences of Jerusalem, and by remedying many abuses which he found rife in the community.⁴ Ezra tells how he conducted a colony from Babylonia to Jerusalem, and describes the sad state of things he found among priests and people, his efforts to purge the community from the contamination of mixed marriages, and finally the introduction and solemn ratification of the book of the law.⁵

The memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra were used by the Chronicler as sources for the reign of Artaxerxes, and through him considerable portions of them have been transmitted to us, though curtailed, deranged, and in parts wrought over.

To the latter part of the Persian or the beginning of the Greek period must be ascribed another of the sources of the Chronicler; an Aramaic

13. Aramaic chronicle of Jerusalem. narrative, incorporating documents relative to the building of the walls of Jerusalem and of the temple, parts of which, worked over and supplemented by the Chronicler, are preserved in Ezra 4-6. The original scope of the

¹ A most instructive parallel to the Jewish literature in this respect is afforded by the Christian chroniclers and historians of the Middle Ages; see, for example, the Saxon Annalist, in *Monumenta Germaniae*, 6.

² The library of the Jerusalem patriarchate now contains a collection of Arabic and Turkish edicts about the holy places, beginning with the 'Testament of Mohammed.'

³ Delitzsch (*ZLT* 31 p. 701) compares the beginning of the memoir literature among the Greeks and Romans. See also Wachsmuth, *Einl.* 204 f.

⁴ A natural motive for the memoirs is the desire to acquaint the Jews in the E. with what he had found and done in Jerusalem. See NEHEMIAH.

⁵ See EZRA and EZRA-NEHEMIAH. The genuineness of the Memoirs of Ezra has recently been impeached by Torrey, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (96).

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work can only be uncertainly guessed from the extant fragments. The conjecture that other parts of Ezra were translated into Hebrew from the same source (van Hoonacker, Howorth) is not well founded. Some interest attaches to these fragments as the first trace of historical writing in the vernacular. The experiment seems to have found little favour; Hebrew was too firmly established as the literary language.

To the same age is to be assigned a lost work on the history of the kingdom which is frequently referred to by the Chronicler, and of which considerable

14. The Midrash of Kings. parts are preserved in Chronicles. The Chronicler cites this work under a variety of names (Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, or, of Judah and Israel, etc.), and particular sections of it under special titles (Words¹ of Samuel the Seer, Nathan the Prophet, Gad the Seer,² and so on). Twice the book is referred to under the significant name 'midrash' (מדרש).—The Midrash of the Book of Kings (2 Ch. 24-27), the Midrash of the Prophet Iddo (ib. 13-22).

The name denotes a homiletic exposition, particularly a story teaching some edifying religious or moral lesson, and usually attaching itself more or less loosely to the words of an older text. This is the character of both the passages in connection with which the term occurs, and of many others in Chronicles *v.g.*, 2 Ch. 14.8 [7]-15.15 20.28.5-15 33.10-19, etc. Budde (*ZATW* 12.37 ff.) called attention to the fact that edifying stories of a kind similar to those which in Chronicles are supposed to come from the lost Midrash of Kings are found in other parts of the OT, and conjectured that the Prayer of Manasseh and the Books of Jonah and Ruth are derived from the same work, extracts from which he surmises in 1 S. 10.1-13 and 1 K. 13. The obvious resemblance is, however, sufficiently explained by the supposition that these writings, together with other pieces of the same kind in Num. and Judg., are the product of the same age and school; that they were all taken from the same book is hardly to be proved.

That the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah' which the Chronicler cites was based upon the deuteronomic history of the kingdoms (Sam. Kings) is beyond question. The most probable theory is that it was an edition of that work enriched by the introduction of a large element of historical midrash illustrating the moral and religious lessons which the history ought to teach, and with such changes and omissions as the additions or the author's pragmatism rendered necessary. Its relation to the canonical KINGS was thus very similar to the relation of the *Book of Jubilees* to Genesis. The author's religious point of view, ruling interests, and literary manner so closely resemble those of the Chronicler that what is to be said under this head will best be reserved for the next paragraph.

In the early part of the Greek period, probably after 300 B.C., an author connected with the temple composed

15. The Chronicle of Jerusalem. a history of Jerusalem from the time of David to the latter part of the fourth century; prefixing a skeleton of the preceding history from the creation to the death of Saul in the form of genealogies, in which are manifested interests the same as those which dominate the body of the book. This history we possess in our Books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which originally formed a single continuous work.

The narrative begins with Saul's last battle, the anointing of David as King of all Israel, and the taking of Jerusalem (1 Ch. 10 f.); from this point to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar it runs parallel to Sam. and Kings, but deals with Judah only. From the deportation of 586 the author passes at once to the edict of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return to Palestine (2 Ch. 36.22 f. = Ezra 1.1 f.). The return and the rebuilding of the temple are then related, to the completion of the building in the sixth year of Darius; then follows immediately the commission of Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, his return at the head of a colony, and his attempted reforms in Jerusalem (Ezra 7 f.); and, again without any connection, the appointment of Nehemiah as governor in the

¹ *i.e.*, 'Narrative [of Samuel]', etc.

² See CHRONICLES, § 6.2. It is not quite clear whether this form of citation is only a convenient way of indicating the part of the extensive work in which the prophet named figured; or whether it implies a theory that each prophet wrote the events of his own time (Jos. c. Ap. 18).

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twentieth year of Artaxerxes, the rebuilding of the walls (Neh. 1-7), and the ratification of the law (Neh. 8-10). The narrative ends with the measures of reform which Nehemiah found necessary on the occasion of a second visit in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes; but the genealogies are brought down to the reign of the last Persian king.

The author's sources naturally varied for the different periods.

i. For the earlier part of the work he used the Hexateuch and the older historical books, the genealogical material in which he excerpted, condensed, and combined in his own way, supplementing it with constructions of his own which plainly reflect post-exilic conditions.

ii. For the history of the kingdom the ulterior source was the deuteronomistic work (Sam.-Kings); it seems probable, however, that the Chronicler used this work, not in the form in which it lies before us, but as it was embodied in the Midrash of Kings (§ 14), of which Chronicles may then be regarded as mainly an abridgment.

iii. From the fall of Jerusalem in 586 to the time of Alexander, the sources were the prophets Haggai and Zechariah,¹ the Aramaic history already spoken of (§ 13), the Memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra (§ 12), a list of high priests from Joshua to Jaddua, and probably other priestly genealogies, etc. The narrative material all belonged to the first quarter century of the Persian period and a few years in the reign of Artaxerxes; there was evidently no continuous historical tradition, written or oral, when the Chronicler wrote; indeed, his knowledge was not sufficient to enable him rightly to arrange the fragmentary remains at his disposal.²

In the Chronicler's account of the first two (i. and ii.) of these three periods there are occasional historical notices not otherwise transmitted to us which seem to come from old sources.

The recension of Gen.-Kings which lay before the Chronicler or the author of the Midrash may have been different from ours, as the recension in the hands of the Alexandrian translators frequently differed from that on which MT is based. The restoration, by the last redactor of Judges, of considerable material from JE which the deuteronomistic redactor had omitted, proves that the final loss of the old Hebrew history books occurred at a comparatively late time, as so much of the classic literature perished late in the Byzantine period.

The Chronicler's work is an ecclesiastical history; the Jewish Church in Jerusalem is its subject. The whole history of the Northern Kingdom, which was included not only in the deuteronomistic Book of Kings but also in the Chronicler's immediate source, the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, is therefore omitted. The temple, the ministry, the ritual, have central importance; and special interest is shown in the prominence of the Levites on festal occasions (see CHRONICLES, § 7). The clergy are also the custodians of the law; they give instruction in it and decisions under it. The liturgy of the temple and the minute organisation of the ministry with its guilds of musicians, singers, door-keepers, etc., are attributed to David.³ Upon the deuteronomistic pragmatism which it found in its sources the post-exilic History superimposed a pragmatism of a new type. In it also prosperity and adversity depend upon fidelity to the religion of Yahwë; but the conception of religion is clerical rather than prophetic. The ideas of theodicy and retribution are more mechanical; the vindication of God's law is not only sure, it is also signal and swift.

The exhibition of this principle in history is the motive of the most radical changes made in the representation of the older books as well as in the long haggadic additions. In both, it is probable that the Chronicler was preceded by the author of the Midrash; but the same spirit appears in the Chronicler's own work in Ezra and Neh.⁴

¹ The influence of Is. 40 ff. is also visible.

² The derangement of Ezra-Neh. is, however, partly to be ascribed to later hands.

³ This may be connected with the belief that David composed Psalms for the temple service.

⁴ The influence of Ezekiel is manifest.

⁵ On the character of the additions and changes, see CHRONICLES, § 7 ff.

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Taken altogether, it is as historical midrash (*i.e.* as edifying fiction with an historical background), not as history, that Chronicles, like its lost precursor, must be regarded and judged. This type of literature enjoyed, as we shall see, an immense popularity in the Greek period among both Hebrew and Hellenistic Jews.

The first part of the Chronicle of Jerusalem, from the creation to the exile, ran parallel to the great historical work Gen.-Kings; the second, beginning with the edict of Cyrus, had no competitor. The latter was accordingly detached to serve, under the title Book of Ezra,¹ as a continuation of the older history through the Persian period. When at a later time the first part (Chronicles) was given a place in the canon, it was not reunited with Ezra, but was counted either as the last (Talmud) or as the first (Massōra) of the Kethūbim (see CANON, § 9). In the Alexandrian Bible, where a general rearrangement was effected, the original order was restored.

The oldest Greek translation of the post-exilic History is preserved to us as a *torso*, beginning with Ch. 85:1-27 and ending abruptly with Neh. 8:12.² It presents the material in a different—and to some extent more original—order than MT and the later Greek version; and contains one long passage not found in either (Pages of Darius, 87).³

A sketch of Jewish historical literature would be incomplete without some mention of the popular religious

16. Popular religious stories.

stories so abundant in the last three or four centuries before our era. These all have an historical setting, and doubtless passed from the beginning, as they still do with many, for veracious history. In character they do not essentially differ from the haggadic additions in Chronicles; but instead of attaching themselves to a given situation in the older history, they create their own situation. With this freedom is naturally connected a greater variety in the motive and moral of the story.

i. and ii. Two of the longer tales of this class, to which we might perhaps give the name historical romances, are the books of Judith and Esther. They have in common the patriotic motive, and also that in each it is a woman who, at great peril to herself, saves her people from threatened destruction. JUDITH (*q.v.*) was probably written in Palestine, in Hebrew. The setting of the action is purely fictitious; the author's notions of history and of geography, beyond his own region, are of the most confused kind.

If any historical incident furnished the nucleus of the story, the circumstances had been thoroughly forgotten. The religious point of view, as it appears in the speech of Achior, for example, and in the stress laid on clean meats (cp Dan. 1) and the sacredness of tithes, etc., is that of correct Judaism—it is erroneous to say of Pharisaism. The lesson of faith in God and fidelity to his law is obvious; but it is not necessary to assume that the book was written to inculcate this lesson and to encourage its readers in a particular crisis.

The considerable differences in the recensions (three Greek, Old Latin, Syriac) show that the book had considerable currency; but it never enjoyed the same popularity as its companion, Esther.⁴

A peculiar interest attaches to ESTHER (*q.v.*) as one of the very few remaining pieces of the literature of the Oriental Jews.⁵ The feast of PURIM (*q.v.*), the origin of which is celebrated in the book,⁶ was certainly adopted by the Jews in the E. Probably too (see ESTHER, § 7) the legend was borrowed or imitated; but this does not alter the fact that the story constructed upon it is one of the most characteristic works of Jewish fiction.

How the young Jewess Esther becomes Queen of Persia; how

¹ Our Ezra and Nehemiah (cp EZRA-NEH., § 4).

² See EZRA (THE GREEK).

³ See Torrey, *JBL* 16:168-170; cp EZRA (GREEK), § 61.

⁴ On parallels and reminiscences in Jewish literature see Lipsius in *ZWT* 10:337 ff. (67). The midrashim all put the occurrence in the Asmonæan times, and several of them connect it with the Hanukka festivities as Esther is connected with Purim.

⁵ Tohit is the only other of which this can confidently be affirmed.

⁶ In the subscription to the Greek version it is called ἐπιστήλη των φρουραι (Esth. 10:12).

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the proud vizier Haman is compelled to do the almost royal honour he had conceived for himself to the Jew Mordecai whom he hates most of all men; and how Esther by her address saves her people from the general massacre which Haman had planned, gets the minister hanged on his own gallows and Mordecai appointed in his place, and procures a counter-edict by authority of which the Jews in Susa and the provinces slaughter their fellow-subjects without resistance,—that was something to delight the heart of a race whose peculiarities and contempt for the state religion involved it in such bitter sufferings.

When the temple was destroyed and the other feasts ceased, Purim only gained in importance, and the book connected with Purim so well expressed the feelings of the oppressed Jews that Esther became, next to the Torah, the best known and most highly-prized book in the Canon.¹

iii. A book of very different spirit and tendency is JONAH (*q.v.*), which tells how the prophet, who was unwilling to preach to the heathen, was miraculously constrained to go, and how at his message Nineveh repented and its doom was averted, and pointedly rebukes the spirit which would have God show no mercy upon the nations. The protest against the persuasion that God's word and his compassion are for the Jews only is noteworthy. The book is not only a story about a prophet; more than any other product of its age, it breathes the prophet's spirit.²

iv. A similar motive is thought by many to actuate the Book of RUTH (*q.v.*); the author would answer those who, like Ezra and Nehemiah, were so hot against mixed marriages, by showing how the blood of a Moabite ancestress flowed in the veins of David himself.

v. One of the most pleasing of these writings is TOBIT (*q.v.*), with its attractive pictures of Jewish piety and its instructive glimpses of current superstitions, for the history of both of which it is an important source. It is a moral tale simply, without any ulterior motive other than the edification of its readers. The numerous varying recensions show that it had a wide popularity among Jews as it had afterwards among Christians. See ACHIACHARUS.

vi. *Smaller didactic stories.*—Other stories celebrate the constancy of pious Jews to their religion in spite of all efforts to turn them from it. The Gentile world-power, whether represented by Babylonian, Persian, Seleucid, or Ptolemy, appears not only as the oppressor but also as the persecutor of the Jews, prohibiting the exercise of their religion and trying to force them to worship idols and practise abominable rites.

Some of the stories tell of the miraculous deliverance of God's faithful servants, others of the triumphant fortitude of the martyrs under the most appalling tortures. To inspire a like faith and devotion in the readers, leading them to prize more highly a religion which has produced such fruits, and making them also ready, if need be, to die for their holy law, is the obvious motive of the tales.³

To this class belong the stories of Daniel and the three Jewish youths in Babylon, in the Book of DANIEL (*q.v.*).

Here the faithful worshippers of Yahweh are miraculously delivered from the fiery furnace and the lions' den, and endued with a supernatural wisdom which puts all the Chaldean astrologers and magicians to shame, so that the heathen kings are constrained to confess the god of the Jews as the supreme God.

In the Greek version other stories are added; Susanna and the Elders, illustrating Daniel's wisdom in judgment; Bel and the Dragon, showing how Daniel ingeniously proved to Cyrus that the gods of the Babylonians were no gods. The display of Jewish wisdom before heathen kings is the motive also of the story of the Three Pages of Darius (1 Esd. 31 f.), where a contest of wits in answer to the question, What is the mightiest thing on earth? wins for Zerubbabel permission to return and restore the temple at Jerusalem.⁴

The Greek-speaking Jews also had their story-books with similar subjects. One of these is 3 Maccabees (see

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MACCABEES [THIRD]), which professes to narrate events in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator after the defeat of Seleucus III. at Raphia in 217 B.C. It may be regarded as in some sense a Hellenistic counterpart to Esther, and is one of the worst specimens of this kind of fiction.

It seems to be an elaborated variation of an older legend preserved by Josephus (*c. Ap. 25*). Many scholars are of the opinion that the occasion of writing the book was the persecution of the Alexandrian Jews under Caligula.¹

Of the stories of martyr heroism, the most famous are those of the aged Eleazar and of the mother and her seven sons in 2 Macc. 6 f., repeated in great detail in 4 Macc., which took their place among the most popular of Christian *martyria*.

There were doubtless many other religious stories in circulation; from a later period considerable remains of a similar literature have come down to us; e.g., the tale of Joseph's wife Aseneth (see APOCRYPHA, § 12).

The glorious events of the Asmonean age inspired more than one author to write the history of Mattathias and his sons. The oldest and by far the most important of these works is that

17. **Hist. of Asmoneans:** which we have in the First Book of Hebrew. Maccabees (see MACCABEES [FIRST]),

written in Hebrew, probably in the reign of John Hyrcanus. It covers the period from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.) to the death of Simon (135 B.C.); but it deals chiefly with the struggle with the Syrians; of the fierce and treacherous strife of Jewish parties we catch only passing glimpses. The author had probably no older written account of the events, but drew upon a tradition close to the Asmonean house. Besides this tradition, he incorporated certain documents which were preserved in public places (1427 f.) or in the archives (cp 1137 127).²

The writer is sincerely religious, as are the heroes of his story. As to his method of conceiving history, we need only point out here that the action moves wholly on the earthly stage, without miracle, or prophecy. 1 Macc. is an historical source of the first value for the times of the early Asmoneans; it is deeply to be regretted that we have not similar sources for other epochs of Jewish history.

At the end of the work (1623 f.) the reader is referred for information about the following period to the Chronicles of the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus. Of these Chronicles nothing has survived; it cannot even be shown that the history of Hyrcanus' rule in Josephus ultimately goes back—in whole or in part—to these Chronicles.³

The struggle of their brethren in Palestine had a keen interest for the Greek-speaking Jews also. Jason of

18. **Greek.** Cyrene wrote a history of it in five books, beginning with the antecedents of the conflict under Onias III., and ending, if we are to judge from the summary of its contents in 2 Macc. 219-23, with the liberation of the city by Judas after the victory over Nicanor (cp 2 Macc. 1537).⁴ We know this work only through 2 Macc., which is professedly an abridgment of it. The original must have been very prolix, which is perhaps one reason why it was not more generally known. The character of the work is in striking contrast to 1 Macc.; it imitates and outdoes the worst types of Greek rhetorical historiography.⁵ The straining for effect is tiresomely persistent. Everything is exaggerated; special divine interventions occur at every turn; and the operation of the law of retribution is everywhere emphasised (see chap. 9). There is

¹ See now, however, Büchler, *Tobiader u. Oniaden*, 172 ff. (99).

² On the genuineness of these pieces, see MACCABEES (FIRST), § 8 f.

³ Against Bloch see Destignon, 44.

⁴ Schürer considers it doubtful whether Jason made an end here; but cp 2 Macc. 220, and see Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 66.

⁵ See, however, Büchler, 277 ff. Niese, *Hermes*, 1900.

¹ The entire lack of a religious element in the story was made good in the Greek translation by extensive additions.

² Cp Ezek. 35 f. Mal. 111 f.

³ We should compare the Christian *martyria*.

⁴ Cp *Ep. Arist.* 21 ff. (Schmidt); EZRA (GREEK), § 6.

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no evidence that Jason had any written sources; the whole character of the book suggests rather that he derived his information from the reports—confused and mingled with legend—which came¹ by various channels from Palestine. On the two epistles in 2 Macc. 1:1-2:18, and on the other critical points, see MACCABEES (SECOND).²

Other writings of a legendary character are known to us through Josephus, who, directly or indirectly, drew upon them in his history of the Greek period; among them were the account of Alexander's relations to the Jews (*Ant.* xi. 8) and the story of the Tobiadæ and Oniadæ (Joseph the tax-farmer), *Ant.* xii. 4, cp *BJ* I.1. On the latter see Böhler (*op. cit.* preceding col. n. 1).

In the third and the second centuries B.C., most of the Hebrew historical literature was translated into³

19. Histories of the Jewish people by Hellenistic Jews.⁴

Greek. Jews in the new centres of Greek culture, especially in Alexandria, became acquainted with the writings of Greek historians, and with works like those of Manetho and Berossus, written in Greek, through which the ancient history of Egypt and Babylonia from authentic sources was brought to the knowledge of the educated world. It would be strange, indeed, if they had not felt stirred to perform a like service for the history of their own nation.

i. *Demetrius*.—The earliest of these writings of which we know anything is that of Demetrius, *Ἡστορία τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων*.⁵ It is a chronological epitome rather than a narrative history, and was doubtless composed for Jewish readers. The author brings to the solution of the difficult problems of chronology thorough knowledge of the OT and great acumen.

The occasional explanations of other difficulties in the Scriptures show honesty as well as ingenuity. The close connection in many of these points between the Hellenistic and the Palestinian exegesis has also been remarked.

ii. *Eupolemos*.—The work of Eupolemos under a similar title was of a different nature. He narrated the history more at large, and with embellishments in the taste of his times, such as the correspondence of Solomon with the pharaoh, the legend of Jeremiah (*fr.* 24), and so on. In him also we first note the disposition to vindicate for the Hebrews the priority in philosophy, science, and the useful arts, which is so characteristic of later Hellenistic authors.

Moses was the first sage (*σοφός*), and the first who gave his people written laws. He taught the art of writing to the Jews; the Phœnicians learned it from the Jews, and the Greeks from them.

Eupolemos probably wrote under Demetrius Soter (circa 158 B.C.), and it has been surmised that he may be the same who is mentioned in 1 Macc. 8:17; in which case his book would have additional interest as the work of a Palestinian Hellenist.⁶

iii. *Artapanos*.—It was natural that Jews in Egypt should seek to connect the story of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt, of Joseph's elevation, and above all, of Moses and the exodus, with Egyptian history.

They had an additional reason for giving their version of these events in the fact that native writers had set afloat injurious accounts of the expulsion of the leprous hordes, which found only too willing credence not merely among the populace but with serious historians.⁷

The Jewish writers had no access to authentic sources of information; in the most favourable case they could give only uncritical combination of names and

¹ See Torrey, *ZATW* 20:225 ff.

² The book may perhaps have been used as a Hellenistic Haggada for the Hanukka or Esther for Purim.

³ On the works described in this paragraph see Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 75 (the fragments edited, 219 ff.); Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 2, § 33 (5200 ff.); Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*, 95.

⁴ Freudenthal fixes the date under Ptolemy IV. (222-205); Willrich tries to prove that all this literature is much younger.

⁵ Against both this combination and the date given in the text, see Willrich.

⁶ If the account ascribed to Manetho is genuine—which has seldom been questioned—these malicious inventions began very early in the Ptolemaic period.

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events taken from Egyptian history or legend (known to them through a Greek medium) with the narratives of the Pentateuch. The spinning out of these combinations is doubtless in the main pure invention.

Considerable fragments of a work of this sort have been transmitted to us under the name of Artapanos. This Persian name is with reason suspected of being a pseudonym, the glorification of the Jews being for greater effect attributed to an unprejudiced foreigner¹ who collected his information from the best Egyptian authorities. However that may be, the author shows considerable knowledge of things Egyptian and a very respectable degree of Hellenistic culture. The design of the book is plainly to magnify the forefathers of the Jews by showing that they are the real authors of the Egyptian civilisation.

Abraham, during his twenty years' sojourn, taught the Egyptians astrology;² Joseph first caused the fields to be properly surveyed and meted out, reclaimed by irrigation much uncultivated land, allotted glebes to the priests, and invented measures. His kinsmen, who followed him to Egypt, built the temples in Athos and Heliopolis. It is particularly in the story of Moses, however, that Artapanos develops all his art. Moses, who was named by the Egyptians Hermes and is known to the Greeks as Musæus, was the adopted son of Meris, the childless queen of Chenephres. He was the inventor of boats, the Egyptian weapons, engines for hoisting stones, for irrigation, and for war; he divided the country into its thirty-six nomes, and assigned to each the god which was to be worshipped in it; he was the founder of philosophy and the author of the hieroglyphic writing used by the priests. Besides all this he was a great general, who at the head of an army of fellahin subdued the Ethiopians, built the city of Hermopolis, etc. The jealousy of Chenephres finally compelled him to flee the country; on the way he slew an Egyptian officer who lay in wait for him to kill him (cp Ex. 21:1 ff.). As the last example shows, the author deals very freely with the biblical narrative when it suits his purpose.

iv. *Fragments*.—We possess fragments of several other works of similar tendency to those of Eupolemos and Artapanos; the names of Aristæas and Malchos-Kleodemus may be mentioned. Of peculiar interest are some fragments of this sort which plainly come from the hand of Samaritan Hellenists. One of these (erroneously ascribed in Eusebius to Eupolemos) makes Mt. Gerizim the site of the city of Melchizedek and the temple of the most high God; and is otherwise instructive for the combination of the OT narrative with Babylonian learning: for example, Ur of the Chaldees is Camarina; Abraham brought the Babylonian astrology to Egypt, but the real father of the science was Enoch, etc.

The same aim, to exalt the Jewish people in the eyes of other races, appears in a different way in various pseudographic works purporting to be written about the Jews by foreigners.³

v. *Pseudo-Hecataeus*.—Hecataeus of Abdera (under Ptolemy I.) had given in his *History of Egypt* a brief and unprejudiced account of the Jews; which gave occasion for forging in his name a whole book, the partiality of which for all things Jewish aroused the suspicion of ancient critics.

vi. *Aristæas*.—The letter of Aristæas, pretending to be written by a Gentile to a Gentile, giving the history of the translation of the Hebrew law into Greek, also is palpably spurious.

In it we have a glorification of the Torah and of the LXX translation, of the profound and practical wisdom of Jewish sages, of the temple and the cultus—a fabrication on a grand scale, fortified with edicts, correspondence, and all the apparatus with which fictitious history had learned to give itself the semblance of authenticity.

Among the voluminous writings of Philo at least one work dealing with the ancient history of his people demands mention here—the life of Moses.

20. *Philo of Alexandria*. The first book, in particular, on Moses as a ruler, fairly deserves to be called the best specimen of Hebrew history retold for Gentile readers.

¹ Cp Pseudo-Hecataeus, Aristæas, the Jewish Sibyl, etc.; Freudenthal, 141 ff.

² This is repeated by many Jewish writers. Abraham brought the art from Babylonia (*EHG* 3:213 A).

³ This species of literature flourished rankly in the centuries before and after our era.

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It narrates the life of Moses from his birth to the permission to the two tribes to occupy the conquered territory E. of the Jordan (Nu. 32), following the Pentateuch with occasional allegorical digressions and many edifying reflections, and with those speeches by the personages at important moments without which no author of this time would have thought it possible to write history; but free from any infusion of the Hellenistic midrash which we have found in Eupolemos and Artapanos.

Philo's work differs favourably from the corresponding parts of Josephus' *Antiquities* in the point just mentioned, and also in the fact that Philo does not, like Josephus, suppress unpleasant passages, such as the worship of the golden calf which Aaron made. The second book is on Moses as a lawgiver; the third, on Moses as a priest (the tabernacle and its furniture, priests' vestments, and so on).

Philo wrote also a history of the persecutions of the Jews in his own time, apparently in five books.

The first, it is inferred, was introductory; the second described the oppression of the Jews in the reign of Tiberius by Sejanus at Rome and by Pontius Pilate in Judea; the third dealt with the sufferings of the Alexandrian Jews at the beginning of the reign of Caligula; the fourth, with the evils in which the Jews were involved by the demand of Caligula that divine honours should be paid him, and his determination to set up an image of himself in the temple at Jerusalem; whilst the last described the change in the fortunes of the Jews brought about by Claudius's edict of toleration.

Of these books only the third and the fourth have survived (*Adversus Flaccum, Legatio ad Calum*). Philo was a witness of the tribulations of the Jews in Alexandria in the last year of Flaccus's administration, and was the leading member of the deputation to Caligula. Notwithstanding their tiresome preaching tone, and obvious reticence about the result of the mission—not to say suppression of its failure—the books are historical sources of high value, not only for the troubles of the Jews but also for the character of the Emperor.

The revolt against Rome in the years 66-73 A.D. found its historians in two men who had themselves been actors in it, Justus of Tiberias and Flavius Josephus.

The work of Justus is lost—it is known to us only through the polemic in the autobiography of Josephus—and the loss is the more to be regretted because Justus would have enabled us to control Josephus's account of the events in Galilee, where we have only too good reason to distrust him. Justus wrote also a *Chronicon* or concise history from Moses to the death of Agrippa II. (in the third year of Trajan), which was used by Julius Africanus, through whom some material derived from it has been transmitted to us. Both works of Justus, like those of Josephus, were written in Greek—Josephus testifies that he had a good Greek education—for Greek and Roman readers.

i. *Bell. Jud.*—Josephus (b. 37 A.D., d. end of century) first wrote the history of the war in Aramaic for the Jews in the E. Afterwards, moved

23. **Flavius Josephus.**³ (he says) by the number of misleading accounts which were in circulation, he put his own work into Greek.⁴ The Greek cannot, however, be a mere translation of the earlier work; for Greek and Roman readers it would need to be materially recast, and we can hardly doubt that his own part in the action was put in a quite different light. Very probably also the *résumé* of Jewish history from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Herod (bk. i.) was first prefixed in the Greek; the greater part of the seventh book was doubtless added at the same time. The history ends with the taking of Masada (the last stronghold of the insurgents) and the closing of the temple of Onias in Egypt, with a final chapter on the outbreak in Cyrene. The work was completed before the death of Vespasian (79 A.D.).

¹ In this book the history of the LXX translation is repeated after Aristaeas.

² Schürer, *GH* (2) 147 ff., ET 165 ff.

³ Schürer, *GH* (2) 156 ff., ET 177. ; where the literature will be found (*list*, 104 ff.).

⁴ Φλαβίου ἱστορίῳ ἱστορία ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους; *De Bello Judaico Libri Septem*.

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For the agitation which preceded the war, and for the war itself, Josephus was both at the time and afterwards in a position to be exceptionally well informed; but it must be remembered that, writing for the eyes of the emperor and his officers, he was under strong temptation to put things in the way which would be most pleasing to his imperial patrons; and that he had the difficult task of giving an honourable colour to his own conduct. We know that Justus charged him with falsifying the history of the events in Galilee, and the acrimony of Josephus's reply shows that the shaft had found a vulnerable spot.

For the earlier part of the work, from Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Nero, he used substantially the same sources as in the parallel books of his *Antiquities*. The *Jewish War* is composed with considerable art; Josephus had a remarkably dramatic subject, and he puts his facts together in a highly effective way; the Greek style, in revising which he had expert assistance, is praised by Photius for purity and propriety.

ii. *Antiquities*.—Later in life Josephus wrote his *Antiquities*, or, rather, *Archæology* ('ἱστορικὴ ἀρχαιολογία), the Ancient History of the Jews, in twenty books.¹

The first ten books extend from the creation of the world to the end of the Babylonian exile (closing with Daniel). His sources here were the books of the OT, chiefly in the LXX version; but when he confirms (1 *Proem*, 3, v. 106) that he reproduces exactly the contents of the sacred books, without addition or omission, he claims too much—or too little.

The *Antiquities* was written for Gentile readers, and was intended not merely to acquaint them with the history of the Jews, but also to counteract the current prejudice against the people and its institutions, and to exhibit both in a favourable light. To this end he omitted things which might give ground for censure or ridicule, and embellished the narrative from legend and midrash. That he used the writings of Hellenistic Jews who before him had treated the history in the same way (see above, § 10) is certain; the extent to which he was dependent upon them cannot now be determined. Josephus also often refers for confirmation or illustration of the biblical narrative to foreign authors; who are sometimes cited not at first hand, but from compilations or other intermediate sources.²

For the following period, from Artaxerxes I., under whom he puts Esther (the latest book in the OT), the sources used were of diverse character and value.³ From the middle of the fifth century to the beginning of the second there was no authentic historical tradition; a few stray facts and a mass of legends have to stop the gap. From Antiochus Epiphanes to the accession of Herod, Josephus's chief authority was an unknown Jewish writer who had combined his Jewish sources (1 *Macc.*, a history of the later Asmonæans?) with Greek writers on the history of Syria (Polybius, Posidonius, Strabo). This work probably began with Alexander, and came down at least to the death of Germanicus (19 A.D.). To this Josephus added the fruit of his own reading in the Greek historians, some Jewish marvel-stories, and a collection of documents authenticating privileges of the Jews. For the life of Herod he drew directly on Nicolaus of Damascus, with additions from a Jewish source unfavourable to Herod. In the later part of the work the narrative becomes fuller and the sources more numerous; among them information derived from King Agrippa, and a Roman author (? Cluvius Rufus) may be recognised. The history closes with Gessius Florus (= *BJ* ii. 141), on the eve of the war.

iii. The *Life*, which in the manuscripts immediately follows the *Antiquities*, is not really an autobiography; it is an apologia, and is chiefly occupied with a relation

¹ The title and the number of books are in imitation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία*.

² The ancients understood as well as the moderns this trick or seeming to be familiar with books they had never seen.

³ For titles of works on the sources of Josephus, see Schürer, *list*, 1104 ff. Of more recent investigations Büchler, *Die Tobitiden und die Oniaden*, 90, also *JQR* 9311 ff., *RE* 32 179 ff., 3969 ff., and Unger (*SMW*, 95 ff.) must be named.

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and defence of the author's conduct as commander in Galilee in the earlier stage of the revolt. It supplements the *War*; but is to be used with even greater caution.

iv. The short work which we commonly call the Reply to Apion (*Contra Apionem*), but of which the true title seems to be 'On the Antiquity of the Jews' (*Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος*) is a defence of the Jews against their assailants, of whom the Alexandrian grammarian and polyhistor Apion is taken as a leading representative.¹ The chief value of the book, apart from the light it throws on the 'antisemitism' of the times, lies in the copious extracts from profane writers on Oriental history which are incorporated in it.

Josephus was the author through whom the Roman and, later, for centuries, the Christian world got most of its knowledge of Jewish history. His works were translated into Latin; a Greek abridgment of the voluminous *Antiquities* was made; the mediæval Hebrew 'Josippon' professes to be the work of Josephus, from whose writings the material is largely drawn; in modern times Josephus has been translated into all the languages of Europe. His authority as an historian stood very high, his writings were appealed to with almost as much confidence as the OT itself.

In recent times, on the contrary, he has not infrequently been judged with unjust severity. The gravest faults of the *Antiquities* are those which it shares with the Jewish Hellenistic historiography in general, and indeed with no small part of the profane history of the Alexandrian age, not the individual sins of Josephus.

To expect critical history of these writers is to look for figs on thistles. The business of the historian is to interest his readers; an effective story carries it off over all dry investigations; and legends which redounded to the glory of the race were accepted without impertinent question. It is not to be charged as a crime to Josephus that in these respects he is an author of his time and his people. On the other hand, the carelessness and lack of pains with which the latter part of the *Antiquities* particularly is worked out may fairly be laid at his door; he visibly wearies of his long task before it is completed.

We have no extensive historical writings in Hebrew or Aramaic to set beside the productions of the Grecian

Jews. Some works on particular periods have perished, or, like 1 Macc. and Josephus's *Jewish War*, have reached us only in Greek garb. The chief motive of the Hellenistic authors for retelling the ancient history of their people—to bring it to the knowledge of foreigners—was lacking. Their own need was satisfied by the Sacred Books themselves, interpreted by Targum and Midrash. The only comprehensive Hebrew work on Jewish history of which we know anything is the bald chronological epitome known as *Seder 'Olām*. Down to the Persian period it follows the OT with occasional midrashic episodes, and with a minute determination of the chronology which is evidently the *raison d'être* of the work.² The six centuries and more from Nehemiah to the war under Hadrian are comprised in the second half of chap. 30. The lack of any continuous historical tradition is here again obvious; the chronology of the Persian, the Greek, the Asmonæan, and the Herodian periods—partly in consequence of corruption of the text—is far out of the way. The work, which enjoys Talmudic authority, is attributed to R. Jose ben Halaphta (circa 130-160 A.D.), probably because he is often cited in it as an authority. It has undoubtedly been more than once worked over by later hands.³

E. Schrader, art. 'Geschichtskunde bei den Israeliten,' *BL* 2413 ff.; Franz Del. 'Die Formenreichthum der israelitischen Geschichtsliteratur,' *Zeitsch. f. luther. Theol.*

24. Literature. *u. Kirche*, 30-31 ff.; 70; L. Diestel, 'Die hebr. Geschichtsschreibung,' *JDT* 18365 ff. (73); R. Kittel, *Die Anfänge der heb. Geschichtsschreibung im A.T.*, '96 (Rektorsrede); B. Duhm, *Die Entsteh. des A.T.*, '97;

¹ Apion died about fifty years before Josephus wrote.

² Cp the Alexandrian chronologist Demeitrius; and note also the chronology of *Jubilees*.

³ Araria de Rossi, *Intr. Binā*, chap. 19.

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see also HEXATEUCH, and the articles on the several books discussed above.

On various aspects of the general subject: F. Creuzer, *Die historische Kunst der Griechen in ihrer Entz. und Fortb.*, 45; H. Uhlen, *Charakteristik der antiken Historiographie*, 33; K. W. Nitzsch, 'Römische und deutsche Annalistik und Geschichtsschreibung,' in Sybel's *Zeitsch.* 11, 1 ff. (64); A. v. Gutschmid, 'Aus Vorlesungen über die Gesch. der griech. Historiographie,' *Kleine Schriften*, 4279 ff. (esp. the introd. 271-282).

J. W. Loebell, 'Das reale und das ideale Element in der geschichtlichen Überlieferung und Darstellung,' in Sybel's *Zeitsch.* 1, 260-311 (59); W. Wachsmuth, 'Ueber die Quellen der Geschichtsfälschung,' *Ber. d. k. u. g. s. h. v. h. Gesellsch. der Wiss.* 8, 121-133 (56); E. Zeller, 'Wie entstehen ungeschichtlichen Überlieferungen,' *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb. '93 (excellent); Steudtner, 'Mythos, Sage, Märchen, Legende, Erzählung, Fabel,' *Z. für Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwiss.* 17, 13 ff. (87). See also Herthheim, *Lehrg. d. historischen Methodik* (94); and C. Wachsmuth, *Leid. in das Studium der alten Gesch.* (95).

G. S. M.

HITTITES (חִיטִּי), a name which occurs rather frequently in the OT, and is often connected with regions somewhat remote from one another.

1. Occurrence of name in OT.

The name is given to one of the groups of pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Southern Palestine, whose full name is Heth Hēth (חֶת־חֵת); so Gen. 23, 37, 27, 46. A single member of the group is Hitt (חִיטִּי) *χαιταιος*, e.g., Gen. 49, 29, 2 S. 11, 24, and from the form, the group is commonly referred to as ha-Hitti, i.e., the Hittite. So throughout Ex., Nu., Dt., Josh., Judg., Ezra, and Neh., and also 1 K. 9, 20 (1, 2 Ch. 8, 7). The references so far given refer to the earlier period of Hebrew history, before definite steps had been taken leading to the formation of the kingdom; but Hittites are mentioned also in the later period, in the days of Saul (1 S. 26), David (2 S. 11, 36; 17, 21, 34; 19, 23, 30; *חִיטִּי* [L.], and a parallel passage 1 Ch. 11, 41; *חִיטִּי* [H.], *חֶת־חֵת* [A. L.]), Solomon (1 K. 10, 29; *חֶת־חֵת* [B.]; om. A. L. u. [L.], 11, 2 K. 7, 6 and a parallel passage 2 Ch. 12, 12; *חֶת־חֵת* [A. L.]). The term *Hittim* occurs more rarely—only twice for the earlier period, Josh. 14 (BA om.), Judg. 126 (*חֶת־חֵת* [B.], *חֶת־חֵת* [A. L.]), 'land of the Hittites'; and three times for the later period (1 K. 10, 29, 2 K. 7, 6 and a parallel passage 2 Ch. 12, 12, 'kings of Hittites'). The persistent occurrence of Hittites in the Greek transliteration in place of Hittites should not be overlooked.

In the genealogical table, Gen. 10, Hēth is introduced (v. 15 [J]) as a son of Canaan; but the mention of Hēth here is evidently a gloss—though an old one—tacked on to 'Sidon, the firstborn of Canaan.'

The Greek translators, perceiving the incongruity of the use of Hēth for the nation alongside of gentilicins like Jebūsi, Emōri, etc., changed Hēth to Hitt (*χαιταιος*). We may indeed accept the view of Ball (*SBOT ad loc.*) and others, and regard the introduction of all the nations mentioned in v. 15 as a redactorial addition suggested by the gloss Hēth; but this will not affect the question of the inference about Hēth to be drawn from the passage. For the entire section, Gen. 10, 16-10, is an independent fragment (taken from some genealogical list of Canaanites) belonging to the same stratum of tradition as that preserved in the song, Gen. 8, 25-27, according to which the three divisions of mankind were Canaan, Shem, and Japheth. This wide sense of Canaan (10, 19) accords well with certain passages in the OT (see CANAAN, § 2) which make Canaan a general term for the whole district between the Jordan, the Mediterranean, the wilderness in the S., and the Lebanon range in the N.; but it is to be noted that this usage is in contradiction to the more common application of the term in the Hexateuch and in passages like Judg. 3, 5 Ezra 9, 1 (*חֶת* [B.], *חֶת* [A.]) Neh. 9, 8—dependent upon the Hexateuch—where the Canaanites are merely one of five, six, or seven divisions into which the district defined is divided. When it is furthermore considered that in this enumeration the Canaanites are assigned not always the first place—at times the second (Ex. 23, 28, 34, 11) or the third (Dt. 20, 17; Josh. 9, 24, 11), or even the fourth (Ex. 23, 23)—it is evident that no value is to be attached to the assignment of Hēth as a 'son' (i.e., subdivision) of Canaan. One conclusion, however, may be drawn from the variation in nomenclature: at one time the Canaanites were spread over a much larger area than was the case when the Israelites entered the country. To Israel the Canaanites still loomed up large enough; but the tradition which made them the ancestors of all the other groups occupying the highlands and valleys to the west of the Jordan, and which regarded them as one of the three great divisions of mankind, belongs to a more remote age.

We conclude, then, that the Hittites of the OT, as an ethnic group, do not necessarily stand in a closer relation to the Canaanites than to the Amorites, Hivites, Perizzites, or any of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine.

¹ [On the 'Hittites' of Hebron cp REHOBOTH.]

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The question confronts us here, whether in all cases where the OT mentions Hittites, the same people is meant? To put it more precisely, are the B'ne Heth, of whom an interesting incident is recorded in Gen. 23 [P], identical with the group called ha-Hitti (אֲחִיטִי), and enumerated among the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine, and are these Hittites the same as those found in the days of Saul, David, and Solomon?

According to Gen. 23 [P], Abraham purchases a burying-place at Mamre from the B'ne Heth, who are represented as a settled population with Hebron as a kind of centre.

The antiquity of the tradition is hardly open to question, though the details, such as the formal deed of purchase, may have been supplied by the fancy of a much later age, to which Abraham had already become a favourite subject for Midrashic elaboration. That the Hebrew tradition regards the Hittites of Hebron as identical with those mentioned elsewhere follows from the introduction of Heth in Gen. 10:15 [J], as well as from the qualification ha-Hitti added to the name of Ephron (Gen. 23:10),¹ the chief of the B'ne Heth.

These Hittites extended as far south as the edge of the desert, since we find Edomite clans, settled around Gerar and Beersheba (Gen. 26:34 [P], חֶרְיָאוּ [E]), entering upon matrimonial alliances with Hittites.

The opposition of Isaac and Rebecca to Esau's marriages with Hittite women (A., 27:46 [R]) reflects the later sentiments expressed in the Hexateuchal prohibition (Dt. 7:3), whereas the tradition itself clearly points to there being at an early period friendly relationships between Hebrew and Edomite clans on the one side and Hittites on the other.

Bearing these two features in mind—(1) the settlement of the B'ne Heth in the extreme south of Palestine, and

(2) the friendly relations between them and the clans which constitute the ancestors of at least a section of the later Israelitish confederacy—it is certainly not without significance that the Hittites mentioned in the OT outside of the book of Genesis dwell in the centre or extreme north of Palestine, and that they are viewed as the bitter enemies of the Israelites. True, in the days of Saul and David, we find Hittites joining their fortunes with David (1 S. 28:6), and a Hittite occupies a prominent place in David's army (2 S. 23:39¹ (see below, § 5), whilst Solomon enters into matrimonial alliances with Hittite princesses (1 K. 11:1) (see below, § 6); but these are exceptional incidents. The Hittites, together with the Canaanites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Gergashites,² hold the various parts of Palestine proper against the Hebrew invaders, and contest every advance. The chief passages are Ex. 38:17 13:5 21:23 33:2 Dt. 7:1 20:17 Josh. 3:10 11:3 (om. F) 12:8 (om. L) 21:11 Judg. 3:5. An important indication of the distribution of the various groups is furnished by Josh. 11:3. The Canaanites are settled both in the E. and in the W.; Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, and Jebusites in the mountains, and the Hivites at the foot of Mt. Hermon in the N. (In G^h the positions of the Hivites and Hittites are exchanged; but the gloss in Nu. 13:29 is a support for MT; see Hivites, § 2.) Here, then, we find the Hittites settled in the mountainous districts of Central Palestine contesting the encroachments of the Hebrews. It is, of course, not impossible that the southern Hittites were gradually forced northward through circumstances of which we are ignorant; but a solution of the problem more in keeping with the conditions of OT nomenclature is to suppose an inexactness and vagueness in the use of the term Hittites, similar to that which characterises the use of such terms as Canaanites, Amorites, and even Philistines. A support for this

¹ 'Sta. (Gesch.⁴) 143). Bu. (Urgesch. 347 f.), E. Mey. and others (e.g., Che., art. 'Hittites', AB⁹) are quite sure that in this use of the name "Hittites" for the population of the land (cp also 26:34 f. 27:46 with 28:1), A (i.e., the Priestly narrator, P) is deplorably wrong' (Dt. Gen. 207 [92], ironically).¹

² Also 7:8, according to the Samaritan version.

³ The order in which these nations are enumerated varies, and at times one or other—Gergashites, Perizzites, or Hivites—is omitted, though the Greek translators usually supplied the deficiency by inserting them.

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view is to be found in Josh. 14, where the whole district of Israel's prospective possessions, from the wilderness in the S. to the Lebanon in the N., and eastward to the Euphrates, is designated as 'the whole land of the Hittites.' It is true that these words are a gloss, and perhaps a late one, since they are not contained in G^h (G^h alone inserts). Their value is not impaired, however, by this circumstance; in the opinion of the scribe who added them, 'Hittite' was a term covering a very large territory.

Judg. 1:6 is perhaps another instance of the vague use of the phrase 'land of the Hittites,' though here we have to reckon with the possibility of a redactional insertion referring to a Hittite empire established in NE. Syria, of which we hear much in the inscriptions of Assyrian monarchs (see below, § 6), just as this empire is referred to in 2 K. 7:6, and probably in 1 K. 10:29.

Again, when Ezekiel tells Jerusalem, 'Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite' (Ezek. 16:345 [om. Q^o]), he is using both terms in a vague and comprehensive sense for the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine.

From such usage it follows that there is no necessary connection beyond the name between the southern Hittites and those whom the Israelites encounter in Central Palestine. Indeed one might be inclined to regard the grouping of Hittites with Canaanites, Amorites, etc., as a conventional enumeration without any decided reference to actual conditions; but such a passage as Josh. 11:3 is against this view.

Since the older inhabitants of Palestine were not exterminated, it is not surprising to find a Hittite—the

5. S. Hittites famous Uriah—among the chiefs that constituted the following of David in later times. (2 S. 23:39 1 Ch. 11:41). The position

occupied by Uriah points to a partial assimilation between Judaeans and Hittites, and similarly the strange tale of David and Bathsheba (Uriah's wife), ns related in 2 S. 11, embodies a distinct recollection of a close alliance at one time between the two groups. The unfavourable light in which David's act is placed is due to an age which regarded it as a heinous crime for any Hebrew to marry a woman who was not a worshipper of Yahweh; but the age of David is still far removed from the spirit which animates Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code on this point. There is no objection against regarding these Hittites as the descendants of those whom we encounter in the days of Abraham.

The case is different, however, when we come to Solomon, whose marriages with Hittite princesses

6. Solomon's Northern Hittites solemnize political alliances, just as does the enlargement of his harem through Moabitish, Ammonitish, Edomitish, and Sidonian concubines. Solomon but imitated the example set by the kings of Egypt, who had long

been in the habit of adding to their harems representatives of the various nations whom they had conquered or with whom they had entered into political alliances. The king's harem in ancient days in a measure took the place of the diplomatic corps of our times. These Hittites cannot possibly be identical with those we encounter in the days of David; there is no room in the days of Solomon for a Hittite empire or principality in Southern Palestine. The Hittite district must have been as clearly defined, however, as that of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edonites, and Sidonians (1 K. 11:1). That there was a Hittite empire, and that it was important, is implied by the statement (1 K. 10:29) that Solomon imported horses from Egypt for 'all the kings of the Hittites' (see HORSE, § 3, MIZRAIM, § 2d). The same Hittite power is referred to in 2 K. 7:6, where the juxtaposition of 'kings of the Hittites' with 'kings of Egypt' may be taken as a measure of the importance of this power. This reference alone might be sufficient warrant for concluding that the Hittite district is to be sought in the of Palestine, the purport of the passage being to in. that Aram was attacked simultaneously from

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the N. and the S. A more definite conclusion, however, may be drawn from 2 S. 246. Despite the corruptness of the passage, one may be certain that it contains a reference to the 'land of the Hittites'.¹ The reference is to a land lying N. of Gilead, and we are thus brought to the region where, as we know from other sources to be mentioned presently, an extensive 'Hittite' empire flourished as early at least as 2000 B.C.

In a study of the Hittites of the OT we must therefore take into consideration the varying use of the term.

7. Summary of OT data.

We must distinguish (a) the Hittites settled around Hebron (who maintain their identity down to the days of David) from (b) the 'conventional' Hittites whom tradition enumerated with other groups as opponents whom the Hebrew invaders in a severe and protracted struggle dispossessed of their land; and both these divisions must be kept separate again from (c) an extensive Hittite power (divided up into principalities) situated in the north-eastern part of Syria, beyond the confines of Palestine proper; and, lastly, there is the vague and indefinite use of the term which makes Hittite almost synonymous with (d) all Palestine and Syria, and thus adds another complicating element.

So far as the evidence goes, there is nothing to warrant any connection (beyond the name) between the Hittites (b) who form part of the pre-Israelitish population of southern Palestine, and the Hittites (c) whose alliance is sought by Solomon. It is the latter Hittites who play much the more prominent part in the ancient history of the East.

Thothmes I., the third king of the eighteenth dynasty, began about 1600 B.C. an extended series of Asiatic campaigns which eventually brought about

8. Egyptian data.

the subjection of Palestine and Syria to the pharaohs of Egypt. Among the more formidable enemies enumerated by the Egyptian rulers is a people whose name H-t-t² appears to be identical with the term Heth or Hatti of the OT. This people occupied the mountainous districts of northern Syria, and extended to the E. as far as the Orontes, indeed at times beyond it to the Euphrates. A stronghold of the H-t-ta which is prominently mentioned in the inscriptions of Thothmes III. (circa 1500 B.C.) is Kedesh. The H-t-ta did not confine themselves, however, to their mountain recesses. Joining arms with the various nationalities of northern Palestine and the W. district, they advanced as far as Megiddo to meet the Egyptian armies. The pharaohs found their task difficult, and, even after many campaigns had been waged, the subjection of the H-t-ta was not definitely accomplished. The kings of Egypt advanced to Carchemish, Tuncp, Hamath, and claim to have laid siege to these places; but again and again armies had to be sent into northern Syria and the Taurus region. Marash, at the extreme E. of Cilicia, appears to have resisted all attempts at conquest. The Egyptians at one time found a valuable ally in Dushratta, king of Mitanni—a district to the NW. of Assyria. This alliance between Egypt and Mitanni seems to have kept the H-t-ta in check; but it was not long before the H-t-ta of Marash, Carchemish, Hamath, and Kedesh regained their complete independence. In the fourteenth century the hold of Egypt upon her Asiatic possessions was loosened, and about a century later her control practically comes to an end.

It is clear from the way in which the H-t-ta are spoken of in the Egyptian records that the prevailing notions about them were vague. To assume that there was at this time an extensive Hittite empire is a theory that meets with serious difficulties. The district embraced by the Egyptian rulers under the designation H-t-ta appears to have been divided up among a varying

¹ Read חִתִּים *ḥiṭṭim*, and see further TAHTIM-HODSHI.

² This is the transliteration now adopted by Egyptologists. The character of the vowel following *t* cannot be definitely determined. The spelling adopted here is H-t-ta (after WMM).

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number of principalities, and it does not follow that the rulers and inhabitants of these principalities were even of one and the same linguistic or ethnic stock.

Our knowledge of the early history of Babylonia and of the rise of the Assyrian power is still too uncertain to enable us to say when the inhabitants of the Euphrates valley first came into contact with the Hittites. The Kassite

9. Cuneiform statements.

dynasty, which maintained its sway over Babylonia for upwards of 500 years, was of an aggressive character, and in the fifteenth century we find Babylonia joined with Egypt in a close alliance. The use of the Babylonian script and language at this time as the medium of diplomatic interchange between the court of Egypt and officials stationed in Palestine and Syria under Egyptian control points to a predominating Babylonian influence and an earlier Babylonian supremacy, during which the Babylonian language was introduced into the district in question.

The text containing an account of the western exploits of Sargon I. (see BABYLONIA, § 40) (whose date is provisionally fixed at 2300 B.C.) is of a very late date, and cannot therefore be relied upon as confirming the general tradition of an early conquest of Syria on the part of Babylonian rulers. (The name Hittite does not appear in the text referred to, the lands to the W. being embraced under the general designation of 'Amorite country.' On this point see CANAAN, § 7, B.)

As the Asiatic campaigns of Egypt begin in the eighteenth century B.C., we must assume that the Babylonian control of Syria and Palestine belongs to an earlier time. We know enough of the history of the Kassite dynasty in Babylonia to say that it was probably during the period of its ascendancy that the control of Babylonia over the western districts was most effective, and the testimony of the Egyptian inscriptions warrants us in assuming that the Hittites were then the most powerful federation against whom the Babylonians had to contend. It is to be noted, however, that the term

10. The Hatti. Hittite, or Hatti, which appears to be identical with it, does not make its appearance in cuneiform literature till the days of Tiglath-pileser I., about 1100 B.C. Then it means a distinctly defined kingdom lying along the Orontes (with Carchemish as one of its important centres) and extending well into the Taurus range. Against these Hatti the Assyrian ruler waged a fierce campaign. According to his account it ended in a complete triumph for the Assyrian arms. In reality, however, the conquest was far from complete. The successors of Tiglath-pileser were much harassed by the troublesome Hatti, and it is not until the reign of Sargon (721-704 B.C.) that they finally disappear from the horizon of Assyrian history.

Curiously enough, we encounter in the Assyrian inscriptions the same vagueness in the use of the term Hatti that is characteristic of OT usage; Sennacherib and other Assyrian rulers, when they speak of the 'land of Hatti,' have in mind the entire region to the W. of the Euphrates, embracing the Phœnician coast and including apparently Palestine (see CANAAN, § 12). Still, there can be no doubt that the Assyrians distinguished the Hatti proper from the other principalities of Syria and Palestine; and if the testimony of the comparatively late Assyrian inscriptions could only be used for the earlier periods, the ethnic and geographical problems involved would be considerably simplified.

Fortunately, as an aid to the solution of these problems, we have a considerable number of monuments left us by the Hittites themselves, and although the date of these monuments does not carry us back to as early a period as the Egyptian campaigns in Western Asia, they help us to a clearer understanding of the earlier history of the Hittites. At Carchemish and Hamath have been found remains of sculptures accompanied by inscriptions, and elsewhere in this region, as at Zinjirli, there are abundant traces of Hittite art. Quite recently (August, '99) a Hittite stèle has been found at Babylon, transported from a Hittite

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centre by an Assyrian monarch.¹ This art is so distinctly based upon Assyrian and Babylonian models as to decide definitely the influences at work in producing the civilisation in this region. In addition to this, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lycæna, and Phrygia abound in remains of edifices and of works of art showing the same types and the same general traits as those of Carhemish and Hamath, whilst the inscriptions found with the edifices belong likewise to the same class.

Thanks to the researches of Jensen it may now be regarded as certain that the inscriptions cover the period 1200-800 B.C., and it has also been made probable that the spread of the Hittites was gradual from the region of Cilicia to the N., N.E., and N.W., nearly to the borders of the Euxine, and W. to the Egypt.² It is fair to presume that the language of all the so-called Hittite inscriptions is the same, although it may be added that several styles of Hittite characters may be distinguished, some being pictorial, others branching off into conventional forms with a strong tendency towards becoming linear. These varieties, which are quite paralleled by the styles of writing in the Egyptian and Babylonian-Assyrian inscriptions, do not affect the question of the language; and, this being the case, we can understand the vagueness in the geographical use of the term Hittites among the ancients. At what period the extension of Hittite settlements began it is as yet impossible to say; but the indications are that we must go back several centuries beyond 1200 B.C. for the date. On the other hand, whilst in general the Hittite traits are clearly defined on the monuments, there are good reasons for assuming several ethnic types among those grouped under the term. From an anthropological point of view, the Mongolian, or to speak more definitely the Turanian, type seems to prevail; but, whatever the ground-stock of the Hittites of Asia Minor may have been, there is a clear indication of Semitic admixture.

The decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions which would throw so much needed light on the ethnic problems, is now being vigorously prosecuted. After several attempts on the part of S. A. de Sèze, Meissner, and Halévy, which constituted an opening wedge, Jensen has recently struck out on a new path which gives promise of leading, ere long, to a satisfactory solution of the mystery. With great ingenuity he has determined much of the general character of the inscriptions. He has identified ideographs and sign-groups for the names of countries and gods, some of which appear to be established beyond reasonable doubt.

Passing beyond those limits, Jensen is fully convinced that the language of the inscriptions belongs to the Aryan stock—as in fact the prototype of the modern Armenian. This rather startling result, although it has received the adherence of some eminent scholars, cannot be said to be definitely assured, and for the present remains in the category of a theory to be further tested. The proof furnished by Jensen for the Aryan character of the Hittite language is not sufficiently strong to overcome the objection that many of the Hittite proper names occurring both in the Egyptian and in the Assyrian inscriptions are either decidedly Semitic or can be accounted for on the assumption of their being Semitic, whilst the evidence which can be brought to bear upon the question from OT references points in the same direction. Again, if, as Jensen believes, and as seems plausible, the Hittite characters are to be regarded as showing a decided resemblance to Egyptian hieroglyphs—so much so, indeed, as to suggest a connection between the two systems—there would be another presumption for expecting to find an affiliation between the Hittite language

¹ R. Koldewey, *Die Hittitische Inschrift gefunden in der Königshurg von Babylon* (Leips., 1900).

² At Karabel, near Smyrna, there is sculptured on a rock the picture of a Hittite warrior with a few Hittite characters.

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and the Semitic stock, if not indeed, as in Egyptian, a Semitic substratum.

No valid conclusion can be drawn from the unquestionable relationship of the Cypriot characters to the Hittite signs, since the Cypriot syllabary is clearly the more simplified of the two, and is presumably, therefore, a derivative of the former. What we know of early Semitic influences in the proto-Tyrian culture and religion of Asia Minor, speaks against an Aryan civilisation flourishing in the region covered by the Hittite monuments.

These suggestions are thrown out with all due reserve, for the problem is too complicated to warrant at present anything like a decided tone. So far as Jensen's decipherment has gone, the inscriptions—some thirty in all—contain little beyond the names and titles of rulers, lands and gods, with brief indications of conquests. Valuable as such indications would be if definitely established, it does not seem likely that our knowledge of Hittite history would be much advanced by the complete decipherment of the meagre material at our command. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that excavations in Hittite centres will increase the material, and we may also look forward to finding a bilingual inscription of sufficient length to settle definitely the still uncertain elements in the decipherment, and clear the field of the many hypotheses that have been put forward. Meanwhile, bearing in mind the necessarily tentative character of all conclusions until excavations on a large scale shall have been carried on in centres of Hittite settlements, we may sum up our present knowledge as follows:

1. Among the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine there was a group settled in southern Palestine, known as the Hittites or Hittites.

2. When the Egyptians began their conquest of Syria, Hittites formed one of their most formidable adversaries, and continued to be prominent throughout the several centuries of Egyptian supremacy in Syria and Palestine. The chief seat of these Hittites was in the extreme N. of Palestine and extended well into Syria. The farther extension of Hittite settlements brings under control not merely the district to the W. of the Taurus range, but a considerable portion of western Asia Minor (including Cilicia and Cappadocia) extending to the Euxine Sea on the N. and the Arabian to the W. The north-eastern boundary is uncertain; but it may have reached to Lake Van. After the withdrawal of the Egyptians from Asia Minor the Assyrians engage in frequent conflicts with the Hittite kingdom in the region of the Orontes, and it is not until the eighth century that they are finally reduced to a condition where they could no longer offer any resistance.

The vagueness in the use of the term Hittite, in the OT as well as in the Egyptian and Assyrian records, makes it difficult to decide whether all Hittites are to be placed in one group. The evidence seems to show that the sons of Heth settled around Hebron at an early period, have nothing in common (beyond the name) with the Hittites of central and northern Palestine, and have nothing to do, therefore, with the Hittites of Syria and of regions still farther N. The Hittites of Hebron were Semites and spoke a Semitic tongue; the Hittites of northern Palestine and Syria were probably not Semitic but became mixed with Semites at a comparatively early period. Their language, likewise, appears to contain Semitic elements, and may indeed have a Semitic substratum. The Hittite script appears to have been taken over from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and in any case has strong affinities with it, though it seems also certain that it contains elements which are either original or derived from some source that is still unknown.

M. J. (Jr.)

Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia*, etc., vol. ii.,

¹ The only bilingual as yet found is a small silver boss (of Tarkonténos) containing a rather obscure Assyrian inscription accompanied by eight Hittite characters.

HIVITES

14. Literature. *De la Aune et de la Langue des Hittites* (1914), Ibsen, *Hittiter und Ibsenier* (1914), and articles in *Ph.M.*, 45.

HIVITES. RV: the HIVITE (1977) i.e., 'the HIVites', or CYAN (BAL) named in the lists of

1. Name.

1. **Name.** tribes driven out of Palestine by the line Israel (Is 33 17, etc., also Is 17 9¹ SBOT), where, however, they now holds the reading to be impossible)

The origin of the name and even its existence (see below) in the true text have been disputed (see HODGKIN). Some critics explain from the Ar. *ḥayy*, 'lively, as if people who live in hell, behold us in empires' (see LAST MEMENTO, § 4. HAVENH. JAHN) whilst Wellhausen (1873 14) suggests that the name is derived from *ḥay*, 'live' (on the meaning of which name see ARAM AND EVE, § 16). It is at any rate possible that if the reading *ḥay* is correct, the early interpreter in the *Chommaria* were trying to connect it with *ḥay*, 'serpent' (*ḥayyān*, *ḥayyān* in *ḥayyān*, etc.), and that the Hivites were originally the 'Snake' clan (so, doubtfully, Moore, *Jahrb.* 1872).

2. Location. I think they were a petty people of Central Palestine (*Judges*, 79); but, if so, the textual and critical difficulties in passages which would otherwise be of value, render it impossible to fix upon their locality.

2. Location

2. **Location.** thinks they were a petty people of Central Palestine (*Judges*, 79); but, if so, the textual and critical difficulties in passages which would otherwise be of value, render it impossible to fix upon their locality.

In Josh. 9:7 the Gibeonites are spoken of as 'Hivites'; cp II 19 'the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon' (GIBON); cp Bennett, *SBOT*. As we know, GIBON [y.e.] remained for a long time in the possession of non-Israelites, but whether they were Hivites, Horites (a. *GRAPH* suggests),² or Amorites (cp 2 S. 21 a) is uncertain. G may, however, be right in reading 'Horite' for 'Hivite' in Gen. 34:2 (see STUCKRUM b. Hamor; cp HORITE), and the same emendation is required in 33:2 (see ANAT, BASHEMATU, ZIBON)

Another error occurs in Josh. 11, where the Hittites must certainly be referred to in the geographical location, 'under Hermon in the land of Mizpah'; the Hivites (om. ⁶A) and Hittites, as ⁶B shows, have accidentally exchanged places (cp Meyer, *ZATW* 116, B. *At. Sa.* 81 n., Moore, *Judg.* 81; see HITTITES, § 4). So again in Judg. 3, for the 'Hivites' who dwell in Mt. Lebanon, etc., and who are named after the Zidonians, we should most probably read 'Hittites' (cp Moore, *l.c.*). It is difficult to decide whether 'Hivites' in 2 S. 247 (*even* [1.]) is correct. The 'cities of the Hivites and the Canaanites' are enumerated after Zidon and Tyre, and by adopting the reading 'Hittites' (so Pesh.) the geographical details will agree substantially with the above-quoted passages. On the other hand, the words in question may be a gloss based on the lists in Ex. 38 etc., and it is noteworthy that the Pesh. goes a step further and adds 'Jebusites.'

S. A. C.

HIZKI (חִזְקִי), 1 Ch. 8:17 RV, AV HEZEKI.

HIZKIAH (חִזְקִיָּה), Zeph. 1: AV, RV HEZEKIAH.

HIZKIJAH (חִזְקִיָּה), Neh. 10¹⁷ [18] AV, RV 11EZE-
KIAH. See ATER, I.

HOBAB (חֹבָב), son of REUEL [q. v.], Moses' father-in-law (Nu. 10.29 Judg. 4.11 [a gloss? see Moore]), and probably Judg. 1.6 [emended text; cp יואבב (A), יואבב (L), see Moore]). In Nu. 10.29 he is represented as a Midianite, in Judg. 1.6 41, as a Kenite. Elsewhere (except in 1 Ch. 2.55, see I-EMATH), JONATHAN (חִנָּנִי, q. v.), or Jehonadab, is called the founder of the Rechabites, and we may doubt (but see RECHABITES) the

¹ Read הָחַי for הָחַיִּי (EBAQ of *evaiot*), with Lowth, Lag., etc. (cp RVmg). Cheyne now reads הָחַיִּי = הָחַיִּי (see GERSHTE).

² Read *πρὸς τὸν ἁποστόλον* (in sing.). Vg. *ad eos* is either a corruption from *ad hereticos*, or points to the reading *ἐκ* which is perhaps the more probable alternative.

HODESH

whether the simple mode of life of the Rechabites really dates back only to the age of Jehu and whether the Rechabites at that time really adopted a new 'father' or founder different from the reputed 'father' of the Kenites. If so, we may suppose Jehabak to be a corruption either of Jehonadab (or Nadab) or else of Jehohab (329), which is probably the fuller form of *Yohab* [?]. The latter alternative is the easier, accepting it, we shall proceed to change Jehonadab and Jehonab in Jer. 35a & into Jehohab (328a) and Jofabak (330) respectively. Thus Jehohab the father in law of Moses becomes the father and legislator of the Kenites or Rechabites.

It has *awšap* [HAI] in Judg., *əšap* [E], *əšap* [A], *awšap* [Hug.] in Num.; see readings in Swete, *We.* 11:16; 16:1 squares it Job with Ar. *həšeb*, 'serpent'; but must connect the name with *חבב*, 'to love'; cp. Nab. *הנביא*, 'beloved.'

HOBAH הֹבָה. Ḥobāā [D]; ḤD, [L]; Joseph. Ὠβα, the point to which Abraham pursued Cut-
thomer (24) and his allies (Gen. 14.15). It was on
the left hand (i.e. on the N) of Damascus. In the
Amarna Tablets 139 59-61 116 iv 12, mlr Ḥbi is
mentioned, once, to define Damascus, 'D, in the
land of Ḥbi' (cf. 63). On the edge of the Syrian
desert, between Damascus and Palmyra, there is a
spring called Ḥoba which is still famous in the songs of
the Bedouin. Weizstein (in *Dal. Gen.* 49 56 ff.) identi-
fies this with Hobaḥ. The objection is the distance
from Dan, where Abraham is said to have set upon
the kings and defeated them. From Dan (*Tell el-
Aidi*) to Dam. is fifteen hours' journey, from
Damascus to Ḥoba more than twenty. This is not
decisive, however; the narrator (if he knew the dis-
tance) may have wished to emphasise the unwearied
energy of Abraham. It is likely that in ancient times
so excellent a spring was even more frequented than
now; for then, like other important springs on the
verge of the desert, it probably had a village beside it.

T. K. C.

НОВАІАН (חֲנַנְיָה), Neh. 7:63 RV, AV ΠΑΒΑΙΑΝ.

HOD (הוד, perhaps shortened from אֲבִיהוּד; ωΔ [BA], ἡοϋΔ [I.]), in a genealogy of ASTER (q.v., § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7^{37†}.

HODAVIAH (הֹדָוְיָהּ, ns if 'praise Yahwè';² cp HODIAH and JUDAH: ὁδογία [BAI.]).

1. Head of a father's house belonging to Manasseh (1 Ch. 5:24; *mešovea* [L]).

2. b. Hassenuah, an ancestor of SALLU (1 Ch. 9:7; אֲחִישֹׁנַי [H]); in Neh. 11:9, Judah (יְהוּדָה; אֲחִישֹׁנַי [H]). -as [BA] b. Senuah is doubtless the same person. Cp SENAAH,

Kt., חֲדָלָה Kt., AV Hodalah; ὁδοῖα [B], ὠδία [L]).

4. A Levitical family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA II, 59, 13d), Ezra 2 40 (סֹדוֹוִיָּה [B], סוֹד, [A]); the σ is a ditograph of the preceding s) = Neh. 7 43, **Hodevah**, RVmg.

Hodiahah (הוֹדִיָּה) Kr. *ḥōdīyahā* [H], *ov.* [KAD] = Esd.
 3:26, *SUTHAS* (*southōv* [BA]). To this family the line Jeshua
 and Kadmiel apparently belonged (cp. also *Esd*.3:23), where
 Hodiahah gives place to Judah as in no. 2 *sura*, see
 3:24. Since, however, Jeshua, Kadmiel, and Hani are
 mentioned together in Neh. 12:47, it is better to emend *Esd*.2:40
 to read "the sons of Jeshua, Kadmiel, Hani, and Hoda-
 hah." So already in 1 Esdr.2:20, Kadmiel, Hani, and Hoda-
 hah. From a comparison of the lists in Neh. 12, it is probable
 that Hodiahah is the same as Hothiah in Neh. 12 etc., and Judah
 in Neh. 12a. See HODIAH. S.A.J.G.

S. A. C.

HODESH (חֹדֶשׁ, 'born at the feast of the new moon?': 72; אֲדָא [BA], בְּאֲדָא [L]; חֹדֶשׁ [Pesh.]), a name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (1 Ch. 89), perhaps a corruption of Abishahar (see *JQR* 11 107, § 6). GL identifies it with BAARA of 71. 8.

¹ The scribe read γ instead of π (the first time), and inserted γ . That letters not only fell out, but were inserted by editors, is certain.

² *i.e.*, 1975.

HODIAH

HODIAH (הֹדִיָּה, 'Yahwè is my glory,' cp HODAVIAH: ὡδογιά(c) [L.]).

1. As the text stands, a Judahite, whose wife was a sister of NAHAM [q.v.], 1 Ch. 4 19 (ῥῆς ὡδογίας [B], ῥῆς οὐδαγίας [A], ὡδα [L]). **HODIAH**, however, has the better reading 'his wife Hodiah' in v. 18. Thus we see that Hodiah and Ha-Jehudiah are really the same genealogical person, who is called in v. 19 mother of 'the father of KEILAH [q.v.] and ESHTEMOA [q.v.], and was the wife of MERED [q.v.]—a corrupt form which needs emendation. **H** makes Hodiah the brother of Naham.

2. AV **Hodijah**, mentioned in lists of priests, teachers, and Levites, Neh. 8 7 9 5 [4] (om. **BNA** in both passages), 1 Exd. 9 48 (AUTEAS; αυταγας [BA]); Neh. 10 10, ὡδογία [BNA] 13 [14] (ὡδογία [BNA], ὡδογία [A], ὡδαγας [L.]); 2 18 [19] (ὡδογία [BNA], ὡδαγας [L.]). He is probably the same as HODAVIAH (q.v.). The name apparently recurs in 1 Exd. 5 16 under the corrupt form ANNIS (so RV); see ANASTIAS, 1.

HOGLAH (הֹגְלָה), as if 'partridge,' § 68; εἴλα [BL], αἰγλα [AF], in Josh. αἰγλαμ [A], the third of the five daughters of ZELOPHIBAD, i.e., Salhad (Nu. 26 33 27 36 11 αἰγλα [F], Josh. 17 3 P+). Though a place-name Hoglah is possible (see BETH-HOGLAH), yet some better known name is more probable for a 'daughter' of Salhad. Perhaps הֹגְלָה is a corruption of הֹגְלָה—i.e., Abel-meholah. See MAHLAH.

HOHAM (הֹהָם), king of Hebron, defeated by Joshua (Josh. 10 3; αἰλαμ [BA], εἰλαμ [L.]). According to Hommel (*AHT*, 223 n.) the name is identical with the Minæan Hahum. See HORAM.

HOLD. A stronghold or citadel, used especially with reference to David's retreat in the cave of ADULLAM (הִרְצִי, *hirzî*, 1 S. 22 4 f. [but see HARETH], cp 24 22 [23] 2 S. 5 17; הִרְצִי, *hirzî*, 1 Ch. 12 16).

Both words are employed to denote the fortress of Zic. (2 S. 5 7 1 Ch. 11 7), and in a general sense are used of any place of refuge or safety. See FORTRESS (beg.).

The legitimacy of the rendering 'hold' for הִרְצִי, *hirzî*, in 1 S. 13 6 (AV 'high places') Judg. 9 46 49 (EV), is not certain. The signification rock-hewn or sepulchral chamber which the word has in Nabatean (see Cook, *Aram. Gloss.*, i. v. הִרְצִי) is suitable in 1 S. (cp RV 'hole'), but appears less satisfactory in Judg. 13, where (unless some underground chamber, *etc.*, the reputed *antum* of the god BAAL-BEKITH [q.v.] be intended) the rendering 'tower' (as in Nabatean) seems preferable (cp Moore, *ad loc.*). The text, however, may be corrupt.

See Dr. (Sam. 76), Moore, Bu., *ad loc.*, and for הִרְצִי cp Barth, *AJS*, '97, p. 273 (with lit. cited).

HOLM TREE 1. הִרְצִי, *hirzî*, Is. 44 14† (S om.; Ar., Theod., ἀγριοβαλανον [in Q^{ms}]) RV, AV CYPRESS.

2. *πρίνος* (ilex, **לוֹס**), mentioned in Sus. 58 with the characteristic paronomasia, 'the angel of God waiteth with the sword to cut thee (*πρίνος* [Theod.], ὡς καταπύρησιν [S]) in two'; see SUSANNA. By *πρίνος* [87 and Theod. 1] cp Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* iii. 7 1 and Ar. in Gen. 14 38; the adj. *πρίνος* Ar. in Ezek. 27 5 is intended probably the *Quercus Coccifera* L. and *Q. pseudo-coccifera* (Houghton). Similarly, a Syriac gloss (in Löw, *Pflanz.* 72) treats it as a species of oak (כֹּסֶם).

HOLOFERNES (ολοφερνης [BNA]; **חֹלֶפֶרְנִס** [Syr.]), the name given to the Assyrian general in the legendary book of Judith. The name, also pronounced Olofernes, was borne by two Cappadocian princes, the one, a young son of Ariannes, and the other a son of Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and, at one time, the friend of Demetrius I. The latter has been identified with Holofernes by Ewald (4621) and independently by E. L. Hicks (*L. Hell. Stud.* 6261 ff. 13). Ball, however, prefers to identify him with Isanor the Syrian general overcome by Judas the Maccabæe, and Gaster with Semus, the general sent by Ptolemy into Syria 65 B.C. According to Winckler (*IOFE* 273) Holofernes = Osuappar (Asur-him-pal).

If the termination is genuine we may compare Artaphernes, Dataphernes, Tissaphernes, and two Median princes of the time of Esar-haddon, viz. Sidir-parna and E-parna (see Ball, *Speakers* 5 *Assyrian*, 22 *loc.*, and on the *Syr. form* *supra*). See JEREM. Book of, an Iesp. Wi. ch. *Juditha*, 28 ff. (1900).

HONEY

HOLON (חֹלֶן or חֹלֶן).

1. A town in the hill-country of Judah, assigned to the Levites (Josh. 15 51 21 15; χαλουργ, γελλα [B], χιλογων, ὡλων [A], χειλογ, ὡλων [L.]). It is mentioned between Goshen and Giloh. The site is unknown. In 1 Ch. 6 58 (43) it is HILEN (חֵילֶן; *σελνα* [B], *ηγλων* [A], *χελων* [L.]), for which there is a v.l. Hilez (חֵילֶן); so the Soncino edition of the Prophets.

According to Klo, in *Q^{ms}* of 1 S. 17 2 (see ELAH, VALLEY OF) αυτοι = ὡλων = Holon = 'hilly, too, Holon is intended in Judith 15 4; see C^{ms}.

2. A town of Moab (1 Ch. 18 21 (χολων [B], *σελων* [BA])).

HOLY (קֹדֶשׁ) 1. x. 196; HOLINESS. (קֹדֶשׁ), Ex. 15 11. See CLEF, 8.

HOLY GHOST ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ἍΓΙΟΝ; Mt. 1 18. See SPIRIT, and cp L. ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΠΟΤΕΥΣΤ, SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

HOMAM (חֹמָם), 1 Ch. 1 39. See HEMAM.

HONEY (דְּבַשׁ, *debash*, same order of root letters in Aram. and Ar.; Ass. *dispu*, 'honey,' *dispu*, *dušpu*, 'a sweet drink'; *μελι*). The word *debash* has three distinct senses: (1) the honey of the wild bee, (2) the honey of the domesticated bee, and (3) manufactured honey, or syrup, the *diab* of modern Syria.

1. In the sense of 'wild honey' the word is of frequent occurrence, 'Honey out of the rock' is 1. 17; and Canaan is even described, and similarly Goshen (Nu. 16 13), as 'a land flowing with milk and honey' (Ex. 3 8 17 *pasim*; cp Dt. 8 2 K. 18 32 Jer. 41 8).¹ Theories attaching either of the two other significations to the term *debash* as used in this phrase, have no adequate justification.

It was, further, the honey of the wild bee which Samson found in the carcass of the lion (Judg. 14 8 ff.; see BEE), and of which Jonathan partook (1 S. 14 25 ff.).² by dipping his staff into the honey-comb (עֵצֶי הַדְּבַשׁ; cp Cant. 5 1); and wild honey (μέλι ἄγριον) was the fare of John the Baptist (Mk. 1 6 Mt. 3 4).

2. There is no direct reference to domestic bee-keeping in the OT (see BEE). Nevertheless, it would be strange, in view of the antiquity of the domestication of the bee in the East (*Am. Tab.* 138 12 speaks of honey and oil in Syria), if the Hebrews were

¹ In EV invariably rendered 'honey,' except in 2 Ch. 31 5, where AV^{ms} has 'dates.'

² In the latter passage Lag., Gr., We., Che. read, 'With droppings (שֶׁמֶן) of honey'; note the parallelism.

³ The phrase 'a land flowing (חֹלֶן) with milk and honey' is more poetical than its context seems to justify. It was already conventional in the time of JE. It is a reasonable supposition that it comes from ancient poetry; and, since ancient poetry is always tinged with mythology, it is not improbable that the phrase in question had a mythological origin. If it were Sanscrit, we should not doubt it. But the more sober Semitic mythology does not appear to have spoken of the sun as a cow and the moon as a bee (Goldziher, *Heb. Mythology*, 28 f.). Nor was it imagined by the Semites that the Milky Way was specially the abode of the Sun-god (as by the Egyptians; Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 181). Probably the phrase alludes to the idealised past of human history. In the time of Nephthys, says Manetho (Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 2 242 f.), the Nile flowed with honey for fifteen days. So, in the Hebrew Golden Age it may have been said, with perfect sincerity, that the land 'flowed with milk and honey.' It is to such a myth that an Assyrian poet may allude, when he wishes, for his king, besides the protection of the Sun-god and the Moon-god, that God may cause to flow into his channels *dispu himeta*, 'honey (and) curdled milk' (Fr. Del., G. Smith's *Chald. Gen.* 1, K. C.).

⁴ The text (both MT and S) is here admitted to be corrupt. According to We., Dr., Bu., v. 25 should run, 'and there was honeycomb on the face of the field.' This is, perhaps, the best that can be done' (H. P. Smith). But how is *ἡ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἡρίστα* to be accounted for? The continuation is, *καὶ τὰ αἰὰ δρυὶς ἦν μελισσώνας*. Klo. omits *τὰ αἰὰ δρυὶς*, with this result (which he too boldly adopts), 'Now the whole district was occupied with bee-keeping.' [But *ἡρίστα* may have come in in a corrupt form from the transliterated Heb. column of a Hexaplar text and have expressed *ἡρίστα*.]

HONEY

acquainted only with wild honey, nor could this be reconciled with the mention of honey as well as other products of cultivation in 2 Ch. 31 5.

Apiculture is first mentioned by Philo, who says that the Essenes were fond of it (263, ed. Mangey). In the Mishna references to it abound. The hive (כִּרְתָּה) was either of straw (סִבְיָה) or of wicker (סִבְיָה), doubtless plastered over, as at the present day, to keep out the excessive heat (see description of modern hives under BEE). The technical term for removing the combs when filled was קָרַף (lit. to scrape; see Levy VII/17 57, with quotation from Rashi; see also Moore's note on Judg. 14, where alone in OT the word occurs). The bees, it would appear, were first stupefied by the smoke of charcoal and dung kindled in front of the hive on the קָרַף (see *Kilim*, 167 ap. Surenhuis, with Maimonides' commentary). When the combs (כִּרְתָּה) were removed in this way, at least two had to be left in the hive as food for the bees during winter (*Bab. bathra*, 57).

3. In later Hebrew certainly, and in the OT possibly, *dibbā* is also used to denote certain artificial preparations made from the juice of various fruits by inspissation, like the modern *dibs*. Reference has already been made to the theory that the 'honey' with which the land of Canaan was said to 'flow' was thus inspissated syrup; it has also been held that at least the honey intended for transport (Gen. 43 11; 1 K. 11 3) and export (Ezek. 27 17) must be so understood. The former view is unsatisfactory; to the latter, if Chryse's emendation of Ezek. 27 17 be accepted (see PANNAG), no objection need be offered. Stade (*Gesch.* 1371, n. 2), it is true, thinks that grape-syrup was unnecessary in the 'land which flowed with milk and honey.' The early inhabitants of Canaan, however, as Bliss appears to have shown, were certainly acquainted with this manufacture. His excavations at Tell el-Hesi (Lachish) revealed two wine-presses, with apparatus (as he judged) for boiling down the filtered juice (inspissation) into grape syrup.¹

The first unmistakable Jewish reference to it is in Josephus (the date-syrup of Jericho; see PAM. TRSF); Tg. ps.-Jon. (see Dt. 8) also mentions it. In the Mishna it is called קָרַף, and we may infer that in the Mishnaic period it was the chief source of the manufacture. Since the spread of Islam, which forbids wine-drinking, the grapes of Syria have been mainly diverted to the manufacture of *dibs*. The pure grape juice is drawn off into a stone vat (see description of press under WINE), and allowed to settle, after which it is conveyed to a large copper cauldron (*khalkin*, or *khalkin*, Landberg, *Proverbes*, etc., 53), about three feet in diameter, in the wine-press boiling-room close at hand (cp Bliss's illustration, above). After the juice has boiled for a short time it is returned to the vat, which in the interval has been thoroughly cleaned, and allowed to cool. The process of boiling and cooling is repeated, after which the juice is boiled for the third and last time, the yellow syrup being constantly stirred and lifted up by means of a large perforated wooden spoon with a long handle (the *makhlāḥ*, Landb. *op. cit.* 107). The boiling is an affair of much skill, and every village with large vineyards has several experts, who superintend the process, and from the colour, consistency, and manner of boiling recognise the moment when the process is completed. The inspissated syrup is now hurriedly conveyed to a clean stone cistern within the building, and allowed to cool before being put into vessels for conveyance to the owner's house. The final stage of the process is to beat the *dibs* with a stick and draw it out to make it of a firmer consistency, and somewhat lighter in colour. It is of a dark golden brown colour like maple molasses, and its taste is intensely sweet like honey (Rev. Geo. Mackie, Beyrout, to whom the writer is indebted for most of the above details). Both Greeks and Romans were alike familiar with this process of inspissation, the products being variously known as *cύμα*, *σάπων*, *σάβη*, *defrutum*. The first three, according to Pliny, were prepared by boiling down the must to one-third its bulk; when must is boiled down to one-half only, we give it the name of *defrutum* (H.V. 14 10). Burchardt also states that three hundredweight of grapes are calculated to yield a hundredweight of *dibs*. Wellstedt found the Arabs using the pods of the carob-tree (cp HENK) for the manufacture of *dibs* (*Reisen in Arabien*, 1331 f.), a practice still followed in Syria (Post, *Flora*, 207).

Among 'the principal things for the whole use of man's life' Ben Sira fitly assigns a place to honey (39 26). It was eaten alone as a delicacy,

2. Uses of Honey.

as by Samson and Jonathan (cp also 2 S. 17 29; 1 K. 14 1) and as a relish with other articles of food. 'A piece of broiled fish and of an

¹ Bliss, 4 *Monet. of Many Cities*, 69-71, with diagram.

HOOK

honeycomb' (ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίου) was doubtless a familiar combination, although absent from the best MSS of 1 K. 24 42 (and RV). But curdled milk and honey alone (EV 'butter and honey'; Is. 7 15 22) was very poor diet (see MILK). It was as a sweetener of food that, before the introduction of sugar, honey was everywhere in demand; 'the bee is little, but her fruit is the chief of sweet things' (Eccles. 11 3). In particular it was used for all sorts of sweet cakes (Ex. 16 31, ἐγχεῖς; see also BAKEMEATS, § 3)—such cakes (παλαούρες) as were so much relished by the Greeks as dessert. But it is well known that honey partaken of too freely produces nausea¹ (Prov. 25 27).

Honey, however, was disallowed, at least by the later legislation (Lev. 211 f.), as an ingredient of any meal-offering, because of the ease with which it ferments (cp Pliny, H.V. 11 15), although admitted freely in other cults (see Bertholet, *KHC* on Ezek. 16 19). A drink resembling mead was known to the later Jews by a name (כִּרְתָּה) derived from the Greek οἶνον, and said to have been compounded of wine, honey, and pepper (*Tirum*, 11; *Shabb.* 20 2). Honey was kept in jars (1 K. 14 3, EV 'a cuse of honey'; cp Jer. 41 2), in which probably it was largely exported through the markets of Tyre (Ezek. 27 17). Cp PANNAG.

The medicinal uses of honey are discussed at length by Pliny (H.V. 22 50) and were not unknown to the Jews either of Jerusalem (*Shabb.* 84) or of Alexandria (see addition to Gk. text of Prov. 18 quoted under BEE). The body of Aristobulus, Josephus informs us, was preserved from decomposition by being laid in honey (ἐν μελίτι κατηρέμενος, *Ant.* xiv. 7 4, § 124).

As 'the chief of sweet things,' honey is much used in similes and metaphors by Hebrew writers. The word of Yahwé to the Hebrew poet is 'sweeter than honey and the honeycomb' (עֲדָתָא מִדְּבַר; Ps. 19 10 [11], cp EV ¹⁰ 11; also Ps. 119 103). The pleasant speech of one's friends, also, is 'as an honeycomb, sweet to the soul, and health to the bones' (Pr. 16 24, cp Cant. 4 11). Wisdom, even, is comparable to honey (Pr. 24 13 f., 25 16; Eccles. 24 20), and the memory of a good man is 'sweet as honey in every month' (Eccles. 49 1, said of Josiah).

A. R. S. K.

HOOD. חֲזִיז, Is. 32 3 AV. See TURBAN, § 2.

HOOK. For the words² (nos. 1-5, below) used with reference to fishing see FISH, § 3.

1. חֲזִיז, *hōzh*, error for חֲזִיז (חֲזִיז) Job 41 2 [40 26] (AV 'thorn'). See BENE-MOCH, § 2. Used with reference to a captive in 2 Ch. 33 11 (ἐν δέσμῳ); but see MASASSEH.

2. חֲזִיז, *hōzh*, 2 K. 19 28 (ἀγκίστρον) Is. 37 20 (δμοός, i.e., 'muzzle'), used in the pl. חֲזִיזִים, Ezek. 19 4 9 (AV 'chains,' κημός, 29 4 (παγίδες) 38 4 (om. EA, χαλκός [Q]; but ascribed to Theod.) See Co. *ad loc.* חֲזִיז is once used of an ornament, Ex. 35 22; see BECKT, 1.

3. חֲזִיז, *hōzh*, Job 41 1 [40 25], RV, 'fish-hook.' In Is. 19 8 Hab. 1 15 : 'angle.' חֲזִיז throughout ἀγκίστρον.

4. חֲזִיז, *hōzh*, *snōth dūgāth*, 'fish-hooks' (Am. 4 2). חֲזִיז, confusing with חֲזִיז, 'pot.'

5. חֲזִיז, *hōzh* (Am. 4 2), חֲזִיז, cp חֲזִיז, 'shield.' The word, like חֲזִיז (above), is used also of 'thorns' (see THORN).

6. חֲזִיז, *hōzh*, only in descriptions of the tabernacle (Ex. 26 32 37 27 17 36 38 [κεφαλῆς]; Ex. 27 10 f. [κρίκος, which elsewhere represents חֲזִיז, a 'tache']; Ex. 38 17 19 [ἀγκυλῶν, used elsewhere for חֲזִיז, 'loops']. Not the capitals of the pillars (as חֲזִיז), but probably tenters or hooks rising from the tops of the pillars.

7. חֲזִיז, *hōzh*, *shphattaim*, Ezek. 40 43, a word which greatly puzzles the interpreters (p. AVug and RVug); neither 'posts' nor 'gutters' will do. The preferable reading, as Cornill has shown, is חֲזִיז (their edge; lit. 'lip'); חֲזִיז; חֲזִיז; Aq. 12, Theod., Syn., *see* *see*.

'Hook' in N¹ corresponds to ἀγκίστρον, which is common in חֲזִיז for a 'hook' (in one case, Ezek. 32 3, used to represent חֲזִיז, N¹ 17 2 f.).

¹ Cp the Rabbinic proverb quoted by Buxtorf (*Lev.*, s.v. חֲזִיז).

² חֲזִיז, EV 'barbed irons,' Job 41 7 [40 31], seems to be a corruption for חֲזִיז, 'ships'; cp חֲזִיז, AV 'thorn,' ib. 41 2 [40 26], should certainly be חֲזִיז, 'nose-ring' (Beer, Ch.).

HOOPOE

HOOPOE (דוכיפת, *dukiphath*; εἶδος, *upupa*, נור טורא [Targ.],  [Pesh.]), Lev. 11:19 Dt. 14:18 [16] (שפסא [B⁹F], שפסא [A]). RV, however, and the older English versions, without authority, LAPWING. It is usual to acquiesce in the traditional rendering 'hoopoe.' The *Upupa epops* is in fact, not less than the lapwing, a Palestinian bird. It winters in and near Egypt, and returns to Palestine in March.

It seeks its food in dunghills, and, it is supposed, on this account included among the unclean birds.¹ It is, however, freely eaten in the Levant at the present day. Possibly because of its cast (A. Christoph. *Birds*, 94), it has always inspired a superstitious awe, and the Arabs, who call it: *huddhad*, from its cheery cry, ascribe to it the power of discovering water and of revealing secrets. In the late Jewish legends respecting Solomon the hoopoe plays a great part in connection with the queen of Sheba (see second Targ. on Esth. I), and the story is adopted in the *Qur'an* (sur. 27).

But it is by no means certain that *dukiphath* is really (see Di.) 'the cock of the rock' (or 'of beauty'), or that it refers to the hoopoe's fondness for rocks and mountain ravines (cp Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 461, 467), or to its striking crest. This odd-looking word רֹכִיפֶת is simply, apart from the final ת, a corruption (by transposition of letters) of *kippōd*, קִפּוֹד (Che. 1. 'That late Heb., Aram., and Arabic usage favour the rendering 'hedgahog' may be admitted; but 'zoologically there are considerable difficulties.' This discovery (as it seems) of *kippōd* in the list of unclean birds seems to show that Tristram, Houghton, and Cheyne (*Proph. Is.*⁽³⁾ 193 244; *SBO F*, *Isaiah*, Eng. 64) were right in preferring 'bittern' to 'hedgahog' as a rendering of קִפּוֹד. See BITTERN.

There is of course no connection with Sansk. *kapōta*, a kind of pigeon, regarded as a bird of ill omen (*Acad.* Dec. 25, '86).

HOPHNI (חֹפְנִי; ὁφν[ε]ι [BAL]) b. Eli; brother of PHINEHAS [*q.v.*]; t. S. 13 234 (חֹפְנִי [A]), 44 יו יז (om BL). Hophni and Phinehas seem very much like Iabal and Jubal, as Goldziher should have noticed (*Ileb. Myth.* 347 ff. [*Mythos bei den Hebr.* 232 ff.])—i.e., Hophni has been developed out of Phinechas. Add יו to חֹפְנִי, and the component letters of פִּינְחָס are complete. Possibly both have developed out of a third form (see PHINEHAS). We cannot isolate the name Hophni, and trust in Sabraon (cp. e.g., חֹפְנִי) and other seeming parallels.

T. K. C.

ΦΟΡΡΑ (ϕρρ): οὐαφρρ [B^hAQ]: ἀφρρ [A^h]; Vg. *PHAREE*; Aq. Theod. **ΟΦΡΗΝ** [accus.] (Q margin [where σιμμαχος]: εκδοτο=εκδοτον)],¹ Jer. 44^{30†} is mentioned as 'the king of Egypt' after the destruction of Jerusalem. He is identical with the king called merely 'Pharaoh' in Jer. 37⁵ 7 11 Ezek. 29² etc.

The name is transcribed *ouapous* by Manetho, *ouapous* (after Ⲕ) by Clem. Alex. 1.332, after by Herodotus and Diodorus. In Egyptian his names are *h'p' a' d' b' r' s' t'* (vulgar *p-r-n'*)² i.e. 'glad is the heart of the sungod'—and *Uah* (= later *u'h*) *u-b' a' r' r' s'* 'confident is the heart of the sungod' (the same name as Pamefiek I.). This latter name was evidently rendered both by the Greeks and by the Hebrews. Both have assimilated the *u* to the following *p*. The Hebrew transcription is rather exact.

This king, the fourth (or, according to another reckoning, the seventh, see EGYPT, § 66) of the Saite or twenty-sixth dynasty of Manetho, the son of Psametik II. (Psammis of Herodotus) and grandson of Necho, came to the throne about 589 or 588 B.C., and reigned according to Manetho (in Africanus) nineteen years, according to Herodotus and Eusebius 25 years (22

¹ i.e., תִּפְסָרָא (see Field). Comp. Jerome in the *Liber interpr.* *Hebr. nom.* (Lag. OS, 531): *Afrie furor alienus sive vita dissipata atque discissa* (cp *Paruo*: dissipans sive discooperuit eum). Targ. 'the broken one,' תִּפְסָרָא Pesh. 'the lame-one,'

ⲓⲙⲉⲛ. The preceding 'Pharaoh' is wanting in most MSS of ⲓⲙ (put in by codd. 22, 36 etc.), being taken for a doublet of Hophra.

2. $(\text{circle} \rightarrow \text{vertical line} \rightarrow \text{horizontal line} \rightarrow \text{vase})$

3. $(\text{circle} \rightarrow \text{vertical line} \rightarrow \text{vase})$

HOR. MOUNT

Diodorus, 30 Jerome, 34 Syncellus). The monuments confirm the first number. He ruled, therefore, about 588-569 B.C. His reign fell in a very critical period, when Egypt was exposed to constant danger from Babylonia. Hophra seems to have shown energy both in building (traces in the chief temple of Memphis, in the Serapeum, at Silsileh etc.), and in foreign politics. He even attempted to check the Babylonians. Thus, according to Herodotus (2.161), he conquered the Phœnicians ('Tyrus') at sea;¹ but most likely Herodotus only means that he sent assistance to the Egyptians in their long resistance to Nebuchadrezzar.

The (distorted?) statement of Herodotus, 'he led an army against Sidon,' refers evidently to the expedition planned with a view to succour besieged Jerusalem (Jer. 37 § 11). Hophra did indeed interrupt the siege for a short time; but, if Herodotus was not mistaken, we may assume Hophra's final defeat in the N. of Palestine. It does not seem that he took the offensive again after his repulse; but he gave an asylum to the many fugitives from Palestine in Egypt. Of the Babylonian attacks upon Egypt which we should naturally expect, we are ignorant; but so much is now certain—that Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's predictions of a conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar were not fulfilled.² A suppressed military revolution at the S. frontier of Egypt is referred to elsewhere (EGYPT, § 69). From this we can imagine in what difficulties this unmilitary country was involved through having to sustain large battalions of foreign mercenaries. These difficulties led to Hophra's ruin. The account in Herod. 2.161 may be full of doubtful anecdotes, but is probably trustworthy in a general sense. The Egyptian (or rather Libyan) mercenaries sent against Battus of Cyrene to aid the Libyan chief Adikran revolted after two defeats. Apries and the European and Asiatic mercenaries at Mompheis were overpowered by Amasis II. ('Amose), who, according to Herod. (2.169), left the unfortunate king alive for some time, but at last permitted an infuriated mob to 'strangle' him.³ W. M. M.

HOR, MOUNT (הר הור, 'Hor the mountain').

1. (*wp rð þros* [BAFL]), the scene of the death of Aaron (Nu. 20:22-27 21^{4a} 33:37-41 Mt. 32:50! [all P]). In Nu. 33:37 the situation is defined as 'in the edge of the land of Edom,' and tradition, since Josephus, identifies it with the *Jebel Nebi Hārān* (4800 ft.), a conspicuous double-topped mountain on the E. edge of the Wādī el-'Arabah, a little to the SW. of Petra. Trumbull (*Kadesh-barnea*, 127-139) refutes this view on grounds of 'revelation and reason'; critics, since Knobel, have taken the same view. Trumbull himself identifies Mt. Hor with the *Jebel Madara*, a conical mountain NW. of 'Ain Kādīs (cp HALAK, Mt.). Cp GUR-BAAI, and WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF.

2. (τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὄρος [B; om. τὸ ὄρος 2nd in v. 7 A¹], in 7. 8 τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ὄρος), a point on the ideal N. boundary of Canaan, Nu. 34.7 f. (a post-exilic passage). According to Furrer (*ZDP* 1'8 27 f.) Hor is a term for N. Lebanon; but Van Kasteren thinks that it means the mountains where the Nahr Kāsimīyah bends upwards (*Rev. Bib.*, '95, p. 28 f.). The Targums render Amanos or Amanon (= Amāna?). Unfortunately the existence of the northern 'Mt. Hor' is threatened by Halévy's practi-

¹ Diod. 168 ascribes the conquest of Cyprus to him (Herodotus, less probably, to Amasis).

² The contrary has been often asserted; but merely on the basis of a vague statement of Bérôsius, on a misinterpretation of the report on the rebellion of foreign mercenaries referred to above, and on two forged inscriptions relating to Nebuchadnezzar which had been brought to Egypt from Bagdad.

³ See EAVRI, § 69, on the question whether Amasis—who married a daughter of Hophra-Apries—was first co-regent with his predecessor. The object of this theory was to reconcile the different durations assigned to the reign of the latter (19 and 25 years); but it is not probable. A recently discovered inscription (*Rec. de Trav.* 222) removes some difficulties. It tells us that Apries fell in battle after having held part of the delta for nearly three years.

HORAM

cally certain restoration of הדרה, 'Hadrach,' for MT's impossible reading, הדרה, in Ezek. 47:15. In Nu. 34:8 f. we must obviously read הדרה לך עד הדרה, 'from the great sea ye shall draw a line for you as far as Hadrach; and from Hadrach ye shall draw a line. . . .'

Di's proposal to read הדרה, 'ye shall desire' (cp v. 10)—as if suggesting that the boundary was only desirable or ideal—is must improbable. In v. 10 we should read הדרה.

T. K. C.

HORAM (הורם), king of Gezer, who sought to help Lachish, but was defeated and slain by Joshua, Josh. 10:33 (סלמס, סלמס [BA], סלמס [L]). The reading of S agrees with that which it gives for HONAM.

HOREB (הורב), Ex. 33:6. See SINAI.

HOREM (הורם), or perhaps rather הורם, 'sacrosanct'; [μερῶν] [AL], ὄρη [AL], either the full name or the epithet of a city in Naphtali (Josh. 19:38). Van de Velde identified it with *Hurrah*, a little to the W. of Yafin (see IRON). Guérin, however, and the PEF lists give the name as *el-Kurrah*. For reasons against searching modern name-lists for an echo of Horem, see MIGDAL-EL.

T. K. C.

HORESH (הורשה), HAL, Jos. [H] KAINH, i.e., הורשה, according to RV^{ms}, Stade, Wellhausen, and others, the name of a place in the wilderness of Ziph (1 S. 23:15 f. 18 f.). Wellhausen would also read the name Horeh in 1 S. 22:5 (but see HARETH). The reference in 1 S. 23 occurs in the account of David's last interview with Jonathan, and in the description of David's retreats among the Ziphites, and in the latter passage Horeh (?) is co-ordinated, singularly enough, with the hill of Hachilah (?). This co-ordination is sometimes ascribed to an editor (see HACHILAH); but no one has doubted that both Horeh (?) and Hachilah (?) were in the neighbourhood of Ziph. Horeh is supposed (see FOREST, 1) to mean 'wood' or (comparing Ass. *hurā*) 'mountain' (Del. *Heb. Lang.* 17). The meaning 'mountain' would be the more suitable for the narrative in 1 S. 23, for certainly the wilderness of Ziph was never thickly wooded (see ZIPH). It should be noticed, however, that Horeh is not the name given in 1 S., but Hōrēshāh, and that experience warns us to look closely at the text when the locative ה is affixed to a proper name without any apparent reason (it is always הורשה). Add to this that there is no certain evidence elsewhere for the existence of הורשה in Hebrew.¹ It is extremely probable that Hōrēshāh (הורשה) is a corruption of עברה; the intermediate stage is ברעה. A reference to 1 S. 23:24 will make this plain. There we have the statement that David and his men were in the wilderness of Maon in the Arābah, S. of the Jeshimon. It may reasonably be held that in v. 19 the original question of the Ziphites was, 'Doth not David hide himself with us in the retreats in the Arābah?' The rest of the question in MT is, of course, an editorial insertion. The Ziphites were too clever to tell Saul precisely where David was hidden. The insertion is of interest to us just now as proving that the editor read הורשה, not בערה.²

Conder has identified the supposed Horeh with the ancient site Hureisa, 1 m. S. of Ziph. Yet even if Horeh were genuine, it could hardly mean 'a village or hamlet belonging to the larger town at Tell Zif' (PEFQ, 95, p. 45).

T. K. C.

¹ On Is. 17:9 Ezek. 31:3 see Che. and Toy (SBOT). הורשם in 2 Ch. 27:4 is also corrupt; read either עברם (cp Di. on 1 S. 15:7) or עברות.

² When he made the insertion he had his eye on v. 24, where הורשה occurs, and therefore wrote 'south of' instead of 'fronting.' See HACHILAH.

HORMAH

HOR HAGIDGAD, RV Hor-haggidgad (הור הגידגד, 'the Hollow of Gidgad'; τὸ ὄρος γιδγὰδ [BA], τ. ο. γιδ. γα. [F], τ. ο. γιδγὰδ [L], Nu. 33:32 f.), a station in the wilderness of WANDERING (q.v.); cp also GUDGODAH.

HORI (הורי), 1. (χopp[ε] [ADEL]). Son of Lotan, son of Seir the Horite (Gen. 36:22). Possibly a substitute for some lost clan name.

2. (σopp[ε] [BAFL], σopp[ε] [L]). Ancestor of the Simeonite Shaphat (Nu. 13:5). See SIMEON.

3. In Gen. 36:30 AV, RV 'the HORITES.'

HORITE (Gen. 36:20 f.). **Horites** (הורים, usually explained 'cave-dwellers,' 'Troglydites' ¹; but Jensen [Z. f. 96, p. 332] questions this; χoppaios, χoppai [ADEL]), the name given to the primitive population of Mt. Seir in Dt. 2:12 (AV **Horims**). It also occurs in Dt. 2:22 (AV **HORMS**), Gen. 14:6 (χoppaios [E]), and (virtually) Gen. 36:2 (for 'Hivite' read 'Horite') 20 f. 29 f.; and it should be restored in 36:2 (see S), possibly too in 34:2 (S) in preference to התי, if we take התי to be a contraction of התי = התי another form of התי. D. Haigh, Stern, and Hommel (AIT, 264, n. 2, 267) combine 'Hori' with the Eg. *Huru*, a name frequently applied to a part of Palestine, e.g., on the stelē of Merenptah (cp Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 121; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 137 148 ff.), and Hommel identifies both with the land of *Gar* mentioned on the Amarna Tablets (but cp GUR-BAAL). WMM seems to be right in rejecting this view. 'Cave-dwellers' can only be justified if we interpret this (with WMM) as merely an epithet of the Seirites, or people of Mt. Seir. Cp Driver, *Deut.* 38; EDOM, § 3 end.

T. K. C.

HORMAH (הורמה), ερμα [BAFL]), according to one statement was so called because the Israelites in fulfilment of a vow 'devoted' it to the *herem* (הרם) or ban (Nu. 21:3; ἀναθεμα [BAFL]); according to another, it received its name when Simeon and Judah similarly devoted it (Judg. 1:17, ἀναθεμα [B], εἰς ὄλεθρον [AL]). This, however, is merely a literary etymology, and falls to the ground together with the *misread name Hormah*, which, as we shall see, appears to be a very old corruption.

Hormah was a city of Simeon (Josh. 19:4 1 Ch. 4:30, ερμα [L]) or Judah in the remote south (Josh. 15:30, ερμα [A], cp v. 21). David sent presents to its elders from ZIKLAG—i.e., Halasah (1 S. 30:30, ερμουθ [B], ερμα [A]). Earlier still, a king of Hormah is mentioned among the kings of Canaan overcome by Joshua (Josh. 12:14, D¹⁰; ερμαθ [B]); we also hear of defeats inflicted on the Israelites by the Amalekites and Canaanites, which extended locally 'as far as (the) Hormah,' Nu. 14:45 (הורמה, see below; ερμαθ [B]); cp Dt. 1:44 'from Seir to Hormah' (Di., Dr. following S). Two more references remain. According to the present text of Nu. 21:3 (J) the Canaanite king of ARAD (q.v.), who had at first defeated the Israelites, was at last overcome by them, on which occasion 'the name of the place (הנקום) was called Hormah.' From this it would appear as if Arad were the old name of Hormah, and yet we are told in Judg. 1:17 (see above) that its old name was ZEPHATH (q.v.). How is this to be accounted for? To suppose with Bachmann that the city was twice destroyed and re-named, seems absurd. Nor is it easy (though Dillmann, Wellhausen, and others adopt this expedient) to explain Nu. 21:3 as relating by anticipation the destruction by Simeon and Judah (Judg. 1:17), in which case the king of Arad must also have ruled over Zephath.

The simplest explanation is the boldest. In Nu. 21:1, for 'the king of Arad who dwelt in the Negeb' read '(the Canaanite) who dwelt in the *Vegeb* of the Jerahmeelites.'³ The corruption is

¹ Vg. give 'Troglydites' for the Sulkim of 2 Ch. 12:3.

² Only here with art.; hence Targ. Jon. renders 'unto destruction.'

³ See JERAHMEEL. הורמה should be 'הורמה', 'the mountains of the Amorites'; cp Dt. 1:20.

HORN

assumed are regular, and the whole passage receives a flood of light. It is highly probable that the writers of Judg. 1-11 Nu. 21-3 confound the names of two neighbouring places, which, being in the far south, they had never visited. The true name of the city of Hormah is probably Rahmah; it was apparently the chief town of the 'Negeb of the Jerahmeelites' (1 S. 30:29 f.). It is true קרנ occurs eight times; but there is evidence enough that at a very early date passages containing some remarkable word were systematically harmonized. For קרנ we should restore in all the passages except Judg. 1:17 Nu. 21:3 קרנה. The Wady Rukhamā perpetuates the name (see JERAMEEL).

T. K. C.

HORN (קרן, κερως). Nowhere perhaps is the necessity for looking closely into seeming trifles more apparent than here. The usual explanation is unquestionable in such passages as the following:—

1 S. 21, 'By Yahwē my horn is exalted'; Ps. 89:17 [18], 'By thy favour our horn is exalted'; Ps. 75:4 [5], 'Lift not up your horn'; Jer. 48:25, 'The horn of Moab is cut off' (cp. Lam. 2:3). In such passages 'horn' symbolizes power, and its exaltation signifies victory (cp. 1 K. 22:11) and deliverance (1 K. 1:60, 'horn of salvation', κερως σωτηρίας). It will be remembered that in an oracle of Balaam the *re'em*, or wild ox, is the emblem of an invincible warrior (Nu. 23:22); cp. also Dan. 7:7.

In other passages it will not suit.

1. When we read in Job 16:13, 'I have defiled my horn in the dust' (AV), or 'I have laid my horn in the dust', we see that there must be something amiss with the text; the language is inappropriate. 'To lift up the horn' may be to increase in power, or to show a proud sense of greatness; but it is hardly safe to maintain, on the ground of a single doubtful passage, that to 'thrust it into the dust' (Di.), or to defile it in the dust, is a Hebrew phrase for feeling the sense of deepest humiliation. In Hebrew idiom, people 'rull in the dust' *themselves* (Mic. 1:10), not their 'horn'. The remedy is to examine the text, and see what errors the scribe was most likely to have committed. There are in fact two very likely errors, by emending which we obtain the very suitable sense 'I have profaned my glory in the dust.'² There is a similar error in Am. 6:13; where the 'horns' appear through an error of interpretation of the first magnitude. 'Have we not taken to us horns?' should be, 'Have we not taken Karnaim?' Men can be said to 'lift up horns', not to 'take them'. Travellers have sometimes illustrated the former phrase by the silver horn which was formerly worn on the head by hute women in the Lebanon. This, however, is a mistake. The silver horn was simply an instrument for huddling up the long veil worn in the Lebanon by married women.

2. The old painters, and Michael Angelo after them, represented Moses with two horns. Ultimately perhaps this may be traced to the two horns of Am(m)on, the god of the Egyptian Thebes, which were adopted by Alexander the Great on his coins (cp. 'the two-horned' in the Koran, *Sur.* 18:85). The immediate cause, however, of this mode of representation is what we may safely regard as an error of the text in Ex. 34:29 (cp. *ex.* 30, 35), where Vg. very naturally renders קרני פניו 'quod cornuta esset facies sua' (so too Aq., according to Jerome). Here the original reading must have been not קרן, but קרק, 'lightened.' It is usual, indeed, to say that קרן means 'to radiate light' (קרן δεδόξαται), and to compare Hab. 3:4, where AV has, 'His brightness was as the light; he had horns (coming) out of his hand,' but in mg., 'bright beams out of his side.' RV substitutes 'rays' for 'horns', but truthfully records 'Heb. horns' in the margin. No doubt קרנים should be קרקים, 'lightnings'; Hab. 3 is not an Arabic but a Hebrew poem. It is just possible, however, that Jerome's version 'that the face of Moses was horned' was influenced by the symbolism of Alexander's coins. It would be going rather too far off to compare the horns of the moon-god Sin, whose emblem was a crown or mitre adorned with horns, though G. Margoliouth has lately defended the very improbable reading just referred to by making this comparison, which seems to him to fit in admirably with the primitive worship of Sin recorded by the name Sinai.

3. That the term 'horn' can be used for a horn-shaped vessel, is intelligible (1 S. 16:113; 1 K. 1:39). Such a phrase as 'horn of pigment for anointing the eyelashes' is therefore in itself possible. But was there ever a father in ancient legend who gave this name to his daughter, as Job is said to have done in MT of Job 42:14 (see KEREN-HAPPUCH)?

4. On the meaning of the expression 'the horns of the altar,' see ALTAR, § 6.

Whether the phrase has a right to stand in Ps. 118:27⁶ is extremely doubtful. Some (e.g., J. P. Peters) would place the passage in the margin as a ritual gloss, and if the text is correct, this is the best view; no iniquity can avail to explain *ru. 27⁶* as a part of the text. For a critical emendation of the text³ based

¹ But קרנתי can hardly mean this.

² קרני, חללי קרני. Cp. Ps. 89:39 [40].

³ וסרו בקרנו וקרנים
והיו לקרנו וסרו

HORONAIM

on the analogy of undoubted corruptions elsewhere, see Che. *Pr.* (d); but cp the commentaries of Del. and Baethgen. On the *kereth*, of *Ezek.* 9:2 f. 111, see ISKTHOKS; on the 'horns' of Dan. 7:7 f., see DANIEL, § 7; and on those of Rev. 12:3, see APOCALYPSE, § 41, etc.; also ANTIQURIST, § 4; DRAGON, § 2. On the horn as a musical instrument, see MUSIC, § 4(a). See Elworthy, *Horns of Honour* (1900).

T. K. C.

HORNED SNAKE (נחש קרני), Gen. 49:17 RV^{mg.}, AV ADDER, 4. See also SERPENT, 10.

HORNET (נחש, σφηκία [BAL], CRABRO).

Strictly, the word hornet is applied to *Vespa crabro*; but it is often used for any large species of wasp. There are many species of these Hymenoptera in Palestine, but the most conspicuous is *Vespa orientalis*, which spreads from S. Europe through Egypt and Arabia to India. It is frequently very abundant. It builds its cells of clay, and they are, as a rule, very symmetrical and true.

The hornet is mentioned in the OT as the forerunner sent by Yahwē to destroy the two kings of the Amorites (Josh. 24:12, E or D₂), and to drive out the Hivites, Canaanites, and Hittites (Ex. 23:28 [E], Dt. 7:20; cp. Wisd. 128, σφήξ, AV RV^{mg.}, 'wasps'). The old identification of נחש, *si'rah*, with נחשת, 'leprosy,' may be passed over; the main question is whether 'hornet' is employed literally or figuratively. A metaphorical interpretation of the term (cp. Lat. *strus*, 'panic,' properly 'gadfly') is not favoured by the passages quoted (cp. especially Ex. 1:4). On the other hand, a reference to the insect itself raises difficulties. Although the absence of any mention of the appearance of hornets (e.g., in Nu. 21 Josh. 2:2 f.) is not in itself an insuperable objection, the fact remains that the implied extent of their devastation is unique, indeed incredible.

Parallels have certainly been quoted as examples of the inconvenience caused by these and similar pests; but the cases adduced refer not to peoples but to the inhabitants of more circumscribed limits (towns, e.g., Megara, *Ælian*, 9:28; Rhacrus, *Ælian*, 17:35 [quoting Antenor of Crete]; cp. Dt., *ad loc.*, and see Smith's *DB* (2) s.v.).

Further, hornets, though their attacks are furious when their nests are disturbed, and are continued when the foe retreats, are not wont to attack unprovoked. Hence, for example, Furrer (*ap.* Riehm, *HWB*) expresses a doubt whether 'hornet' can be the true meaning of נחש, and Che. (*Crit. Bib.*) proposes to emend the word into נחל, cp. Dt. 28:42, 'All thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume.' See LOCUST.

A new line must, at any rate, be taken. נחש (if correct) seems to refer to some enemy who made an early inroad upon Canaan. Sayce (*Early Hist. of Hebrews*) ingeniously finds a reference either to the campaign of Rameses III. (p. 286) or to the Philistines (p. 292 f.), and in regard to the former it is noteworthy that the Egyptian standard-bearer wore among other emblems two devices apparently representing flies (see ENSIGN, § 3). But if we may lay stress upon the fact that the hornet does not attack unprovoked (see above), it is plausible to suggest a new rendering for נחש—viz., 'serpent' (cp. Ass. *si'ru*)—and see a reference to the uræus or sacred serpent on the crown of the pharaoh (cp. Ode of Thotmes III., v. 11; Brugsch, *Geogr.* Ag. 354).¹ On the other hand, however, the reference may be to some local invasion which has been amplified by E or his informant. In this case a tribe, whose totem was some kind of serpent (cp. ZORAH), may conceivably be intended.²

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

HORONAIM (הרונים, Jer. 48:3, or הרנים, Jer. 48:34, אפסאנאם [BNAQ], op. [Nir v. 3]), a place in Moab; the 'descent of Horonaim' (מור הרונים, אפסאנאם).

¹ The reference to the uræus, and the Ode of Thotmes, is due to Prof. Cheyne, who compares Is. 15:9, but on the whole inclines to suspect corruption of the text (see above).

² One recalls the classical legends of races that were led to their seats by a bird or animal. That such creatures were originally totems is in the highest degree probable (see Lane, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* [1901, 295]). For a parallel to the theory of a totem-ensign suggested above see M'Lennan, *Studies*, 2nd ser. 301 (on the serpent as a totem see ib. 521 ff.).

HORONITE

אֶרְוֹנַיִם [אֶר. נ.°, אֶר. נ.°] is mentioned in Jer. 48, and the 'way of Horonaim' (הַדֶּרֶךְ הָהוֹרֹנַיִם, [דח] אֶרְוֹנַיִם) [BNAQ], O. אֶרְוֹנַיִם [Q^{mg}], T. O. אֶרְוֹנַיִם [A] in Is. 15. The former phrase is illustrated by Mesha's statement (inscr. II. 31 f.) that he 'went down' to Horonaim (הֹרֹנַיִם). Horonaim is nowhere mentioned as an Israelite city, which confirms the natural inference from Is. 15 that it was near the S. border of Moab, on one of the roads leading down from the Moabite plateau to the Jordan valley. Buhl (272 f.) thinks of some ruins near the Wady ed-Derā'a (W. Kerak); but these are described as insignificant. Josephus states that Horonaim was one of the places in Moab conquered by Alexander Jannæus (Ant. xiii. 154, xiv. 14). That SANBALLAT [ש.ב.] had any connection with the place has been shown to be improbable. On 'Horonaim' for the two Beth-horons, see BETH-HORON.

T. K. C.

HORONITE (הֹרֹנַיִם, אֶרְוֹנַיִם [ε] [BNA], אֶרְוֹנַיִם [N^{vid} in v. 10], אֶרְוֹנַיִם [I.]), Neh. 2:10, 13:28 (אֶרְוֹנַיִם [N^{ca} mg.], BNA out.). See BETH-HORON, SANBALLAT.

HORSE (כֹּס, ἵππος, see below). Many interesting points arise in connection with references to the horse (*equus, caballus*) in the Bible. The philologist will find scope for all his keenness in dealing with the names of the horse; the historical student will gather valuable facts illustrating political and religious history. That the horse is one of the most important factors in a people's growth, appears once more from the OT literature, for though the prophets spoke strongly against its use, civilization could not be held back. A late prophetic writer predicts that the flock of Judah (the Jews) will become like 'finest horses' in battle (Zech. 10:3), and one of the most fervently religious of the 'wise men' gives us an unsurpassable picture of the war-horse (see § 2 end). The following Hebrew words come under consideration.

1. כֹּס, *sūs* (Ass. *sīšā*, Eg. *semet* [see EGYPT, § 9 n.], Aram. כֹּסָא, origin unknown), Gen. 49:17

Ex. 9:3, 14:23, 15:19, 21 and often. In Gen. 49:17 there is a confusion in the text. 'Horses and asses' should come together as in Ex. 9:3 at the close. In Ex. 14:23 כֹּסִים should be rendered 'all chariot-horses' (see 2). Just so in Ass. *sīšā* is a general term for horses; but add *rukābi*, and the phrase means 'chariot-horses'. In Cant. 1:9 (RV) the bridegroom compares the bride to 'a steed in Pharaoh's chariots' (כֹּסִי), with old 'construct' form; but the figure does not suit the context, and the termination -י is suspicious. Not a 'mare' (Margoliouth), but 'grape-clusters' (in Solomon's vineyard) are probably meant; cp 1:11 f. and see Che. *Crit. Bib.* (AV 'a company of horses'; RV mg. 'the steeds'; ḡ *ḡnnos; equitatus*).

2. פָּרָס, *pāris* (in Syr., Ar., Eth., 'horse'; hence Spanish *alfaraz*, Mid. Lat. *farius*, etc.).

Not found in the sing. in this sense; but this may be accidental. We certainly want a word for 'riding horse' = Ass. *bīḫallu*. The plur. should be פָּרָסִים; MT's פָּרָסִים presupposes the sense 'horsemen' (ḡ *ḡnnos*, but also *ḡnnos*). In 1 S. 8:11 1 K. 4:26 [56] Is. 28:28 (interpolated; not in ḡ) Joel 2:4 פָּרָסִים, 'horses', can hardly be explained away, and Haupt (Isaiah, Heb. *SBOT* 122 f.) recognises it in Is. 21:9. To read פָּרָסִים, 'mules', would be too bold; to render 'horsemen' is not at all plausible. Schwally's decision (*ZATW* 8:191 n.) must be reversed.

3. אֶבֶר, *abir*, 'strong one', poetically (cp CATTLE, § 2 d); Jer. 8:16, 47:50 (ḡ *ḡaḡpai*) Judg. 5:22 (2 see *JQ* 10:566).

4. רֶכֶשׁ, *rekesh*, Mic. 1:13 (see LACHISH), 1 K. 4:28 [58] (ḡ *ḡpaasiv*, reading רֶכֶשׁ), Esth. 8:10 (om. ḡ) 14

1 Read כֹּס הָרֶכֶשׁ (or רֶכֶשׁ).

2 In Ezek. 26:10 פָּרָס comes probably from פָּרָסִים, a variant of פָּרָסִים (Che. cp. 1:11). Read רֶכֶשׁ רֶכֶשׁ (cp 23:24). Co. doubts רֶכֶשׁ, but omits to explain its presence in MT and ḡ. Observe, however, that ḡBA renders רֶכֶשׁ, not רֶכֶשׁ (ḡ).

HORSE

(BNA om.; טָוֶן *toplawn* [N^{ca} mg.]); 'swift beast'; RV 'swift steed'; AV in Esth. 'mule,' cp Syr.

אֶבֶר, Esth. 8:10, possibly 'herds of horses' (cp. אֶבֶר), RV 'bred of the stud' (AV, RV mg. 'young dromedaries').

The word is not explained in the Lexicons. Considering, therefore, that טָוֶן and רֶכֶשׁ (though confounded by ḡ in Nu. 10:32) cannot plausibly be connected, and that *rekesh* in the Ass. phrase cited elsewhere (LACHISH) never appears by itself in the sense of horse, we must take an entirely new course.

If it is true that the term טָוֶן = Ass. *ḡḡlru* (some kind of costly animal, a variety of the horse or perhaps of the camel) has (no doubt rightly) been restored for טָוֶן in 1 K. 10:28 (see MIZRAIM), and in the plural compound phrase בְּנֵי קָהָרִים, in Ezek. 27:20 (see CLOTH, n.), and in the phrase בְּנֵי קָהָרִים, for בְּנֵי קָהָרִים in Esth. 8:10 we cannot doubt that for טָוֶן, in the four passages in which it occurs, we should read קָהָרִים (E. A. T. Dec. '99).

6. Another naturalised Assyrian term is *murniskē* (*mār niskē*), i.e., perhaps 'splendid young (horses)'; so Del. *Ass. HWB* 473 b; cp 391 b. See also *KB* 2:134 l. 53. 140 l. 46; and Houghton, *TSB* 1:551 ('77). Not improbably this should be restored in (a) 1 K. 10:25, 2 Ch. 9:24 (Cook, *E. A. T.* 10:270 f. [March, '99]), (b) for אֶבֶר in Esth. 8:10 14 (Che. *E. A. T.*, Aug. '99), but cp CAMEL, § 1, n. 1, and (c) Gen. 41:43, see JOSEPH, § 6.

The horse was kept in a stall (אֶבֶר or אֶבֶר, see BDB), and fed upon barley and straw (1 K. 4:26 28 [56]). It was controlled by a bit (רֶכֶשׁ; cp

2. OT references. *χαλκός* Jas. 3:3, and bridle (רֶכֶשׁ), and urged on by a whip (פָּרָס). The hoof is likened to a flinty rock (Is. 5:28)—a sudden sting in the heel (רֶכֶשׁ) from the lurking scorpion unseats the rider (Gen. 49:17).

Whether its 'harness' is really referred to by נָשַׁךְ in 2 Ch. 9:24 (AV) is doubtful (see WEALOUS); nor can we safely make Ezekiel speak of 'saddle-cloths' (Co.) in Ezek. 27:20 (see above). On Zech. 14:20, see BELLS.

Passing over the references to the horse in symbolical phraseology, and its association with religious cults (see § 4), we turn to the use of the horse among the Hebrews. Like the Assyrians they never used it for draught purposes (the text of Is. 28:28 is faulty; see Du., Che. *SBOT*). Nor can we assume that the horse was used to any extent for riding purposes in pre-exilic times. The mention of a king's horse for state occasions, and of a royal stud (if RV's 'bred of the stud' for אֶבֶר be admitted) occurs first in the Persian period (Esth. 8:10 14).

The horse known to the Hebrews was a war-horse. As such it excited mingled admiration and awe. Its strength (cp § 1:3 אֶבֶר) and swiftness (Hab. 18 Jer. 4:13) seemed almost supernatural, so that the early prophets complained that it was more regarded by politicians than the God of Israel himself (Is. 30:16 Ps. 20:7 [8] 33:17 147:10). The Hebrews marked its fiery trampling (פָּרָס Jer. 47:3 f.), its rushing and stamping (רָהַר Nah. 3:2 Judg. 5:22 [doubtful]), and its eagerness for the fray (Jer. 8:6). The finest expression of Jewish sentiment, however, is to be found in Job 39:19-25. The delighted wonder with which the poet describes the war-horse appeals to modern readers.

1 Most connect the רֶכֶשׁ of MT with Syr. אֶבֶר (a loan-word from old Pers.?), but Persisms are not to be accepted where an Ass. or Bab. origin is defensible. ḡ and ḡ, ḡ and ḡ are easily confounded. The רֶכֶשׁ in Esth. 8:10 is therefore to be cancelled as a doublet.

2 That the forgotten word *murniskē* was corrupted, first by misarrangement of letters, and then by confusion of letters and editorial manipulation, so that a seemingly Persian word (cp *ḡḡlru* [LACHISH]) arose, is intelligible. ḡ is an editorial prefix; ḡ = ḡ, ḡ = ḡ, ḡ = ḡ; the rest is clear (Che.).

HORSE

The text is not in perfect order, and in *rev. 17 f.* a slight disarrangement seems to have occurred, which Duhm rectifies thus:

Givest thou strength to the horse—
His resounding, terrible snorting?
Dost thou clothe his neck with a mane,¹
And cause it to spring like the locust?

The fact that the horse of the Hebrews is a war-horse shows that its introduction among them was not of early date. For its original home we must look outside the regions occupied by the Semitic and Egyptian civilisations.

The horse was not known in Egypt before the time of the Hyksos (EGYPT, § 9; Masp. *Dawn of Civ.* 32 n. 2, *Struggle of the Nations*, 51 n. 4). It is first depicted in the time of Amenhotep I., and appears among the presents sent to Egypt by Burnaburiash of Karduniaš (*Ann. Tab.* 10 rev. 12). Upon the monuments of Assyria the horse appears very frequently, and the care bestowed on its appearance (mane, tail and trappings) shows how much it was valued. 'The whole animal was more fitted for war-purposes than for those requiring speed.' They are 'not represented drawing cars, or carrying baggage of any kind.'² Like the Egyptians, the Assyrians no doubt obtained their horses from N. Mesopotamia,³ where, in turn, they were introduced from Central Asia, whose plains and steppes seem to have been one of the earliest homes of the horse.

The Amarna Tablets give evidence of the presence of the horse in Palestine. Feudal princes, Arinu, Rib-addi, Milkili, and others of the N. of Canaan beg for chariots and horses from the Egyptian king. Abd-milki of Sashimi, and Amayaši, on the other hand, offer to furnish them to the king. The region around Jerusalem being unsuitable for chariots, Abd-hiba makes no mention of them, and asks only for troops. The old phrase, 'servant of thy horses' (*karabbi, kuzi, or gazi sishai*), perhaps to be taken literally, is used by Japhai of Gezer, Jabnili of Lachish, Pu-addi of Wurza and others (see *KB*, 5 nos. 224, 243).

The earlier OT narratives vouch for the use of this noble animal among Egyptians, Philistines, and non-Israelite tribes of the N.; but it was long before the Israelites attempted to supply their own deficiency of horses. Apart from a few untrustworthy passages (2 S. 8.4 15; 1 K. 15)⁴ horses do not appear as in use among the Hebrews until the time of Solomon (1 K. 4.26 [56]), who, it is stated, imported them in large quantities, with the result that in the following centuries they were not unfrequently employed in war by both Judah and Israel (see CHARIOT, § 5).

That the horse was not commonly used appears further from there being no mention of it in the earlier legal literature. It finds no place in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21 ff.); it is not mentioned even in the tenth commandment (Ex. 20.17 Dt. 5.21). It appears first in D's code, where the king of Israel is forbidden to multiply horses (Dt. 17.16). The warning is aimed partly against the foreign intercourse which rendered easy the introduction of heathenish cults (see below, § 4), and partly against alliances with Egypt.

The Hebrews obtained their horses indirectly from Egypt (Is. 31.1 3 Ezek. 17.15), or Assyria (Hos. 14.3 [4]), doubtless by hiring mercenaries; but more frequently through the Tyrians who traded directly with Armenia (Ezek. 27.14, see TOGARMAH), and the adjacent regions of Kue (E. of Cilicia), and Musri (N. Syria, S. of the Taurus).⁵ The whole region in question has been famed for horses from the earliest times, and to a Hebrew prophet no description of an invader from the N. seems to be complete without a reference to its horses and horsemen (Jer. 47.3 50.42 Ezek. 26.7 10).

¹ רַעֲמָה, ὁ φάβων (Bochart φάβων). The word is philologically inexplicable. Read רַעֲמָה (cp Job 41.5), which is not in Job a *nomen unitatis* (Che.). Duhm strangely רַעֲמָה.

² Houghton, *TSRA* 531.

³ *Ibid.*, referring to the Sumerian name of the horse (animal from the east); Hehn, *Kulturpl.* 19 ff. 27 f.

⁴ 2 S. 8 is late (see SAMUEL II., § 4). As for 2 S. 15.1, there is no further reference to horses in Absalom's revolt; he himself rode a mule (18.9). See also ARMY, § 4. The mule or ass continued to be the ordinary animal for riding purposes, even for royal persons (2 S. 13.29), and upon state occasions (1 K. 1.33 f.).

⁵ We follow the emended text of 1 K. 10.28 f. 2 Ch. 1.16 f.; see CILICIA, § 2, MIZRAIM, § 26. Sargon's *sst musuri* (*KB* 78.1, 123) were no doubt from the above-mentioned Musri. Egypt itself could never have exported horses in any large quantity.

HOSAH

38.4 13). The horse of the ancient Hebrew was probably similar to the lusty, stalwart animal depicted upon the Assyrian monuments. The gentler and more domesticated 'Arab' steed, which has derived its name from the country in which it has been bred for centuries, does not seem to have been introduced until about the beginning of the Christian era.¹

The horse is a favourite image in symbolical language (cp Zech. 1.8 ff. 6.1 ff. Rev. 6.2 ff. 19.11 ff.; and see CHARIOT, § 13).

Evidence for the worship of the horse among the Semites (except as a borrowed cult) hardly exists. It is true the Quran supposes *Fā'is* to have had the form of a horse; but another explanation is more probable (*Kin.* 208 f., We. *Ibid.* 22 f.). An instance is quoted of the worship of the horse by an Arabian tribe in Bahrein; but its name alone (the *Asbadhūyūn*) seems rather to point to a Persian origin of the worship (from the Pers. *aspa*, 'horse'). Horse-worship appears to be implied in the Phœnician name עֲבַד־סֵבַע (*CIS* 168 115).

The horse, especially as related to sun-worship (CHARIOT, § 13), was worshipped in Armenia, Persia, etc.² Horses were sacrificed to the sun at Mt. Taletum, a peak of Taygetus (Paus. iii. 20.4), and annually thrown into the sea for a similar purpose at Rhodes. Considerable interest, therefore, attaches itself to the unique notice of the bronze horses and chariots of the sun which Josiah burned in the course of his reforms (2 K. 23.11). This cult, obviously of foreign origin, was probably introduced at the same time as the horse, and from the same quarter. The Hebrews being unaccustomed to the care of horses, foreigners would be required to tend them, and their presence would facilitate the spread of this particular worship. D's enactment regarding the horse thus appears in a clearer light. In 2 K. 11.6 reference is made to the way along which the horses were brought from the palace to the temple, alluding perhaps to their being regularly sacrificed upon the altar. For the HORSE GATE (2 Ch. 23.15) see JERUSALEM, § 24 (9). A. E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

HORSE-LEECH (עֲרֹקֶה, *ʿAlūkāh*, 'sucker'; ΒΔΕΛΛΑ [BNAC]; ΣΑΓΓΙΣΤΕΛΑ or EV HORSE-LEACH (Pr. 30.15) [S 24.30].

The passage runs, 'the horse-leech hath two (three, BNAC) daughters (crying) Give, give' (so EV; cp Toy). This rendering is supported by S, by the Ar. *ʿalak*, which is used in the present day to denote a species of leech, and also by the passage in the Talm. *ʿAbodāh Zarah*, 17 b, where a warning is given against drinking water from a river or pool for fear of the עֲרֹקֶה עֲרֹקֶה, i.e., the danger of swallowing a leech. The voracity of the horse-leech is proverbial; cp the Targ. on Ps. 128.9, where oppressors are compared to the עֲרֹקֶה which sucks the blood of men.

Both the horse-leech, *Hæmaphys (Aulastomum) gulo*, and the medicinal leech, *Hirudo medicinalis*, are common in the streams and fresh waters of Palestine. The former, which is indigenous in Europe and N. Africa, has thirty teeth or serrations on its jaws, by means of which it punctures the skin, and it adheres to the surface of the wound with the greatest tenacity by means of the sucker which surrounds its mouth. In the East a species of *Limnatis*, of small size, also occurs in the same pools as *H. gulo*. Both cause much trouble to man and cattle. They are taken into the mouth with the drinking-water and attach themselves to the back of the throat, and there cause loss of blood.

The natural history explanation of *ʿAlūkāh* is not, however, the only one, and the mythological interpretation is perhaps preferable (see LULITH and VAMPIRE). A. E. S.—S. A. C.

HORSELITTER (ΦΟΡΙΩΝ, 2 Macc. 9.8 AV, RV LITTER [q.v. 3].

HOSAH (חֹסָה; ἡσείφ [B], κοῦσα [A], ὠσα [L]), a city on the border between the territory of Asher and that of Tyre (Josh. 19.29). The reading is not quite certain. The ἡσείφ of S suggests an identification with *Kafr Yisif*, a small village with an ancient well

¹ Despite the later Arabian pedigrees which in many cases reach back to the time of Solomon.

² For the horses of the sun in Assyria, see Jensen, *Kos*, 108 ff. and for horse-worship generally, see M'Lennan, *Studies*, 2nd ser. 529 ff.

HOSAH

NE. of Acir (*PEEM* 1146 133; cp Bied.⁽²⁾ 306). If, however, we accept 'Hosah,' it is tempting to connect it with the 'Osu in Seti I's list of conquered places (*WMM As. u. Eur.* 194), the Ūsu of the Assyrian inscriptions (see, e.g., *AB* 291; G. Smith, *Hist. of Assyrianipal*, 281; *Am. Tab.* 153151).

Uṣu was certainly by the sea, and had within its walls reservoirs, on which the island-city relied for its water-supply (cp Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 128 f. i, Maspero *Hist. anc.*⁽⁶⁾ 185). It appears probable (as Prásek first suggested; see ESAU) that Uṣu was the Assyrian form of the name of the old city of Tyre on the mainland, and if, with Smead (Riehm's *HWB*:³ 1720), we may explain the phrase 'the fenced city of Tyre' (Josh. 19:24) of the island-city, and accept the statement of Strabo (16:758) that the so-called Palaeityrus was thirty stadia S. of the island-city at the modern Râs el-'Ain (see TYRE), it is not impossible to identify Hosah with Uṣu, as Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 429) and Moore (*Judges*, 51) suggest. The Papyrius Anastasi I. speaks of the 'land of Uṣu', so that Uṣu-Hosah would be a well-defined boundary. The Uṣûs (of Philo of Byblus), whom Porter in Smith's *DB* (following Kn. and Di.) compares with the biblical Esau, seems to be really a personification of Uṣu. 1.—On Josh. 19:28 f. see RAMAH (6).

T. K. C.

HOSAH (הוֹסָה, cp the place-name **HOSAH** above), a Merarite door-keeper (tenip. David), who, with his sons, had charge of the west portion of the temple (1 Ch. 16:38); OCCA [B], OCA [N], WCHE [M.]; 26:10-16, 10CCA [B], WCDA [A], 'AE [I], but in 2:10, ICAM]. According to M.T., his charge was the east portion.

According to MT, his charge was 'by the gate of Shallecheth,' which critics have unwisely retained. Both in Is. 613 and here שַׁלְחֶת is very doubtful. Read here שַׁלְחֵת (of) the chambers' (of the temple-ministers, 1 Ch. 9.25). ΘΒΛ, [το] παστοφοριου (725c). In Is. 18 (which, in ΘΒΛ, is almost an exact repetition of 725. 16 f.) the name appears as οσσα [I] or ιας [A].

S. A. C. — T. K. C.

HOSAI (חֹסַי), 2 Ch. 33 19, AVmg., RV HOZAI.

HOSANNA (ḲANNA. *Ti.* ḲANNA. *Treg.* WIL.
Note the variations of D. ḳosara, ḥosara bis, item 15 *lin*
M¹. ḳosara, ḥosra. *lin* M¹. ḳosara, ḥosra. *lin* Jn¹.
Evang. sec. Helst., ap. Hieron., Ep. 20 ad Dami., Ḳanna
barrania, i.e., Ḳosanna in exultis. Pesh., Syr. Curet., Syr.
Sin. ܚܫܢܐ; Syr. Jer. ܚܫܢܐ).

The cry of praise of 'those that went before and those that followed' at the last entry of Jesus into Jerusalem (Mt. 21⁹ Mk. 11^{9 f.} Jn. 12¹³), and afterwards of the children in the temple (Mt. 21¹⁵). Twice (Mk. 11⁹ Jn. 12¹³) it stands by itself; twice (Mt. 21^{9, 15}) it is combined with the dative ('to the Son of David'), and twice (Mt. 21⁹ Mk. 11¹⁰) it is followed by 'in the highest.' We must not begin by assuming that 'Hosanna' means ὁσάνν δὴ (1 theophylact), i.e., 'save now'; the signification of the term can only be gathered from 'the gospels. Now, the gospel narratives are not favourable to the interpretation 'save now.' If a doubt be permissible whether τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ, 'to the son of David,' may not be a too literal translation of דָּוִד בֶּן-דָּוִד (david ben-david), a legitimate Hebrew phrase (cp Ps. 72⁴ 86¹⁶ 116¹⁷), — yet ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, 'in the highest,' seems quite incapable of being joined to 'Hosanna,' if this term is really an ejaculation meaning 'Save now.' As Dalman remarks (*Die Worte Jesu*, 131), Mt. (and surely we may add, Mk.) cannot have understood ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις otherwise than in Ps. 118:1 (C) αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν

¹ See Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 218, and cp. ESAU. In the fragments of Philo of Byblos, preserved by Eus. (*Præp. Ev.* 1. 1010) we read of two rival brothers, Samionimus and Usus, the former of whom dwelt at Tyre and made huts of reeds, and the latter invented garments of skin. Where Usus took up his abode we are not told; but the mythographer adds that he was the first to go to sea on the stem of a tree, and that he consecrated two pillars to Fire and Wind. This probably means that Usus occupied the islands off the coast of Tyre, and erected on one of them the famous twin pillars of Melicarth (cp. Herod. 244). So Maspero, *Hist. anc.* 4. 185.

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τοῖς ὑψίστοις—i.e., of the praise rendered to God by the angels. Lk. (19:37 f) supports this view. He says that the multitude 'began to rejoice and to praise God with a loud voice,' and closes the popular song with the words ἐν ὁρμῇ ἑπαιῶν καὶ ὕμνῳ ἐν ὑψίστοις.

These are not, however, the only difficulties which attend the still prevalent view that Hosanna, or Osanna, is derived from מְשֻׁבָּח הוֹשֵׁנָה, 'save now,' in Ps. 118²⁵ (see below). A careful reading of Ps. 118 will show that it was by no means the most natural psalm for the multitude instinctively to quote from, especially as it was not then the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, to which this psalm was appropriated. Nor is it unimportant to remark that the psalmist's reference in Ps. 118²⁵ is not to the Son of David, but to the assembled congregation whose mouthpiece he is. To these objections the present writer knows no satisfactory answer. Few, at any rate, will agree with Wünsche (*Erläuterungen der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 241) that in Mt. 21⁹, 'it is beyond doubt that either the Feast of Passover or the Feast of Tabernacles, or else the narrator is confounded with that of Tabernacles, to the former festival a ceremony properly belonging to the latter'.

In order to advance further, we must gently criticise the narrative of the entry into Jerusalem. No reference is made to this 'triumphant entry' (as it is usually called) in the accounts of the trial of Jesus, and it does not seem in accordance either with his spiritual interpretation of his Messiahship, or with his clear anticipation of the bitter end which was approaching. Dalman has already found the view of Wellhausen (*Ug.*³⁰, 381, n. 2) acceptable, that the facts connected with the entry of Jesus received a distinctly Messianic colouring at a later day; and when we look at the narrative of Mt. we find that its second section abundantly suffices as a description of the way in which the Christ (as since Caesarea Philippi we may call him) made his arrival known to the poor and distressed. He went, we are told (Mt. 21.12 ff.) into the temple, east out those that sold and bought there, and healed the blind and the lame (for whom there was now room), and thereupon the very children cried aloud, saying, 'Hosanna to the Son of David.' (Were they, literally, the blind and the lame? were they, literally, children?) The chief priests and scribes, indeed, were 'sore displeased'; but Jesus reminded them of the words of the Psalm (82 [83], 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise' (Θ κατηριώσιν αἶνον).

This quotation may, perhaps, as Nestle has pointed out, enable us to account for the introduction into the gospel narrative (which has obviously been amplified) of the obscure word *ωσαννα*. The Hebrew text of Ps. 82 [3] has *יָצַח*, 'strength,' or possibly 'praise' (hence *עֲזָרָתוֹ*). The Tg. more literal than *עֲזָרָתוֹ* renders this by *מְצֻחָא*, 'אֲזִנָּה' ('strength'). The question arises whether the tradition that Jesus defended the songs of praise to God into which the simple-hearted children ('boys,' *τοὺς παῖδας*) broke by a reference to P⁸² [3] may not have suggested to a pre-canonical evangelist to put the words 'Strength (*i.e.*, praise) be ascribed to the son of David' into the mouth of the children as a short hymn. He himself read the OT in the Targum, and he introduced the significant word 'אֲזִנָּה from the Targum into the children's hymn. The right form of the word will then be *Osanna* (strictly, *Osen[n]a*; the final *a* however has a retro-active assimilating force), not *Hosanna*. For the double *n*, *ij* accepted, cp *פִּשְׁפִּשְׁקָא* *פִּשְׁפִּשְׁקָא* *פִּשְׁפִּשְׁקָא* for *פִּשְׁפִּשְׁקָא*, *מִלֶּכְקָא* or *מִלֶּכְקָא* for *מִלְּכָא*. Apart from the

Apart from the difficulties here mentioned, the best explanation of Hosanna is that of Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 182; cp *Gramm.*, 198). It may conceivably have

¹ Ps 82 [3], if we assume the text to be correct, may naturally be interpreted with reference to childlike Jewish believers.

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came from *הוֹשֵׁעַ*, a shortened form of *הוֹשִׁיעַנוּ*, 'save now.' This phrase was in liturgical use among the later Jews (see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF). Keim (*Jesus von Naz.* 391, n. 3) remarks truly, that Merx's explanation of Hosanna from Aram. *הוֹשִׁיעַנוּ*, 'deliver us,' agrees neither with Ps. 118:25 nor with the following dative.

It is worth reminding the reader that when a passage of a psalm or a prophecy is clearly unsuitable to the context, we are justified in considering the possibility of interpolation or corruption. Interpolation seems to be the more likely case for to account for Ps. 118:26, 'Blessed in the name of Yahweh be he that enters! we bless you from the house of Yahweh.' It is not less probable that the original form of r. 25 has been marred by transcriptional error. Probably we should correct thus,—

Our Redeemer is Yahweh; he has succoured us;

Our Redeemer is Yahweh; he has prospered us.

Duhm, it is true, adheres to the MT of r. 25, and retains r. 26 as a part of Ps. 118, but without showing how r. 25 f. thus read, fit into the context. He holds that *הוֹשֵׁעַנוּ* (rendered in his metrical version 'Hosanna') was an ancient ritual exclamation. For this he refers to Jer. 27, 'In the time of their trouble they will say, Arise, and save us,' but *הוֹשֵׁעַנוּ* is no ritual formula, and even if it were, it is a long way off from *הוֹשֵׁעַנוּ*. In fact, if it favours any of the current views of the origin of *הוֹשֵׁעַנוּ*, it is that which is now seldom defended, viz. that *הוֹשֵׁעַנוּ* comes from Aram. *הוֹשִׁיעַנוּ*, 'save us.'

Thayer (in Hastings, *DB* 249), whose name deservedly carries great weight, refers to the obscurity of the true 'etymological meaning' of Hosanna in many patristic writings. Even Clem. Alex. (*Prod.* 15 12) says that it means *ὡσαννὰ καὶ ἑλὼι*, while Suidas or his annotator defines it *εὐφροσύνη καὶ δόξα*, and adds that *ὡσαννὰ δὲ* is, by some, incorrectly given as the meaning. Augustine too (*De Doctr. Christ.* 211, and *Tract. in Johan.* 512) says that Hosanna is only a joyous interjection, and, carrying on this tradition, our own Anglo-Saxon versions render it 'Hail.' As a rule, we should not attach much importance to these authorities. When, however, we find their view confirmed by the early Christian doxological use (*Didache*, 106; *HEB.* 239), we may be excused for preferring the unsophisticated judgments of Clement and Augustine to the less penetrating though more erudite statement of Jerome (Ep. xx ad Damasum). The 'Glossæ Colbertine' combine the two views, *ὡσαννὰ, δόξα, ὡσαννὰ δὲ*, with which we may contrast Jerome's 'Osanna, saluifica' in the *Liber interpretationis* (15204 50 82 26).

See further Wetstein, *Nov. Test. Græc.* 140 f.; Schöttgen, *Hora Heb.*, on Mt. 218; Merx in Hilgenf., *NF extra can.* 425; Keim, *Jesus von Nazara*, 391 104; Ewald, *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, 314; *GLT* 561 428; Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, 244 (passes lightly over difficulties); Zahn, *Eind.* 114. According to Ewald, the words of the popular cry in Mt. 219, Mk. 119 f. are an 'Urlied des Christenthums'; Dean Stanley too, calls it the 'earliest hymn of Christian devotion' (cp Hymns). But, as we have seen, Mt. and Mk. alone, gives the earliest summary of the Messianic song on the entry of Jesus, viz. *ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ*, 'Praise to the son of David.' The song was added to by Mt. himself, and still further by Mk. (cp also Lk. and Jn.); and is said (by all the evangelists) to have been uttered while Jesus was in the public way. It was originally an inspired outburst of the praise and gratitude of children, or perhaps rather of child-like believers; it became under the hands of the evangelists the acclamation of a multitude, either of Jerusalemites, or (Lk.) of disciples, or (Jn.) of pilgrims who had come up for the feast.

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HOSEA (הוֹשֵׁעַ; *ωσχε* [BAQ]; *osee*), the son of Beeri, the first in order of the minor prophets. The name ought rather to be written Hōsheā, and is identical with that borne by the last king of Ephraim, and by Joshua in Nu. 13:16 Dt. 32:44. Of the life of Hosea we know nothing beyond what can be gathered from his prophecies. That he was a citizen of the northern kingdom appears from the whole tenor of the book, but most expressly from 12, where 'the land,' the prophet's land, is the realm of Israel, and from 7:5, where 'our king' is the king of Samaria.

The date at which Hosea flourished is given in the title (11) by the reigning kings of Judah and Israel.

1. Date: ed. He prophesied, it is said, (1) in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah; (2) in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel. As Jeroboam II. died in the lifetime of Uzziah, these two determinations of the period of Hosea's prophetic activity are not strictly coincident, and a question arises whether both are from the same hand or of equal authority.

There is no doubt that the second date (Jeroboam II.) rests upon 14, where the downfall of the dynasty of Jehu is

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threatened, which justifies the inference that the incidents in the domestic life of the prophet described in chap. I had taken place before the death of Jeroboam. On the other hand it seems equally certain that chaps. 4-14 are in their present form a continuous composition dating from the period of anarchy subsequent to that king's death. Thus it might seem natural to suppose, with Ewald and other scholars, that the name of Jeroboam originally stood in a special title to chaps. 1-3 (which are closely connected), which was afterwards extended to a general heading for the whole book by the insertion of the words 'of Uzziah . . . and in the days of.' As Hosea himself can hardly be supposed to have thus converted a special title into a general one, the scholars who take this view suppose further that the date by Judean reigns was added by a later hand, the same perhaps that penned the identical date in the title to Isaiah.

According to the view just described, the Judean date merely expresses knowledge on the part of some

2. Internal indications. Hebrew scribe that Hosea was a contemporary of Isaiah. The plausibility of this hypothesis is greatly increased by the fact that there does not appear to be anything in the book of Hosea that is clearly as late as the reign of Hezekiah. On the contrary, the latter part of the book seems to have been written before the expedition of Tiglath-pileser against Pekah in the days of Ahaz.

In that war Gilead and Galilee were conquered and depopulated (2 K. 15:29); but Hosea repeatedly refers to these districts as still forming an integral part of the kingdom of Israel (5:13 12:12). Assyria is never referred to as a hostile power. It is a dangerous ally, from which some of the godless Ephraimites were ready to seek the help, which by another party was expected from Egypt (but cp *Mizraim*, 8:21), but in truth was to be found only in Yahweh (5:13 7:11 8:9 10:6 [14:3]).

The picture given in the book thus agrees precisely with what we read in 2 K. 15 of the internal dissensions which rent the northern kingdom after the fall of the house of Jehu, when Menahem called in the Assyrians to help him against those who challenged his pretensions to the throne.

Under Pekah of Israel, and Ahaz his contemporary in Judah, the political situation was altogether changed. Israel was in alliance with Damascus, and Assyria made open war on the allies (2 K. 16). This new situation may be said to mark a crisis in the history of OT prophecy, for to it we owe the magnificent series of Isaiah's Assyrian discourses (Is. 7 ff.). The events which stirred Judean prophets so deeply, however, have left no trace in the book in which Hosea sums up the record of his teaching. He foresees that captivity and desolation lie in the future; but nowhere in Hosea do we find the Assyrians spoken of otherwise than as a people to whom Israel looks for help and victory.

The traditional chronology of the kings of Judah and Israel is notoriously precarious.

A comparison of the Assyrian monuments and eponym lists with the biblical data makes it probable that the period from the accession of Zimri, son of Jeroboam II., to the fall of Samaria must be shortened by as much as twenty years, and that the interregnum which was commonly supposed to have followed Jeroboam's death must be cancelled. This correction may be held to remove one difficulty in the title of our book, which on the current chronology assigns to Hosea some sixty years of prophetic activity. On the other hand, most Assyriologists agree that the expedition of Sennacherib took place in 701 B.C. In that case Hezekiah did not come to the throne till after the fall of Samaria, which the book of Hosea predicts as a future occurrence (13:16 [14:1])—another argument against the authority of the title. There is still, however, a large element of uncertainty in the reconstruction of Hebrew chronology by the aid of monuments.

One date bearing on our book may be taken as certain—viz., the war of Tiglath-pileser with Pekah in 734—and, according to our argument, Hosea committed his prophecies to writing before that year.¹

A more exact determination of the date of the book has been sought by comparing 8:9, with the statement on the monuments that Tiglath-pileser received tribute from King Menahem (Minhimmi) of Samaria in 738 B.C. That Minhimmi of the monuments is the Menahem of the OT there seems no good reason to doubt, in spite of the objections of Oppert and G. Smith; but it cannot be assumed that tribute was paid by him in 738 for the first time. The narrative in 2 K. 15:19 seems to indicate that the relations of Menahem to Assyria began earlier.

¹ Some writers, including Pusey, claim a later date for the book, identifying Shalman in 1014 with Shalmaneser IV., the successor of Tiglath-pileser. This identification is altogether arbitrary. [The closing words of 10:14 are obscure, nor is Schrader's explanation, referred to by WKS, thoroughly satisfactory. See BETH-ARBEL.]

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perhaps not long after his accession, which may be dated with probability *circa* 742 B.C.¹

To sum up, the first part of Hosea's prophetic work, of which we read in 1-3, falls (partially at least) in the

3. Conclusion: years immediately preceding the catastrophe of the house of Jehu in or near the year 743. The second part of the book is a summary of prophetic teaching during the subsequent troublous reigns of Menahem and of Pekahiah his successor, and must have been completed before 734 B.C.

The conclusion thus gained from the book itself as to the date of the prophet is not favourable to the hypothesis of Ewald and others, with which we began, as to the origin and importance of the title.

Of the four kings of Judah not only Hezekiah but also Ahaz, who did not ascend the throne till 714, is incorrectly included in 11, and the assumption that Hosea himself at 12 affixed a date—that of Jeroboam—but failed to place a similar date at the head of chap. 4, although a new period was now being dealt with, sounds highly improbable, quite apart from the consideration that from the prophet one would rather expect no date at all than a defective one.

Besides this, the form of the superscription presents difficulties. The word of Yahwê that came to Hosea the son of Beeri is by no means very appropriate to the narrative chapters 1 and 3, and, so far as the remaining chapters are concerned, such a heading is intelligible only from the post-Deuteronomic period, which identified the written prophetic word with the word of Yahwê. On the analogy of Am. 12 and Jer. 12, it is therefore to be conjectured that the old superscription may have run somewhat thus: 'words of Hosea the son of Beeri (חֹשֶׁה בְּעֵרִי)', where it is to be observed that חֹשֶׁה may also have borne the more general meaning 'Story of.' In any case it is the view of a later century as to the age of Hosea that is conveyed by the date of the superscription. In fact it is perhaps possible for us still to perceive how this view may have arisen.

From 14 it was possible to infer that Hosea must have lived in the time of Jeroboam, who was known to have been a contemporary of Uzziah. The name of Hezekiah, on the other hand, suggested itself to close the series of kings of Judah, as 17 was rightly regarded as containing an allusion to the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib, which took place under his reign.

Since, if this view be correct, the dates are only deductions of scholars from the contents of the writings, we have no longer any reason for giving an earlier date to the writing of chaps. 1-3, than to that of chaps. 4-7.

The occurrences of which chaps. 1-3 speak are some of them—e.g. the prophet's marriage and the birth of his eldest son Jezreel—earlier than the fall of the house of Jehu; but it is not to be concluded on that account that they were committed to writing earlier than the complete narrative. There is no obvious reason why the prophet could not have written 14, at a later date; for the confusions immediately following the downfall of the dynasty of Jehu could not have presented themselves to him otherwise than as the last convulsions of the kingdom of Israel after it had received its death-blow in the overthrow of that royal house.

Further, the first three chapters express an understanding of the occurrences in the home-life of the prophet that he could have arrived at only after he had brought back his faithless spouse. If, then, it is only the birth of Jezreel that can safely be dated within the period before Jeroboam's death, the restoration of Hosea's wife already brings us down to Menahem's reign, since she had borne him two more children.

More precisely, therefore, we are able to say that before 743 (before the death of Jeroboam) Hosea was already a prophet—this appears from the significant name he gave to his son—but that the production of the written book belongs to a date after 743, though before 734.

The superscription, however, is not the only element which the book of Hosea owes to later hands.² Apart from minor and more casual interpolations there are two distinct categories

4. Interpolations. of such additions: (1) those which

¹ See CHRONOLOGY, § 35 f.

² Prof. L. A. Smith's treatment of the question of interpolations (*Twelve Prophets*, vol. 1) shows increased willingness to

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bring the prophecies into relation to the southern kingdom, and so supply a painfully felt omission; and (2) those which interrupt, or round off, Hosea's predictions of the coming judgment, with promises of a time of final blessedness (of which, in the view of a later age, every prophet must of course have known).

To the first class, over and above the interpolations of entire verses or of entire portions of verses, such as 17 (the allusion to the deliverance of Jerusalem in Sennacherib's time), 4152 55/59 611 814 (cp. also Am. 25), 1014 end (?), and 1216, we must reckon all those changes by which 'Judah' was simply substituted for 'Israel' or 'Ephraim' in the original text—so in 520 (unless the entire verse be an interpolation), 512-14 64 (also perhaps wholly interpolated) 1011 and 12213 (where clearly 'Israel' is to be read for 'Judah'; cp. the play on words in 12314).

To the second category belong 12021 (21-3)—a section which interrupts the picture of the judgment contained in 1221517; 21023 (21-25) (perhaps, with the exception of 21719)—an appended description of the blessedness to come 'in that day' (viz. in Messianic times); 35—the promise of the return from the dispersion to the happy fatherland; 525-6—the penitent return after the judgment; 611-17—an utterance relating to the restoration after the Exile; 11107—again a promise of the home-coming after dispersion (cp. 13602, 7); and 142-10, an appendix (cp. p. 2, above) pointing forward to the blessed coming time which stands in glaring contrast with 1310 (1411).

Apart from the narrative in chaps. 1-3, to which we shall presently recur, the book throws little or no light

5. Hosea's life. on the details of Hosea's life. It appears from 97 f. that his prophetic work was greatly embarrassed by opposition; 'As for the prophet, a fowler's snare is in all his ways, and enmity in the house of his God.' The enmity which had its centre in the sanctuary probably proceeded from the priests (cp. Am. 7), against whose profligacy and profanation of their office our prophet frequently declaims—perhaps also from the degenerate prophetic guilds of the holy cities in the Northern Kingdom, with whom Hosea's elder contemporary Amos so indignantly refuses to be identified (Am. 714). In 45 Hosea seems to comprise priests and prophets in one condemnation, thus placing himself in direct antagonism to all the leaders of the religious life of his nation. In such circumstances, and amidst the universal dissolution of social order and morality to which every page of his book bears testimony, the prophet was driven to the verge of despair (97), and only the sovereign conviction of Yahwê's essential nature, which is no other than salvation, and of his infinite power, which will surely bring salvation to pass, so upheld him that the inevitable collapse of the existing commonwealth of Israel did not mean for him that all the workings of Yahwê had come to an end. The hypothesis of Ewald, that he was at last compelled by persecution to retire from the Northern Kingdom, and composed his book in Judaea, rests mainly on an improbable exegesis of some of the passages mentioning Judah, referred to above, which it is impossible for us now to attribute to Hosea.

The most interesting problem of Hosea's history lies in the interpretation of the story of his married life

6. His marriage. (chaps. 1-3). We read in these chapters that Hosea married a profligate wife, Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, and that the prophet regarded this marriage as in accordance with a divine command.

Three children were born and received symbolical names illustrative of the divine purpose towards Israel, which are expounded in chap. 1. In chap. 2 the faithlessness of Israel to Yahwê, the long-suffering of God, the moral discipline of sorrow and tribulation by which he will punish and yet bring back his erring people are depicted under the figure of the relation of a husband to an erring spouse. The suggestion of this allegory

admit editorial manipulation. He is conservative as regards chap. 14, and Nowack partly supports him. Cp. however, Che., *op. cit.* p. six; *E.A.P.* I., March '08. See also Che. *Introd.* to WRS *Proph.* 2, '95, and especially We. *KL Proph.* 95 ff., and Oort (referred to in next note).

¹ On the interpolations in the text of Hosea see, further, Oort (*Th. T.*, '90, p. 345 ff.), who would assign those in which Judah is named to the time of Josiah. This, however, can hardly be accepted, the interpolations in question being too inseparably mixed up with the others, which presuppose a later date.

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lies in the prophet's marriage with Gomer; but the details are worked out quite independently, and under a rich multiplicity of figures derived from other sources. In chap. 3 we return to the personal experience of the prophet. His faithless wife had at length left him and fallen, under circumstances which are not detailed, into a state of misery, from which Hosea, still following her with tender affection, brought her back and restored her to his house, where he kept her in seclusion, and patiently watched over her for many days, yet not readmitting her to the privileges of a wife. In this last action, too, the prophet sees a fulfilment of the will of God.

In these experiences the prophet again recognises a parallel to Yahwé's long-suffering love to Israel, and the discipline by which the people shall be brought back to God through a period in which all their political and religious institutions are overthrown.

Throughout these chapters personal narrative and prophetic allegory are interwoven with a rapidity of transition very puzzling to the modern reader; but an unbiassed exegesis can hardly fail to acknowledge that chaps. 1 and 3 narrate an actual passage in the prophet's life. The names of the three children are symbolical; but Isaiah in like manner gave his sons symbolical names embodying prominent points in his prophetic teaching (Shear-jashub, Is. 7:1, cp. 10:21; Maher-shalal-hash-baz, 8:1). Gomer bath Diblaim is certainly the name of an actual person (cp. GOMER II.).

On this name all the allegorists, from the Targum, Jerome, and Ephrem Syrus downwards, have spent their wits in vain, whereas the true symbolical names in the book are perfectly easy of interpretation.¹ That the ancient interpreters take the whole narrative as a mere parable is no more than an application of their standing rule that in the biblical history everything which in its literal sense appears offensive to propriety is allegorical (cp. Jerome's preface to the book). The supposed offence to propriety, however, seems to rest on mistaken exegesis and too narrow a conception of the way in which the Divine word was communicated to the prophets.

There is no reason to suppose that Hosea knowingly married a woman of profligate character. The point of the allegory in 1:2 is plainly infidelity after marriage as a parallel to Israel's departure from the covenant God, and a profligate wife (זנויה) is not the same thing as an open prostitute (זונה). The marriage was marred by Gomer's infidelity; and the struggle of Hosea's affection for his wife with this great unhappiness—a struggle inconceivable unless his first love had been pure and full of trust in the purity of its object—furnished him with a new insight into Yahwé's dealings with Israel. Then he recognised that the great calamity of his life was God's own ordinance and appointed means to communicate to him a deep prophetic lesson. The recognition of a divine command after the fact has its parallel, as Wellhausen observes, in Jer. 32:8.

The explanation of the narrative here adopted, which is essentially Ewald's, has commended itself to not a few recent expositors, as Valeton, Wellhausen, and Nowack, also to v. Orelli, but with the qualification that it is another wife that is spoken of in 3:2. It has the great advantage of supplying a psychological key to the conception of Israel or the land of Israel (1:2) as the spouse of Yahwé, which dominates these chapters, but immediately, in the other parts of the book, gives way to the personification of the nation as God's son. This conception has, indeed, formal points of contact with notions previously current, and even with the ideas of Semitic heathenism.

On the one hand, it is a standing Hebrew usage to represent the land as mother of its people, whilst the representation of

¹ Theodor Mops. remarks very justly, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν πατέρα λέγει, ὡς μὴ πλάσμα εἶναι τὴν δοκίαν τὸ λεγόμενον, ἱστορία δὲ ἀληθὴς τῶν πραγμάτων.

² Seesemann also now upholds the view that another wife is intended in 3 (Israel u. Juda bei Amos u. Hosea, '93, pp. 32-44). Volz on the other hand ('Die Eliegeschichte Hosea's' in ZWT., '93, pp. 321-135) takes 3 to be an allegorical narrative added to 1 at a later date. Perhaps there is some truth in this. To the present writer the matter presents itself somewhat as follows: Hos. 3 is a later addition and is intended as an allegory referring to Israel (cp. Hos. 1:2; 3:1). Hosea's own words, especially chap. 1, having been taken as referring to Judah. In the mind of the redactor Hos. 1-3 was a companion picture to Ezek. 25, and if so we shall then have to say that Hosea had two wives,—one literal, viz. Gomer (= Judah), one allegorical (chap. 3=Israel).

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worshippers as children of their god is found in Nu. 21:29, where the Moabites are called children of Chemosh, and is early and widespread throughout the Semitic field (cp. *INRA* 6:436; *J. Phil.* 9:42). The combination of these two notions gives at once the conception of the national deity as husband of the land. On the other hand, the designation of Yahwé as Baal, which, in accordance with the antique view of marriage, means husband as well as lord and owner, was current among the Israelites in early times (see BAAL), perhaps, indeed, down to Hosea's own age (unless 2:16 [18] be merely a learned gloss, reminiscent of the earlier time). Now it is highly probable that among the idolatrous Israelites the idea of a marriage between the deity and individual worshippers was actually current and connected with the immorality which Hosea often condemns in the worship of the local Baalim, whom the ignorant people identified with Yahwé. For we have a Punic woman's name, *ḥygrm*, 'the betrothed of Baal' (Futing, *Punische Steine*, 9:15), and there was a similar conception among the Babylonians (Heid. 1:117).

Hosea, however, takes the idea of Yahwé as husband, and gives it an altogether different turn, filling it with a new and profound meaning, based on the psychical experiences of a deep human affection in contest with outraged honour and the wilful self-degradation of a spouse. It can hardly be supposed that all that lies in these chapters is an abstract study in the psychology of the emotions. It is actual human experience that gives Hosea the key to divine truth.

Among those who do not recognise this view of the passage, the controversy between allegory and literalism is carried on chiefly upon abstract assumptions.

The extreme literalists, of whom Pusey may be taken as the modern representative in England, will have it that the divine command justified a marriage otherwise highly improper, and that the offensive circumstances magnify the obedience of the prophet. This is to substitute the Scotist and Neo-Platonic notion of God for that of the prophets. On the other hand, the allegorists, who argue that God could not have enjoined on his prophet a marriage plainly improper and fitted to destroy his influence among the people, are unable to show that what is repulsive in fact is fit subject for a divine allegory. A third school of recent writers (including the elder Fairbairn), led by Hengstenberg, and resting on a thesis of John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist, will have it that the symbolical action was transacted in what they allow themselves by a *contradictio in adjecto* to call an objective vision. Cp. J. Th. de Visser, *Hosea, De man des geestes*, Utrecht, 1886.

It was in the experiences of his married life, and in the spiritual lessons opened to him through these, that Hosea heard the revealing voice of Yahwé.

7. His message. Even so early as at the birth of Jezreel he had perceived the will of God concerning Israel, and given to his son a significant name accordingly. At a later date he recognised that the word of Yahwé had been leading him even at the time when he married Gomer bath Diblaim. Like Amos (Am. 3:8), he was called to speak for God by an inward constraining voice, and there is no reason to think that he had any connection with the recognised prophetic societies, or ever received such outward adoption to office as was given to Elisha.

Hosea's position in Israel was one of tragic isolation. Amos, when he had discharged his mission at Bethel, could return to his home and to his friends; Hosea was a stranger among his own people, and his home was full of sorrow and shame. Isaiah in the gloomiest days of Judah's declension had faithful disciples about him, and knew that there was a believing remnant in the land. Hosea knows no such remnant, and there is not a line in his prophecy from which we can conclude that his words ever found an obedient ear. For him the present condition of the people contained no germ or pledge of future amendment, and he describes the impending judgment, not as a sifting process in which the wicked perish and the righteous remain, but as the total wreck of the nation which has wholly turned aside from its God.

In truth, while the idolatrous feasts of Ephraim still ran their joyous round, while the careless people crowded to the high places, and there in unbridled and licentious mirth flattered themselves that their many sacrifices ensured the help of their God against all calamity, the nation was already in the last stage of internal dissolution. To the prophet's eye there was 'no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land—nough

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but swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and adultery; they break out, and blood toucheth blood (41/7).

The root of this corruption lay in total ignorance of Yahwē, whose precepts were no longer taught by the priests, while in the national calf-worship, and in the local high places, this worship was confounded with the service of the Canaanite Ilahim. Thus the whole religious constitution of Israel was undermined.

The political state of the realm was in Hosea's eyes not more hopeful. The dynasty of Jehu, still great and powerful when the prophet's labours began, is itself an incorporation of national sin. Founded on the bloodshed of Jezreel, it must fall by God's vengeance, and the state shall fall with it (1. 34). This sentence stands at the head of Hosea's predictions, and throughout the book the civil constitution of Ephraim is represented as equally lawless and godless with the corrupt religious establishment. The anarchy that followed on the murder of Zachariah appears to the prophet as the natural decadence of a realm not founded on divine ordinance. The nation had rejected Yahwē, the only helper. Now the avenging Assyrian is at hand. Samaria's king shall pass away as foam on the water. Fortress and city shall fall before the ruthless invader, who spares neither age nor sex, and thistles shall cover the desolate altars of Ephraim.

Is this, then, the last word in the message of the prophet?

If the passages already indicated as later additions, in which a happy future is spoken of, could have been assigned to Hosea, we could answer

8. Is the future all gloom? with a categorical negative. In that case alone could we say

'Hosea could discern no faithful remnant in Ephraim, yet Ephraim in all his corruption is the son of Yahwē, a child nurtured with tender love, a chosen people. This people, the prophet knows, is destined once more to return in truth and faithfulness to its father [see Hos. 11, and cp LOVE, KINDNESS] and its God, through whose love all its plagues will be healed and a glorious and blessed land prepared for its occupation. Of the manner of Israel's repentance and conversion Hosea presents no clear image; the certainty that the people will at length return rests only on the invincible supremacy of Yahwē's love.'

Even so we should have to say of Hosea that the two sides of his prophetic declaration, the passionate denunciation of Israel's sin and folly, and the not less passionate tenderness with which he describes the final victory of divine love, are united by no logical bond. The unity is one of feeling only, and the sob of anguish in which many of his appeals to a heedless people seem to end, turns once and again with sudden revulsion into the clear accents of evangelical promise, which in the closing chapter (if we accept this as Hosea's) swell forth in pure and strong cadence out of a heart that has found its rest with God from all the troubles of a stormy life.

What, however, we are compelled by the actual facts as they present themselves to conclude, is that in the original historical Hosea there was no assurance of a final triumph of the divine love or of a penitent return of the sinful nation.

Hosea's last word was in reality an announcement of the unrelenting judgment upon his people which Yahwē, with bleeding heart indeed, is threatening and in course of fulfilling; as the Holy One, in spite of his love, he dares not allow himself after the manner of men to be swayed by his feelings, or exercise compassion any further (11. 8 f. 13-14). The land of Israel is becoming as Admah and as Zeboim, its inhabitants are destined to be swept away to death and Sheol, or to live in an exile where all communion with their God is cut off just as the wife of the prophet is excluded from communion with her husband.

¹ [MT] כִּנְיָהּ RVmg. substitutes 'twigs' for AV's 'foam' (Tg.) in accordance with III. and most moderns (Θ ὀφθαλμοί). כִּנְיָהּ, however, is surely corrupt; Grā's כִּנְיָהּ is plausible, but the corruption lies deeper. כִּנְיָהּ and כִּנְיָהּ are both corruptions of כִּנְיָהּ; כִּנְיָהּ should be כִּנְיָהּ. Thus we get, 'The sanctuary of his king (cp Am) is destroyed, the pride of Ephraim (Che.). There are many such corruptions in the prophetic writings which need to be treated with reference to the habits of the scribes. Cp TEXT.]

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Still we should not have fully understood Hosea did we imagine we saw in this judgment the final close of all God's dealings. We must not fail to notice that for Hosea the judgment passed upon Israel means, not an end to all salvation, but a self-assertion of Yahwē. Yahwē for the prophet is the very impersonation of salvation, and therefore it is precisely by his asserting of himself that the accomplishment of salvation is guaranteed. What the further ways of God might be Hosea was unable to say; salvation, however, depended not upon the continued existence of the nation, but upon Yahwē. This recognition of Yahwē, and hope in him (41. 6-12) [7] saved the prophet from despair and enabled him with a tranquil heart to leave the future to his God. Cp AMOS, § 18. ISAIAS I., § 2.

Hērah, the prophet's father, is identified by the Rabbins with Hērah (1 Ch. 5), a Reubenite prince carried captive by Tiglath-pileser. This view is already expressed

9. Traditions about Hosea. by Jerome, *Quest. in Paralip.*, and doubtless underlies the statement of the Targum to

Chronicles that Hērah was a prophet. For it is a Jewish maxim that when a prophet's father is named, he too was a prophet, and accordingly a tradition of R. Simon makes Is. 819 a prophecy of Hērah (Kam. h. 100c; *Leviticus Rabba*, par. 10). According to the usual Christian tradition, however, Hosea was of the tribe of Issachar, and from an otherwise unknown town, Belemoth or Belemon (pseudo-Epiphanius, *pseph. Dorotheus*, Ephrem Syr. 224; *Chron. Paraph.*, Bonn ed., 1473). As the tradition adds that he died there, and was buried in peace, the source of the story lies probably in some holy place shown as his grave. There are other traditions as to the burial-place of Hosea. A Jewish legend in the *Shalshelet haqqabala* (Carpov, *Introd.*, pt. 4, ch. 7, § 1) tells that he died in captivity at Babylon, and was carried to Upper Galilee, and buried at *pey*, that is, Safed (Eisenauer, *Geg.*, 277); and the Arabs show the grave of Nely (Nahā), F. of the Jordan, near Es-Salt (see GILFAD, 2, and cp Burckhardt's *Syria*, 353).

Of the older comments on Hosea, which have been fully catalogued by Rosenmüller in his *Scholia*, it is sufficient to name Le Mercier's Latin annotations, embodying a translation of the chief rabbinical

10. Literature. expositions, and the English comm. of E. Pococke (Oxford, 162 p.), which is not surpassed in learning and judgment by any subsequent work. Among special commentaries may be mentioned those of Smison (81), Wünsche (68), with abundant references to Jewish interpreters, Nowack (80),

Ureyer, in the *Cantab. Bible* (71); (6) 52, and J. H. de Visser (see above). F. W. Hitz., and (especially) We. and Now., have done much for Hosea in their comprehensive works to which *WRS Proph.*, I, 2, 4, 11, A. Smith's progressive but cautious *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. 1 (96), Dahm's *Handb. der Proph.*, and Smend's *Alt-Test. gesch.*, Nowack's *Alt-Test. Proph.* will naturally be added. See also Sayce, *JQR* 80, pp. 162-172; Houtsma, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 75, p. 55 f.; Oort, *ib.* 75, p. 145 ff.; Beer, *ZATW*, 91, p. 281 ff.; C. H. 85, p. 284 ff.; and for the text of *S* Voller, *ib.* 83, p. 219 ff.; 84, p. 1 ff.; W. R. S.—K. M.

HOSHEA, Dan. 321 RV for חֲשִׁיָּהּ, *sarbal* (AV 'coats'); AV for חֲשִׁיָּהּ, *patris* (RV 'tunics'). See BRECHTES.

HOSHAIAH (חֲשִׁיָּהּ), 'Yahwē succours', § 28).

1. Mentioned with a company of 'princes of Judah' in procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA II., § 13g) Neh. 12 12 (חֲשִׁיָּהּ) [HSHAI].

2. Father of Jeconiah (or Azariah); Jer. 42 (חֲשִׁיָּהּ) [H], אֲחִיָּהּ [R²], אֲחִיָּהּ [R¹], אֲחִיָּהּ [R²Q], אֲחִיָּהּ [A]; 43 (חֲשִׁיָּהּ) [B²], אֲחִיָּהּ [Bab], אֲחִיָּהּ [R²], אֲחִיָּהּ [R¹], אֲחִיָּהּ [A], אֲחִיָּהּ [A], אֲחִיָּהּ [Q].

HOSHAMA (חֲשִׁיָּהּ), § 33; for JEHOHAMA [q. v.], one of the seven sons of Jeconiah; 1 Ch. 3 18 (חֲשִׁיָּהּ) [B], אֲחִיָּהּ [A sup. var.], אֲחִיָּהּ [A].

HOSHEA (חֲשִׁיָּהּ), an abbreviation of חֲשִׁיָּהּ, § 50; see JOSHUA; it is otherwise transliterated HOSHA, ὩΣΗ [BAL. in 2 K. 18 ὩΣΗ B²].

1. The last king of Israel (733-723), called Aasi(a) in the Assyrian inscriptions. In retacing his tragic fortunes we must at once start from a critical point of view. Hoshea came to the throne not in the twelfth year of Ahaz (see 2 K. 17), but in 733, when Pekah was killed by his subjects, and Hoshea (Ausi) was set up, as king of the land of Bit Humri (see PEKAH), by Tiglath-pileser, who records it. No doubt Hoshea was a leading member of the Assyrian party, whereas Pekah had done his utmost to promote resistance to Assyria.

¹ Cp Schr. *KAT* 475 (COT 2123).

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It is equally impossible to hold that Hoshea twice revolted from Assyria, and twice was punished by an Assyrian invasion. It must be to the redactor that the present tissue of improbabilities is due, and the only remedy is critical analysis of the section, 2 K 17.3-6. Two parallel reports, as Winckler has shown, have been combined.

(1530) And Ho-hea ben
Elah con-pure-lag-ainst Pekah
ben Remaliah, and smote him
and became king in his stead.

(17:30) Against him came up Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, for ¹ Hoshea used to bring him tribute every year, but in this year he brought him no tribute.

5. And the king of Assyria came up against the whole land, and went up against Samaria, and besieged it three years. 6. And after three years² he took Samaria, and carried Israel away to Assyria.

(1579) In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, etc., and carried them away to Assyria, [And Hoshea conspired against

And Hoshea conspired against Pekah, and slew him, [and the king of Assyria appointed him to be king]. (17:46). And Hoshea became subject to him, and brought him tribute. 48. And

the king of Assyria found treason^d in Hoshea, for he had sent messengers to Sere, king of Minni. ⁴^e And the king of Assyria blinded him⁴ and placed him bound in prison.

Thus we have four fixed points in the history of Hoshea:— (1) he steps to the throne over the body of his murdered predecessor; (2) he pays yearly tribute to Assyria; (3) he revolts, in reliance on the support of the king of Mismra; (4) his land is invaded, and, on the capture of Samaria, he is blinded (a vassal king's usual punishment for treason) and imprisoned. The payment of tribute probably went on till the death of Tiglath-pileser in 727. Inevitably it much increased the burdens of a land already weakened by Tiglath-pileser's annexations. The nobles would suffer most directly; but these would seek to compensate themselves by oppressing the commons. This is probably referred to by Hosea (511-13).

Ephraim is oppressed, is crushed by his judges,
For he chose to go after Assyria!
And I am as the moth for Ephraim,
As rottenness for the house of Judah.
And when Ephraim saw his sickness,
And Israel his festering wound,
Ephraim went to Masor (*i.e.*, Misry),
Israel to the Arabian king;
But he will not be able to help you,
Nor will he cure you of your wound.⁸

Now we see clearly what was the immediate cause of the ruin of Israel. The people could not any longer bear the exactions of Assyria. A gleam of hope shone when their tyrant (Tiglath-pileser) died. The anti-Assyrian party everywhere formed plans for concerted action. Jeroboam I. of N. Israel, and long afterwards Hannu of Gaza, had already sought refuge in the land of Musri, which was a province of the great kingdom of Meluhha in N. Arabia;⁶ and, later, we shall find Yaman of Ashdod following their example. What more natural than for Hoshea to enter into negotiations with the powerful prince, Tiru, king of Musri, whose *lartan*, or general, Sargon names Sil'i (out of which name the Hebrew scribes have made שִׁלְי, see So)? It was of no avail. In 724 B.C. the Assyrian army took the field against Samaria. In 722 the city was taken, and there is no sufficient reason for closing the political career of Hoshea at an earlier date.⁸ The prophets

^t Following *Gl. n. 48*, ἐν αὐτὸν κατ' ἐν αὐτὸν.

² In accordance with 1810.

³ $\Theta\text{BA } \alpha\delta\epsilon\kappa\iota\alpha\varsigma = \text{ }^{\circ}\text{p}^{\circ}$ (Thenius, Klo., etc.).

⁴ Read 1791¹¹ (see 257).

⁵ In 7.11 read וַיִּשְׁמַע (for וַיִּשְׁמָע) and אֶת־ (for אֶת).

In 2.13 a β , read קָצוֹר (for אֲחֻזָּי), and עֲרֵב (for יָד). See *The Crit. Bib.*, and cf. JARH.

⁶ The theory of *Wi.* is fully explained elsewhere (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*).

⁷ The Hebrew writer made the *tartan* into a *mleek* or 'king'.
⁸ Whitehouse, however (Hastings, *DB* 426), hesitates between this view and that of Hommel (*GBA* 675) and Tiele (*BAG* 232) that Hoshea was taken captive before the siege of Samaria. The latter view makes Hoshea's reign last only nine years (agreeably to 2 K. 17 1), but requires us to suppose not only that the writer of 2 K. 6 confounds the capture of Hoshea with that of Samaria, but also that the people of Samaria had courage to

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Hosea and Isaiah foresaw the result (Hos. 11:1-4; Is. 28:1-4).

We know but little of Hoshea; but the redactor of Kings found reason to believe that he was a better king than his predecessors (2 K 17 a). Isaiah's recognition of **G**, however, turns the praise into blame. No doubt, as Benzinger remarks, to carry out the theory of proportionate retribution Hoshea, having suffered so terribly, must have been the worst of Israel's kings.

See Henzinger's commentary; *Wi. Abt. Unters.* 1937, *Monatsh. Math. Phys.*, 1327, etc., 62 1937; Götze, *ibid.* 1937.

3. b. Azaziah according to the Chronicler, an Ephraimite

4. Signatory to the covenant (see **Exodus**, § 7), **Neh** 10 23 | 24 (**ω σ η θ α** | **§ §**).

HOSPITALITY. The duty of hospitality is recognised both in the Old and in the New Testament. The ideal Hebrew, Abraham, runs to meet the strangers who approach his tent (Gen. 18); Paul would have his converts 'pursue hospitality' (*τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες*, Rom. 12:13). It will be observed, Paul does not inculcate the duty as something new to Gentiles, with the Greeks, as with the Hebrews, hospitality rested on religious sanctions (cp Hom. *Od. 6.306*). Zeus Nemios is a well-known divine title; it was to Zeus in this character (RV 'the Protector of strangers') that the Samaritan temple at Gerizim was rededicated by Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. 6:2). The God of Israel too was 'a preserver of strangers' (2nd S. 146:1); in fact, it was everywhere the gods who set the example of hospitality by granting protection to fugitives in their sanctuaries, and by welcoming poor as well as rich to the sacrificial feasts in which, it was believed, the gods and their worshippers met and ate together.

The Jewish law as to the treatment of sojourners requires separate treatment (see STRANGERS), it is only the externals of hospitality (in its wider sense), as described in the Bible, that here concern us.

We naturally turn in the first instance to passages like Gen. 18:1 ff. 19:1-3 24:13 ff. 29:13 ff. Ex. 22:27 Josh. 2:1 cp. 4. Judg. 13:15 17:21. No question was asked as to the name and circumstances of the guest until his first needs were satisfied (cp Gen. 24:32 f.). While under the roof of his host, the guest was in security; hence the earnest appeal of Lot to the men of Sodom—death, or something as bad he could suffer, rather than that his guests should be exposed to gross ill-treatment (Gen. 19:6-8). To illustrate this we must go to Arabia, where the insecurity of the land has ensured the permanence of primitive hospitality. As Doughty says,

"Perilous rovers in the field, the herd-men of the desert are kings at home, fathers of hospitality to all that seek to them for the night's harbour. 'Be we not all,' say the poor nomads, 'guests of Ullah?' Has God given unto them, God's guest shall partake with them thereof: if they will not for God render his own, it should not go well with them. The guest entereth, and sitting down amongst them, they observe an honourable silence, asking no untimely questions (such as school and nurture of the desert), until he have eaten or drunk somewhat at the least, and by 'the bread and salt' there is peace established between them, for a time (that is counted two nights and the day in the midst, whilst their food is in him).¹

Indeed, hospitality is to the poor Bedouin what almsgiving became to the later Jews—the proof and expression of righteousness. These are the words of a thoughtful Bedouin to a Dowlāny, or government officer, at Damascus.

'Hearken! A stranger alighting at a Bedawi booth, we welcome him; and are busy to serve him and we prepare the guest-supper; and when he has eaten, in the same place he sleeps, in the assurance of Ullah, and with the morning light he rises up refreshed to hold on his journey. But ha! when I came to es-Sham, riding upon my thelth (riding-camel), it was an evening (at the supping hour), and I—sine weary and hungry by the sūḵ (street), I alighted before some door where I thought to take my night-lodging. . . . This is their dealing

prolong the struggle even after such a decisive event as the capture of their king.

Doughby, *Ar. Des.* 1228.

HOST

with strangers which enter your towns! And wellah (verily) the Dowling allowed our life to be higher unto thee, because of the hospitality.

'With all this,' continues Doughty, 'there lacks not Arabic hospitality in the good city of Damascus,' and among the faults of the Jews according to Jesus Christ, the vice of inhospitality was not included. Even a poor man, receiving a late visit from a friend, would take the trouble to go to an acquaintance at midnight and ask and ask again for the loan of three loaves to set before his friend (Lk. 11:5-8). But while even a Nazirite in our day receives hospitality in the desert, a Jew could not be received by a Samaritan in our Lord's time, nor a Samaritan by a Jew (Lk. 9:53 ff. Ju. 4:9; but cp Lk. 10:33 ff.).

The Arabic term for the bond between the host and his guest is *milḥah*, from *milḥ* 'salt.' There is no such phrase in Hebrew, but in Nu. 18:19 a Ch. 13:5 we find the phrase *בְּרִית מֶלַח*, *berith mēlah*, 'a salt pledge,' which is usually explained by the light of the Arabic phrase, 'the salt that is between us,' as a reference to the communality of the god and his worshippers at the sacrificial feast. This was hardly the original intention of the phrase, but was, probably enough, an early explanation.² Still salt, in the Arabic phrase quoted above, is only symbolical.³ Drinking milk together in the same tent is the best sacramental form in hospitality, for milk is the natural substitute for blood; a milk-covenant is the nearest equivalent to a blood-covenant. Upon this theory Sisera very nearly became the true guest of the Kenite woman Jacl. He drank of her milk, but not with her, nor within her tent.

As Judg. 5:27 shows, the fugitive stood at the door of Jacl's tent; there he began to drink, and there sank down, struck by a deadly blow. That the text is corrupt is certain; that it has been correctly emended is probable (see JARH). An early narrator appears to have had the Song of Deborah before him in an already corrupted form. The housewife's coffer had become a tent-peg, and the flint-stone a hammer.⁴ We have no occasion either to devise some subtle excuse for Jacl, or to call her act fiendish. She was in covenant with Barak not with Sisera, and by keeping Sisera outside her tent retained her right of blood-revenge. It remains true, however, that the importance of the law of hospitality was not adequately appreciated by the writer of Judg. 4, and that the Jacl of his narrative contrasts strongly with the Canaanitish woman Rahab in Josh. 2. Very different was the common Israelitish feeling, as is shown by the vengeance for the outrage on hospitality related with such painful preciseness in Judg. 20 (see JUDGES, Book 10, § 13).

For NT references to hospitality see Rom. 12:13 (10:23) 1 Tim. 3:2 5:10 Tit. 1:8 Heb. 13:2 (Pet. 4:9). Cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 75 209 f. 458, and see ISS, MEALS, § 4 B, STRANGER, § 2.

T. K. C.

HOST (חֹסֶד, חֹסֶד, חֹסֶד, חֹסֶד). **HOST OF HEAVEN** (צָבָא דְּהַשָּׁמַיִם). **HOSTS** (צָבָאוֹת). See ARMY, CAMP § 1, NAMES, § 123, NATURE-WORSHIP, STARS, § 4.

HOSTS, LORD OF (יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת), 2 S. 6:2. See NAMES, § 123.

HOTHAM (חֹתָם, 'seal,' § 71; ὁθῶν [BL]).
1 A name in a genealogy of ASHER (2:2, § 4, ii.) 1 Ch. 7:32 (ὁθῶν [A], οὐθ. [L]). In 7:35 the name appears as HELEN.

2 AV Hothan, 1 Ch. 11:44 (ὁθῶν [BL], ὁθῶν [A]), father of Shama and Jehiel, is described as an Aroerite. Which Aroer is meant is unknown.

HOTHIR (חֹתִיר), according to the Chronicler a son of Heman (1 Ch. 25:4-8, ὁθῆρ, ὁθῆρ [BL], ὁθῆρ [A], ὁθῆρ [L]), OTHIR [Vg. L]; but see HEMAN.

HOURS OF THE DAY. See DAY, § 3.

HOUSE (בַּיִת [οἶκος, οἶκος]) of uncertain derivation, properly denotes hardly more than a dwelling-place. In

² Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1:22.

³ Wellhausen mentions an ancient Arabic oath by salt and ashes (*Hebr.* 1:124; cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 479). The ashes may be those of the cooking-pot; but they may also be those of the sacred fire. Cp COVENANT, § 5.

⁴ Either סֶכֶם in Judg. 4:21 is a substitute for חֶסֶם, at the meaning of which the narrator guessed, or it is, like חֶסֶם, a corruption of חֶסֶם = חֶסֶם (flint), ḥ having been misplaced.

HOUSE

Sub. = fortress or temple. It is used occasionally of a tent (see TENT), but more generally of an abode made of solid materials with doorposts. For the various turns of expression in combinations of בַּיִת, see BIBLE, 1:1. On its use as a house containing a family, hence descendants as an organised body, etc., cp FAMILY, § 2. בַּיִת occurs in numerous compound place-names; see BIBLE, and cp NAMES, § 97.

In attempting to describe the houses of ancient Palestine we must take into consideration the houses now used in those parts of Western Asia which have been the least exposed to the changes of time, and in which the manners of ancient days have been the best preserved. The Hebrews themselves were a people who had been accustomed to tent-life, hence their knowledge of house-building must have been derived from the inhabitants of Canaan, who, as the Amarna Tablets clearly show, were at one time largely influenced by Assyrian culture.

The construction of houses depends upon the accessibility of suitable material and climatic exigencies. At

1. Material. the present day clay bricks are used in the plain, stone in the mountains. Sun-dried bricks (בְּרִיקָה, see BRICK) were used in the older times in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Palestine, hewn stone (אֲבָן) was rare, and, in the time of Amos, a sign of luxury (Am. 5:11 f. K 7:9, cp Is. 56:9).¹ The houses of the lower classes were low and frail, and contrasted with the high stone houses of the rich nobles. Job speaks of 'houses of clay' (Job 4:19), also of those who 'dig (or break) into houses' (Job 24:16),² and a parable of Jesus describes the ease with which a house on a sandy foundation, it is true, might be beaten down by a storm (Mt. 7:27). In fact, the houses of the peasantry even in the present day need continual renovation. At best they are made of small stones and untempered mortar; often they are of nothing but hard earth with layers of sun-dried bricks, and, if neglected, soon perish. The town-houses are more solid and permanent. Though nearly always of only one story, they are sometimes as high as houses of three stories among ourselves. Approached from the outside, the modern house presents little more than a dead wall.

Entering the GATE (שַׁעַר), one finds oneself in a passage usually sloping downwards, which with an abrupt turn (to ensure privacy) leads into

2. Court. the court (חֲצֵר, *ha. r.*). This is paved with slabs of stone, and is frequently planted with trees which extending sometimes above the roof, present that curious effect which has been noticed in towns in SW. Asia (cp the illustration of the Egyptian house, Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1:61, fig. 130). That the richer Jews in later times had the like arrangement is possible, but cannot be inferred, even as regards the temple, from Ps. 84:2 [3] f. 92:13 [14] (cp BIRDS, col. 576, n. 1). A large basin of clear water (or perhaps a well, 2 S. 17:18) occupies the centre of the court, once used for bathing (cp 2 S. 11:2), but now superseded by the establishment of public *teum* bath in every town and in private mansions. Cold bathing has all but ceased in W. Asia.

The number of courts varies. Small houses have one, superior houses have two, and first-rate houses three, communicating with each other; for the Orientals dislike ascending stairs or steps, and prefer to gain room

¹ In Assyria, at all events, mortar or cement seems to have been unknown. Stone blocks (which, however, were rarely used) were carefully dressed and placed in close juxtaposition. Bricks formed the usual material in building. When used crude, 'sufficient adherence was ensured by the moisture left in the clay and by its natural properties.' In the case of burnt or well-dried bricks 'ordinary clay mixed with water and a little straw was their only cement' (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* etc. 1:14). For the more carefully constructed buildings a kind of natural mortar from the bituminous fountains found in parts of the country was used, but only in those parts where more than the ordinary cohesive power was needed; cp *op. cit.* 1:55, and Herod., 1:179.

² Job, it must be remembered, is in the main a work probably of the early Greek period.

HOUSE

rather by the extent than by the height of their habitations. If there are more than two courts the second is devoted chiefly to the master's use, whilst the outer one is devoted to social intercourse, and is therefore different from the others. When there are only two courts the innermost is the harem (cp *בית הנשים*, Esth. 2:3), which is occupied by the women and children, and is the true domicile of the master. In the country districts the court is not infrequently used as a stable; in other cases the occupants live above the stables, which take up the ground floor (cp Rob. *BR*²³ 339). The former arrangement has probably come down from the nomadic custom of encamping with the cattle in the enclosure formed by the encircling tents.

The *mandara*, or reception-room of the master, faces the outer court. It is entirely open in front, thus corresponding to the open place in the tent used for the same purpose, and is richly fitted up with divans, etc. This is used also as a guest-chamber. A large portion of the other side of the court is occupied with a frontage of lattice-work filled with coloured glass, belonging to a room as large as the guest-chamber, which in winter is used for the same purpose, or serves as the apartment of any visitor of distinction. The other apartments in this outer court are comparatively small, and are used for visitors, retainers, and servants; they are usually upon what we should call the first floor, or at least upon an elevated terrace. The ground floor is in that case occupied by various store-rooms and servants' offices. In all cases the upper floor, containing the principal rooms, is fronted by a gallery or terrace, protected from the sun by a sort of penthouse roof supported by pillars of wood. See CHAMBER.

Over the gateway stands a latticed chamber, corresponding to the upper-room (*ὑπερφῶν*) or cooling-room, see BED, § 1. It was to the chamber of the gate that David retired to indulge his grief, and it was here perhaps that consultations with a prophetic were held (2 K. 22:14, emended text); see HUIPAT.

The arrangement of the inner court is very similar to that of the outer; but the whole is more open and airy. The buildings usually occupy two sides of the square, of which the one opposite the entrance contains the principal apartments. They are upon what we should call the first floor, and open into a wide gallery or verandah, which in good houses is nine or ten feet deep, and covered by a wooden penthouse supported by a row of wooden columns. This terrace, or gallery, is furnished with a strong wooden balustrade, and is usually paved with squared stones, or else floored with boards. The greater part of one of the sides of the court front is usually occupied by the large sitting-room, with lattice-front covered with coloured glass, similar to that in the outer court. The other rooms of smaller size are the more private apartments of the mansion. There are usually no doors to the sitting or drawing rooms of Eastern houses; they are closed by curtains, at least in summer.

The basement is occupied by various offices, stores of corn and fuel, places for the water-jars to stand in, places for grinding corn, baths, kitchens, etc. The kitchen, which is open in front, is always in this inner court, as the cooking is performed by women. It is surrounded by a brick terrace, on the top of which are the fireplaces formed in compartments, and separated by little walls of fire-brick or tile. In these different compartments the various dishes of the Eastern feast may be at once prepared at charcoal fires (cp COOKING, § 4). This place being wholly open in front, the half-tame doves, which have their nests in the trees of the court, often visit it, in the absence of the servants, in search of crumbs, etc. (cp Rob. *BR*²³ 360).

In Turkish Arabia most of the houses have underground cellars (*terdabs* as they are called) to which the inhabitants

HOUSE

retreat during the mid-day heat of summer, and there enjoy a refreshing coolness. The biblical writers do not refer to this usage. At Acra, however, the substructions of very ancient houses have been discovered with just such cellars (cp Thomson, *LB* 1941 309). Commonly, the winter-house is the lower apartment (*el-heit*), the upper (*cullyek*) being the summer-house. Every house of the better class has both, and they are familiarly called *el-shetany* and *el-gaify*, the winter and summer house. Where both are on the same story the interior and more sheltered chamber becomes the winter-house, the external and more airy one being used in summer.

From the court a flight of stone steps, usually at the corner, conduces to the gallery, from which a plainer stair leads to the house-top. If the house

4. Roof. be large, there are two or three sets of steps to the different sides of the quadrangle, but seldom more than one flight from the terrace to the housetop of any one court. There is, however, a separate stair from the outer court to the roof, and it is usually near the entrance. This will bring to mind the case of the paralytic, whose friends, finding they could not get access to Jesus through the people who crowded the court of the house in which he was preaching, took him up to the roof, and, uncovering it, let him down (Mk. 2:1-4). Lk., writing for Roman readers, describes a Roman house (5:17-20). His readers are accustomed to a house with tiles (cp *tegulae*, *κέραμος*) and with a hole (*impluvium*) in the roof of the principal chamber, where the company would be assembled. For him to have said that the roof was uncovered would have been unintelligible to his readers (Ramsay, *It's Christ born in Bethlehem?* 58 ff.).

The roof (23) of the house is, of course, flat,¹ and in modern villages is reached by a stairway from the yard or court. It is formed by rafters of tamarisk or palm-trees, across which are laid branches, twigs, and matting; earth is then laid over and trodden down; after which it is covered with a compost which acquires considerable hardness when dry. Such roofs would not, however, endure the heavy and continuous rains of our climate; and in those parts of Asia where the climate is more than usually moist, a stone roller is usually kept on every roof, and after a shower a great part of the population is engaged in drawing these rollers over the roofs (cp Rob. *BR*²³ 339 44). It is now very common, in countries where timber is scarce, to have domed roofs; but in that case the flat roof, which is indispensable to Eastern habits, is obtained by filling up the hollow intervals between the several domes, so as to form a flat surface at the top. These flat roofs are often alluded to in the Bible; and the allusions show that they were used for recreation and many other purposes (Josh. 26 Judg. 16:27 1 S. 9:25 f. 2 S. 11:2 16:22 Is. 22:1 Jer. 19:13 Zeph. 1:5 Mt. 24:17 Mk. 13:15 Acts 10:9), cp Hitt. A similar arrangement known in Assyria was a long open arcade (the Italian *loggia*) running along above the roof the whole length of the façade. This is not unlike the constructions adopted by the Nestorians in the villages of Kurdistan (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* etc. 1:139 f., with illustrations).

The roofs of the houses are well protected by walls and parapets. Towards the street and neighbouring houses is a high wall, and towards the interior courtyard usually a parapet or wooden rail. Parapets of this kind, for the prevention of accidents, are strictly enjoined in the Law² (Dt. 22:8, *אָפֶּקֶד, סִפֵּהֶנָּה*; cp Ar. *ʾakā*, 'to hinder,' 'withhold'; note the form of the battlements of the Egyptian house in Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*²³ 1362, fig. 132).

¹ Sugar-loaf roofs are often to be seen in many parts of Upper Syria and Mesopotamia. In Assyria both forms of roof seem to have been common; see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* etc. 1:145 f. (with illustration); and especially 160 ff.

² The Law is peculiar to D; a provision prompted by the same general motive is found in Ex. 21:33 f. (Dt. *Deut.*, ad loc.) The Book of the Covenant does not anywhere presuppose houses, the community for whom it was intended had not perhaps advanced so far.

HOZAI

The windows had no glass. Windows were rare, and in the winter the cold was kept out by veils over the openings; see LATTICE. Chimneys etc. were unknown, and artificial warmth was supplied by braziers (see COAL, § 3).

In the East, where the climate allows the people to spend so much of their time out of doors, the articles of furniture and the domestic utensils have always been few and simple. On these see the separate articles on BED, CANDLESTICK, LAMP, TABLE, and the like; also POTTERY, COOKING UTENSILS, MEALS. See Benz. *IIA*, Now. *IIA*, etc., and Kittel's art. in the *Rik*, Ch. 7, from which several sentences in the above have been taken.

S. A. C.

HOZAI, in RV, or **Hosai**, in AV^{msc}, as a proper name, represents חֲזַי in 2 Ch. 33:19 ('the history of Hozai'), where RV^{msc} and AV have 'the seers' (the sayings of the seers).

Kautzsch, with חֲזַי (חֲזַי לֹאמֵר לְדָוִד וְלָעָם), reads חֲזַיִּים; Hiddle (*ZATW*), 52, p. 38 חֲזַיִּים 'his (Manasseh's) seers,' which is easier, and is accepted by Kittel. See CUNICILES, § 6, col. 707, n. 1.

HUKKOK (חֻקֹּק, חֻקֹּקָה [B], חֻקֹּק [A], חֻקֹּקָה [L]), a place in Naphtali (Josh. 19:34), but hardly Yāḥūk, SE. of Safed (Rob.), which is too far N. The name is probably corrupt (cp HUKKOK).

HUKOK (חֻקֹּק; חֻקֹּק [B] etc.), 1 Ch. 6:60 [75]. See HELKATH.

HUL (חֻל, חֻלָּ [AEL]), Gen. 10:23 1 Ch. 1:17. An Aramean region; see GEDGRAHY, § 20.

HULDAH (חֻלְדָּה, 'weasel,' 'mole,' cp Achbor, 'mouse,' and see HELDAI; otherwise we might explain 'long-lived,' §§ 67, 68; Palm. חֻלְדָּה; חֻלְדָּה [BAL]), a prophetess, whose husband Shallum held the court office (or temple office) of 'keeper of the wardrobe' (2 K. 22:14 ff. = 2 Ch. 34:22 ff.). The strangely insignificant notice, 'Now she dwelt at Jerusalem in the Mishneh' (RV 'second quarter'), is due to an error like that in the text of 1 S. 17:54 (see NOR). The true reading no doubt is, 'Now she was sitting in the upper part of the gate of the old city'—in a public, central position, ready to receive those who desired to 'inquire of Yahwē.' It was to Huldah that the priest Hilkiah and his four companions resorted when the alarmed king bade them 'inquire of Yahwē' after the reading of the law-book found in the temple. Her response is not preserved in its original form; the slender promise in 2:20 was certainly not enough to kindle in Josiah such extraordinary zeal as chap. 23 describes. 'Tell ye the man that sent you unto me' (2:15) looks original, and 27:18b 19b may be fragments of the true oracle; the rest has been thoroughly recast in accordance with the melancholy facts of history (see Stade, *Gesch.* 1652 f., Benzinger, *ad loc.*).

Why did not the deputation consult Jeremiah in preference? Probably they were afraid of him; Huldah, sitting in the chamber of a city gate, was evidently a popular personage. Peritz (*JB*, 17:142 [98]) sees a trace of the importance of women in the ancient religious rites; but the connection is obscure. Cp DEUTERONOMY, § 2 (end).

T. K. C.

HUMTAH (חֻמְתָּה; Josh. 15:54†: חֻמְתָּה [B], חֻמְתָּה [A], חֻמְתָּה [L]), a place in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned between Aphekah and Hebron. Grove (Smith's *DB*) remarks on its resemblance to חֻמְתָּה (Kimath), mentioned in 2 S. 1:30, 29 between יֶזְעָר (= יֶזְעָר = Jattir) and סִפְמוֹת (= Siphmoth) as a town in S. Judah. Evidently the two names are the same.

In another interpolation (see 2:28, 29) Humtah appears as חֻמְתָּה (cp חֻמְתָּה above) between Aioer and Siphmoth. Cp We. and Klo. *ad loc.* Cp further CHADANAL.

T. K. C.

HUNTING (חֻצִּי), Gen. 27:30. See VENISON.

HUSHAI

HUPHAM (חֻפְּחָם), the eponym of the (Benjamite) **Huphamites** (חֻפְּחָמִי; Nu. 26:39; BAFL om.). Cp חֻפְּחָם, HURAM.

HUPPAH (חֻפָּה), the name of the thirteenth priestly course: 1 Ch. 24:13† (חֻפְּחָם [B], חֻפְּחָם [AL]).

HUPPIM (חֻפִּים), a son of Benjamin (but see HUPHAM); Gen. 46:21 (חֻפִּים [B], חֻפִּים [AL]); 1 Ch. 7:13 (חֻפִּים [B], חֻפִּים [A], חֻפִּים [L]); 1 Ch. 7:15 (חֻפִּים [B], חֻפִּים [A], חֻפִּים [L]).

HUR (חֻר, חֻר [BAFL], § 81). A connection with the Egyptian Horus seems very probable, cp Nab. and Sin. חֻר, Eg. Aram. חֻר, חֻר, חֻר, חֻר. In Ass. Sayce (*PSBA* 20:200 f. [98]) compares Abihar, 'my father is Horus,' on an early Babylonian contract tablet, *temp.* Apil-Sin, *AB* 4:15 L. 20. Ass.-Aram. compounds of חֻר (e.g., חֻרִּים, חֻרִּים) are uncertain; for the softening of the guttural see HAKKESEMER, but Hoffmann (*ZA* 11:228) reads everywhere חֻר (חֻר) 'Hadad.' Marq. finds another trace of Horus in the Benjamite Abihar (so read for אֲבִיחָר, 1 Ch. 8:7, which in 7:10 is corrupted to אֲבִיחָר).

1. Mentioned together with Aaron as being present at the battle of Rephidim (Ex. 17:10-12, E) and left in charge of the people during Moses' absence on Mt. Sinai (*ib.* 21:14, E). Possibly his connection with Moses belongs to a secondary stratum (E, *i.e.*, F₂) (cp MIRIAM, § 1); P (see 3) regards the name as Midianitish, and we remember that Moses married a Midianitish wife. Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 24) calls Hur the husband of Miriam (iii. 61), and identifies him with 2.

2. A Judahite, the grandfather of BAZAIEH (*q.v.*), a temple workman (Ex. 31:2, 35:30, 38:22 [om.], 1 Ch. 2:19 f. 50 4:14 2 Ch. 1:3). Cp HIRAM, 2.

3. One of the five kings of Midian mentioned in Nu. 31:8 Josh. 13:21 [P] (חֻר [BAFL] in both places, E in Nu.). See MIDIAN.

4. Father of KETIAIAH, 5 (Neh. 3:9, om. BBA [παλαιός]) νῦν παλαιός νῦν παλαιός [L]).

5. 1 K. 4:8, see BEN-HUR.

HURAI (חֻרַי; חֻרַי [B], חֻרַי [L]), of the 'brooks of GAASH' (*q.v.*), one of David's 'thirty,' corresponds in 1 Ch. 11:32 to the HURAI (*q.v.*) of 2 S. 23:30. Kennicot (*Visser*, 194), We. (*IBS*), H. P. Smith and Hiddle (*SBOT*) prefer 'Hurai'; Klost. (on 'Sam.' *loc.*) and Kittel (*SBOT*) defend Hiddai (חֻדַי), out of which חֻרַי could so easily have been corrupted. Marq. (*Fund.* 20), however, suggests that אֲדָהי, 2 S. 23:30 is a corruption for אֲדָהי, and would restore חֻרַי (cp Haddai, 2 Ch. 28:12). Adlai (1 Ch. 27:20) is also possible. See GIEBER, 2.

HURAM (חֻרָם), 1. H. Bela in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9), 1 Ch. 8:5†: (καὶ γέρα λα [sic] σωφραξας καὶ ὠμ [B], καὶ γέρα καὶ σωφραν καὶ ἀχίρα καὶ ὠμ [A], γέρα καὶ σωφραν καὶ ἀροναν [L]). In 1 P's list in Nu. 26:39 the name appears as HURHAM (*q.v.*).

2. and 3. See HIRAM.

HURI (חֻרִי, § 81); in Gadite genealogy; 1 Ch. 5:14† (חֻרִי [B], חֻרִי [L]).

HUSBAND (חֻסָּד), Gen. 36. See FAMILY, KINSHIP, MARRIAGE.

HUSHAI (חֻשַׁי; חֻשַׁי [B], חֻשַׁי [L]), a Hurite name (see HUR, and cp Edomite HUSHAM); the context seems to suggest a locality (1 Ch. 14†). Sibbeai (he is correctly Melchizedek in 2 S. 23:27) was a Hushathite (חֻשַׁתִּי).

2 S. renderings of חֻשַׁתִּי are: 2 S. 21:18, ὁ ἀσπασθεὶς [B], ὁ ἀσπασθεὶς [A], ὁ χερταῖος [L]; 2 S. 23:27, τὸν ἀσπασθεὶς [B], τὸν ἀσπ. [A], ὁ χερταῖος [L]; 1 Ch. 11:20, ὁ ἀσπ. [B], ὁ ἀσπ. [A], ὁ ἀσπ. [L]; 1 Ch. 21:4, ὁ ἀσπ. [B], ὁ ἀσπ. [A], ὁ ἀσπ. [L].

HUSHAI (חֻשַׁי), perhaps related to חֻשַׁי, as Huram [Hiram] to Abiram; see ABUSHA and cp Cook, *Exp.* 7: 10 326 [90]; otherwise Gray, *IBN* 323: ΧΟΥΣΕΙ [B], and in 2 S. 16:17 f. A. 11 [A], the ARHITE, 2 S. 15:12-17 1 K. 4:15 1 Ch. 27:21; see BAANA, 2. Hushai

1 For the intrusive ח in חֻשַׁתִּי there is the analogy of חֻשַׁתִּי for חֻשַׁתִּי.

HUSHAM

filled the office of 'friend' (רֵץ [1 Ch. 27:33]; רֵץ¹ [2 S. 15:37 16:16]; εἰραῖος [B in 2 S. 15:37²] of king David. See FRIEND.

By a simulated adherence to the cause of Absalom, Hushai was able to get his advice preferred to that of Ahithophel and thus brought about the downfall of Absalom. See AHITHOPHEL.³

HUSHAM (הֹשָׁם [Gen.], הֹשֶׁם [Chron.]; Ἀσομ [BADL., om. E]), the third Edomite king (Gen. 36:34 f. 1 Ch. 1:45 f.). His city is not named; but he is described as 'of the land of the Temanites.' For a possible connection of the name with one of the stories in Judges, see CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM.

HUSHATHITE (הֹשָׁתִי, 2 S. 21:18. See HUSHAI.

HUSHIM (הֹשִׁים, perhaps transposed from הֹשֶׁם; other forms are הֹשֶׁם, 1 Ch. 7:12, and הֹשִׁים, 1 Ch. 8:3; ὠσιμ [A]).

1. The name of 'the sons of Dan' in Gen. 46:23 (οἱ δε δαν Ἀσομ [DL], v. δε δαν α. [A])⁴ = Nu. 26:42 f., SHUHAM (σὺμ[ε] [BF], -ση [A], -με [L]). Perhaps the same as

2. The name of 'the sons of Aher' in 1 Ch. 7:12 (καὶ υἱοὶ παυὶ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀερ [B], κ. v. παρ. ἀσὸβ v. α. ἀερ [A], κ. v. ὑερμουθ ἱεσσουδ v. α. [L]). See AHER, DAN, § 9.

3. Probably the same as (1), a name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (2 S. 8:3, 9, 11, B): 1 Ch. 8:8 (σὺσιν [B], ὠσιμ [L]); and 8:11 (σὺσιν [B], μωσσεμ [L]). (Cp JQR 11:104, § 2.)

HUSKS (κερατῖα, i.e., 'little horns'; 'carobs' [Pesh. and Syr. Sin.]; 'carobs of the sea' [Syr. Curet.]).⁵ The prodigal son, when reduced to tend the swine of a Gentile, would fain have kept off hunger with 'the husks that the swine did eat' (Lk. 15:16). So at least EV, obscuring one of the most striking touches in the parable. The 'husks,' as explained in RV^{ms}, are the pods of the carob tree (LXX ἡρόβος = Ar. ḥarrūb⁶), also called the locust tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*), which is a characteristic tree of the shores of the Mediterranean, and common in Palestine from Hebron northwards. Cp Theophrast. i. 112; Dioscor. i. 158.

The foliage is dense (see HUT); the leaves are 'like those of our ash, but the leaflets more rounded and very dark, glossy, and evergreen.'⁶ It blossoms at the end of February, and the pods are found in enormous quantities in April and May. They are flat and narrow, from six to ten inches in length, of the shape of a horn, whence the Greek name [as above]. These husks are to be seen on the stalls in all Oriental towns, where they are sold for food' (Tristram, NHB 361).

Carob-pods, then, to the prodigal son took the place of bread—a poor but by no means an innutritious substitute.⁷ There are certainly two (2 K. 6:25 18:27 || Is. 36:12), and most probably three (Is. 1:20) OT passages in which the carob-pods may be referred to (see Che. EV^{ms}, July '99).

1. 2 K. 6:25, which should run thus, when the errors of an early scribe have been removed: '... and, behold, they besieged it, until a homer of lentils (הֶרֶב עֵרְבִית) was sold for fifty (so 5) shekels, and a quarter of a cor (כֶּרֶךְ) of carob-pods (הֶרֶבִּים) for five shekels.'

¹ On the anomaly of רֵץ for רֵץ in st. Constr. see Driver on 2 S. 15:37. 'Friend of David' should of course be added (with B⁹²) after 'Archite' in 2 S. 15:32, the first mention of Hushai.

² B elsewhere and AL everywhere have joined the Gentile 'Archite' to εἰραῖος and produced the title ἀρχιεραῖος, 'chief friend,' which BA once (1 Ch. 27:33) translate ὁ πρῶτος φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως.

³ For a criticism of the narratives see J/SL, April 1900, pp. 162 ff.

⁴ On Ἀσομ = הֹשָׁם see Ball, SBOF, on Gen. 46:23.

⁵ This reference to Ceratonia is due to Mr. McLean. The carob-tree, however, is not confined to the littoral region. Several localities in Galilee in the Talmudic period bore names compounded with הֶרֶב (Neub. Gölz, r. 266). Pesh. renders בִּשְׁמִים (Is. 52:4) freely 'carobs.'

⁶ In Enoch 92:4 the leaf of the tree of wisdom is compared to that of the carob tree.

⁷ Carobs are largely used in the composition of Thorley's food for cattle. English corn-dealers supply the pods under the name of 'locusts.' The brown hard seeds used to be the weights employed by jewellers for weighing gold and silver; hence the familiar term 'carat.'

HUZZAB

2. 2 K. 18:27: '... to the men who sit on the wall to eat their carob-pods (הֶרֶבִּים) and to drink their sour wine (צֶמֶחַ) with you.' So Is. 38:12.

3. Is. 1:20: 'If ye be willing and obedient, the good of the land shall ye eat; but if ye refuse and resist, carob-pods shall ye eat (לֶחֶם הֶרֶבִּים תֹּאכְלוּ). So by a happy guess the Midrash Wayyikri Rabbā 35.

These three passages are mutually illustrative. In a time of siege, when better victuals were scarce, men were only too glad of carob-pods and vinegar, and were sometimes even reduced to buy these at a high price. It is worth noticing that not a few coarse passages in the OT are due to corruption of the text. Cp DOVE's DUNG.

4. It is a probable view that another reference to carob-pods occurs in Mt. 34 (John the Baptist's 'locusts').

It is true, the handbooks tell us that 'the Greek word for locusts [ἀκρίδες] shows the insect to be meant; not the ceratonia pods' (Sir Joseph Hooker, in *Queen's Printers' Aids*, 39 [80]), and Bochart's references for the eating of locusts have been copied again and again. The fact that dried locusts were and still are eaten is undeniable (cp Lev. 11:22). Common sense, however, tells us that locusts would not have been preferred by the Baptist as his habitual food to nourishment supplied by the soil. Humility would not pass over the ordinary food of the poorest class, viz. carob-pods. It was a Jewish saying that 'Israel needs הֶרֶבִּים (carob-pods) to do repentance' (*Wayyikri R.* 35), and the Baptist was κατ' ἐξοχήν, the preacher of repentance. Mt. 3 is thoroughly Semitic in phraseology; the Greek translator or adapter may easily have made mistakes. הֶרֶבִּים was possibly mistaken for הֶרֶבִּים or הֶרֶבִּים by one who remembered the Tg. of Lev. 11:22. Thomson's remark (*LB* 665), 'The name of "St. John's Bread" has been given to the gelatinous pods of this tree by pious pilgrims, anxious to rescue the Baptist from the imputation of feeding on locusts,' only shows that the realism of pilgrims may now and then be worth more than the learning of doctors. Cp JOHN THE BAPTIST.

T. K. C.

HUT, RV, AV COTTAGE, Is. 24:20 (מִלְוָה). In Is. 18:2 the same Hebrew word is rendered 'lodge,' in order not to tamper with a familiar piece of dignified old English. In Job 27:18 (cp MOTU) and in Is. 1:28 a synonymous word (מִלְוָה) is rendered BOOTH. All these words mean the temporary shelter erected for the 'watcher' (מִלְוָה, מִלְוָה, Job 27:18) in a vineyard or garden of cucumbers.

The sort of booth now used in Syria is well described by Wetzstein in Del. *Hiob*², 348, and an illustration is given in *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' 162 (cp Niebuhr, *Beschreib. v. Arabien*, 1, Tab. 15, Fig. F). As the illustration shows, the floor or platform is sometimes bound at the corners to four poles, at some distance above the ground; the roof is formed of boughs of trees or matting. From its dense foliage, the carob-tree (see HUSKS) is specially adapted to supply the branches required (cp Bliss, *PEF*, July '99, p. 189). The same practical sense dictated the very common arrangement of huts of boughs on the house-tops in the heat of summer (see BED, § 1, end). The garden-huts (δωροφυλάκτιον, G. Is. 18), however, are the more striking emblems of instability. When the withes with which they are bound are loosened by the winds of autumn, the shelter soon falls asunder and becomes a ruinous heap (cp Is. 24:20). Cp SCARECROW.

HUZ (חֹז), Gen. 22:21; RV UZ.

HUZZAB (הֹזֶב; Η ΥΠΟΤΑΚΤΙC [BNAQ]), a corrupt word in Nah. 2:7 [8], which Rabbinic commentators supposed to be the name of the Assyrian queen. RV^{ms}

¹ In 1 K. 20:12 16 RV^{ms} renders הֹזֶב, *sukkoth*, 'huts' (EV PAVILIONS); but see SUCOTH, 1 (end).

HYACINTH

treats it as a Hophal, from חִצִּית — 'and it is decreed' (so De Diet); AV^{mk} is still less plausible.

The first question is whether חִצִּית belongs properly to v. 7 (or to v. 6 [7]). In the former case, the conjectures offered under NAHUM are more plausible than the renderings of AV and RV; in the latter, we require a noun in apposition to 'the palace' such as חִצִּית (1 S. 13 23), and may render, 'the palace is in consternation, the garrison is terrified' (חִצִּית for חִצִּית).¹ T. K. C.

HYACINTH (YAKINΘINOC), Rev. 9:17 RV, AV JACINTH (q.v.). See also SAPPHIRE, PRECIOUS STONES.

HYÆNA, but EV **HYENA** (חַיָּה , חַיָּה , חַיָּה). Ecclus. 13:18. The *Sibud* is the striped hyæna, *H. striata*, of S. Asia and N. Africa, which is meant. To express the intensity of class-hatred among the later Jews the wise man asks, 'Whence should there be peace between the hyæna and the dog? whence peace between the rich man and the poor?' It is true, he speaks only of the abhorrence of the rich for the poor; but the Psalms offer proof enough of the abhorrence of the poor for the rich. Indeed, Ben Sira himself evidently takes the part of the poor, for the hyæna is, in the eyes of the natives of Palestine, the meanest of the beasts of prey except the jackal. It is very cowardly, and attacks living animals only under pressure of hunger. Its food is carrion; it prowls about the graveyards, or if it meets with a skeleton already picked clean by vultures, it can still make a meal off it by crushing the bones with its powerful jaws and extracting the marrow. Those bones which baffle its gnawing power it carries back to its den. As a rule it is solitary. We thus see the force of the bitter cry of Yahwê, according to G, in Jer. 12:9, 'Is my heritage (become) a hyæna's den to me?'

The passage is no doubt difficult; for another quite possible view of it see BIRD, col. 576, n. 2. G's reading, however, is in harmony with v. 8. Probably there is no interrogation. The first חַיָּה should be חַיָּה ; the second, חַיָּה . The second line will then become 'wild beasts (i.e., hyænas, etc.) are round about it' (Che.). Then the other wild beasts are summoned to aid in the desolation of Israel. On the form חַיָּה see Lag. *Uebers.* 36; but cp Kôn. *Lehrg.* 2a 137, n. 3.

We also meet with the hyæna in a place-name; valley of ZEBOIM [q.v.] probably means 'valley of hyænas.' The Horite proper name 'ZIBEON' [q.v.] also may be connected with the name of the same animal. This is not to be wondered at. The hyæna plays an important part in early Arabian beliefs (cp *Rel. Sem.* 129, 133; *Kinship*, 198; and Lane, s.v. *dab'un*), and the diminutive form *dabay'a* is found frequently as a tribal name in Arabia, indicating perhaps a totemic belief.

An animal, half hyæna and half wolf, concerning which Arabian fables have much to say is the *Simi* (*simi*), whose name, according to Robertson Smith, was borne by the totem-clans *Simi* (a division of the Medinites). Cp also the *Sam'an*, and perhaps Heb. SHIMET, SIMEON.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

HYDASPES (ΥΔΑΣΠΗΣ [BNA]), a river mentioned in Judith 16 along with the Euphrates and the Tigris. The context shows that it cannot be the Indian Hydaspes (Jelum). On the assumption that the present reading is correct, it has been suggested that it is the Choaspes—which some commentators understand by the 'Medus Hydaspes' of Virgil (*Georg.* 4:211). The Vg. reads *Iadason*; but the Syriac has ܝܕܐܣܝܢ , i.e., 'UAI' (q.v.), and Ball (against Fritzsche) regards this as the probable original.

HYMENÆUS (ΥΜΕΝΑΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]). We cannot critically assert that Hymenæus was 'a false teacher of the time of St. Paul.' He is mentioned in 1 Tim. 1:20 2 Tim. 2:17. In the former passage he is represented as belonging (with Alexander) to those who have deliberately 'thrust away' both 'faith' and 'a good

¹ Ruben (*PSBA*, June '98) keeps חִצִּית , and too boldly explains it 'is frightened,' from Assyrian.

HYMNS

conscience,' and have 'made shipwreck as regards the faith,' and who have been 'given over (by the writer) to the Satan, that they may learn by chastisement not to blaspheme.' In the latter he is included (with PHILETUS) among those who have 'swerved from the right direction (ἡσυχασάν) as regards the truth,' saying that 'the resurrection has taken place already' (i.e., in the intellectual sphere, Iren. *Haer.* 2:31), and who 'subvert the faith of some,' leading them (as v. 19 clearly implies) into the practice of 'unrighteousness.' By comparing 2 Tim. 2:16 18 with 1 Tim. 6:20 16 we see that the doctrine of a past resurrection belonged to that 'empty verbiage' which constitutes 'gnosis falsely so called' (*κενοφωνίας, ματαιολογίας, τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*). All this, as Jülicher (summing up the conclusions of a long period of criticism) has pointed out, is thoroughly un-Pauline. We cannot, therefore, be sure that there were forerunners of the later Gnosis (cp *προκόπτοντι*, 2 Tim. 2:6) named Hymenæus, Alexander, and Philetus in Paul's time. And though it is no doubt possible to explain 1 Tim. 1:20 as a reference to an act of 'giving over to Satan,' said to have been performed by Paul (cp 1 Cor. 5:5) upon persons called Hymenæus and Alexander (a reference which had for its object the suggestion of church penalties for Gnostic teachers contemporary with the real writer of 1 Tim.), how do we know that the evidence of this fact (if evidence there were) was historically sound? We have to do with mere possibilities, and though it is reasonable to suppose that the author of the Pastoral Epistles, who shows such zeal for truth, was not a mere romancer, how can we tell that the presumed sources from which he (*ex hypothesi*) drew were worthy of the credit which he gave to them? The name Hymenæus may even suggest that in the source from which the writer possibly drew, the name of this Gnostic teacher was given him as an ironical nickname, because he 'forbade to marry' (see 1 Tim. 4:3). Cp PHILETUS, PASTORAL EPISTLES, EXCOMMUNICATION, GNOSIS.

Cp Zahn, *Find.* 1:412 472 486, who points out that in the *Acta Thæce*, 14, Demas and Hermogenes (2 Tim. 1:15 4:10) take the place of Hymenæus and Philetus.

T. K. C.

HYMNS. Psalms and hymns and songs (ὠδαί), suggested by the Spirit of God, and designed for use in the Christian assemblies, are spoken of in Col. 3:16 Eph. 5:19. The former passage is the fuller, and seems to be imitated in the latter.

'Let the word which tells of Christ ($\text{ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ}$) dwell in your midst abundantly, while in all wisdom ye teach and instruct yourselves, while with psalms, hymns, spirit-given songs ye sing pleasantly with your (whole) hearts to God . . . giving thanks to God the Father by him' (Col. 3:16).

'Be filled with spiritual influence, while ye speak to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spirit-given songs, singing songs and chanting psalms with your (whole) heart to the Lord . . . while ye give thanks always for all things' (Eph. 5:19).

The predominant tone of Christians is to be one of thanksgiving. Teaching or learning is not to be a mere intellectual exercise; the truths

1. Nature. taught or learned are to blossom, as it were, into hymns. Indeed, not only teaching, but also all words spoken and all deeds done are to suggest articulate or inarticulate thanksgiving to God the Father. The hymns are described by three terms, the first of which (psalms) may imply the influence of OT models, though it need not do more than express the suitability of the songs spoken of to be accompanied with music.¹ The songs are further described as *πνευματικά*—i.e., suggested by the divine spirit which (or, who) dwells in the community, and those who are to sing the songs are directed to do so *ἐν ᾠδῇ*²—i.e., pleasantly—so as to

¹ Plat. *Alex.* M. 67: *μουσα συνιγγων καὶ αὐλῶν, ᾠδῆς τε καὶ ψαλμῶν.*

² The reading of TR (*ἐν ᾠδῇ*) is that of AR² Cut vid. De rel. Arm.; *ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ* is read by B² C² D² FG, Clem. The former is not the best attested; but it is the most suitable reading. Even as a conjecture it would be worth accepting. Cp Col. 4:6. Von Soden's rendering 'with thankfulness' for *ἐν ᾠδῇ* is not, indeed, inappropriate; but it is too bold.

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charm both singers and hearers. It is a mistake to infer from 'in your heart(s)' (*ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις* [or *τῇ καρδίᾳ*] *ὑμῶν*) that the singing is to be purely inward, as if the phrase formed an antithesis to 'teaching.' Inward psalm-singing would certainly not have contented the writer of Colossians. A spiritual impulse comparable in intensity to that of wine must have suggested audible expressions of praise. The phrase quoted is like *עַל־כֵּל*, which can undoubtedly mean 'with all your heart,' 'heartily' (the instrumental 'with' as in Ps. 122 [3] 152).

These are not the earliest references to 'spirit-given songs' among Christians. The language of the writers

may perhaps presuppose the existence of a stock of songs, which were known (in more than one sense) by heart, and naturally rose to the lips even of those who had themselves no poetic gift. Turning to 1 Cor. we find ourselves in a somewhat different atmosphere. Says the apostle—'What is it then, brothers? Whenever you come together, each one has a psalm . . . ' (1 Cor. 14:26). He means not that every Christian in the assembly feels an impulse to utter a freshly inspired psalm, but, as the context shows, that there is a conflict of gifts; one man breaking into song, another into a speech in a strange tongue. It sometimes even happened that the 'spirit-given song' was in a strange tongue, and unintelligible to the *ἰδιώτης* or 'plain man,' so that the apostle has to declare that for his part if anything obscure comes out of his lips under inspiration he will not omit to interpret it.

'I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray also with the mind. I will chant a psalm with the spirit, and I will chant a psalm also with the mind' (1 Cor. 14:15).

To do justice to these NT facts we must consider two points: (1) the long continuance of the practice of writing psalms among the post-exilic Jews, and (2) the close affinity between prophecy and the composition of psalms for the use of the faithful. To illustrate the former point, we may refer to the Psalms of Solomon, the psalms in the Greek Daniel, in Judith and Tobit, and in the 'Assumption of Moses'; to illustrate the latter, to the prophetic character of Miriam and Deborah (both writers of 'spirit-given songs') and to the frequent occurrences of an oracular tone in the canonical psalms (cp. Hiekes, *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised*, 31 f. [1709]). Since the Jewish psalms were certainly not uttered at random, but had their proper place in the services, we may assume that the psalms referred to by the apostle also had their proper place. Paul speaks of prayer and praise (*προσεύχεσθαι* and *ψάλλειν*) together. This would be the natural combination in the very earliest liturgical arrangements. From the fact, however, that 'a psalm' (*ψαλμός*) is mentioned alone in 14:26, we may infer (with Weizsäcker)¹ that the song of praise was as a rule more prominent than prayer (in the usual sense of the word).² Cp. GOSPELS, § 26, n.

According to the scholar just mentioned, the psalm spoken of by Paul was not necessarily in every case a new and original composition. Certainly. But it does appear to be a probable inference that there was in every case a new and original element in it. Inspiration appears to be presupposed, and the inspiration of the canonical psalms, though often secondary in character, never fails to add some touches which redeem the work from the discredit of absolute unoriginality; if there be any exceptions to this rule, let it be conceded that such psalms have only been admitted to make up the required number of 150.

The songs ascribed in Lk. to Mary, Simeon, and Zachariah, and known to us as the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, and the *Benedictus* (to which we may add the *Gloria in Excelsis* and perhaps the *Hosanna* of

¹ *The Apostolic Age*, 2250.

² *תְּהִלָּה*, 'prayer,' can include *תְּהִלָּה*, 'song of praise.' See S. 2:1 Jon. 2:1 [2], and the headings of Ps. 17 85 99 142 Hab. 3.

HYPOCRISY, HYPOCRITE

Palm Sunday, see *HOSANNA*), are obviously Jewish Christian hymns. Israel is the 'people' which is redeemed; its believing members are the 'poor' who are comforted. It is for no merely worldly conqueror, however, that these Christian psalmists look, but for one who can communicate 'forgiveness of sins.' It is the Christian community which speaks, and these 'canticles' gain in beauty and in interest by the recognition of this. That Resch¹ and Warfield should hold that Mary herself wrote the *Magnificat*, is unfortunate. The latter scholar, however, admits that 'had we met with the *Magnificat* in the midst of the Psalter it would have occasioned no suspicion and seemed in no sense out of place' (*Expositor*, '85 6, 304).

The *ψαλ* or songs given in the Apocalypse are more distinctly prophetic than the canticles in the Gospels. Weizsäcker (*Apost. Age*, 2260)

4. Songs of the Apocalypse. divides them into two classes—those which are related by their contents to the prophecy of the book, and those which, the contents being of a general nature, may be traditional. To the former class belong the song of triumph in chap. 18, the nuptial ode in 19:1-8, and the triumphal chant of the twenty-four elders in heaven, 11:17 f. To the latter belong the songs in 4:11 5:9 f. 12:1 f. 15:3 f. 11:17 f. The tone of triumph which pervades these odes or hymns is not less characteristically Christian than Jewish. '*Carmenque* Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem' are the well-known words of Pliny (*Ep.* 97).

All these songs display in their structure, in more or less perfection, the characteristics of Hebrew poetry. It was a true insight which led the writer of codex A of the Greek Bible to place the 'prayers' of Mary (*τῆς θεοτόκου*), Simeon, and Zachariah, together with the *ὕμνος δαυιδ* of the *Gloria in Excelsis* (with an appendix of quotations from the psalms). At the end of the *ψαλ* which follow the Psalms of Solomon. On the reading of Lk. 8:14 (*ἐν ἀσώτοις εὐδοκίᾳ* or *εὐδοκίᾳ*) and on the arrangement and rendering of the hymn, see WH, ii. App. 55 f. T. K. C.

HYPOCRISY, HYPOCRITE, HYPOCRITICAL

AV's rendering of *עָרִיב* (Job 8:13 [eight times in Job], Ps. 85:16 Prov. 11:9 15:16 [17] 106:3 6 83:14), for which RV has substituted respectively 'godless,' 'profane,' 'profaneness.' But in Eccl. 1:29 32:15 33:2, RV retains 'hypocrite' (in 2 Macc. 6:25 RV 'disimulation'), and in Mt. 6:2 5:16 7:5 Lk. 12:1 1 Pt. 2:1 etc. (a large group of passages). *ὑποκριτής* = *עָרִיב* is found in S in Job 34:30 36:13, an inconsistency due to the incorporation of passages of Theod. Aq., Theod., and Sym., all sometimes have *ὑποκριτής*, *ὑποκριτής*, for *עָרִיב*, *עָרִיב*. Is this due to the imposition of a late meaning on passages where *עָרִיב* really has quite another sense? Or may we hold with Hatch (*Biblical Greek*, 92) that 'early in the second century and among Greek-speaking Jews, *ὑποκριτής* had come to connote positive badness or irreligion? To decide these points we must observe that on exegetical grounds *עָרִיב*, *חַנְיָף*, in the OT must primarily mean 'polluted.'

A *חַנְיָף* is not simply a wicked person; he is one who by impiety has become unholy, and therefore cannot enter God's presence (Job 13:16). This loss of religious standing of course implies certain moral or immoral characteristics. First of all, 'speaking impiety' (*עָרִיב*, Is. 9:17 [16])—a note of character which is also assigned to the 'impious' man (*עָרִיב*, see FOOT.) in Is. 32:6. Next, the unholy state involves (as indeed these two passages imply) the commission of wicked actions, such as violation of the marriage bond (Jer. 31:2), murder (Nu. 35:33 Is. 24:5 Ps. 106:38), and apostasy (Dan. 11:32). For a community to be *חַנְיָף* involves its abandonment by its God to a foreign oppressor (Is. 106 Mic. 4:11).

As a class-name *חַנְיָף* appears to be late (see references above); *חַנְיָף* (Is. 32:6) and *חַנְיָפִי* (Jer. 23:15) are also late.

The verb *חַנְיָף* first appears in Jer. 31:29 23:11, where (as also in Mic. 4:11, later than the prophet Micah) it clearly means 'to be polluted.' In the Psalter, remarkably enough, the class-name *חַנְיָף* occurs only once, and then only if we emend the text; the 'hypocritical' (RV 'profane') mockers in feasts' of

¹ *Ausserkanon. Paralleltexte*, 323 ff.

HYRCANUS

AV (Ps. 35:16) must disappear; but in Ps. 146 (7) (= 53:5 (6)) π_{127}^{AV} should probably be restored (for π_{127}^{LXX} , π_{127}^{Vg}). The sense 'polluted' is supported by Pesh. (the verb $\pi_{127}^{\text{Pesh}} = \text{f'nt}$) and Tg. (the verb sometimes $= \pi_{127}^{\text{Tg}}$).

The facts here adduced appear decisive. If Jesus used Aram. *hanifa* in the sense of the OT חָנָן, he cannot have meant to convey the idea of 'hypocrite.' It is not certain, however, that he did. There may have been a second Heb. and Aram. root חָנָן meaning 'to be untruthful,' 'dishonest' (cp. Ar. *hanafa*, 'to incline'; *hanifa*, 'to be bandy-legged').

In *Am. Tab.* 1818, *hamip* apparently means 'to slander' (Wi.), and in old Egypt *hnp* seems to be a Semitic ban-word = 'false', applied to weights (WMM, *J's B.A.*, 6th. 66. '94). It is apparently this second root which has established itself in New Hebrew (חָמַץ = hypocrisy, dishonesty, flattery) and has produced the renderings of the (Greek versions of the OT referred to, and perhaps also the Syriac use of *hamif*, 'pagan'), the word which corresponds to the *ἁμάρτος* of Mt. 67 18 17 in Curet., Sin., Pesh.

On the whole it seems unwise, until further evidence is produced, to change the rendering of ὑποκριταί in the NT into 'impious ones' as suggested by Hatch. Probably, however, 'dishonest ones' would be better than 'hypocrites.' Jesus may, perhaps, have been thinking of the false Pharisees, called in a well-known saying 'the dyed ones.' See PHARISEES.

The above explanation of *ḥnif* differs from that given in the recent lexicons. BDB connects *ḥnif* with Ar. *ḥanaḥa*, 'to incline or decline,' whence *ḥanif*, applied by Mohammed to Moslems (as inclining to the truth). Yet, somewhat inconsistently, BDB gives as the first sense 'to be polluted.' Ges.¹(3) on the other hand gives two Arabic connections, and, quite consistently, makes the first meaning 'to be impious, or faithless.' Neither lexicon, however, explains how the senses 'to be impious' and 'to be polluted' are connected; *ḥnif* in Heb. and *ḥanif* in Aram. never mean 'impious.' That falseness and impiety are connected, is easy to understand (see TRUTH); but the statement 'the land was polluted' could not be expressed by words which might permissibly be rendered 'the land was untruthful.' On the difficult class-term *ḥanif* see We. *Heid.*(2) 233 f. 250 (end); also Lane, *Lex.*, who states that according to some it was applied by idolaters to themselves as a term of praise, whilst according to others it was applied by them to those who followed the Din Ibrahim. It is not clear that BDB is right in comparing the Heb. class-term *ḥanif* with the Ar. class-term *ḥanif*; but this Lex. renders a service by pointing out, however inconsistently, that *ḥanif* implies primarily, not 'wickedness,' but 'pollution.' This was David ben Abraham (10th cent.) and Ibn Janah (11th cent.), both of whom define *ḥnif* as meaning 'defilement.'

Eustathius, the commentator on the *Iliad*, gives this interesting definition of 'hypocrite' (On II, 7, 564, ap. Schleusner):—*ὁυκ ὁρίσται παρὰ τοῖς ἱστοροῦσι ὅτιον οὔ μὴ ἐκ ψυχῆς λέγων ἢ πράττων, ἀλλ' ὅταν φανεῖ, οὗτοις πρῶτος μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ θυμῆς, οἱ σκηνικοί.* This will express the ordinary view of the meaning Jesus meant. We need an interpretation of the word actually spoken by Jesus which will cover both the wickedness which acts a part (as, e.g., in Mt 23. 15) and the wickedness which is wickedness which need not to simulate, and is readily recognised as *ωμωπία* (Mt. 22. 18 Lk. 20. 23). Cp Lk. 12. 46, where *ἀπίστων* is || Mt. 5 *ὁυκ ὁρίτων*, and is most naturally paraphrased 'irreligious.'

T. K. C.

HYRCANUS. 1. For John Hyrcanus, see MACCABEES, § 7.

2. (ἱερὰνος τοῦ τωβ[ι]ου), son of Tobias, who had a large amount of wealth deposited in the temple at the time when Heliodorus came to plunder it (2 Macc. 3:13, AV HIRCANUS). The name was not uncommon among Jews, owing to the deportation of Jews to Hyrcania by Ochus about 350 B.C. (?). Nevertheless, it is plausible to identify this Hyrcanus with the 'Jewish

¹ Che. *Notes and Criticisms on the Heb. Text of Is.* ('68), p. 13.

HYSSOP

Alciabades' of the same name (referred to in *Jos. Ant.* xii. 411), who, like his father, became a collector of the revenue of Palestine under the Egyptian government. The splendid remains of 'Arak el-Enir (see Baed. *Pal.* 8), 173) still attest his magnificence, and an inscription copied there by Gautier has led Clermont Ganneau (*Rev. Crit.*, '97, p. 503) to conclude that the Jewish name of the builder was Tobiah (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 42 represents a Tobiah as his grandfather).

It is also possible to find a veiled reference to this Hyrcanus in Zech. 11:4-17, where 'the prominent man who does not fill the shepherd's office in his own interest, but in that of the flock, and gives it up as soon as he sees that the flock is not worthy of him' seems to correspond to the proud character and high-flown plans of Hyrcanus (We. *KZ.* P², 196). Cp ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.

HYSSOP (חֵיֶסֶף, 'ezēb; ὕσσωπος; Ex. 12²² Lev. 14:6,49 51 f. Nu. 19:6,18 1 K. 4:33 [513] Ps. 51:7[9] Jn. 19:29 [but see below]; Heb. 9:19f), a small wall-growing plant, well adapted for sprinkling, and hence regularly used to sprinkle blood in various purificatory rites.

The name may be of Sem. origin, as kindred forms are found in Ass., Aram., Ar., and Eth. *ḡasmos* is probably derived from the Sem. word, and, from Greek, has passed into modern languages. But whatever the *ḡasmos* of the Greeks may have been, the Heb. *ḡas* can hardly be our 'hyssop' (*Hyssopus officinalis*, L.), which is not a native of Palestine.

There have been endless conjectures as to the plant intended (see esp. the 42 pp. in Celsius 1407 ff.). Many have adopted the opinion of Maimonides, who identifies it with the *gatar* of the Arabs—i. e., with some species of *Satureia*. It is, however, doubtful whether *Satureia* is a wall-plant; the only species in Palestine is *Satureia Thymbra*. A more probable identification is that with the caper plant (*Capparis spinosa*). This bright green creeper has a special fondness for rocks and walls, and is plentiful in Egypt, in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the gorge of the Kidron, and on the walls of Jerusalem (Tristram).

The similarity of 'ēzōb to 'aṣaf, an Arabic name for the caper, is a further argument adduced by Tristram (*NHB* 457); but the philological connection is doubtful.

The cleansing properties of this plant appear to be traditional in the East (cp Watt, *Dict. Econom. Products of India*, 2:133). On the whole this identification deserves the preference, unless we choose rather to suppose that the word is somewhat general, including various herbs of the nature of thyme, savory, and marjoram. On the ritual use of hyssop see SACRIFICE.

[Jn. 19:29] states that 'they filled a sponge with vinegar and put it upon hyssop' (ὑσσώμῳ): Mk. 15:36 says 'upon a reed' (καλάμῳ). 'A hyssop stalk, then,' say the commentators. But see Naber (*Memorias*, 361) 780, who defends the reading ὑσσώμῳ conjectured by Joachin, Camerarius, al. Bentley, and actually found in hsc¹ [T¹]. In 19:34 the spear tined in the right side is called ὀστρα; but ὑσσώμῳ is at all events a well-known word for javelin (Lat. *pilum*). De Diez (*Crit. St.*, 506 f. [1894]) gives an elaborate note on the reading ὑσσώμῳ. He rejects the conjecture of Camerarius, and no wonder, for that scholar thought it necessary to read ὑσσώμῳ προπερίθετες, 'binding it [the sponge] round the top of a spear.' He is half inclined to accept the much more conjecture of D. Heinsius that we should read ὀστραὶν περιθετες (scil. καλάμῳ). That Greek medical writers used ὑσσώμῳ corruptly for ὀστραὶν (the grease extracted from wool, and waxed, which was used as a sedative for the pain of wounds) is certain. But the refreshment offered to Jesus was sour wine (ὄξος) mixed with myrrh; what was wanted in addition was not ὀστραὶν but something to bring the refreshment to the sufferer's mouth. ὑσσώμῳ suits the context, ὀστραὶν does not. WH notes corruption in the passage; no other word but ὑσσώμῳ is available *πρὶν* before the ὀστραὶν, a surprising addition. The text of Jn. 19:29 should therefore probably run, 'so they put a sponge full of sour wine upon a javelin, and brought it to his mouth.' N. M. — W. T. C.

N. M. — W. T. T. — D. — T. K. C.

¹ Cp also Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*⁽³⁾, 186 f. [1782].

I

IBIS (הַיִּבִּיס), Lev. 11:19† RV^{mg}; EV IERON (*g. v.*).

In Josh. 17:11 the mention of Ibleam is not original, as it is manifest that the whole passage has been arranged to suit Judg. 1:27 (om. BA, *iaβAaam* (L)).¹

According to MT, 2 K. 13.10, Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, was slain by Shallum, שְׁלֻמִּי. This un-Hebraic phrase, which RV ungrammatically renders 'before the people' (a legacy from AV), was emended by Grätz (*Gesch.* 2:199) to שְׁלֻמִּי בֶן־יִרְבּוֹאָם, 'in Ibleam' – a happy conjecture which was afterwards confirmed by *BL* (ἐν ἱεραβόαμ, κεφαλαί [BA]).

In I Ch. 67o[55] the name appears as BILEAM (עִבְיָ, om. B), and perhaps in Judith in several forms (see BELMEN). It seems to have been near EN-GANNI, and the name has probably survived in the *Wādy* (and *Bir*) *Bel'ameh*, about half-an-hour S. of Jenni. The identification with el-Jelameh is unsatisfactory: this place is situated in an open plain, there is no pass in the neighbourhood, and it could never have been a place of great strength.² Ibleam occurs together with Taanach in the list of Palestinian cities subdued by Thothmes III. in the sixteenth century B.C. (*Y-b-ri-a'-m-y*, see WAIN, *As. u. Eur.* 195). See GATH-RIMMON, 2.

IBNIJAH (יִבְנִיָּה; ΒΑΝΑΙΑ [B], ΙΕΒΑΝΑΔΑΙ [A], ΙΕΧΟΝΙΟΥ [L]), a Benjamite (1 Ch. 98). Cp IBNEIAH.

ABDI (1), ABDA (2), and the cognate OBADIAH (3) occur in the genealogy of the Merarite Ethan-Jeduthun, and to the same Levitical division belong the names OBED-EDOM, OBED (4), and OBADIAH (5).

S. A. C.

IBSAM (יִבְסָם), 1 Ch. 7:2 RV; AV JIBSAM.

¹ See Bu. Ri. Sa. 13*f.*, and SROT, 'Judges.'

² Cp Baed. (3) 262, and Moore, *Judith* (l.c.), who notes a possible connection of Ibleam with the Balamon of Judith 83. See BILMEN.

3 C, 7A, in BH A and 2 were confused.

ICE (קָדָשׁ), Ps. 147:17 Job 6:16 EV, etc. In Ezek. 1:22 RVmg.: AV CRYSTAL. See FROST.

Jos. ΙΑΧΩΒΗΝ [Niese],  [Pesh.]). In a passage of later date (1 S. 4.21 f.), resembling the narrative of the birth of Benjamin (Gen. 35.16 f.), an account is given of his birth and a quasi-historical explanation of his name. The tidings of the loss of the ark and of the death of Eli and his sons are stated to have reached the wife of Phinehas as she lay in childbirth; she named the new-born babe 'Ichabod,' saying, 'The glory (הַכָּבוֹד, i.e., the divine glory) is departed from Israel' (cp Hos. 10.5, also 1 Macc. 28, ἀνὴρ ἑυδοξος).¹ A touching story, but one that is obviously suggested by a popular etymology.

Instead, however, of at once seeking for this etymology, let us apply for a suggestion to the versions. In 1 S. 4.21 **ו** gives **סוּאֵי־בַּקְוָאֶשׁוּ** [B], **סוּאֵי־בַּקְשׁוּ** [A], **סוּאֵי־בַּקְוָאֶשׁוּ** [L], **סוּאֵי־בַּקְוָאֶשׁוּ** [Pesh.]. **ו**'s reading is variously explained as representing **רְחֹמֹת** 'מִי', 'woe on the streets' (We.), **מִי עֵינֵי בְּכֹר** 'alas! the glory has passed away' (Klo.). **א**, however, suggests a simpler reading, **מִי בְּכֹר**. In 1 S. 14.3 the Vss. (see above) presuppose the reading **יֹכָדֵךְ**, JOCHERD (g.t.), and **ו**'s reading in 1 S. 4.22 combines this with the first part of **ו**'s. It is very plausible to suppose that tradition gave a slight turn to this name, so as to reflect the painful feelings of contemporaries of the capture of the ark (cp Ben-oni side by side with Benjamin in Gen. 35.18).

In short, the popular etymology presupposed by 1 S. 4:21 was not **אִי-בְבוֹר**, 'inglorious' (Jos. ἀδόξια), but **בְּבוֹר**, Am. 5:16, 'alas for the glory' (so Klost.; cp 1 K. 13:33).
Am. 5:16. If so, we must decline the view (expressed afresh by Marq. *Fund.* 24) that the original name was **Abi-cabod** (cp **JESSE**, **JEZEBEL**). **Jochēbēd** (or **Jocā-bōd**)—i.e., 'Yahwē is glory'—would seem to be the true name—certainly an appropriate one for the brother of **Ahi-tub**, i.e., 'The (divine) brother is goodness.' It will be seen from these facts that Hommel's explanation, 'Ai (=Yah) is glory' (*AHT* 116), is, to say the least, quite needless. One point remains. The vicissitudes of ethnic names are so strange that we may surmise **I-cabod**, or rather **Jochēbēd**, to be the original form of the name **Jacob** (**Chē**); see **JOCHEBED**.

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

ICONIUM (IKONION [Ti. WH], mod. *Konia*). The site has preserved a single name from the earliest times. The town was selected by the Seljuk Sultans as their capital, owing partly to its central position, and partly to its pleasant surroundings, which are in great contrast to the rest of the Lycæonian plain (cp Strabo, 568). The

17. 22 is usually taken as a gloss to preclude the idea that the death of Eli and both the sons could be as grievous as the loss of the ark (cp Then. and Bu. in *SBOT*). It omits *וְהָיָה* . . . *וְהָיָה* in 18. 21, and if *r. 21b* be an interpolation, as Oort suggests (*Th.* 18. 20)—the dying mother in *20b* pays little regard to the child, but only to the loss of the ark, and *21b* is a clumsy clause which we could well do without—*r. 22* is then original, and will aptly follow after the mention of the name Ichabod.

2 In Eccles. 4:10 10:16 *N = *N; see Kō, *Lehrz.* ii. 1339. It should be noticed that the existence of a negative part, *N, in the OT is very disputable; *N, Job 22:30, stands in a very obscure context. It is, however, found regularly in Ethiopic, Misibic-Hebrew, and Phœnician.

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gardens of the suburbs are still a pleasant feature; they depend entirely on irrigation (cp Nik. Chon. 542). The town lies on the W. edge of the vast upland plain of Lycania; the mountains rise six miles to the W., whilst on the N. and S. at a distance of ten miles are ranges of hills.

'On first seeing Konia from the hills above, the traveller is struck by its open and undefended position, lying as it does in the plain, with no natural citadel, and equally by its apparent size. Modern Iconium very meagrely fills out its old framework. Little remains of old Iconium' (Hogarth in *JHS* 11 154).

Under the Persian empire Iconium was the frontier city of Phrygia (first mention in Xen. *Anab.* i. 219, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλις ἐσχάτη, i.e. in the direction of Lycania). In precise agreement with this is the implication in Acts 146, that in traversing the eighteen miles between Iconium and Lystra the apostles crossed the Lycanian frontier. Yet the city is assigned to Lycania by Pliny, Strabo (*l.c.*), and Cicero (*Ad Fam.* 154: castra in Lycania apud Iconium). This is because during the first century before and after Christ the town was united with Lycania for administrative purposes. Under Roman dominion geographical facts prevailed over ethnical affinities, and Iconium was recognised as the centre of Lycania and the capital of its tetrarchy of fourteen cities added to Galatia Proper probably about 160 B.C. (Plin. *HN* 595: the region called Προσειλημένη, the Added Land, by Ptol. v. 410). In Acts 146, therefore, the writer speaks according to local Iconian, not official, usage.

In 39 B.C. this district (i.e., part of Lycania, with Isauria and some of Cilicia Trachia) was given by Antony to M. Antonius Polemon (Strabo, 568); but Iconium and the Lycanian part of Polemon's kingdom soon passed into the hands of Amyntas, who in 25 B.C. left his kingdom to the Romans. By them it was formed into the Province Galatia. When Claudius turned his attention to the fringe of the Empire, Iconium was given the title Claudian (50-54 A.D.), and struck coin as Claudeionion—a title which expresses the share of the town in the Romanisation of the Province, and its pride in its position. Not until Hadrian's time was Iconium raised to the rank of a Colony, with the title *Colonia Aelia Hadriana Iconiensium*. Hence in Paul's time the town was popularly described as Phrygian, officially as Galatian, or Phrygo-Galatian (i.e., belonging to that part of Phrygia which was attached to Galatia Provincia; so in Acts 186: 'and they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia,' διήλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, referring to this district. See PHRYGIA, but cp GALATIA, ITUREA). In polite style the inhabitants would be addressed as Γαλάται, for Φρύγες in ordinary parlance meant slaves (cp Cic. *pro Placc.* 65: hoc vetus proverbium, Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem). The name Lycanes, again, would have been peculiarly inappropriate at any time between 37 and 72 A.D. as it then signified the inhabitants of the non-Roman part of Lycania, the subjects of king Antiochus (cp his coins with the legend ΑΥΚΑΘΝΩΝ). The only other possible mode of address would have been to use the title Έλληνας.

The idea supported by Farrar, that Paul and Barnabas used the frontier-like brigands, must be rejected. They found safety in an intelligent use of the self-government of the various cities.

The events in Iconium, where the magistrates (ἀρχοντες, native, not Roman, officials) play so active a part, illustrate the difference in attitude displayed by the Roman colonial and ordinary municipal magistrates towards the new teaching (cp Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 304 f.). Iconium owed its importance in Paul's time to its connection with the backbone of the Roman road-system in Asia Minor (i.e., the great road from Ephesus to the Euphrates) by a cross-road running northwards to Laodicea Katakekaumene (Combusta) about nine hours distant (Strabo, 663; traversed by Paul, Acts 186). It lay itself in the direct route to the Cilician Gates (by way of Barata and Kybistra). This commercial importance is illustrated by the presence of many Greeks

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and Jews (Acts 141, cp the inscrip.: see Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 2667 673); the latter evidently possessed considerable influence (Acts 145). Timothy's reputation had easily spread from his native town to the Jews of Iconium (Acts 162). 'One of the most extensive groups of early Christian inscriptions belongs to Iconium and the country N. and NE. from it' (Rams. *Hist. Comm.* 220). The city seems to have been the centre from which Christianity radiated in S. Galatia (cp Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 251). It was the scene of the legend of Thecla. According to tradition Sospitros, one of the Seventy, was bishop of Iconium, and was succeeded by Terentius, also one of the Seventy (Rom. 1621 f.).

See account in Ramsay's *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*.

W. J. W.

IDALAH (יְדֵלָה, יִדְרֵיחַ [B], יִדְרֵיחַ [A], יִדְרֵיחַ [L]), a town in Zebulun, mentioned between Shunron and Bethlehem, Josh. 1915f. Conder identifies it with *Kh. el-Hawdra*, S. of Beit Lahm (*PEF* IV 1288). —a name which closely resembles יִדְרֵיחַ, *Idrye*, with which *Talm. J., Meg.* 11, identifies it (but cp יִדְרֵיחַ, KITHRON). T. K. C.

IDBASH (יְדֵבָשׁ), an obscure name (§ 54) in 1 Ch. 43 (יִדְבָּשׁ [B], יִדְבָּשׁ [A]; cp v. 9 f.). יִדְבָּשׁ [L]), connected with IDAM (q.v.).

IDDO (יְדֹד), perhaps = Phoen. יְדֹד, *CIS* 1 no. 426, the chief of some Levites and Nethinim at CASIPHIA (q.v.), Ezra 817 (om. BA, יִדְדָּא [L]) = 1 Esd. 845 f., LODDEUS [RV], a combination of יָדָּ, 'to' and 'Idde' (יִדְדָּא [L] and יִדְדָּא [B], יִדְדָּא [A], יִדְדָּא [L]); in AV SADDUUS and DADDUUS.

IDDO (יְדֹד), see IDADORAM, and cp in Palm. יְדֹד, 'beloved' [in Gr. inscr. יִדְדָּאִים], perhaps shortened from יְדֹדָה, JEDAIAN, יִדְדָּאִי [L].

1. b. Zechariah, a ruler in Manasseh, E. of the Jordan, 1 Ch. 2721 (יִדְדָּאִי [BAL]).

2. (So RV, but AV JADAU) otherwise JADAI, one of the Five Nebo in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 1043 (יָדָּ, Kt., יָדָּ, Kt.; יָדָּ [B], יִדְדָּא [A], יִדְדָּא [L]) = 1 Esd. 935, EDES, RV EDOS (יְדֹס [B], יְדֹס [A]).

IDDO (יְדֹד) [BNAQL]. 1. יְדֹדָה [Kt.], יְדֹדָה [Kt.] in 2 Ch. 929, RV JEDAI or JEDO; יִדְדָּא [BA], יִדְדָּא [L], but יְדֹד, 1215 1322; יִדְדָּא [B] in both places), a prophet contemporary with Jeroboam and Abijah according to the Chronicler, and designated 'the Seer' (יְדֹדָה), 2 Ch. 929 1215 1322. On his connection as a historical author with the Bk. of Chronicles, see CHRONICLES, § 6 (2).

2. (יְדֹד). A Gershonite Levite; 1 Ch. 621 [6] (יִדְדָּא [B], יִדְדָּא [A] sup. ras. et. in mg.). In v. 41 [26] the name appears as ADIAHAN (יִדְדָּאִי; יִדְדָּא [B], יִדְדָּא [A], יִדְדָּא [L]).

3. (יְדֹד), Zech. 11, but יִדְדָּאִי v. 7, Ezra 516 14 (Ginsb.) Neh. 124). Grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (Zech. 117; cp Ezra 51, יִדְדָּא [B] = 1 Esd. 61, IDDO, יִדְדָּא [B], יִדְדָּא [L]; Ezra 614, יִדְדָּא [B], יִדְדָּא [L]. 1 Esd. 73, where, however, the name is omitted. He is mentioned in the post-exilic list, Neh. 124 (יִדְדָּאִי [mg. sup. L], om. BM^a), and according to v. 16 the representative of his house was Zechariah (יִדְדָּאִי, Kt.; יִדְדָּאִי, Kt.; om. BM^a, יִדְדָּאִי [mg. inf.], יִדְדָּאִי [L]).

4. (יְדֹד), the father of ADINADAB (q.v.), 1 K. 414 (יִדְדָּאִי [B], יִדְדָּאִי [A], יִדְדָּאִי [L]).

IDOL, a representation of a deity which is made an object of worship. In this article the word is used in the restricted sense to designate an iconic representation, an image; on the aniconic agalmata see MASSEBAIL, ASHERAII; cp also IDOLATRY, § 2.

a. A name for 'image' common to all the Semitic languages is *selem* (סֵלֶם, generally *elkōn*, also *ōmolōma*, *elōwōn*).

1 יְדֹד is probably a miswriting of יְדֹד (or יְדֹד, the vocalisation is not certain; cp §) rather than its equivalent. § carries the error a step further by presupposing יְדֹדָה (יִדְדָּא = יִדְדָּא). Cp Ki. 'Chron.' SBOT.

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Spem is used of the golden images of field mice and of tumours(?) which the Philistines sent to appease the anger of Yahweh when they returned the ark (1 S. 6:5-11); of figures of 1. Names. Chaldeans painted on a wall (Ezek. 23:14); cp also 1 S. 6:5-11, (man made in the image of God), 9:6 5:1; of idols, Ezek. 7:20 (of gold and silver), 10:17 (images of males), 2 K. 11:18 Nu. 33:42 Dan. 3:1 ff. (in Aramaic). In this sense the word does not occur in any writer earlier than the later part of the seventh century (in Am. 5:26 it is a gloss).

2. Another general name for idols is *ʾābābīm* (עַבְבִּים), sing., Is. 43:5 *ʾēb*, conformed to עַבְבִּי, 'pain'.¹ 3. Usually *eidōla*, also γλυπτά, *θeol*.

Hosea speaks contemptuously of *ʾābābīm* as the manufacture of craftsmen (13:2, parallel to *massēkāk*, 'molten image'; note also 'the calves' in the following clause); they were of silver and gold (8:4, cp Ps. 115:4); see also 4:17 14:9. Is. 48:5 couples the name with *pesel* and *nesech*, 'graven image and molten image'; see, further, Is. 40:1 (Bel and Nebo), Jer. 50:2 (Bel and Merodach); 1 S. 31:9 2 S. 5:21 (gods of the Philistines; see below, § 3); Zech. 13:2 Is. 10:11 Ps. 106:30 38.

The derivation of the word is not clear; according to the most probable etymology the primary meaning is akin to that of *pesel*, a work of sculpture (cp the verb, Job 10:3 Jer. 44:19). Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages connected it with the ordinary meaning of the verb *ʾasab* and its derivatives in Hebrew, and interpreted 'cause of woe'; but this would be possible only if we could suppose that the name, like *ʾēlīm*, *gillulīm*, etc. (see below, § 3), was coined by the haters of idolatry.²

3. *Sēmel* (סֵמֶל, *elāw*, γλυπτόν) is used by Ezekiel in (8:35) speaking of a particular idol in the temple at Jerusalem, called סֵמֶל הַחֲכִינִיאָה (*sēmel haḥḥin'āh*), 'the jealousy image,' because, it is explained (v. 3), it provokes (Yahweh) to jealousy.³ (Cp CUNEN and SICUTIL.)

The word occurs also in Dt. 4:19, 'an image in the form of male or female'; 2 Ch. 33:7 15, where *sēmel* is put in the place of the *ishārāh* of 2 K. 21:7 (*pesel* is a gloss both in Kings, *l.c.*, and in Ch. v. 7). In Phœnician *sēmel* (סֵמֶל) is a statue of a man or woman (CIS 1, no. 83, l. 2; no. 91, l. 1).

In Hebrew *sēmel* seems to be a loan-word introduced in the sixth century.

4. *Pesel* (פֶּסֶל, plur. פְּסִלִים; 5. Usually γλυπτόν, also *elāw*, γάρμα, *eidōlon*), EV 'graven image.' The verb from which this noun is derived is used of cutting, hewing, or dressing wood or stone (e.g., 1 K. 5:13 [32]). The graven image is described as the work of a craftsman (פֶּסֶל, *hārāḥ*, Is. 40:19 f. Dt. 27:15; see HANDICRAFTS, § 1); it was commonly of wood (Is. 40:20 44:15 45:20, cp Dt. 7:5 25 123), but sometimes of stone (Is. 21:9, idols of Babylon). As the graven image was probably always the commonest kind of image, the word *pesel* is frequently used generically for 'idol' (Ex. 20:4 Dt. 5:8), even for those which were cast in metal, the specific name of which was *massēkāk* (Is. 30:22 40:19 41:10 Jer. 10:14, cp Judg. 17:4); on the *massēkāk* see below (c). The *pesel* might represent human or animal forms, or the heavenly bodies (Ex. 20:4 Dt. 5:8, especially Dt. 4:16 23:25).

See further Hos. 11:2 (parallel to 'the baals'), Mi. 1:7 5:13 [12] Nah. 1:14 Hab. 2:18 Jer. 8:19 2 K. 17:41, frequent in Is. 40 ff. Jer. 10:50 51.

6. The counterpart of the 'graven image' is the 'molten image,' *massēkāk* (מַסֶּכֶךְ, also נֶסֶכֶךְ, Is. 41:29 48:5 Jer. 10:14 51:17, and נֶסֶכֶךְ, *nesech*, Dan. 11:8; 7. Generally *χωνευτόν*, occasionally *χώνευμα*, γλυπτόν), properly an image of metal cast in a mould, the work of the founder (ἑργαζόμενος, *hōrēph*, goldsmith; specially idol-maker, Is. 40:19 41:7 46:6 Jer. 10:9 14; cp Judg. 17:4). The name is used repeatedly of the golden 'calf' which Aaron made (Ex. 32:4 8, cp 24:8, 'I cast it into the fire and out came this calf,' Dt. 9:12 16 Neh. 9:18), a story aimed at the worship of the Yahweh bulls in the king-

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dom of Israel; cp 2 K. 17:16 (where 'two calves' is a gloss to 'a molten image,' 1 K. 14:9). See also Hos. 13:2 (of silver; cp 28 [30] Ps. 106:19). The 'molten image' is the only kind of idol specifically prohibited in the oldest legislation (Ex. 34:17, repeated Lev. 19:4, cp Nu. 33:52). *Pesel* and *massēkāk* are frequently coupled, to include every species of idol; Nah. 1:14 Hab. 2:18 Is. 48:5 Jer. 10:14 = 51:17 Dt. 27:15. The name and the thing were probably adopted from the Canaanites; in Phœnician to cast, found, metal is *nisak*, in Hebrew נֶסֶךְ, *nisak* (1 K. 7:46, etc.).

8. In Lev. 26:1 *eben massēkāk* (עֵבֶן מַסֶּכֶךְ); 9. *ἄνθρωπος σκοπόν*, *anthrōpos skopon*; RV 'figured stone,' mentioned with *ʾēlīm*, *pesel*, *massēkāk*, as an object of idolatrous worship, is generally, and doubtless rightly, understood of a stone with images in relief, such, for example, as the winged solar disk; cp Nu. 33:52 (plur. סִפְּתֵי, *maḥkiyyōth*, 10. *σκοπίδες*) in a similar context; also Ezek. 8:12 (ἄνθρωποι, *anthrōpoi*), chambers in private houses decorated with mythological reliefs or paintings (2).¹

See for further illustration of the meaning of the word, Prov. 25:11 (embossed silver vessels), Is. 2:10, and the tropical uses in Ps. 73:7 Prov. 18:11.

11. In Is. 45:16 the צִרִים, *ḥārāḥ* *ḥārāḥ*, are makers of 'figures,' idols; cp NH צִרָה. MT intends a play on צִרִים, 'pangs.' 12. 5 has a different text. Cp also צָרָה, Hab. 2:18. Cheyne reads צִרִים.

13. In the prohibitions of idolatry the words *ʾēlīm* and *tabnith* are of frequent occurrence.

Of the two *ʾēlīm* (עֵלִים), 14. generally *ὁμοίωμα*, also *ὁμοῖον*, *μορφή*, *ὁμοιωσις* (A) is connected with *mōl*, 'species,' and is properly that which is distinctive in the appearance of a thing (see Nu. 12:8 Ps. 17:15, also Job 4:15 5. *μορφή*; in the laws, Ex. 20:4 Dt. 5:8 4. 12 15 f. 23 25). *Tabnith* (טַבְנִית), 6. commonly *ὁμοίωμα*, sometimes more exactly *παράδειγμα* is properly a building-plan, pattern, model (e.g., Ex. 25:9 2 K. 16:10), hence 'likeness' (Ezek. 8:3); Dt. 4:15 f. Is. 41:3 Ezek. 8:10 (gloss from Dt. 4:17 f.).

7. Other words translated in EV 'idol' or 'image' are *miph-ḥēth*, מִפְּחֵת, 1 K. 15:13 (see below, § 2 f.); *massēkāk*, מַסֶּכֶךְ, *hanamūdum*, חַנְמֻדִּים (see MASSEBAH); *teraphim*, תְּרָפִים (see TERAPHIM); cp also EPHOD. 8. Greek names in Apocrypha and NT are *eidōlon* (1 Macc. 1:43 47, etc., 2 Macc. 12:40 Tob. 1:6 Wisd. 14:11 f. etc., Acts 7:41 15:20 Rom. 2:22 1 Cor. 8:4 etc., Rev. 9:20 etc.); *elāw* (Wisd. 13:16 14:14 17 Rom. 1:23 Rev. 13:14 etc., 14:9 11 15:2 etc.); *eidōs* (Wisd. 15:4); *γλυπτόν* (1 Macc. 5:68 Wisd. 14:10 15:13 etc.).

The words discussed in the preceding section are the proper names for idols in general or for particular species; they may all, so far as we know, have been used without offence by the worshippers themselves.⁴ Beside these, however, we find in the OT a great variety of terms which express the writers' contempt for the idols and their abhorrence of idolatry. These are of much more frequent use, and are indeed in some books predominate so that the proper designations occur rarely or not at all. Some of these terms are rendered in EV *ad sensum*, 'idols.'

2. Opprobrious terms for idols and idolatry.

They describe the idols, or the heathen gods identified with the idols, as unreal, vain (אֲוִי, *ʾāwī*, Jer. 18:15 Ps. 31:6 [7] etc., 1 K. 16:13, *hebel*, Jer. 2:5 8:19 Dt. 32:21, and often), or false (שָׁרָר, *šārār*, Is. 44:20 Jer. 10:14 etc.; 2 K. 17:41, *ʾēlābīm*, Am. 2:4 etc.; 1 K. 16:13, *ʾāwēn*, Is. 41:29 66:3 etc.); no-gods (אֵלִים, *ʾēlīm*, Is. 40:19 41:7 46:6 Jer. 10:9 14; cp Judg. 17:4). The name is used repeatedly of the golden 'calf' which Aaron made (Ex. 32:4 8, cp 24:8, 'I cast it into the fire and out came this calf,' Dt. 9:12 16 Neh. 9:18), a story aimed at the worship of the Yahweh bulls in the king-

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¹ Cp צִרִים, Is. 45:16, 'pangs' for 'figures' (idols).
² The older Jewish explanation of the name—these idols were called *ʾābābīm*, because they were made of joints or members (*Sifra* on Lev. 19:4)—is based on an etymology which we do not understand.
³ The explanation is perhaps an incorrect gloss; cp Syr. *ḥanythē*, 'idols of female deities'; also 'dolls, puppets.'

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fuller discussion; (a) *illim* (עִלִּים, עִלְמָא, χείρο-
νοῖστα, βδελύγματα, etc.), first in Is. 28:18, perhaps
coined by the prophet, and in secondary or doubtful
passages, 10:10 f. 19:13 31:7; further, Hab. 2:18 Jer.
14:14 (A'rd) Ezek. 30:13 Lev. 24:26 Ps. 98:9 97:7.

The derivation of the word is disputed; the most probable and
most widely accepted hypothesis is that it is connected with the
negation *al*, 'not'; cp. Ass. *ul*, 'not', *ullu*, 'non-being',
ullu, 'powerless' (Del. *Ass.* 1117B, 71), Syr. *all*, 'weak' (in
body or mind); also N11 *ullu* (Levy, *N11171*); see Joh 13:4
(*αἰσῶν*), where *all* is parallel to *skhr*, 'falsehood, deceit'.
Others regard *ill* as etymologically a derivative of *il*, 'god'
(diminutive, Movers, Fürst); cp. *il* in Sabean inscriptions
(No. *SBAN*, 1882, p. 1191). The word was then by popular
etymology associated with *al*, 'not'. The similarity of sound
leads to the paronomasia *עִלִּים עִלְמָא* (Ezek. 30:13), 'all
the *illim* of the nations are *illim*'; see also Hab. 2:18.
It does not appear, however, that this play was designed in the
formation of the word.

Δ. The favourite word for idols in Ezekiel is *gillūlim*
(גִּלְלִים), *g* most frequently *eidōlon*, but often *eidōlisma*,
also *βδελύγματα*, *επιτήδευμα* [?] (עִלְמָא); Ezek. 6:4 etc.
(more than forty times) Jer. 50:2 Lev. 26:30 Dt. 29:16
1 K. 15:12 21:26 2 K. 17:12 21:12 23:24 (all deutero-
nomistic).

The etymology of *gillūlim* also is uncertain; the Rabbinical
interpreters connect it with *gil*, *gillil*, 'dung' (e.g., Ezek.
41:15); so probably Aquila's *καθάρματα* (Ezek. 6:4) is meant;
cp. AV Dt. 29:17 [16] mg., 'dungy gods.' So Ges.-Huhl, Stade-
Siegfried, and others. Cp. the use of *גִּלְלִים* and *גִּלְלִים* in the
Hebrew of the Talmud (see BERNSTEIN). That Ezekiel should
coin such a term is quite conceivable in the light of chaps. 10
and 23, where no expression is too gross for him. Others prefer
to connect the word with *gal*, 'stone heap', or with the primary
meaning of the root, 'be round'—the idol contemptuously
called a mere log, a shapeless mass; so Jahn (not excluding the
former explanation), and many recent scholars. It is possible
that in the coinage of the word a contemptuous play upon some
term in use in the worship of the host of heaven may have been
designed (cp. MH *galgal*, 'celestial sphere', especially the
sphere of the fixed stars in which is the zodiac); but we
have no evidence of this use in the OT.

c. Another term, expressive of the deepest abhorrence
of idolatry, is *šēḫūš* (שֶׁחָוָשׁ, *g* generally *βδελύγματα*,
sometimes *προσέχθισμα*, *πλασμα*; EV 'detestable things';
less frequently 'abomination').

The word is cognate with *šēḫ*, which is a technical term
for tabooed kinds of food (flesh of various animal kinds, vermin,
carrion, etc.), with a connotation of loathsomeness; similarly
šēḫūš itself in Nah. 8:6 Zech. 9:7 (see ABOMINATION, 2). Since
these prohibitions in great part had their root in religious ani-
pathies, being laid on things associated with superstitions which
the religion of Yahwē abhorred, the opprobrious term *šēḫūš* is
not unnaturally applied to everything which belongs to another
religion, its cultus, the images of its gods, and the gods them-
selves; the worship of Yahwē in similar ways, which the
prophets treat as mere heathenism, is included. Thus, of idols,
Jer. 16:18 7:30 32:34 Ezek. 20:7 f. 30 2 Ch. 15:8 etc.; of cultus,
Jer. 13:27 Ezek. 37:23 Is. 60:3; in many cases, naturally, this
distinction cannot be made. See, further, Jer. 4:1 Ezek. 5:11 7:20
11:18 21:29 26:12 2 K. 23:24 etc. (on cases in which *šēḫūš* is a
substitute for *ēlōhim* see below, § 3).

d. A word of like meaning, history, and application is *šēḫūš*
(שֶׁחָוָשׁ, *g* generally *βδελύγματα*, sometimes *ἀνομία*, AV 'abomina-
tion'); see Is. 44:19 Ezek. 16:36 7:20 11:21 Jer. 16:18; more gener-
ally, Ezek. 6:9 1 K. 14:24 2 K. 16:3 etc.

e. In Dan. 8:13 (cp. v. 12) *peša* (פְּשָׁעִים) 'crime' (*g* *ἀμαρτία*)
is used just as *šēḫūš* is in the parallel passages 9:27 11:31
12:11; see also Ezek. 14:21, and the conjunction of *gillūlim*,
šēḫūšim, and *peša'im* in Ezek. 37:23.

f. The words *niphleṣeth* (נִפְלְסֶתְךָ, 1 K. 15:13 2 Ch. 15:16), 'an
object of horror', and *ēlm* (עֵלִים), 'terrors' for 'idols' (Jer.
50:38) also belong to this class (see below, § 3 end). Contempt for
the idols is also expressed by more general terms when they are
described as the work of men's hands (e.g., Is. 2:8), mere wood
and stone (Dt. 4:28 25:36 64 1 K. 19:18 Ezek. 20:32 Dan. 5:4 etc.).

There can be no doubt that in many instances the
contemptuous expressions which we have been examining

were introduced into the text by later
editors or scribes in the place of the
proper words for idols or heathen
gods, in the same way in which

šēṣeth, 'shame,' has been put for
ba'al, both alone (e.g., Jer. 3:24 11:13 etc.) and in proper
names like Ishbosheth (see ISHBAAL), and with the
same motive. In particular, the word *ēlōhim*, 'god'
(or 'gods'), when used of other deities or their idols,

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gave much offence, and led to many alterations of the
text.¹ Thus in 2 S. 5:21 the Philistines, routed by
David, left their gods on the field of battle (*g* *τοὺς
θεοὺς αὐτῶν*, MT 1 Ch. 14:12 *אֱלֹהֵיהֶם*; MT substitutes
עֲרֵבָם, 'their idols'; in 1 S. 31:9 this correction has
prevailed in all the texts, though the context leaves no
room for doubt that the author wrote 'their gods').

1 K. 11 contains some peculiarly instructive examples; in
v. 57 the original reading was, 'Astarte the god of the
Phoenicians, Milcom the god of the Ammonites, Chemosh the
god of the Moabites'; cp. v. 31, where MT has preserved this
text, and v. 8, 'their gods.' *g* translates *עֲרֵבָם*, 'god', by
eidōlon; in MT *eidōlon* has been inserted in two of the three
cases, but 'Astarte the god of the Phoenicians' remains
unchanged, whilst in *g* this alone has been changed to *βδελύγμα*.
In 11, where, as has been said, MT has thrice *eidōlon*, *g* has
the 'Astarte *βδελύγματα*... *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν* *eidōlon* *Μωαβ*
καὶ τῶ *Μιλκὸν* προσέχθισμα *νῶν* Ἀμμων. Cp. also 2 K. 23:11
in MT and *g*. So also in Is. 19:3 *g* has *θεοὺς* whilst MT reads
ēlīm. For another case of substitution see ABOMINATION OF
DESOLATION.

These illustrations show that as late as the time when
the Greek version was made the text of such passages
was very variable.

Note also passages like Ezek. 7:20, where *šēḫūšim* appears
as a doublet to *ēlōhim*; further *βδελύγματα* for *עֲרֵבָם* (Is. 17:8),
for *עֲרֵבָם* (Is. 28:20), for *עֲרֵבָם* (1 K. 21:26 Ezek. 30:13); *προσ-
έχθισμα* for *עֲרֵבָם* (1 K. 16:32). Perhaps the substitution of the
contumelious words was at first made (both in Hebrew and
Greek) in reading, as a standing *kerē* (cp. *ῥῆθμα* read *αἰσχύνῃ*),
which then made its way into the written text as so many other
kerē's did at an early time. It is probable that *niphleṣeth*,
'object of horror', in 1 K. 15:13 2 Ch. 15:16, is also a substitute
for some more concrete word; but the conjectural restorations
proposed are not altogether satisfactory.

This perversion of names associated with idolatry is
not an accidental conceit of individual readers or
scribes; it has the warrant of an old and authoritative
tradition which attaches itself to the command, 'Ye
shall not mention the name of other gods' (Ex. 23:13;
see Mechilta, *Alshaphim*, 107a, ed. Friedmann); and,
'Ye shall destroy their name out of that place' (Dt.
12:3), combined with 'thou shalt utterly detest it, and
thou shalt utterly abhor it' (עֲרֵבָם וְשִׁנְיָתָם וְשִׁנְיָתָם וְשִׁנְיָתָם, Dt.
7:26; interpreted, 'thou shalt make a *šēḫūš* and a
šēḫūš of it').

See *Tosephta*, 'Abōth *šānā*, 6 4, ed. Zuckermann, 469; Jer.
'Abōth *šānā*, 86; Bab. 'Abōth *šānā*, 45b 46a; *Tanḥum*, 26b;
Abōth de Rabbi Nathan, § 34. Examples of such changes
are given in the places cited; among them Beth-aven (בֵּית אֵבֶן,
Hos. 4:15 10:5 etc.) for Bethel. Without any direct testimony
we should unhesitatingly assume that *ēlōhim* and *šēḫūšim*
in Hos. 9:10 were the words, not 'the eighth-century prophet,
but of a Jewish copyist; and so in many other cases. The
principle of substitution is illustrated in the Targums, which
put *עֲרֵבָם* 'error' for *ēlōhim* 'god', when used of the gods of the
heathen (e.g., Dt. 28:36 Jude. 17 5 Is. 21:9 2 Ch. 32:15 35:21 etc.);
and render by the same general term many words for 'idol';
e.g., *ēlīm* (Is. 2:12 20 19:3 etc.), *šābīm* (Hos. 4:17 8:4 14:19),
gillūlim (Ezek. 6:4 f. 8 10 and often), *šēḫūš* (Dt. 4:16 ps. *Jon.*),
niphleṣeth (1 K. 15:13), etc. Similarly *נִפְלְסֶתְךָ*, *dahūš*, 'fear', is
used to translate *ēlōhim* (Ex. 20:20 Hos. 8:6), etc. Compare also
נִפְלְסֶתְךָ, 'fear', for 'idol' in the Talmud (Levy, *N1117* 2263).

Of idols which were the object of a public cult among
the Israelites, we have descriptions only of the bull-
images of Yahwē at Bethel, Dan, and prob-
ably other temples in the Northern King-
dom, and of the serpent in the temple at
Jerusalem. The former were introduced by Jeroboam
I. (1 K. 12:28 f. 2 K. 10:29 17:16 etc.); they were of
less than life-size—hence the contemptuous 'calves'—
and of gold, that is, covered with gold (see § 5).
Down to the fall of Samaria (721) the worship of these
bulls was the national cultus of the kingdom of Israel;
see Hos. 8:5 f. 10:8 13:2. According to Ex. 32 a similar
idol which Aaron made at Horeb was indignantly
destroyed by Moses, and the people severely punished
for their apostasy—an anticipative repudiation of the
religion of the Northern Kingdom (cp. Dt. 9:16 Neh. 9:18
etc.). Whether the conception of Yahwē as a bull
belonged to the Israelites—or some part of them—at

¹ See Geiger, *Urschr.* 273:299 (57).

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an earlier period, or was borrowed by them from the Egyptians or from the Canaanites, is a question which cannot be discussed here¹ (see CALF, GOLDEN).

In the temple in Jerusalem, down to the end of the eighth century, sacrifice was offered to a bronze serpent (2 K. 18.4, cp Num. 21.8 f.); see NEHUSHTAN. The form of the 'jealousy image' (Ezek. 8.13) is not known (for a conjecture see above, § 1c, note).

The idol of Dagon at Ashdod (1 S. 5) had a head and hands, and was thus at least partially anthropomorphic; the opinion that the lower half of the image was in the form of a fish rests on a very slender basis (see DAGON). Images in human likeness are mentioned by Hosea (13.2 Vers.) and Ezekiel (10.17 נִיזָן, cp 18); more explicitly in Is. 44.13. Cp DIANA, § 2.

Ps. 115.4-8 (P 135.13-16) assume anthropomorphic images to be the ordinary type; the author lived well on in the Greek period; cp Wisd. 14.15-20 (portrait statues of a dead child, and of a king worshipped as gods). The 'grisy object' (*miphleteth*, נִיזָן) which the queen-mother Maachab made for the (or, as an) *idolatry* (1 K. 15.13 2 Ch. 15.16) was understood by the Jews in the early centuries of our era as an ithyphallic idol (see *Abdā elrā*, 444, and cp Jerome, *simulacrum Priapi*);² an obscene interpretation perhaps underlies the translation of *idolatry* in 1 K. There is, however, no reason to believe that this is more than an exegetical conceit (see above, § 3 f.).

In the laws, images of man or woman, beast, bird, reptile, or fish, are forbidden (Dt. 5.8, especially 4.16-19); all these forms—and composites of them—were doubtless known to the authors of the legislation (see also Wisd. 13.10-16). The scanty information on this subject which can be gleaned from the pages of the OT must be supplemented by the descriptions of Phœnician and Syrian gods in Greek and Latin writers, and especially by the archeology of religious art in Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, and Cyprus.

A selection of types may be found in the plates at the end of Scholz's *Götterdienst*, etc., 77; see also Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Phen.* 130-83, 29-37, 147-179.

The Phœnicians, who manufactured idols and exported them in numbers to all parts of the Mediterranean basin, imitated Egyptian types, but—remarkably enough—only anthropomorphic (not theriomorphic or therianthropic) types; see Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Phen.* 177 f. 80.

The vast majority of the images were private or household idols (see IDOLATRY). These were generally

5. Material and fabrication.³

small, and of materials and workmanship corresponding to the means of their owners and the fashion of the times. The commonest were of wood, carved and painted (Wisd. 13.14 15.4; cp Paus. ii. 2.5 vii. 26.11 viii. 396. Plin. *NH* 33.36), or adorned with gold and silver (Jer. 10.4); there were also graven images of stone and idols of clay, the work of the potter (Wisd. 15.7 ff. 13).⁴ Small idols were cast in silver and gold (see *massékāh*, § 1 c), doubtless also in less precious metals (bronze, as in Egypt, etc.; lead, cp the very old leaden idol from Troy, Baumeister, 1191). Larger images were made of cheaper material and covered with gold or silver.⁵ From the procedure attributed to Aaron in the destruction of the golden calf (Ex. 32.20), it has been inferred, with much probability, that the bull images of the Northern Kingdom had a wooden core; see also v. 4, where the words 'he fashioned it with a graving tool' are more naturally understood of the carving of a wooden image than of finishing a casting (AV); cp, however, v. 24. Is. 40.19 describes the making of an

¹ Cp Scholz, 105 ff.

² See ASHERAH.

³ See Blümner, *Technologie*, 2; Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 15 ff.

⁴ See above on *idolatry* (§ 2 d). Wooden idols (cypress, cedar, oak, box, arbor vitae, etc.; cp Is. 44.13) were common also among the Greeks; see reff. in Schoemann, *Altth. 2.153 f.* Small and rude stone idols have been found in numbers at Troy (Baumeister, *Denkm.* 1191); images of glazed pottery (faience) in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 290; *sculpturae simulacra*, Plin. *NH* 34.16 (34)). See also Sche mann, 2104; Blümner, *Technol.* 2.113 ff.; Scholz, *Götterdienst*, 41.

⁵ Cp Dt. 7.25 Is. 30.22 Hab. 2.19 (?) Bar. 6. passim (περιέχυσα περιέχυρα).

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idol the core of which was cast of baser metal, and covered by the goldsmith with plates of gold hammered and soldered on (417); in 44.12 it would seem that the body of the image was worked out by the smith in his forge.¹ One of the apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel tells of an idol which was clay within and bronze without (Bel and the Dragon, 7); and such images of gilded pottery—though hardly great temple images—there may have been. The colossal statues (cp Dan. 3.1 23; ff.) were constructed upon a wooden framework.²

Paintings (or reliefs) were probably adored only in mystery cults such as are described in Ezek. 8.10 (cp 23.14).

When an idol was finished it was solemnly installed in its place (Judg. 8.27 1 S. 5.2 2 S. 6.17; cp Gk. *idolatry*). In the case of those which were set up in temples as objects of a public cultus, the installation was doubtless an act of great ceremony, attended by processions, sacrifices, hymns, and prayers; and even the rudest domestic idol would not be set up without rites of similar purport. A procession bearing the god to his shrine is perhaps meant in Is. 46.7, cp Jer. 10.5. The idol was placed in a cella or sacellum (a *beth elohim*, Judg. 17.5; *olka*, Bar. 6.12 19; contemptuously *εἰδωλον* or *εἰδωλειον*, 1 Esd. 2.10 1 Macc. 10.83 etc.); in a private house it might have a shrine prepared for it (*οικημα*, Wisd. 13.15), where it stood in a niche in the wall (*id.*). The idol was fastened up in its place by nails (Is. 41.7 Jer. 10.4 Wisd. *l.c.*), or secured by chains that he might not desert his worshippers (Is. 40.19).³ The idols were often dressed in costly stuffs and rich colours (Ezek. 16.18 Jer. 10.9 Bar. 6.11 f. 38.72),⁴ and adorned with jewels (*Id. Abdā elrā*, 19). Some of them wore crowns upon their heads (Bar. 6.9) and held in their hands weapons of war (Bar. 6.15) or various insignia and attributes (cp *Id. Abdā elrā*, 31).

The manufacture of idols is satirically described in certain passages in the OT; see Hab. 2.18 f. Is. 40.18 ff. 41.6 f. 44.9-20 46.6 f. Jer. 10.2-5 9.14 f. Ps. 115.4 ff. = 135.15 ff. Wisd. 13.10 ff. 15; cp also Baruch 6, Bel and the Dragon, 3 ff. Except the first, none of these is pre-exilic; most of them are from the Persian and Greek periods, and are Jewish polemic against the idolatry of the Gentiles.

For the literature of the subject, see IDOLATRY, § 11.

G. F. M.

IDOLATRY AND PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

Idolatry (*εἰδωλολατρία*) is etymologically the worship of images; but as the word *εἰδωλον* was used in the LXX of a false god, whether represented by an image or not,⁵ so Paul, by whom the word 'idolatry' (*εἰδωλολατρία*) may have been coined—it occurs first in his epistles—employs the term in a wider sense of the worship of false gods and the whole heathen cultus.

See Gal. 5.20 1 Cor. 10.14 1 Pet. 4.3; cp Col. 3.5; cp also the use of *εἰδωλολατρία* 1 Cor. 5.10 f. 6.9 10.7 Eph. 5.5 Rev. 21.8 22.15.

The equivalent Hebrew term is *ʾabdāh elrāh* (עֲבָדָה אֱלֹהִים), 'foreign worship,' often concretely, the object of such worship, 'idol' (Mishna, freq.).⁶

Thus, broadly, idolatry may be defined as the giving

¹ The oldest bronze statue in Greece (*Ol.* 50, *incip.* 587 B.C.), according to Pausanias (iii. 17.6) was not cast, but was made in parts, which were hammered out separately and riveted together. Cp Gardner, *op. cit.* 26. See also Arnob. *Adv. gentes*, 1.39.

² Lucian, *Somnium*, 24; *Jup. trag.* 8; see also Gardner, *op. cit.* 18; Scholz, 41.

³ A not uncommon practice; see, e.g., Pausan. iii. 15.7 viii. 41.6; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.95; Macrobi. *Saturn.* 1.8; Plut. *Alex.* 24 etc.

⁴ So in Egypt (Plut. *de Isid.* 3) and Greece (Schoemann, 2165).

⁵ E.g., 1 K. 11.5. On the identification of the gods of the heathen with the idols, see below, § 9.

⁶ With this use of *עֲבָדָה* cp Is. 43.12 Dt. 32.16 etc. The formulas עֲבָדָה בְּזָבוּבִים (עֲבָדָה בְּזָבוּבִים), *idolatry*, are substitutes dictated by Christian censorship.

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to any creature the homage or devotion which belongs to God alone.

So Cyprian: tunc idolatria committitur, cum divinus honor alteri datur; Gregory Nazianzen: 'the transference to the creatures of the adoration which belongs to the creator';¹ Maimonides: 'the worship of any one of all the creatures.'²

In a somewhat more restricted sense the term may be properly employed to comprehend those forms of religion in which the worship of a deity is connected with some material object, in which he is supposed to reside, or to be present in the performance of the sacred rites. So the word will be understood in this article.

The origin and progress of idolatry lies beyond the scope of our present inquiry,³ which has directly to do only with the forms of idolatry mentioned in OT and NT.

Men early recognised certain places as the homes or haunts of the gods. These spots were protected by religious reverence, and thither worshippers resorted to bring their offerings and present their prayers to the deity.

2. Haunts of gods and of spirits.⁴

Among the Semites, as among Indo-European peoples, mountains were often thus sacred to the gods; on their summits were sanctuaries; altars were erected there beneath the open sky (see HIGH PLACES, § 2 ff.).

Many such mountains are known to us from the OT: Harah, 'the mount of God,' Sinai, Mt. Peor and Mt. Nabo in Moab, Carmel, Tabor, Hermon, Lebanon, Elbal and Gerizim, Zion. Worship on the mountains and 'on every high hill' is in Jeremiah and Ezekiel the distinctive mark of heathenism.⁵

Fountains, wells, and rivers, also, were frequently sacred; the living waters, the verdure which they supported, were visible signs of a present deity.

Beer-sheba, Beer-lahai-roi, Kadesh (En-mishpat), and Dan, are holy places of this class; the veneration for sacred fountains, streams, and lakes among the Phœnicians and Syrians is well known.⁶

Holy trees are extremely common among the Semites, as among other races; and rites which had their origin in tree-worship have here as elsewhere proved among the most ineradicable of survivals. In the OT we read of sacred trees in various places.

At Shechem (*Elon moreh*,—the name implies that it was an arbutus tree; Gen. 12.6 f., cp 35.4; further, Josh. 24.26 Judg. 9.6), Hebron (Gen. 13.18 f.), Beer-sheba (Gen. 21.33), Gibeath (1 S. 14.22 f.), and elsewhere. The idolatrous Israelites set up their altars 'under every luxuriant tree' (Dt., Jer., Ezek.).⁷ Holy trees often stood beside sacred waters, as at Beer-sheba, and on hill-tops, with which they are constantly associated in the seventh-century polemic against idolatry.

Fountains and trees were regarded in early times as possessing a demonic life of their own; at a later stage, as the dwelling-place or embodiment of a demonic spirit. Each such object had its own *numen*; in the language of Canaan, its 'el or ba'al'. So, too, every holy mountain had its ba'al (see BAAL). In the development of anthropomorphic religion these old local *numina* are frequently supplanted by gods of a wholly different character,—an old holy tree, for example, becoming a *Zeus Eudæmonos*; then the felt incongruity of the association may give rise to a myth, as in the case of Atargatis at Hierapolis and at Ascalon (WRS *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 174 f.). Under the influence of more advanced ideas the place or object which was primitively holy of itself comes to be thought of as merely the abode or the symbol of a god, owing its holiness (as did the artificial sanctuaries presently to be spoken of) to this association. Finally the association itself is rejected by a more spiritual

conception of the godhead; idolatry is a folly and an impiety. Thus in Canaan, Yahwé superseded the multitude of local ba'als at the old holy places of the land; the prophets and Deuteronomists regard the result of this syncretism as pure heathenism (see below, § 9).

Another class of holy places are the tombs of the ancestors of clans and tribes, whose spirits watch over and protect their descendants (see Jer. 31.13 f.).

The burial place of Abraham, the cave of Machpelah at Hebron, which is still one of the holiest places of Islam; the tomb of Joseph at Shechem; the tombs of Rachel near Ephrath in Benjamin, of Deborah near Bethel, of Joshua at Timnath-heres, are familiar examples from the OT.

That worship was offered at these tombs is not directly attested in the OT; but it is on other grounds very probable.¹

Of the worship of animals among the Israelites in historical times we have no evidence; the totemistic survivals which have been discovered in institutions and cults come down from an earlier stage in the history of religion; and the images of Yahwé in the form of bulls in the Northern Kingdom, and the bronze serpent at Jerusalem, are not to be confounded with the worship of living animals (e.g., the Apis and Mnevis bulls in Egypt), or of whole species of animals.

An ancient and widespread theory regards the worship of the heavenly bodies as the beginning of idolatry;² and the whole history of Semitic religion has often been constructed upon this assumption—Baal was originally the sun, Astarte the moon, etc. All the evidence which we possess, however, goes to show that in Palestine and Phœnicia, whilst the sun and the moon under their proper names were worshipped in various places, the identification of the old deities with the heavenly bodies, and the introduction of distinctively astronomical cults, fall comparatively late, and were accomplished under foreign influence. In Israel the invasion of these cults occurred in the seventh century, and there is no reason to think that it came materially earlier in Phœnicia (see NATURE WORSHIP).

Thus far we have been considering objects and places which were sacred apart from any act of man, natural sanctuaries. There is an important distinction—

4. Artificial sanctuaries. This class and that in which human agency has a part in the constitution or consecration of the holy place or object; we may call the latter artificial sanctuaries. Of these, probably the oldest, as it is certainly by far the most important, is the sacred stone (monolith or heap of stones. See MASSERAH).

The sacred fountain and the sacred tree were common but not universal adjuncts of the sanctuary; in the times covered by our evidence they played a very subordinate part in the ritual (see below, § 10). On the other hand the sacred stone (*massēbah*) or the rude altar of stones was found at every place of worship; it was anointed with oil (Gen. 28.18, cp Lev. 8.11); the blood of the victims was smeared upon it or poured out at its base; with it all those rites by which the worshipper comes immediately into contact with the object of his worship are inseparably connected.³ The *massēbah* was set up, the altar built, for this purpose.

The holiness of the stone is not derived from the discovery that a spirit already dwells in it; it is holy because a deity has consented to enter into it, in it to be present in the midst of his worshippers, and receive their sacrifice; it is the seat (*thōs*) of the god. This stage or type of religion is frequently called 'fetichism'; but this much-abused name ministers only to misunderstanding and prejudice (WRS *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 209 f.).

A connecting link between this conception and those rocks, of strange shape or otherwise remarkable, which are natural sanctuaries may perhaps be found in the

¹ See Stade, *GU* 140 ff. On the hypothesis that a stage of hero-worship preceded the worship of Yahwé at the Canaanite sanctuaries, see HIGH PLACES, § 7.

² Reference to *W. Holtz, Götterdienst*, 33 f.; cp Maimonides, *Abodā Zairā*, 1.6.

³ See WRS *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 200 ff.

¹ Exhort. ad Mart. (Voss, *De Idololatria*, l. i. ch. 3).

² Orat. in Theophan. ch. 13.

³ Mishne Tora, *Abodā Zairā*, 2.1.

⁴ This question can be satisfactorily discussed only in connection with the phenomenology of religion in general and the development of the religious consciousness.

⁵ On the Israelite holy places see von Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten*, 98.

⁶ See Baudissin, *Sem. Rel.-gesch.* 227 ff.

⁷ Movers, *Phönizier*, 1. 665 ff.; Baudissin, *l.c.* 148 ff.; Pieschmann, *Phönizier*, 215 f.; WRS *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 165 ff.

⁸ On the holiness of Abraham's oak, see Jerome, *OS*⁽²⁾ 114.16.

⁹ Movers, *Phönizier*, 1. 667-683; Scholz, *Götterdienst*, 202-203; Baudissin, *l.c.* 124-230; WRS *l.c.* 185 ff., cp 131 ff. Additional literature in Baudissin, 184 n.

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worship of aerolites (ἀερόλιθοι = שֶׁמֶשׁ, אֶלִּיל, אִלֹּהִים, ἐμψύχοι), or thunder-stones, but of this connection there is no direct evidence (see MASSEREAU).

A particularly interesting question is suggested by the tradition that the ark which Moses made at Horeb contained stone tablets inscribed with 'ten commandments' (cp. ARK, § 10; DECALOGUE). That the fundamental laws were thus put where they could not be seen is in the highest degree improbable; on the other hand, the chest was or tainly made to hold some sacred object, and nothing is more likely than that this object was a stone from the 'mount of Ibal,' by taking which with them the Israelites were assured of the presence and protection of Yahweh when they wandered away from his holy mountain.

Another 'artificial sanctuary' is the wooden pole or post (*ishērah*) which ordinarily stood at Palestinian holy places. It is a common opinion that this pole or mast was a surrogate for the living holy tree, but this is not certain (see ASHER, vii, § 2). What the significance of the *ishērah* was, or what rites were connected with it, we do not learn.

Images of the gods belong to a comparatively advanced stage in the history of religion; they presuppose a definiteness of conception which is foreign to early religions, and a discrimination of the character and attributes of different deities which is a product of history and reflection. From the ancients themselves we have many testimonies that the introduction of cultus-images was a recent thing.

Thus Varro affirms that for more than 170 years from the founding of the city the Romans had no image of a god in human or animal form; Numa is said to have forbidden such representation;¹ the Persians had no temples or idols before Artaxerxes I;² in Greece also temples and images of the gods were unknown in ancient times;³ the earliest temples of the Egyptians were without idols;⁴ Arab tradition, which is supported by philological evidence, declares that idols like that of Habal at Mecca were of foreign origin.⁵

Some of these testimonies have no historical value; they represent a theory of antiquity which is generalised by Eusebius: 'the oldest peoples had no idols.'⁷ Archaeological evidence, however, confirms the fact that the iconic age was everywhere preceded by one in which the objects of worship were aniconic.⁸

The development of the stone image of the deity out of the ἀνδρῶς Νῆσος, and of the wooden idol (ἱδωλον) out of the aniconic wooden posts, can be traced with some distinctness in Greece; it is natural to conceive that the same evolution took place in Palestine and Phoenicia; but the proof cannot be given. Our texts do not enable us to connect the *psel* (graven image) with the *ishērah* (wooden post) in any way, and monumental evidence is lacking. What is certain is that the aniconic agalmata, especially the stone stelai, obelisks, pyramids, or cones, maintained themselves in the Phoenician cults down to late times, and were not superseded by stone temple idols. Images of the gods seem to have been first introduced as domestic idols: most of the images which have been found in Phoenicia and its colonies are of small size and inferior materials; none have been discovered which can be certainly identified as cultus-idols. (See IDOL, § 5.)

It does not fall within the scope of this article to describe the worship of the Semites in general; we must confine ourselves to a brief mention of the idolatrous ceremonies mentioned in the OT or the NT.

Holy mountains, waters, and trees, as we have seen, were places of worship in Palestine; but we learn nothing from the OT about peculiar rites such, for example, as

¹ Less probably an aerolite, as has often been surmised; cp. Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. of Rel.* 164 f.

² Aug. *Civ. Dei* 4.31; Plut. *Numa*, 8; cp. Plin. *NH* 34.15.

³ Diodor. in *Gem. Al. Protrept.* 43 Syllb., *Ildi* 1.131; Strabo, 7.32.

⁴ Lucian, *De sacrif.* 17.

⁵ Lucian, *Dea Syr.* 3.

⁶ We. *Ar. Heid.* 131. 99n.

⁷ *Prep. Ev.* 19; cp. Wisd. 13.

⁸ See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 1, chaps. 1-2; Schoemann, *Alt. d. Gr.* 2.150 ff.; esp. Overbeck, 'Das Kultusobjekt bei den Griechen in seinen ältesten Gestaltungen,' *Ber. d.ächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* (64) 121 ff.

in Syria are connected with sacred fountains and lakes; and it is only from the practices of other Semites in ancient and modern times that we may infer that offerings or mementoes (strips of cloth, and the like) were hung upon the sacred trees.¹ It is obvious that these cults were of inferior importance; indeed, tree worship was probably under the kings just what it is now for both Christians and Moslems—a superstition, in the proper sense of the word—that is, a cult which has been left on one side by the development of religion. The nature of the places of worship and their ordinary furniture has been described elsewhere (see HUGH PLATON, 'ALTAR').

The rites of sacrifice are essentially the same throughout the Semitic world (see SACRIFICE). They connect themselves primarily with the sacred stone (see MASSEREAU, and above, § 6). Distinctive ceremonies associated with the sacred post or pole are not mentioned in the OT; the numerous Assyrian reliefs and the seals which appear to represent the adoration of the sacred post are of uncertain interpretation (see ASHER, vii). Sacrifices to the idols were offered by fire (Hos. 4.1 etc.); libations were poured out (Jer. 7.18 etc.); the fruits of the earth (tithes, first-fruits) were presented to them (Hos. 2.8 [9] Is. 57.6 etc.); tables spread with food were set before them (Is. 65.11; cp. Bar. 6.28 f., Bel and the Dragon, 3 ff.).

The worshippers kissed the idols (Hos. 13.1 K. 19.18; cp. Cic. in *Verrum* 4.41), or threw kisses with their hands (Job 31.27, to the sun and moon);² stretched out their hands in prayer and adoration (Is. 44.20 [21]); knelt before the idols or prostrated themselves to the earth; when the deity was obdurate the priests leaped or danced about the altar,³ calling loudly upon the name of their god, and gashed themselves with knives (1 K. 18.26-28).

The Mishna enumerates the acts of worship or homage by which the prohibition of idolatry is violated thus: He breaks the law who sacrifices or burns incense to an idol, offers a libation, prostrates himself before it, or acknowledges it to be his god; also he who embraces the idol, kisses it, sweeps or sprinkles water before it, washes it, anoints it, dresses it, or puts on its shoes (*Sanhedrin*, 73; cp. Maimonides, *Mada Zara*, 86).

The idols were often carried in procession, either at fixed seasons, or upon some particular occasion (Is. 46.7 Jer. 10.5); such processions are represented on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, and frequently referred to by Greek and Roman authors.

The idolatrous cults had their priests (for an opprobrious name of whom see CHEREMISM) and prophets (1 K. 18.40) and oracles (2 K. 1.16). To the ministry of some of these religions belonged also the 'consecrated men and women' (קִדְּשֵׁי, קִדְּשֵׁי, Dt. 23.18 f.); that is, religious prostitutes of both sexes (cp. HARTLOT).

The offering of the body in honour of the deity prevailed widely in the North-Semitic religions; in some of them it is said—though not on the best authority—to have been obligatory on every woman once in her life;⁴ in others—perhaps in all—a special class of temple-harlots was maintained. Commerce with them was a religious act, accompanied by sacrifice (Hos. 4.13); the hire was sacred and was brought into the treasury of the god (Dt. 23.18 [19]). The laws forbidding men and women to wear the garments of the opposite sex (Dt. 22.5) are aimed at cults of this kind.

Certain peculiar rites and customs are known to us from passing allusions in the OT; the priests of Dagon would not set foot on the sacred threshold (1 S. 5.5; cp. Zeph. 1.9); the altars to the host of heaven were erected on the roofs of the houses (Jer. 19.13 Zeph. 1.5 etc.); cakes of a peculiar form were offered to the Queen of Heaven (Jer. 7.18); the sun-god had a chariot and horses stabled in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 23.14); the worshippers of the sun stood with their faces to the east (Ezek. 8.16);

¹ Cp. Gen. 35.4, jewels buried at the foot of a sacred tree. See also DRESS, § 8.

² Cp. Scholz, 55.

³ On the dances of the priests in Syrian cults see Herodian, v.

3.15 and *passim*; Lucian, *Dea Syr.* 80.

⁴ Hdt. 1.199; Strabo, 7.45; Baruch, 6.42 f.; Lucian, *Dea Syr.*, 6, etc. Cp. HARTLOT.

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children were sacrificed to the divine king at the Topheth in the Valley of Hinnom (Jer. 7:31 etc.; see Moloch II); the women of Jerusalem made a mourning for the death of Tammuz (Isa. 8:14); the gardens of Adonis are referred to by Isaiah (17:10 f.); leucisterna to Gad and Men by a post-exilic writer (Is. 65:11). An examination of the seemingly irrational prohibitions in the legislation, in the light of comparative ethnology, yields considerable information about the older cults and superstitions which were put under the ban by the religion of Yahwé, but into this field it is impossible to enter here.

The Israelites when they invaded Canaan brought with them the common ideas of the nomadic Semites;

7. History. they had their holy mountain (Horeb), holy wells (Beer-sheba), and fountains (Kadesh); the standing stone or stone-heap (altar) represented the deity in sacrifice; domestic idols were probably not unknown (see TERAPHIM). They found in Canaan a people of kindred race, possessed of an agricultural civilization which the newcomers adopted. The Canaanite high places became Israelite sanctuaries (see HIGH PLACE), and the *massebot* and *shikkot* beside the fire-altars and beneath the holy trees were taken over with them; if new sanctuaries were founded, they were furnished with a similar apparatus. The prophets and prophetic historians regard the idols also as adopted from the Canaanites; and, speaking generally, this is doubtless true. The Baals and Astartes, the gods of the land, were worshipped by the side of Yahwé. The founding of the national kingdom gave rise to international relations and led to the introduction of foreign religions (Phoenician, Moabite, Ammonite, 1 K. 11), which were externally much like that of Israel. The worship of the Tyrian Baal in the reign of Ahab, however, provoked a reaction which overthrew the dynasty of Omri. The larger political horizon in the eighth and seventh centuries, and especially the long-continued friendly relations of Judah with Assyria, opened the way for the introduction of many foreign cults, among which the worship of the HOST OF HEAVEN, the QUEEN OF HEAVEN, the Moloch-worship, and the rites of mourning for TAMMUZ are the most important; 2 K. 23:4 ff. shows us the state of things in Jerusalem and its suburbs in 621.

The reforms of Josiah made no permanent change, as is evident from the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; the latter gives us glimpses of the strange rites which were introduced or revived in the last years of the city (Ezek. 8). In the Persian period the strongest foreign influence was Aramaean; this is seen not only in the gradual displacement of Hebrew by the Aramaic vernacular, but also by the allusions to Syrian cults such as those of GAD and MENI (Is. 65:11; see FORTUNE). Under the successors of Alexander, the Jews in Palestine as well as in Egypt and Syria were brought under the spell of Hellenic civilisation, and the liberal party, especially strong among the priestly aristocracy, showed no prejudice against the Greek religions, until the violent measures of Antiochus Epiphanes provoked an equally violent reaction.

'Molten gods' (*massebot*), which were doubtless regarded as distinctively Canaanite, are prohibited in the oldest laws (Ex. 34:17). Jeroboam's 'calves' were of this kind, and we may well believe that they were condemned in his own time by men who looked with jealous eyes upon the assimilation of the religion of Yahwé to that of the baals of Canaan (on the untrustworthy record 1 K. 13, see JEROBOAM, 1 [end]). The Deuteronomic historians are in error, not in assuming that there was opposition from the first to the Canaanitizing of Israel, but in ascribing this opposition to higher religious

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ideas like their own. The prophets of the eighth century, particularly Hosea and Isaiah, zealously declared against the images, of which the land was full (Is. 2:8); under the influence of Isaiah, Hezekiah probably made an effort to root out the idols (2 K. 18:4). The older Ammonites, representatives of the deity, the *massebot*, were not yet abolished: the command to destroy the Canaanite sacred stones has a different motive. In the succeeding period these also fall under the condemnation of idolatry: no such symbol shall stand by the altar of Yahwé (Dt. 16:21 f., 12:17, Lev. 26:1 etc.); no image of any kind is to be tolerated (Is. 20, Dt. 5:8 etc.). In Dt. 17:19 (sixth century) a reason is annexed to this prohibition: at Horeb, where Yahwé revealed himself to Israel, they saw no visible form in which they might image him. Violation of these laws incurs the severest penalties,—for the individual, capital punishment (Dt. 17:2 ff.), for a city, the ban (Dt. 18); for the people as a whole, national ruin (29:17 ff. etc.). With the prophets

9. Hostility to foreign cults.

of the seventh century begins the contemptuous identification of the gods of the heathen with their idols, and in the sixth the trenchant satire upon the folly of making gods of gold and silver, of wood and stone, which runs through the later Psalms, Wisdom, Baruch, the Jewish Sibyllines, etc. (see Hoot., § 5 end), to be taken up again by Christian apologists. The attack of Antiochus I Epiphanes upon their religion made offering sacrifice to idols the very act of apostasy; faithful Jews submitted to martyrdom rather than obey the king's command; the Maccabean revolt was a rising against the attempt to force idolatry upon them. When the memories of bitter persecution, of heroic struggle and glorious victory, there was instilled into the breast of every true Jew an inexhaustible hatred of idols at which the ancient world wondered. Their Roman masters were more than once surprised by the outbreaks of this to them incomprehensible fanaticism. Pilate's first collision with the Jews was occasioned by his bringing the military ensigns (see ENSIGNS) from Caesarea to Jerusalem (Jos. Ant. xviii. 31); the order of Caligula that his statue should be set up in the temple would have precipitated the Jewish revolt had not the good sense of Petronius interposed delays, and the death of the Emperor put an end to the plan (Ant. xviii. 8, BJ ii. 10); the desperate war under Adrian was provoked by the setting up of a temple and image of Jupiter on the site of the ruined temple (The Cassius, 69:12; cp Jerome on Is. 29).

It is instructive to compare this history with that of the Greek religion. Some of the greatest of Greek

10. Comparison with Greece.

philosophers had protested against idolatry almost as strongly as the prophets of Israel. Heraclitus, Xenophanes, Empedocles had satirised the folly of praying to images; Zeno declared that neither temples nor idols befitted 'the gods.' Their words, however, made no impression upon the popular religion; and later philosophers had no difficulty in discovering good reasons for the use of images.² In Israel, on the contrary, a whole people had been trained to the worship of God without visible embodiment or symbol.

On idolatry in general the older works of G. J. Voss, and A. van Dale may still be consulted; from a modern standpoint, Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, chap. 6;

11. Bibliography. *Prim. Cult.* 2:108 ff.; Jappert, *Culturgesch.* 243 ff.; further, J. Selden, *de Dis Syris*, with the Additamenta of A. Beyer, 1672; F. Scholz, *Götterdienst u. Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern u. den benachbarten Völkern* (77); Baudissin, *Studien zur sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1 (76); 2 (78); WRS *Rel. Sem.* 14 (74). G. F. M.

IDUEL (Ἰδοὺλαος [BA]). 1 Esd. 8:43 EV, mg ARIEL, 1.

IDUMEA (Ἰδὺμα; RV 'Edom': Is. 34:5 f. Ezek.

¹ See Scholz, 2:108 ff.

² On the attitude to foreign gods in general, see Baudissin, *Sem. Rel.-gesch.* 149 ff.

¹ See Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 2114 f.

² Plotinus, *Ennead.* iv. 8:11; Porphyry in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* 37; cp Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 12:405 Reiske; Maxim. Tyr. *Diss.* 8.

IEDDIAS

35:15 36:5). **Idumaea** (Ἰδουμαία: Mk. 38). **Idumeans**, RV **Idumeans** (Ἰδουμαῖοι [A]), 2 Macc. 10:16). See **EDOM**.

IEDDIAS (ἰεδδῖας [A]), 1 Esd. 9:26 RV = Ezra 10:25, JEZIAH.

IEZER, IEZERITE (Ἰεζέρ, Ἰεζεριτ), Nu. 26:30† RV. See **ABIEZER**.

IEZIAS (ἰεζείας [B]), 1 Esd. 9:26 RV^{ms} = Ezra 10:25, JEZIAH.

IGAL (יגל), 'he [God] punishes', § 53).

1. Issacharite 'spy': Nu. 13:7 P (יגאל [B], יגאל [AF], יגלען [L]). See **JOSEPH** § 1 n.

2. b. Nathan of Zolbah, one of David's heroes (2 S. 23:30†: יגאל [BA], יגאל [L]). Cp. **JOEL**, 1; **NATHAN**, 3; **MIHAR**.

3. AV **Igeal**, a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3:22: יגאל [BA], יגאל [L]).

IGDALIAH (יגדליה), **IGEDALIA** [Vg.], probably a mere error for **GEDALIAH** [גדליה], cp. **גדליה** [BAQ, om. B], **גדליה** [Pesh. 18:37], father of **HANAN**, 7 Jer. 35:4).

IGNORANCE. If true religion is 'wisdom' or 'knowledge,' false religion must be 'folly' or 'ignorance' (cp. **Wisd.** 14:22), and in the Bible 'religion' includes practice as well as theory. This antithesis is constantly present to the minds of the biblical writers, though they may not always develop the antithesis in the same way. Legislation drew a broad distinction between intentional sins (עוון, 'with a high hand') and sins committed 'by error' (טעות, 'unwittingly'). The modern Christian standard must of course not be applied too rigorously to the details of the law, and the extreme anxiety (cp. **Ps.** 19:13) produced by the ease with which 'sins of ignorance' could be committed appears to us not to be a feature of an ideal character. However, the principle of discrimination recognised by the legislators is still acknowledged in Christendom, and self-distrust, if coupled with trust in the 'higher self'—the indwelling Spirit—is an undeniably Christian quality (2 Cor. 12:9).

Another variety of ignorance shows itself in doubts of the divine justice; 'so foolish was I and ignorant' (**Ps.** 73:22 92:6 77). There are mysteries which, if handled at all, should be handled wisely; and who can keep off the mystery referred to by the Psalmist? On the other hand, a mystery such as the cause of Israel's blindness (**Rom.** 11:25) is one which does not touch the ordinary Christian so closely that he must either solve the problem or suffer spiritual shipwreck.

The spiritual ignorance of the heathen and of unbelieving Jews is a point which is variously treated by the OT writers. Sometimes it is assumed that the heathen deliberately neglect the elementary divine laws (**Is.** 24:5 **Ps.** 9:17 [18]?, cp. **Ps.** 22:27 [28]); sometimes it is stated or implied that God allows each nation to follow its own course in religion; the course may be a foolish one, but it is at least natural and uncondemned (**Jer.** 2:11 **Mic.** 4:5). Even in the NT we find a certain variety of view. In **Rom.** 1:20-23 idolatry is represented as a deliberate silencing of the conscience, which leads to the manifestation of the wrath of God (1:18). In **Acts** 17:30, however, the Paul of the Acts of the Apostles excuses the error of Jews and heathen in the times before Christ as 'ignorance' (ἀγνοια) which God has 'winked at' (ἐπεριδύν; 1st **παριδύν**)—a phrase which reminds some of us of the term 'ignorance' applied in Arabic to pre-Mohammedan paganism. If, with Denney (Hastings, *DB* 2:445), we attempt to combine these two passages, we arrive at the difficult view that God can 'wink at' or excuse something which is 'in the last resort due to an immoral suppression, and even extinction, of divine light.' If, on the other hand, we recognise that the speeches in the Acts of the Apostles are literary compositions, we shall at once see how well these speeches are adapted to effect their assumed purpose. See, for instance, **Acts** 3:17, 13:27, and, to

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illustrate (ἐπεριδύν, 14:16, 'who in time past suffered all the nations to walk in their own ways.' It is true that Paul himself speaks of 'the passing over (τὴν παράσιν) of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God' (**Rom.** 3:25, RV); but the sins of the past (προγεγονότα ἀμαρτήματα) are the whole mass of human sins, with no special reference to heathenism. Since only in the sacrificial death of Christ could the righteousness of God be satisfied, it was theoretically necessary to maintain that God had shown forbearance to the sins of the pre-Christian period, to those of a Moses or an Ezra not less than to those of an idolater.

That ἀγνοια and ἀμαρτία are practically synonymous will appear from **Judith** 5:20 and from the parallelism in 1 Esd. 8:75 172) **Eccles.** 23:2; see also **Heb.** 9:7 (cp. 5:3).

The beautiful application of the legal phrases ἀγνοια and ἀμαρτία in the Epistle to the Hebrews should be noticed. The ideal High Priest is one who can 'bear gently with the ignorant and erring (τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανημένοις), for that he also is compassed with infirmity' (**Heb.** 5:2 RV); Jesus can do this, without ever having yielded to sin (**Heb.** 4:15). Nor does the author ignore the terrible possibility of 'sinning willingly' (ἐκούσιως), i.e., 'with a high hand,' after having been once 'enlightened' (**Heb.** 10:26, cp. 6:4-6). Cp. **Is.** 22:14, 1 John 5:16.

T. K. C.

IIM (יִים, i.e., 'heaps').

1. A city of Judah on the Edomite border (**Josh.** 15:26†: **Βακωκ** [B], **אֵימָה** [AL]). Robinson's *Bel. Aeneas* (31st 30th N. 34th 56th E.) seems too far N. Possibly a corrupt anticipation of the following city.

2. See **IJE-ABARIM**.

IJE-ABARIM (RV **IJE-ABARIM**: יִים הַבְּרָרִים—i.e., 'heaps of the Abarim': Nu. 21:11 **חלוצים** **על** **הַר** **פָּרָן** [B], **חלוצים** **על** **הַר** **פָּרָן** [AF], **חלוצים** **על** **הַר** **פָּרָן** [L]; 33:44 **וְיָמִין** **עַל** **הַר** **פָּרָן** [BAF], **וְיָמִין** **עַל** **הַר** **פָּרָן** [L]). Otherwise **IIM** or **IYIM** (Nu. 33:45 **וְיָמִין** [BAF], **וְיָמִין** [L]). See **ABARIM**, and **WANDERING**, **WILDER** § OF § 11.

IJON, or **Iyon** (יִזְוֹן; **אִין** [BL], **נַאִין** [A]; the first **י** is a dittograph), in K. 100 [B], **אִין** [AL] in Ch.), is mentioned with **Dan** and **Abel-beth-maacah** (or **Abel-maim**) in 1 K. 15:20 (2 Ch. 16:4) as conquered by **Benhadad** in the reign of **Baasha**, and again in 2 K. 15:29 with **Abel-beth-maacah**, **Kedesh**, etc., as 'carried captive' by **Tiglath-pileser** in the reign of **Pekah**; probably also in 2 S. 21:6 (see **DAN-JAAN**). The place and name are apparently as old as **Thomès III.** (*u-y-nq*, **WMM** *As. u. Eur.* 393, cp. 159). No wonder, therefore, that the name should still survive in that of the *Merj Ayun* (the *Campus Mergium* of William of Tyre), a rich plain, oval in shape, at the foot of the mountains of **Naphtali**, near the bend of the river **Litány**. The *Talmud* speaks of 'the pass (מַתְּנָה) of **Ijon**' (*Neub. Geogr.* 18), which favours the identification of **Ijon** with *Tell Dibbin*, a large mound in a commanding position near the northern end of the *Merj Ayun*. See **Rob.** *BR* 3:375; **Guérin**, *Gal.* 2:28 f.

IKKESH (יִקְשֶׁשׁ, 'crooked,' § 66; **ΕΚΚΗΣ** [BA], **εκ** [L]), a Tekoite, fath. of **IRA**, 2 S. 23:26 (**עִסְסָה** [B], **עִסְסָה** [A]), 1 Ch. 11:28 (**עַק** **תָּס** [B]), 27:9.

ILAI (יֵלַי), 1 Ch. 11:29† = 2 S. 23:28† **ZALMON**, 2.

ILIADUN (ἰλιάδουν [A], ἰλιάδουν [B]), 1 Esd. 5:58 RV, AV **MADIARUN** (y. i.).

ILLYRICUM (ἰλλυρικὸν [Ti. WH]). The 'inhospitable district between Istria and Epirus, which, with its wild series of mountain-caldrons broken neither by river-valleys nor by coast plains and arranged like scales one above another, and with its chain of rocky islands stretching along the coast, separates rather than connects Italy and Greece' (*Monnis. Hist. of Rome*, 3:172, ET; cp. **Strabo**, 317).¹

Illyricum in its widest sense denoted the entire region S. of the Danube from Rhetia (or at least Noricum) to Mesia. As first known to the Romans it was the region between the river **Drilo** and **Epiros** (*Illyria Graeca*). *Illyria Barbata* extended northwards towards the head of the Adriatic; part of it was distinguished by the name **Dalmatia**. In 11 A.D. the district

¹ For the Illyrian stock see *Monissen, Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 1:199, and *Hirt in the Festschrift für H. Kiepert* (1898), 179 f.

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was divided into Lower Illyricum (Pannonia) and Upper Illyricum (Dalmatia) (but see Ptol. 2.6). The name Illyricum applied in this narrower sense to the region between the Arsia (Arsia) and the Drilo was gradually displaced by the name Dalmatia, which, from the time of the Flavian emperors, was the regular term.

The mention of Illyricum in the NT is confined to Rom. 15.19, where Paul affirms that he has 'fully preached the gospel' 'round about unto Illyricum' (κύκλω μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ). Two questions are raised by the passage—viz. the exact meaning of (1) Illyricum, (2) 'unto' (μέχρι). Illyricum may here be understood of the southern part attached to Macedonia, which contained the important commercial cities of Epidamnus (in Roman times Dyrrhacium = modern Durazzo) and Apollonia—the two termini of the *Via Egnatia*, which runs a distance of 500 m., from the Helms to the Adriatic. The great landing-place on the Macedonian side was Dyrrhacium (cp Catull. 36.15: 'Adriæ tabernam,' Strabo, 283. 329). The apostle might easily have undertaken the transcontinental journey from Thessalonica or Berea during 57 A.D. (see CHRONOLOGY, § 71).

On the view that Paul always uses geographical terms in their Roman sense (Zahn, *Einleit.* 1.124), Illyricum must be taken to denote the Roman Province N. of the Drilo. In favour of this interpretation are the facts (1) that Paul is writing to a Roman church, in which his words would naturally be taken in their Roman sense; and (2) that he uses not the Greek form Ἰλλυρίς ('Illyria'), but the adjectival form Ἰλλυρικόν (= Lat. *Illyricum*).

Applying the same reasoning to the use of the term Dalmatia (1 Tim. 4.10), we shall be compelled to take that also as denoting the Roman Province, and hence to trace in the NT writings the change in Roman usage with regard to the name of the Province which has been above explained. All the more striking appears the variation when it is remembered that it is in writing to a Greek that the word Dalmatia is used in preference to the (to a Greek) more familiar form Illyria (see DALMATIA).

The decision of the question whether by Illyricum Paul meant *Illyris Graeca* or the Roman Province Illyricum (Dalmatia) really lies in the answer given to the further question—whether 'unto' (μέχρι) is used in an inclusive or exclusive sense.

Μέχρι, perhaps, need not involve the inclusion of the word with which it is combined, hence an actual crossing of the frontier of Illyricum from Macedonia is not to be proved.

An unprejudiced reader, however, would here undoubtedly understand Illyricum to lie *within* the circumference of the ever-widening circle of missionary enterprise pictured by the phrase ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλω μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ. For in fact, if Berea, the most westerly recorded city (Acts 17.10), is taken to have been the most westerly point actually reached in this region by Paul, he was still nearly 100 miles east of the Illyrian frontier—and therefore the employment of Illyricum to mark the extreme limit of preaching can with difficulty be justified. We hold, then, that Paul's words imply actual work in Illyricum—i.e., probably in *Illyris Graeca*—(cp his apparent familiarity with Nicopolis, Tit. 3.12); but a visit to, e.g., Salona (*Colonia Martia Julia Salona*), the capital of the Roman Province Illyricum (Dalmatia) may also have found a place in the itinerary of which we get this solitary glimpse.

That the phrase 'unto Illyricum' might have been legitimately used 'even if [his Paul's] apostolic labours were entirely to the eastward of the mountains (sc. Mt. Scardus), in the country watered by the Strymon and the Axius' (Conybeare and Howson, 2.130), cannot be maintained by reference to the vague use of the word Illyricum to designate the region S. of the Danube (e.g., Tac. *Hist.* 1.27. 285, where Illyricum = Pannonia Moesia and Dalmatia; *ibid.* Ann. 14.244, where it = Pannonia Rhætia Noricum).

See Poinssignon, *Quid præcipue apud Romanos adusque Dioctletiani tempora Illyricum fuerit* (186), Zippel, *d. rom. Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus* (77), and Bahr, *D. Ursprung d. rom. Provinz Illyrien* (70).

W. J. W.

¹ Cp Acts 20.2. For other views see Zahn, *Einleit.* 1.222. McGiffert, *Apost.* 1894.

IMMANUEL

IMAGE, see IDOL, § 1.

IMALCUE (AVSIMALCUE, CINMALCUEH[A], Ἰμαλκούε [NV], Ἰμαλκούε [Vg.], Ἰμαλκούε [Jos. Ant. xiii. 51], ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ [Pesh.], Ἰμαλκούε [Vg. cod. Sangerm.]), an Arabian prince who had charge of the young ANTIOCHUS (q.v., 4) (1 Macc. 11.39).

The name is clearly equivalent to ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ, a name found in Pahl. and closely allied to the common Nab. name ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ. According to Diodorus (who gives the name as Jamblichus), the prince reigned near Chalkis (Muller, *Fragm. hist. grec.* 2.17, n. 21); see Schür. *GfV* 1.14, n. 24, and the authorities quoted there. He was perhaps related to ZABDIEL, or the son and successor of Diocles in whose hands Balas placed Antiochus (Diod. *Fr.* xxxii. 101).

IMLAH (יִמְלָח, 'he is full,' § 54; cp Pahl. name ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ, Vog. *Syr. Centr.* 85; 1 K. 22.8) or **Imla** (יִמְלָא; 2 Ch. 18.7), father of Micah the prophet (in K.

יִמְלָא [B; in 7. 9 -aa], יִמְלָא [A], נַמְלָא [L]; in Ch. יִמְלָא [B; in 7. 18 -aa], יִמְלָא [A], נַמְלָא [L].

IMMANUEL, a symbolic name, meaning 'With us (is) God' (cp Judg. 6.12.16), found twice in EV, viz. (a) in Is. 7.14, and (b) in Is. 8.8.

In (a) there is no doubt that the expression is to be viewed as a proper name, whether with Baer we adopt ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ, or with Ginsch. ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ as the Mass. reading. All the versions are here agreed (B, Mt. 12.3, ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ [IMALCUE]). In (b), however, whereas Vg. Pesh. recognise 'Immanuel' and MT, which gives ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ, does not exclude this view, ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ renders ܡܝܬܐ ܗܡܝܢ ܕܥܕܐ, i.e., 'God is with us'—an affirmation of the favourableness of God to the people of Judah, and Tg. closes the verse with the words, 'thy land, O Israel.'

The historical occasion on which the prophecy of Immanuel was given is described elsewhere (see ISAAH 1.).

1. Various theories. We have now simply to record the answers which have most recently been given to the question, Who is meant by ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ ('the *almah*'—lit. the maiden or young woman),² and by Immanuel?

(a) Lagarde, McCurdy, and, with some hesitation, Porter, identify the *almah* with the wife of Ahaz, or (at least) with some one of the inferior members (cp Cant. 6.8) of the royal harem. In this case, it is natural to take the further step of identifying Immanuel with Hezekiah.

As McCurdy points out, the chronological objection still urged by some scholars rests upon disputable grounds. Those who go thus far may also wish to modify the vocalization of one Heb. word (reading ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ),³ so that the formal naming of the child will be entrusted to the father.

(b) Hitzig and Reuss identify Immanuel with Maher-shalal-hash-baz, the child whom 'the prophetess' bore to Isaiah soon after his meeting with Ahaz (Is. 8.3).

Riehm and H. Schultz, however, suppose that an elder brother of this child may be meant, and the former accounts for the phrase 'the maiden' by conjecturing that Isaiah had recently become a widower and had married again.

(c) Weir, Hofmann, and Orelli explain the phrase 'the maiden' allegorically.

The people of Israel is often described as the bride of Yahweh (e.g., Is. 54.5 Ezek. 16 Hos. 2), and Mic. 5.3 (2) (cp 4.1) may be plausibly understood as interpreting 'the maiden' in Is. 7.14 of

¹ Schürer refers to the Lat. 'Jamblicus' in the *Corp. Inscr.* *Rhenan.*, ed. Brambach, no. 1213.

² On the sense of ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ see BDB, s.v., and cp Che. *Proph.* Is. (b) 2.130 f.; WRS *Proph.* 424. The prophet chooses the most comprehensive word he can find (cp Pr. 20.10), so as to include all classes of women; the article is best viewed as generic (see e. below). On most of the theories which will be mentioned (a, b, c, d), the term constitutes a real and perhaps an insuperable difficulty. At any rate 'the maiden' need not be explained of any single well-known individual. The phrase may be Hebraistic for 'one who is a maiden' (i.e., a young woman of marriageable age); cp 1 S. 17.34, 'there came the lion' (so literally; EV 'a lion').

³ This pointing is supported by B (except (1) ܡܠܥܘܬܐ, and Γ ܡܠܥܘܬܐ), Aq. Theod., Symm. In Mt. 12.3 the more general ܡܠܥܘܬܐ is substituted for ܝܡܠܥܘܬܐ, which might be paraphrased 'men shall call.'

IMMANUEL

the faithful Israelitish community. According to Holmann, the child Immanuel means the regenerate people of Israel; Weir, however, thinks that child-birth is simply an allegory of deliverance from danger, though, inconsistently, he admits a secondary reference of the passage to the Messiah.¹

(d) Ewald and many other critics take the 'maiden' to be the mother of the Messiah, and it has been regarded as Isaiah's chief distinction that he had thus early an intuition of this grand eschatological figure.

The vagueness of the title 'the maiden' may be intentional; we are meant to fix our attention on the personality of the child, whose speedy advent and strange experience will be the divinely appointed 'sign' of the truth of Israel's prophecy. This view was formerly that of the present writer, and is still maintained by Guthe, G. A. Smith, and Skinner. If it be correct, Is. 7:14 is the only prophecy of the Messiah addressed by Isaiah (whose authorship of 96[5]f. 11:1-9 is here assumed) to any but his attached disciples, and there Isaiah kept silence as to the Davidic origin of the mysterious child.

(e) Koorda ('40), Kuenen, W. R. Smith, Smend, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti take a different, and, at first sight, a startling view, which, however, is in perfect accordance with Hebrew grammar. 'It does not appear that he [Isaiah] pointed his hearers to any individual. He says, only, that a young woman, who shall become a mother within a year, may name her child "God with us." For before the babe begins to develop into intelligent childhood, the lands of Pekah and Rezin shall be laid waste' (WRS *Proph.* 272). Those who take this view will most naturally regard בָּרָא in 88 (as well as in 2:10) as a statement that 'God is with Judah,' not as a proper name ('thy land, O Immanuel'), and will, by a very slight rearrangement of the Hebrew letters, read '... of the land. For with us is God.' Various considerations, critical and exegetical, almost irresistibly urge this theory upon us (see Duhm, *Is.*, and cp Che. *SBOT*, and *Intr.* Is. 32-37).

(f) F. C. Porter (*JBL* 14:26 ff. [95]) suggests that Immanuel 'expresses not the prophet's faith, but the false faith, the ungrounded confidence of the king and the people.'

"Yahweh is with us" was a popular expression of religious faith (Am. 5:14); Amos denies it of Israel as a nation. So Hosea and Micah, the one by the names of his children, the other by express contradiction, oppose this superstition. Jeremiah too denies it in its more recent form (Jer. 8:8). Immanuel, then, would be 'a name which a Jewish woman soon to give birth might naturally give to her son, but which the experiences of such a son even in his earliest infancy would contradict.' The sign consists 'not in the name nor in the lot of the boy, but in the relation of the two, in the contradiction of the name by the lot.' Thus the name forms a climax to the announcement of judgment in Is. 8:8.

That the historical meaning of Is. 7:14 should be forgotten in the post-exilic period was only natural. It then became essential to fill the old prophecy with a new meaning—for the 'scriptures' (men thought) should throb with life from end to end, if they were indeed divine. This was done by giving the passage a reference to the gradually developing doctrine of the 'last things.'

We find the first certain trace of this in Mic. 5:2 which is not from the pen of Micah, and is rooted, not in contemporary history, but in the deductive theology or rather eschatology of post-exilic times (see *Gesch. d. isr. Rel.* 255, Kaiser-Marti). Jewish Christians interpreted the passage on the same principles. Just as they explained Is. 9:1 [8:23] of the residence of Jesus at Capernaum, and Hos. 11:1 of the flight into Egypt, so they interpreted Is. 7:14 of the virgin birth of Jesus.

Several interesting points must necessarily be passed over here. (1) The controversial use of Is. 7:14 belongs

2. **Other points.** Christian Church (cp Diestel's useful work, '69). (2) The LXX rendering of עִמָּנוּאֵל also requires attention.

J. P. Peters has suggested that the true reading in Is. 7:14 may be עִמָּנוּאֵל. If so, a view of the meaning of 'Immanuel' which a recent commentator describes as 'purely fanciful' (mentioned above as c) becomes almost forced upon us. Most

IMNA

scholars, however, will doubt this bold conjecture, and think that ἡ παρθένος in 8 is a trace of the belief that the Messiah was to be born of a virgin. Badham (*Acad.* 8th June, '93) has adduced much evidence to show that such a belief was current among Palestinian and Alexandrian Jews. Aq., Sym., Theod. have ἡ παρθένος.

(3) The relation of the Immanuel prophecy to Is. 9:1-7 [1-6] and to Ps. 46 is critically important. See the special introductions. (4) The meaning of 'signs' in Hebrew prophecy deserves special study. We can here only quote a Mohammedan illustration of ordinary non-miraculous signs such as that given to Ahaz by Isaiah. It was a common belief among early Moslems that the coming of the prophet had been announced by various 'signs' to the world at large. One of the non-miraculous 'signs' is thus described by Ibn Hishām. A Jew was speaking of resurrection and judgment to heathen Arabs, who demanded a sign of the truth of his statements. 'A prophet,' he answered, 'sent from yonder country' (Mecca). 'But when,' they asked, 'do you think he will come?' Then he looked at me, and said, 'If this boy reaches the full term of life, he will see him.' Here, as Bevan remarks,¹ it is not merely the doctrine of a future state which receives a sign. The sign that there is a future state consists in the coming of the prophet, and the sign that the prophet is really coming consists in the fact that the boy who is singled out will live to see him. The applicability of this illustration to Is. 7:14 is obvious. Whether Immanuel is an individual, or a whole generation of children, makes no difference. Cp also Ex. 3:12, which is strikingly parallel to Is. 7:14, and equally requires illustration.

See Giesebrecht, 'Die Immanuelweissagung,' *St. Kr.*, 1883, pp. 217-246; Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaja*, 40 f. (1883); Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 214 f.; McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1417-420; Porter (*JBL*, as above); Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 185-189; and the commentaries. Cp also GOSPELS, § 21, MESSIAH, NATIVITY.

IMMER (יִמֶּר; ΕΜΜΗΡ [AL]), a place mentioned with CHERUB and ADJAN in Ezra 2:59 (ΕΜΜΗΡ [B]) = Neh. 7:61 (ΕΜΜΗΡ [BA]). EM. [A^{vid}] = 1 Esd. 5:26 where the name is AALAR, RV ALLAR (ΑΛΛΑΡ [B], ΑΛΑΡ [A]). See CHERUB, 2.

IMMER (יִמֶּר, § 68, 'sheep' (?), or cp AMARIAH; ΕΜΜΗΡ [BAQ]).

1. The father(?) of the priest PASHUR (Jer. 20:1, pre-exilic). The (post-exilic) genealogy of Immer is given in 1 Ch. 9:12 (יִמֶּר [B]) = Neh. 11:23 (BKA om. ΕΜΜΗΡ κατὰ mg. inf.), the same family-name occurs in 1 Ch. 24:14. There is frequent reference to the post-exilic family of B'ne Immer (Ezra 2:37; 10:20 ΕΜΜΗΡ [B*]; in Neh. 7:40 om. B, ΕΜΜΗΡ [B]); cp Neh. 3:29 (Zadok). In 1 Esd. 9:21 the name appears as EMMER (יִמֶּר [B]), and 1 Esd. 5:24 as MERUTH, RV EMMERUTH (ΕΜΜΗΡΟΥ [B], ΕΜΜΗΡΟΥΘΙ [A]).

2. See AMON, 2.

IMMORTALITY. There is no equivalent in Hebrew: in Prov. 12:28 חַיִּים-עוֹלָם cannot grammatically mean 'no death' (EV) or 'immortality' (Ew.), nor is immortality within the wise man's circle of ideas. See ESCHATOLOGY, § 15 ff.

1. ἀθάνατος; immortalitas: 1 Cor. 15:53 f.; 1 Tim. 6:16. Also Wisd. 3:4 ('hope full of immortality'), 4:1 ('in the memory of virtue is immortality'), 8:13-17 ('in the kinship of wisdom is immortality'), 13:3 ('to know God is the root of immortality'). Cp also 4 Macc. 14:5-16:13. ἀθάνατος occurs in Wisd. 1:15 ('righteousness is immortal'), Eccles. 17:30 ('son of man not immortal'). Cp Eccles. 5:19 [A], 4 Macc. 7:3 [B] 14:6-18:23 [A* κατὰ V].

2. ἀφθαρσία, incorruptio: Rom. 2:7 1 Cor. 15:42-50 53 f. Eph. 6:24 2 Tim. 1:10; in RV always 'incorruption' (in Eph. 'incorruptness'). ἀφθαρτος is rendered 'immortal' in 1 Tim. 1:17 AV. Elsewhere EV has 'incorruptible'. ἀφθαρσία occurs also in Wisd. 2:23 (man created for incorruption), 6:13 (incorruption brings near to God). Cp 4 Macc. 9:22 17:12. ἀφθαρτος in Wisd. 12:1 (of the spirit of God), 18:4 (of the light of the law).

IMNA (יִמְנָה, § 53, '[God] keeps off'), name in a genealogy of ASHER (q.v. § 4, ii.). 1 Ch. 7:35† (IMANA [BA], IMNA [L]). Cp perhaps Nab. יִמְנָה (see Cook *Arim. Gloss.*, s.v.), and see TIMNA.

¹ Bevan, *JOS* 1874, pp. 220-227.

¹ Che. *Proph.* Is. 3:14.

² If Is. 9:6[5] be post-exilic, it may also be mentioned here as implying (probably) that Immanuel is the Messiah.

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IMNAH (יִמְנָה), § 53, '[God] determines' or 'measures'; יִמְנָה [ADL.]. 1. b. ASHER (q.v., § 4, i). Gen. 40:17 (AV JIMNAH) = Nu. 26:43 [44] (AV JIMNA; יִמְנָה [BAFL.]) = 1 Ch. 7:30 (IMINA [B], יִמְנָה [L.]); gentile **Imnite**, AV JIMNITES, Nu. 26:43 [44] (יִמְנָה [BAFL.]).

2. A Levite, father of Kore: 2 Ch. 31:14 (יִמְנָה [B]). We should perhaps transpose and read יִמְנָה—יִמְנָה, Heman; see KORE.

IMRAH (יִמְרָה), 'he resists,' § 53; cp MEKALAH, in a genealogy of ASHER (q.v., § 4, ii), 1 Ch. 7:36f (יִמְרָה [B], יִמְרָה [A], יִמְרָה [L.]).

IMRI (יִמְרִי), § 52; abbrev. from AMARIAH.

1. A Judahite, 1 Ch. 9:4; see AMARIAH, 3.
2. Father of ZACCHUR (2) in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1, f, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15d); Neh. 3:2f (יִמְרִי [B], יִמְרִי [A]).

INCENSE is the perfume arising from aromatic substances during combustion, and the substances themselves which are burned to produce the perfume. In EV 'incense' translates two Hebrew words, one of which (קֶטֶר, *kēṭēr*, θυμίαμα) properly denotes 'smoke,' specifically the smoke of offerings to the deity by fire; the other (קֶטֶר, *kēṭēr*, λίβανος), more frequently rendered frankincense, is the name of a species of gum (see FRANKINCENSE).

Kēṭēr is used of the savoury smoke of victims (Homeric *avōn*), Dt. 33:10 (קֶטֶר, *kēṭēr*), 1s. 1:13 Ps. 66:15; and the verb (קָטַר, *kāṭar*, Piel) means 'cause to smoke' upon the altar, e.g., the fat of a sacrifice (1s. 2:15f., falsely pointed as Hiphil, cp קָטַר in 10), an oblation of bread (Am. 4:5; not Q); more frequently without direct object (Hos. 4:13 11:2 Jer. 19:13 etc.). Then, as the burning of at least a portion of the offering was an essential part of the religious rite, by a development analogous to that of קָטַר, *kāṭar* ('slaughter, sacrifice') *kāṭar* means 'offer sacrifice.' Later, *kēṭēr* is used specifically of the sweet smoke of frankincense and other aromatics; of the incense-offering (as in קֶטֶר, Ex. 30:8 etc.); and of the material burned in this offering (Ezek. 8:11 Lev. 10:1 and frequently); the last meaning finally predominates.¹ The compound prescribed in Ex. 30:34 is קֶטֶר, *kēṭēr*, 'the incense of aromatics.' The verb ordinarily used in this connection is קָטַר, *kāṭar* (Hiph.), which predominates in the later literature in all uses.

The use of incense in religious ceremonies is very widespread, and a great variety of substances has been used for the purpose—woods, dried flowers, grasses, seeds, barks, gums.² In Egypt the offering of incense by a king is a very frequent subject on the monuments;³ enormous quantities of incense were consumed in the temples;⁴ and expeditions were repeatedly sent to the land of Punt (Somali) to bring back the fragrant gums.⁵ In the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians incense (*kutrinnu*) was also much used: the herb of the Deluge after leaving the ark offers sweet calamus (קָטַר), cedar wood, and fragrant herbs (?);⁶ references in the royal inscriptions, hymns, and magical texts are not infrequent.⁷ Herodotus says that a thousand talents' weight of frankincense was offered on the great altar of burnt offerings at the annual feast of Bel (I 183). Sabaean inscriptions, some of them on censers, name various substances used for incense.⁸

¹ The Arab. *kutūr* is the scent of flesh-meat roasted on live coals, and, secondarily, according to some scholars, of aloewood burnt for fumigation.

² In this sense the word is found in Phoen. inscriptions; see C.S. I no. 1666 334 f.

³ For a list of substances used in the East in ancient and modern times, see Birdwood in *EB* 12718.

⁴ See Wilkinson-Birch, *Anc. Eg.* 3:308-400, 412-416 (75).

⁵ See the reckoning of the gifts of Raimes III. during his reign, Erman, *Egypten*, 407 f.

⁶ Erman, 669, 673, 677; Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, 21 ff. (94); cp also Gen. 37:25.

⁷ Bah. deluge-story, 147 ff.

⁸ See RITUAL (Assyr., Babyl.), § 2; Del. *Ass. Hitt.* 600; Tallquist, *Maglu*, 20 f., 605 f.

⁹ Merdunian and Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, 78 ff. See

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The gums and resins of Syria were carried to market in Egypt through Palestine (Gen. 37:25); the perfumes for which Southern Arabia was famous

3. Earliest use in Israel. were brought to Jerusalem in Solomon's time (1 K. 10:10 f.); but there is no reference to the use of incense in Israelite worship before the seventh century B.C.

The prophets of the eighth century, in their picture of the ostentatious religion of their contemporaries (Am. 4:4 f. 5:21 f. Is. 1:11 f.; cp also Mic. 6:6 f.), could hardly have failed to make some allusion to this feature of the cultus, if it had been customary in their time. Nor is there any mention of it in the older historical books or laws; it is, indeed, at variance with the fundamental principle of the older laws, that the material of sacrifice should be the gift of Yahweh—i.e., the product of his land. Jeremiah is the first to speak of it: 'What care I,' says Yahweh, 'for frankincense (קֶטֶר) that comes from Shela (cp Is. 60:6) and sweet calamus (קֶטֶר) from a distant land' (6:20, cp 41:5; 17:22 is post-exilic); see, further, Is. 43:23 f. Yahweh did not burden Israel with a costly cultus, frankincense and calamus (see KEDR [A]) bought with money.² The earliest determinable use of *kēṭēr* for the material of incense is Ezek. 8:11—significantly enough, in a description of a heathenish mystery-cult; see also 23:41.

It is to be conjectured, therefore, that the use of these imported aromatics in the worship of Yahweh came in, with other innovating imitations of foreign religions, during the reign of Manasseh.³

We may distinguish (1) the use of incense as the concomitant of certain oblations, and (2) the offering of incense by itself. (1) In the first case the oblation consists of fine flour

4. OT usage. and oil (the ordinary *minḥah*), or roasted ears or grits (first-fruits) and oil, with frankincense; a handful of the flour or grain, and all the accompanying frankincense was burned on the great altar (the *azkār*; see SACRIFICE).⁴ On the table of shewbread pure frankincense was placed (in two golden vessels, Jos. Ant. iii. 107, *M. Menach.* 11:57 f.); when the bread was removed on the following sabbath, the frankincense was burned on the great altar, as an *azkār* to the bread (Lev. 24:9). In all these cases frankincense alone is prescribed.

(2) In the offering of incense *kēṭēr* by itself, the older use was to burn it in censers,⁵ of which it seems to be assumed that each priest had one.

So in P: Nadab and Abihu are destroyed by lightning from Yahweh because they put profane fire (coals not from the great altar) in their censers, and offered incense to Yahweh (Lev. 10:1 f.); cp also Nu. 26 (laymen presume to usurp a priestly function), and 17:11 (10:40) (Aaron carries his censor through the camp to stay the plague). This was the common mode in Egypt (see Wilkinson, as in preceding col. n. 4, and CENSER; cp also Ezek. 8:11).

This practice survived in the ultimate ritual of the temple only in the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement in Lev. 16, where precisely this p. is bel. as to the older stratum (P) connected unmistakably with Lev. 10; see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, §§ 1-3, LEVITICS, § 12.

In a later stratum of P a permanent golden altar is provided in the Holy Place, upon which the stated incense-offering (קֶטֶר) is burned morning and evening (Ex. 30:1 f.; see ALTAR, § 11, and EXODUS II., § 5 [i.]). The pan, or rather shovel (קָטַר, see CENSER), which formerly served as a censor, is now used only to take the coals from the great altar and carry them to the altar of incense.

In the same late stratum of P we find directions for in general Buhl. *Ezod. n. Lxx.* on 1 s. 30 34 f. Birdwood in *EB* 12718, 'incense.'

¹ The silence of Kings must be compared with the frequent reference in Chronicles. See Wellh. *Ezod.* 6:64 f.; Nowak, *H 1224*.

² The 'fragrant calamus' is an ingredient of the holy chrism, Ex. 30:23.

³ In Greece and Rome, also, the use of imported *odorifera* in worship was a refinement of a more luxurious age (Porphyry, *De abstinent.* 23; Arnob., *C. gent.* 7:20); in Greece it seems to begin about the seventh century.

⁴ See Lev. 21:15 f. 6:15 [5]; cp Neh. 13:5. In two instances it is prescribed that the *minḥah* shall not be accompanied by frankincense (Lev. 5:11 Nu. 5:15).

⁵ See CENSER.

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the ceremonial: Aaron (*i.e.*, the high priest) shall burn

incense on the golden altar every morning when he dresses the lamps, and every evening when he replaces them on the candelabra; this is a קֶשֶׁת תָּמִיד (EV 'a perpetual incense'), corresponding to the stated morning and evening offerings on the great altar (Ex. 30:7 ff.).

The incense is of a peculiar composition, and is very sacred; the use of any other kind in the temple, or of this compound for any other purpose, is a mortal sin (Ex. 30:34-38). To offer incense is a high prerogative of the priesthood: the story of Uzziah (2 Ch. 26:16-21) illustrates the peril at which others intrude upon it.

The formula for compounding the sacred incense is given in Ex. 30:34-38.

The ingredients are four fragrant substances (סַמִּימִם, *sammimim*), viz., שֶׁטָּה, *shetah* (STACTE); חֶלְבֶּנֶת, *helbeneth* (ONCHIA);

6. Composition of Incense. ONYCHA, חֶלְבֶּנֶת, *helbeneth* (αλβανη; EV GALBANUM), and זָבִיבָה, *zabibah* (καδύ; EV FRANKINCENSE).¹ These in equal parts, with a seasoning of salt, are to be made into a 'perfume incense according to the perfumer's art, and reduced to a very fine powder.

In the Herodian temple was employed a much more elaborate compound containing, according to Jos. (BJ v. 55), thirteen constituents. This agrees with the Talmudic testimony, which names eleven aromatic substances, besides salt and a certain herb.²

The additional ingredients are myrrh, cassia, spikenard, saffron, costus (קָסְטוֹס, *qastus*), cinnamon (Jer. Yomd. 45; Bab. Yomd. 64). These were combined with the four prescribed in Exodus in such quantities as to make for the year's supply a total of 368 minas (say, roughly—pounds), one for each day of the solar year, and three additional for the rites of the Day of Atonement. With the aromatics was mixed a small quantity (1 kab) of Sodom salt, and a certain herb which had the property of causing the smoke to ascend in a vertical column. With this formula we may compare the description which Plutarch gives of the Egyptian incense (and medicinal) compound called *kuphi*, which consisted of sixteen ingredients (*De Isid. et Osir.* p. 383).³ Cf. also Jobiles 8:27-28. According to *Apoc. Mois.* 20, Adam was allowed to take with him, when he was expelled from Paradise, the sweet-smelling plants used for incense.

The proper compounding of the incense was an art and mystery.

Some of the ingredients required previous preparation: the onycha or sea-shell (חֶלְבֶּנֶת, *e.g.*, was purified with vegetable alkali, and steeped in a particular kind of wine to take off the rankness of the odour. The materials were powdered in a mortar, the workman repeating as he pounded, 'bray it well' and the incense was left in a fine powder, not made up into pastils or osselets such as we see in Egyptian representations. The stress laid on the prohibition of honey, though it has a general warrant in Lev. 2:11, may be a side-glance at the Egyptian mode of preparation, in which honey was probably used to make the mass.

In the last age of the temple the fabrication of the incense was in the hands of the family of Abinos (*Eḥibnos* or *Eḥibnos*), who had a room in the precincts assigned them for the purpose. They alone knew the herb which caused the column of smoke to ascend straight to the roof before it spread out; no others could get this effect (Jer. Yomd. 39; Bab. Yomd. 38a, etc.). They are said to have had a secret book of formulas.

The ceremonial also became with time much more complicated. Instead of the high priest, the duty of burning the incense was assigned

7. Ritual of Herodian temple. daily by lot (cp Lk. 18:10) to a priest who had not previously enjoyed this distinction.

Three others assisted: one removed from the altar of incense the ashes from the preceding day; another filled a shovel or pan with coals from the south-western of the two fires on the great altar, put them upon the altar of incense, spreading them out evenly, made his prostration, and withdrew. The officiating priest then entered the Holy Place, carrying the proper quantity

¹ See STACTE, ONYCHA, GALBANUM, FRANKINCENSE.

² The repetition of סַמִּימִם in Ex. 30:34 made possible an exegesis which gave a warrant for improvement.

³ See also Dioscor. 124.

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of incense (1 mina) in a cop with a lid (כֶּבֶד) set inside a shallow vessel (קַב) with a handle, over which a cloth was laid. Another priest accompanied him; when they reached the altar the assistant took the vessel and poured into the hands of the officiating priest every grain of the incense; he then made his prostration and withdrew. At the word from the master of ceremonies (שֹׁמֵר), 'Incense!' (קֶשֶׁת), the priest sifted the incense on the coals, then made his prostration and retired.² During this ceremony no one was allowed to be in the temple, nor within the court between the altar and the front of the temple.³

The exact moment for burning the incense was carefully fixed in the series of rites, and served to mark the time of day (Judith 9:1 Lk. 1:10). On the ritual of the Day of Atonement, see ATONEMENT, ii. § 7.

Philo (*Quis rerum divin. heres*, c. 41) finds in the four ingredients of the incense (Ex. 30:34) symbols of

the four elements, water, earth, air, fire; 8. Significance. the composition represents the universe.

Josephus (*BJ* v. 54) thinks that the thirteen ingredients, gathered from the sea, the desert, and the inhabited earth, signify that all things are of God and unto God. Maimonides (*Mor. Nebukhim*, 845) sees in the incense only a means of overcoming the slaughter-house stench arising from the sacrifice of so many victims.

That it is a symbol or vehicle of prayer is suggested by a natural association with the sweet smoke rising heavenwards (cp Ps. 141:2 Rev. 8:3 f. 58).⁴ The more subtle speculations of modern 'symbolists,' such as Bahr, testify to the authors' ingenuity rather than to their sobriety.

Many recent scholars remark the fondness of the Orientals for perfumes and the common use of fumigations in honour of guests and rulers⁵ (cp Prov. 7:17 Cant. 3:6 Ps. 45:9 [8]). The perfuming of garments by fragrant smoke, and the use of fumigatories after meals are frequently alluded to in the later Jewish literature. The use of incense in worship is thus explained: men believe that what is so grateful to themselves is pleasing to the deity. That there is truth in this explanation need not be questioned; and it is not improbable that in Israel this was the prevailing conception.⁶

This is not the whole truth, however, any more than the theory that the origin of all sacrifice is the offering of food to the gods. We have only to recall the wide use of fumigation as a demonifuge, of which Tobit 6:17 8:13 are familiar instances. In Nu. 16:46 [17:1] ff., where Aaron with his sons stands between the living and the dead and stays the plague, the incense is called an atonement (cp Wisd. 18:21); but the background of older belief is not concealed. The use of fumigation in magical rites is also to be noted, our striking example of which is found in Baruch 6:43 [42], the Babylonian women who exposed themselves to prostitution by the wayside 'burnt bran for fumigation,' with which the commentators properly compare Theocritus 2:33, where a girl, in the course of a complicated magical ceremony to win back the affection of her lover, burns bran to Hecate (cp Verg. *Ecl.* 8:2 'sparge molam'). On incense in magical ceremonies see also *Test. Salom.* ed. Fleck, 110.

The principal texts have been cited in the foregoing. A clear description of the ritual, using all the Talmudic material, is given by Maimonides, *Mishn. Tor.*, *Tamid* u. *mūsaphin*, 31 ff., cp Kēlê hamikdash, 21 ff.

9. Literature. Some older monographs are collected in Ugolini, *Thesaurus* 11, to which may be added Schlichter, *De suffitu sacro Hebraeorum ejusque mysterio*, 1754. The subject is treated in the Comm. iv. 89 ff.; esp. in Kalisch and Knobel-Dillmann, and in the works on

¹ Cp the spherical, covered pastil-holders in Egyptian representations (Wilk. 3:198).

² The high priest on the Day of Atonement was forbidden to prolong his prayer in the Holy Place, lest the people should fear that something had happened to him (*M. Yomd.* 51, cp Lk. 1:21).

³ *M. Tamid*, 369 52 4 f. 61-6; cp Lk. 1:10.

⁴ See also *Test. xii Patr.*, *Levi*, 3; esp. *Apoc. Mois.* 33.

⁵ See, e.g., Lane, *Mod. Eg.* 203, cp 138 f. (60); classical examples, Herod. 7:54, Curt. v. 120 viii. 923, Herodian, iv. 89 f.; 113; Dillm. on Ex. 30:34 ff.

⁶ See, e.g., the Zulu quoted by Tylor, 233 f., or the Babylonian Deluge myth cited above, 22.

INDIA

Hebrew archaeology, of which it is sufficient to refer to Nowack 2246 ff. See also articles by Orelli in *PKL* 12:483 ff., Selbie, in Hastings' *DB* 2:47 f., and especially Deitzsch in *Rehm HBB* 2:27. 'Rauchern, Raucherwerk.' For the **Altar of incense** (חֹטֶת־עֹלָה, Ex. 30:7) see, besides § 4 above, *CENSER*, 1; *ALTAR*, § 11; and *SACRIFICE*. G. F. M.

INDIA (אִינְדִּיָּה; ἡ Ἰνδική [B8XVI, 98]). That the Pishon of Gen. 2:11 is the Indus, and that Havilah is India properly so-called (i.e., the region watered by the Indus); that the wood brought to Solomon from Ophir (1 K. 10:11 f.) was sandal-wood, and that 'ships of Tarshish' imported for him Indian ivory and animals (1 K. 10:22), are opinions which have been widely held, but are now, to say the least, seriously threatened by recent investigations (see *HAVILAH*, *IVORY*, *APE*, *PEACOCK*, *ALMUG*, *TRIFES*, *OPHIR*, *TRADE AND COMMERCE*). That Indian wares did sometimes find their way to Palestine, is possible enough; but no distinct knowledge of India, or direct intercourse with it on the part of the Jews, can be imagined before the time of Darius (see Herod. 3:94-98) or confidently assumed before the time of Alexander. It is in Esther (a work of the Greek period) that we find the first mention of India under the term *Hadda* (or perhaps rather *Hiddu*; cp the form *hiddu* in the Old Pers. cuneiform inscriptions, also Syr. *hendhu*, Ar. *hind*, all derived ultimately from Sanskr. *sindhu*, 'sea, great river'). From *Hadda* [*Hiddu*?—EV 'India'] to Cush [EV 'Ethiopia'] is the description of the range of the dominions of Ahasuerus in Esth. 1:18. In 1 Macc. 6:37 we read of the Indian 'ruler' of the war-elephants of Antiochus V. (see *ELEPHANT*), and in 1 Macc. 8:2 India is included among the dominions of Antiochus the Great, transferred by the Romans to Eumenes.

The statement in 1 Macc. 8:2, which is plainly unhistorical (see *EUMENES*), raises a text-critical point of some delicacy. It is scarcely fair to say with Rawlinson (*Speaker's Apoc.*, ad loc.) that 'attempts have been made to save our author's credit by turning "India" into "Ionia" and "Media" into "Mysia".' The simple fact is that names of countries were very liable to be miswritten, and in Acts 29 we find a very similar difficulty—viz., *Judea* (Ἰουδαία) without the article coupled with 'Cappadocia,' which, as Blass truly says, 'is intolerable, especially here.' In both passages (1 Macc. 8:2, Acts 29) we should probably read 'Ionia' (for 'India' and 'Judea').

These are all the references to 'India' in the biblical writings. The hypothesis of Hitzig that Sanskrit words underlie some of the names in old Hebrew legends was only possible before the renaissance of Semitic archaeology. Nor can Sanskrit etymologies of names of precious stones be trusted.

T. K. C.

INHERITANCE (נַחֲלָה), Gen. 31:14. See *LAW AND JUSTICE*, § 18.

INK (יִנְקָה) cp *MH id.*, Aram. אִנְקָה, / uncertain; *MEAN* once in OT, Jer. 36:13, where Baruch says that he wrote Jeremiah's prophecies 'in the book with ink.' עֵינֶיךָ does not express יִנְקָה (some cursives [e.g. 22:36, 48:51] have עֵינֶיךָ or עֵינֶיךָ). If the reading is correct, it may be that the words were written indelibly. Roberts and Smith, however (OT¹² 71 n.) think the ancient ink of the Jews could be washed off (Ex. 32:33, Nu. 5:23). In any case, יִנְקָה is not very probable.

Rothstein (*Kou. HS*) reads יִנְקָה, 'at his mouth'; but a repetition of the word is hardly probable. Gieseler, יִנְקָה, but the antithesis, 'with his mouth'—'by my hand,' is displeasing.

¹ For the form *Hiddu* (India) see *KT* 970 (text of Persepolis, designated I. by Lassen).

² Cp *Ex* of Esth. 3:12 (not L^a), 1 Esd. 3:2, Dan. (87) 3:1, and *Apoc. Est.* 13:16.

³ 'Ionia' in 1 Macc. goes back to the time of Luther. In A. 1, Blass has proposed 'Syrta,' Hemsterhuis and Vukkenar more plausibly 'Bithynia.' 'Ionia,' however, seems easier, and the passage in 1 Macc., where 'Ionia' seems the only possible emendation, gives a support to it. Cp Is. 66:19 (Jewish exiles in Javan = Ionia).

⁴ Cp Galen, *De vir. medic. simplici*, 11, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μὲν ἐβαλεῖν αὐτὸν [τὸν ἄνθρωπον] τὰ δια τοῦ μέλανος ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις γραμμέναις (quoted by Weisstein, *Not. test.* 2:144).

INN

Probably יִנְיָ is a corruption of יִנְיָ (Che.). *MEAN* occurs thrice in NT, 2 Cor. 3:2 Jn. 12:3 Jn. 13. See *WRITING MATERIALS*.

INKHORN. In Ezek. 9:2, ὁ Ἐβραῖος in Orig. *Hes.* renders עֵינֶיךָ 'שֶׁנֶּה' [BAQ] by μέλαν καὶ ἀδάμας γράφῃς, and so L.V.¹ 'Inkhorn' no doubt contained both ink (in the cup) and reed-pens, as they still do in the East. On the writer-angel referred to, see *NETO*.

The name *kéeth* was borrowed with the object from Egypt, the scribe's box (see illustration in Toy's 'Ezekiel,' *SHOF* 113) was called in Eg. *kyty*—i.e., that which is in two parts. (WMM, *OZ*, Feb. 1900, col. 50.)

INN (יָנֵן, EV generally 'inn'; Gen. 42:27 οὐ καταλύται, 43:21 εἰς τὸ καταλύσαι, Ex. 4:24 ἐν τῷ καταλύματι; Jer. 31:22 יָנֵן בְּבֵן, EV 'a lodging-place of wayfaring men'; but Gieseler, after *Es* σταθμὸν ἐσχατοῦ, יָנֵן בְּבֵן 'the furthest lodging-place'; Lk. 27 ἐν τῷ καταλ.; 10:34, εἰς παράκιον; cp Talm. *ῥינן*, Ar. *funduk* and Span. *fonda*).

A *milan* (יָנֵן) is a station for the night, a lodging-place; the same word can be used for the night-quarters of an army (Josh. 4:3 Is. 10:29 2 K. 19:23 = Is. 37:24, see *SHOF*); a *katályma* is a place where burdens are loosed for a night's rest. The warm commendations of hospitality in the NT show that even in the Roman period the buildings set apart for strangers to lodge in were of a simple character in Palestine; hence a description of a modern khān or karavanserai (the former term properly belongs to an 'inn' within or near a town) may be not without some illustrative value. Let the reader imagine, then, a large building, in the form of a square, whose sides, each about 100 yards in length, are surrounded by an external wall of fine brickwork, based on stone, rising generally to the height of 20 feet. In the middle of the front wall there is a wide and lofty archway, having on one or both sides a large space for the porter and other attendants; the upper part of it, being faced with carving or ornamental mason-work, and containing several rooms, surmounted by elegant domes, is considered the most honourable place of the building, and is therefore appropriated to the use of the better sort. This archway leads into a spacious rectangle, the area forming a courtyard for cattle, in the midst of which is a well or fountain. Along the sides of the rectangle are piazzas extending the whole length, and opening at every few steps into arched and open recesses, which are the entrances into the travellers' apartments. An inner door behind each of these conduits to a small bare chamber, which derives all its light from the door, or from a small open window in the back wall. In the middle of each of the three sides, there is a staircase leading to the flat roof, where the cool breeze and a view may be enjoyed. In the few buildings of this sort which have two storeys, the travellers are accommodated above, whilst the under flat is reserved for their servants or as warehouses for goods.

Such superior karavanseras, however, are not often met with. The most part are but wretched lodging-places, which supply neither necessities nor comforts. The only service the traveller can depend upon receiving from the keeper, besides water for man and beast, is attendance in sickness. For one of the qualifications of this functionary is the possession of a knowledge of simples and of the most approved practice in case of fracture or common ailments. Hence the good Samaritan in the parable (Lk. 10:34), although he is obliged, in the urgency of the case, himself to apply from his own viaticum a few simple remedies for wounds, may be supposed to leave the wounded man in full confidence that he will be nursed by the keeper of the khān (ὁ πανδοκῆς, or -δοχεῖς [W11]), whose assiduities in

¹ Field suggests a confusion between יִנְיָ (which occurs just before) and יִנְיָ; but this seems improbable. *Apoc.* has ἀδάμας γραμμάτων, Ar. ⁽²⁾ μελαροδοχείον γρ., Syriac, πινάκιον γραφῆς.

dressing the wounds of his patient will be quickened by the prospect of an adequate remuneration. See **HOUSK.**

Surely we cannot venture to suppose, with Jülicher (*Gleichnissreden*, 590) that the Good Samaritan's *κατάλυμα* was a *guest-house* or *hostelry*. It is much more probable that the 'lodging-place' differed but slightly from the so-called Good Samaritan's Inn on the way to Jericho, which bears the name of *Kānū lūlūra*.

Nor would it be reasonable to suppose that a different sort of lodging-place is meant by the *κατάλυμα* (RV inn) of Lk. 27; that Lk. uses different words in 27 and in 10.14 may only arise from a difference in the literary source. It is true that in Lk. 22.11 *κατάλυμα* seems to mean a room that was lent to pilgrims (for the passover); but the context in 27 is as adverse to the meaning 'guest-chamber' as to that of 'inn.' That the *gērith Chinnham* of Jer. 41.17 (RV inn 'the lodging-place of Chinnham') is meant, is quite impossible, though this has been suggested (cp Plummer, *St. Luke*, 54). See **CHINNHAM**, and cp **NATIVIT.**

That an Oriental 'manger' (*phārm*) was not like those of the West is shown at great length by Kitto (*Pict. Bib.* Lk. 27), who states that 'when persons find on their arrival that the apartments usually appropriated to travellers are already occupied, they are glad to find accommodation in the stable, particularly when the nights are cold or the season inclement,' and adds that 'the part of the stable called "the manger" could not reasonably have been other than one of those recesses, or at least a portion of the bench which we have mentioned as affording accommodation to travellers under certain circumstances.'

INSCRIPTIONS (SEMITIC). See **WRITING, PAPER.**

INSPIRATION (נְשֻׁפָּה). Job 32.3, RV 'breath.' See **SPIRIT, PROPHET.**

INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC (כְּלִי־מִוְלָה). 1 Ch. 15.16. See **MUSIC**, § 2 ff.

INTERPRETER (מְלִיץ). Gen. 42.23 Job 33.23 EV, and elsewhere. See **AMBASSADOR**, 1; **PARACLETE**.

IOB (יֹב). Gen. 46.13 RV, a corruption of **JASHUR**, 1.

IPHEDIAH. RV *Iphdeiah* (יִפְדִּיָּה), § 30, 'Yahweh redeems', b. Shashak in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v.), § 9. ii. β). 1 Ch. 8.25† (ἰεφερεια [B], ἰεφδαια [A]).

IPHTAH (יִפְתָּח). Josh. 15.43 RV; AV **JIPHTAH** (q.v.).

IPHTAH-EL (יִפְתָּח־אֵל). Josh. 19.14 RV; AV **JIPHTAH-EL** (q.v.).

IRA (עֵירָה). 1 Ch. 7.12†. See **IRI**, 1.

IRA (אֵירָה, 'watchful'?) [εἰραδ [BAV]].

1. b. Ikesh, the Tekoite, was one of David's heroes (2 S. 23.26, idae [L]; 1 Ch. 11.28, ipae [BAV]); in 1 Ch. 27.9 (εἰρα [A], οδονιας [B], id. [L]) he is at the head of the sixth division of David's army. Marq. (*Fund.* 19) would read אֵירָה (cp I. and B in Ch.) and identify him with the Iddo in 1 K. 4.14; see **IDDO** (iii. 4).

2. The **ITIKITE** (q.v.), another of David's heroes, 2 S. 23.38 (αἰαδ [L]), 1 Ch. 11.40 (αἰα [B], αἰ [M], ηρα [L]).

3. The **JAIKITE** (יֵאִיקִי)—i.e., a man of **JAIK** (a Gileadite clan)—was one of David's 'priests' (כֹּהֲנֵי יֵאִיקִי); 2 S. 20.2; cp *1 Th. 2.8* (εἰρας ο καριν [B], ε. ο καριν [A], ιωδαι ο ιωθρ [L]; Pesh. יֵאִיקִי). Perhaps for יֵאִיקִי we ought to read יֵאִירָה, i.e., the Jaitirite (so Th., Klo., after Pesh.; cp I.). See **ABIATHAR**.

IRAD (עֵרָד). γαιδαδ [ADEL]; *IKAD*, Gen. 4.18†. Philo explains, γαιδαδ δ ἐρμηνεύεται ποίμνιον (*de Post. Caini*, Mangey, 1237); possibly he read γαιδαρ, which the copyists altered. The best reading seems to be עֵרָד, 'Erād' (cp עֵרָד, Mt. 'Ebal'); but Lagarde (*Orientalia*, 231) prefers 'Edad.

To read עֵרָד, 'Arād, 'wild ass,' and compare the 'sons of Hamor,'—i.e., members of the Assaean (?), Gen. 33.19—does not suit the character of the genealogy, nor are we helped by the proper name Arad. The name is probably of Bab. origin. See **CANTIES**, § 7.

IRAM (עֵירָם). a phylarch (*allaph*) or rather clan (*elaph*) of Edom (Gen. 36.43 [G om.], 1 Ch. 1.53 [מִרְיָם. A; אִיר. L.]). In Gen. *Lc.* G's Hebrew text had עֵירָם (a variant of עֵירָם), so also G reads in Ch. *Lc.* B. W. Bacon, following Ewald, suggests that originally Zepho

(עֵירָם) stood before Iram, thus making the number of clans twelve. But from G of Gen. 36.11 (see **ZEPHO**) we shall do better to adopt the reading עֵירָם 'Zophar' (cp **ZOPHAR**), and may then with probability emend עֵירָם into עֵירָם (Omar) which precedes Zepho in Gen. 36.11, so that all the sons of Eliphaz but **GATAM** (q.v.), will be included in the list of clans of Edom. It is also possible, however, with S. A. Cook, to connect Iram with the S. Judahite names **IRA**, **IRU**; cp **GENEALOGIES** i., § 511. W. R. Smith suggests a connection with 'Aireh, the name of a village near the ruins of Petra (see **SELA**, § 2). See also Haupt's note in *Ikall*, *SBOT*, Gen. 94.

See *Lag. Septuaginta-Studien*, ii. 10.178 37.270, cited by Nestle, *Marg.* 12, where the order is 'Magediel, Iram, Fazon (Fazon)'. T. K. C.

IRI (עֵירִי). § 76, 'my watchman?'; cp **IRU**, and see **IRAM**.

1. b. Iela in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 9. ii. α); 1 Ch. 7.7 (supple [BA], παρ [L], Ἰ'Α'Α' [Vg. L. c. γ']). In 1 Ch. 7.12† the name is **IR** (עֵירִי); [αἰοῖς] [B], [αἰ] [A], [αἰοῖς] [supple] [L]; note that Jerimoth precedes **IR** in v. 7, *IRIR* [Vg. L.], on which see also **AIER**.

2. 1 Esd. 8.62 AV (supl. [A]). See **URIAH**, 4.

IRIJAH (יִרְיָה), 'Yahwē sees', a captain of the guard, *temp.* Jeremiah (Jer. 37.13.†; **CAPOYIA** [B], c. [NA], **ΑΡΟΥΙΑ** [Q], **ΙΑΡ**, [Q]).

IR-NAHASH (יִרְיָה נַחֲשִׁי). as if 'city of Nahash'; so **EV** (עֵיר) is represented as a descendant of **ESHTON** (q.v.) in 1 Ch. 4.12 (πολεως [ποχεως B], **NAAC** [BA], **HPNAAC** [L]); see **TEHTENAI**. The name has actually been taken to mean Bethlehem (see Jer. *Qu. Heb. ad loc.*, and on 2 S. 17.25, cp **NAHASH**); but it is certainly corrupt.

Probably it has arisen out of עֵירָה נַחֲשִׁי, Cor-asban (1 S. 30.30), which is itself an easily explicable corruption of עֵירָה נַחֲשִׁי, 'Beer-sheba' (עֵירָה נַחֲשִׁי). *Ashtas* [q.v.] in Josh., 1 Ch., also comes from עֵירָה, 'Sheba'. A less plausible emendation would be עֵירָה נַחֲשִׁי, 'serpent's well.'

⚡ adds that πόλις ναας was the brother of *σεσλων* (B, μ [A], του χειρῆς [B], τ. χειρῆς [A]), or ἀδελφὸς τοῦ χειρῆς [L], which means that Beer-sheba was closely related to **HAZAK-SHEBA** (in the Wady Seyāl). With *σεσλων* cp ⚡'s ἀσφαλσολα in Josh. 19.3. The reference to the Kenizzites confirms the above explanation. T. K. C.

IRON (יִרְיָה, κερως [B], ἱαριων [A], ἱερων [L]). a 'fenced city' of Naphtali named between Migdal-el and En-hazor, Josh. 19.38. Now Yarin, a village 6½ m. W. from Hazor and about the same distance W. by S. from Kadesh (Josh. 19.38). On a hill to the NE. are the ruins of a monastery, which was originally a synagogue like the famous one at *Kefr Bī'rīm* (Guerin, *Gal.* 2.105 ff.; *PEF Mem.* 1258).

IRON (יִרְיָה, σιδηρος; Vg. ferrum²). The Israelites of course derived the use of iron from the Canaanites, and it was comparatively late

1. Among the Semites. that iron displaced bronze as the metal in ordinary use. We should naturally expect this. In Egypt the use of bronze preceded that of iron, though iron was perhaps not wholly unknown as early as the great pyramid of Gizeh, where a piece of wrought iron has been found in an inner joint near the mouth of the air-passage on the southern side.³ For a later period we may mention the oxidised remains of some wedges of iron intended to keep erect the obelisks of Rameses II. at Tanis. Iron is also frequently referred to in the lists of tribute (see Briggs's *Hist of Egypt*). In Bablyonia and Assyria, too, the actual working of iron seems to have been late, though it was

¹ Here pointed out for the first time, though H. P. Smith seems on the verge of the suggestion.

² Except where it gives an explanatory translation, as 'falcatus currus' (Judg. 4.3), though it sometimes gives the literal translation of the same expression as 'ferreus currus,' Josh. 17.18.

³ *Trans. International Congress of Orientalists*, 72, p. 146 f.

IRON

certainly manufactured and employed much more in these countries than in the Nile Valley.

There is no trace of iron in the early hymns, and it seems clear that iron did not displace bronze till after 800 B.C., for in the ninth century we still find 'bronze axes' mentioned in the inscriptions. Place found hooks, grappling-irons, harnesses, ploughshares, etc., at Khorsabad, and Layard abundance of scale-armour of iron in a very decomposed state at Nimrud.¹

We now pass to Syria and Palestine. It is recorded by the Assyrian king Rammân-nirari III. (810-782 B.C.) that he received 3000 talents of copper and 5000 talents of iron as tribute from the land of Imirîsu (i.e. Aram-Damascus). At about the time of Amos, then, iron was plentiful in Syria. This, however, is no proof that iron was not well known in Syria and Palestine at an earlier date. If Hommel is correct, the Canaanites derived their first knowledge of iron from Babylonia.

Both *ḥyṣ* and *Ass. parilla* were, he says, connected with the Sumerian *hargal* and the New Sumerian *hargal*, the non-Semitic sound *f* having become *z* in Semitic (*ZDMG* 15.342).

It is probable, however, that before iron was much used in Babylonia, it was worked in N. Palestine. There iron-smelting must have been understood at an early period. The iron chariots of the Canaanites (see CHARIOT, § 3), so familiar to us from the OT, are mentioned also in the historical inscriptions of Egypt; they came from the valley of the Kishon and the inland district to the N.,² and iron objects were found by Bliss in the fourth of the ruined cities in the mound of Tell-el-Hesi (Lachish), which he inclines to date about 1100 B.C.³ We can therefore readily understand that a Canaanite legend (from which the Israelite legend in Gen. 422 must be derived) placed the ancestor of iron-workers as well as brass-workers in primeval times (cp CAINTIES, § 10).

We are in no uncertainty as to the source whence the Canaanites obtained their iron; it was the mountain-range of Lebanon (Dt. 89; see LEBANON). Jeremiah, too (1512), speaks of iron from the N.;⁴ but whether the eulogist of wisdom refers to these northern mines in Job 282 cannot be determined. The unknown writer may have travelled beyond the limits of Palestine. The Egyptians procured iron (with other metals) from the Sinaitic peninsula; had this poet *ḥyṣ* 'were? At any rate, smelting-furnaces were well known to the later Hebrew writers (Jer. 114 Dt. 422 1 K. 831).

There are but few OT passages of really early date which refer to iron. The references in the Hexateuch

(e.g., Nu. 3122 3516 Dt. 3115 195 Josh. 223) occur in documents of late composition. The account of Goliath's spear (1 S. 177) was written at least 200 years after David's time, and the mention of an axe-head of iron in 2 K. 65 (certainly not due to a 'copyist') belongs to a comparatively late stratum of prophetic legend. The most important reference in the David-narratives is doubtless that in 2 S. 1211. The phrase 'axes of iron' used there suggests, however, that axes of bronze were still in use; cp Am. 13 'threshing-instruments of iron' (see AXE, 6). It is remarkable that according to tradition no iron instrument was used in the construction of Solomon's temple. The editor of the tradition accounts for this by the legal orthodoxy of his hero (see Dt. 275 f., and cp Josh. 831). The Chronicler is bolder; he supplies the omission (1 Ch. 223 and elsewhere), and even represents Solomon as having able iron-workers of his own (2 Ch. 27), though obliged to send to Tyre for a chief artificer.

¹ Dr. J. H. Gladstone, 'The metals used by the great nations of antiquity,' *Naturalist*, 21st April 1863, p. 506.

² This coincides with the statement in Josh. 1716 (cp Judg. 113). See WMM *At. n. Eup.* 154.

³ Bliss, *A Mound at Many Cities*, 135.

⁴ We read here 'iron of Baal-rephon and Chalkis.' He explains *ḥyṣ* (which in MT follows *ḥyṣ*, but in the next verse) here and in Ezek. 2711 as meaning 'Chalkis, W. of Damascus, near Antilibanus' (*AT Unters.* 180). But see CHALKIS (end).

⁵ On Og's 'iron bedstead' see BILLY.

⁶ So Flinders Petrie in Hastings' *SD, art. 'axe.'*

ISAAC

It has often been supposed that the graphic description in Nah. 2314 contains a reference to steel. Where AV renders 'The chariots shall be with flaming torches' (taking *ḥyṣ* as if = *ḥyṣ*), the *Thesaurus* of Gesenius-Rodiger gives 'fulgent chalybe vel falcibus entius'. RV too has 'the chariots flash with steel', without, however, committing itself to the hypothesis that the Assyrian chariots had scythes. That hypothesis, as is shown elsewhere (CHARIOT, § 1), is untenable, nor is the rendering 'steel' at all well supported.¹ In fact, the word *ḥyṣ* is corrupt; not improbably *ḥyṣ* should be *ḥyṣ* = *Ass. halluptu*, 'covering' (from *hallupu*, 'to be covered,' in 11. 'to cover'),² a word often used in connection with horses, chariots, and warriors. Render, therefore, 'the (metal) plating of the chariots flashes like fire.' In view of Nahum's fondness for Assyrian technical terms (see Scribe), this is not a difficult conjecture.³ Steel, then, is not mentioned in the OT, for no one will now defend AV's rendering 'steel' (*ḥyṣ*) in 2 S. 2235 Ps. 1834135 Job 2024 Jer. 1512 (see BRASS).

From the time of Amos onwards iron was in general use among the Israelites as well as among the Syrians (see above).

Amos (13) mentions 'threshing instruments of iron'. Writers of a later date mention iron objects in abundance, e.g., tools (1 K. 67 2 K. 65), pans (Ezek. 43), nails for doors (1 Ch. 223), bars for fortifying city-gates (Ps. 10716 Is. 452), a stibis or pen (Job 1924 Jer. 171), hammers, darts (Job 417 14031), horns (Mic. 413), cp 1 K. 2211), fetters (Ps. 10726). Note also that the ideal described in Is. 60 includes 'iron instead of stones' (Is. 17), obviously a hyperbole.

Numerous literary metaphors are derived from iron. Thus, affliction is symbolised by the smelting-furnace

3. Metaphors. (Dt. 420) and by iron fetters (Ps. 10710), a severe rule by a rod, and slavery by a yoke of iron (Ps. 24 Dt. 2843), obstinacy by an iron sinew in the neck (Is. 484); a destructive imperial power by iron teeth (Dan. 77); a tiresome burden by a mass of iron (Eccles. 2215); insuperable obstacles by iron walls (2 Mace. 119). As a beautiful simile drawn from this metal we may select Prov. 2717, 'Iron sharpens iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.'⁴

T. K. C.

IRPEEL (יִרְפֵּעַל), 'God heads'; cp Rephaiah, and יִרְפֵּעַל in *OTS* 2 no. 77; NAMES, § 30, an unknown city of Benjamin, grouped with RIKEM (or rather Bahurim) and ZELAH, Josh. 1827. We should probably read, 'And Bahurim, and Irpeel, and Zelah' ('king over *ḥyṣ* from 1. 28).

Observe that in *ḥyṣ* *ḥyṣ*, the corruption (see TARAIAH) is given, but the true reading *ḥyṣ* is not represented. Neither is the second corruption *ḥyṣ* represented in *ḥyṣ* (see ELERU). In MT the true reading *ḥyṣ* and the two corruptions *ḥyṣ* and *ḥyṣ* both find a place. *ḥyṣ*, however, gives *ḥyṣ*, and *ḥyṣ*.

T. K. C.

IR-SHEMESH (יִרְשֵׁם־שֶׁמֶשׁ), Josh. 1941; another name of BETH-SHEMESH [21].

IRU (יִרְוּ; ḥp [B], ḥp [A], ḥp [L om.]), a son of Caleb (1 Ch. 415f); cp IRAM.

ISAAC (יִצְחָק, or [Am. 7916 Jer. 3326 Ps. 1059] יִצְחָק, § 54; יצחק [AD], etc.), but in Am. 79 יצחק [BAQ], יצחק [E22 Gen. 282].

Popular tradition could not mistake the obvious meaning of Isaac. According to J (Gen. 1812), Sarah laughed

1. Name. to herself when she overheard the promise of a son, when it was fulfilled, she exclaimed, 'Whoever hears of it will laugh at me' (Gen. 216; see SPOT). E, however, gives other accounts. On the birth

¹ The Syriac and Arabic words for 'steel,' which resemble MT's *ḥyṣ*, appear to be loan-words from Persian.

² Del. *art.* quotes the phrase, 'Forty of his chariots with trappings (*ḥyṣ*) they carried away.'

³ On the metal plating of the chariots see Billerbeck, in *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, 3197, and cp CHARIOT, § 1, and on the remainder of this difficult verse of Nahum, see Scribe.

⁴ A better sense, however, is obtained by pointing *ḥyṣ* instead of *ḥyṣ* (Vg. *enachiron*), and by reading '22 instead of '32. The proverb then becomes, 'Iron is sharpened by iron; so a man is sharpened by the speech (lip, mouth) of his friend.' So Grätz (*Monatsschr.*, 1874, p. 424). '2 and '32 are sometimes confounded. Toy's note is hardly satisfactory, because he does not adequately account for '32.

of Isaac she cried out, 'God has given me cause to laugh' (Gen. 21.6a); in v. 9 of the same chapter she sees Ishmael 'laughing,' or rather 'playing' (21.9b). Lastly, P tells us (Gen. 17.17) that Abraham laughed in surprise on hearing the promise. Evidently the voice of tradition varied. We might have expected to hear, but we do not hear, that Isaac, like Zoroaster (Plin. *HN*, 7.16, and Solinus, c. 1), laughed on the day of his birth.

It is customary to suppose that Isaac was originally at once a tribal name and a divine title, and that the full form of the tribal name was Yishak-el, — i.e., El laughs (so also Ed. Meyer). The divine title Yishak = 'he who laughs,' 'the Laughter,' has been thought to point to the god of the clear sunny sky, 'the myth of Zoroaster's laugh has no doubt a solar connection. It would be safer to explain the name as the 'cheerful, or friendly one' (cp Job 29.24), who turns a smiling countenance towards his worshippers.' Such a conception of their deity might seem natural to the pastoral tribes who, to judge from the traditional narratives, honoured and became identified with the name of Isaac, and who in early times paid him religious homage as the divine patron of Beersheba.²

It is much more probable that 'Isaac' like Abraham (see JERABIMEEL) and JACOB (J. 17) is an ancient popular corruption. With much probability it may be regarded as a corruption of *Ahihālas* ('the brother defends,' cp Ass. *hālā* 'stronghold').

Ahihālas is close to the *Wady Kufelbeh* (Rehoboth), one of the seats of Isaac (§ 2 below), and is probably to be identified with the ancient *Ziklā* (J. 18). The equivalent name *Hālas* appears elsewhere as *BEZAIKEL*, also as *Hazzeleiponit*. A these are Judahite names which must perhaps ultimately be traced back to the primitive Jerahmeelite divine name *Ahihālas* (J. 17.18), the original of Isaac (Gen. 21.6). The religious importance of Elusa (= *Hālas*) can now be more fully considered.

In Gen. 31.42 the singular phrase 'the fear of Isaac' (יִשְׂחָק) occurs; יִשְׂחָק is very rare in the older literature. It is specially frequent in Job; cp Job 4.14a, where יִשְׂחָק, 'terror,' is the result of an apparition. Hence 'ghost' may seem to some to be a plausible rendering (Schwally, *Gespens*); Dillmann gives *numen reverendum*; similarly Holzinger. But the objection from late usage remains. The matter is important in its bearing on early spirit-lore. More probably יִשְׂחָק is here an old word meaning 1. high; 2. ancestor; 3. clan (as sprung from a single ancestor; cp WRS *Kin.* 34.174; Bevan, *Daniel*, 214).

The narrators found comparatively little to say about Isaac (for the reason see below, § 5); but some of their traditions are of great interest. First in importance is that of Abraham's sacrifice of his 'only son,' accomplished in will but not in act (Gen. 22.1-19). Few of the

early narratives have received more light than this from analytic and historical criticism. It has become certain that the story has been considerably altered since E wrote it. The editor or compiler of JE not only appended vv. 14b-18 (an unoriginal passage, full of reminiscences), but also introduced several alterations into vv. 1-14a.

The most remarkable of the editorial changes concerns the locality of the sacrifice. It is obvious that such a sentence as 'Go into the land of the Moriah' (so in the Hebrew) and offer him . . . on one of the mountains which I will tell thee of,' is no longer in its original form, and most critics have thought that 'the Moriah' was inserted (together with the divine name Yahwē in vv. 11-14) by the editor of JE. This writer was probably a Judahite, and it is supposed that he wished to do honour to the temple of Jerusalem by localising on the hill where it was built one of the greatest events in the life of Abraham (see MORTARI). We are, at any rate,

not entitled to assume that the original locality was the temple mountain; nor is it safer to suppose, with Wellhausen and Stade, that Mount Gerizim is intended, and to read, 'to the land of the Hamorites' (אֶרֶץ חָמֹר) (cp Gen. 33.19, 'Hamor the father of Shechem'), for Gerizim is undoubtedly too far off,² and we hear nothing of Abraham's having to climb a steep mountain. Dillmann's suggestion (adopted by Hall in *SHOT*) is at first sight more attractive. A vague expression, such as 'Go into the land of the Amorite' (אֶרֶץ עַמֹּרִי), would harmonise with one of J's leading objects, which was to represent Abraham's action as, not a concession to surrounding superstition, but the height of self-devoting faith. The patriarch, as Dillmann rightly holds, is supposed to set off with his 'only son' (ὁ υἱὸς σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν) without balancing the claims of rival sanctuaries, just as he set off from Haran, 'not knowing whither he went' (Heb. 11.8), but following his invisible Guide. The reading 'the land of the Amorite,' however, cannot be held satisfactory. It leaves us without a clue to the situation of the place of sacrifice, except that it was in Palestine, more than two days' journey from Beersheba. The mere name (however we read it) in v. 14 tells us nothing. No sanctuary in Palestine proper with a name at all resembling this is mentioned in the OT.

In considering the question of the reading in v. 2 it would have been better to try another course. The sanctuary (מִקְדָּשׁ, v. 2, means 'sacred place') was no doubt well known, at least by hearsay, to most Israelites. It was called (the narrative being Elohist) Elohim- (or El-jyir'el (v. 14); we abstain here from questioning the accuracy of this reading, and of the El-roi and Lahai-roi of Gen. 16.13f. (see, however, end of this section). Is there, then, any sacred place bearing this name, or a name that might fairly be regarded as another form of this? There is the divinity who, according to J, appeared to the exhausted Hagar, and was called by her El-roi, i.e., God of seeing (Gen. 16.13); and the name was shared by the divinity's sanctuary. It was in the neighbourhood of the well (מֵעֵר) of Lahai ro'i or El-roi, that Isaac dwelt (Gen. 25.11; see below), and hence it is reasonable to suspect that here may be the sacred spot intended by the narrative;⁴ the 'mountain' may be the nearest hill to the well called *Ain Hawweleh*, which we have elsewhere identified with *HEER-LATAI-ROT*. The place is 10 hours S. of Rehoboth (Rehoboth), on the road to Beersheba. Going at a leisurely pace, it might conceivably take Abraham three days to reach it. In this case the expression which the editor of JE misread as 'to the land of the Moriah' was probably 'to the land of (the) Myrim' (אֶרֶץ מִרְיָם).

As Winckler has pointed out, both Kadesh and Beer-lahai-roi lay, in all probability, in the region anciently called *Musri* or *Musri* (see *MIZRAIM*, § 2 δ). A bright light is now thrown on details which have hitherto caused embarrassment, such as the loneliness of the place of sacrifice, and the precaution taken by Abraham of carrying wood for the altar (cp Grove, in Smith's *DB*, art. 'Moriah').⁵ Habitations, indeed, there must have

¹ See Goldziher, *Hebrew Mythology*, 64 ff.; Schirren, *Mythen aus Neuseeland*, 186 (laughter of the dying sun god). De Goeje, thinking of the 'only son' in Gen. 22, formerly made Isaac = the spring sun.

² *Ann.* 8.14: read, with Wl., 577 for the impossible 577 of MT. From *Ann.* 5.6, however, it appears that northern as well as southern Israelites resorted to the sanctuary of Beersheba—a recognition, perhaps, of the early connection of Israel with the land of *Musri*, to which Kadesh apparently belonged. This illustrates Amos's remarkable use of 'Isaac' as a synonym for 'Israel' in 7.16 (Isaac 8), and so Symm. in 7.6.

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¹ אֶרֶץ חָמֹר would surely read very oddly, especially as in vv. 15 Abraham's ass (חֲמֹר) occupies a rather prominent position. Bleek and Tuch suggested הֲרֵרָה (Gen. 12a Judg. 7.1).

² See the books of travel, e.g., Tristram's *Land of Israel*, where a strong, but not too strong, opinion is expressed. The Samaritan tradition, identifying the mountain with Gerizim, is purely sectarian and artificial.

³ Cp Geiger, *Urschr.* 278.

⁴ This view was first proposed by B. W. Bacon (*Hebraica*, April, 1891; *Genesis*, 141 f. (92)), who thinks, however, that the original reading in v. 2 was מִקְדָּשׁ (cp 20.1 Nu. 13.29 f.; cp Gen. 24.62 f.). This is palaeographically improbable. Bacon also thinks that in v. 14 E originally wrote, not El-jyir'el, but El-roi.

⁵ מִן בְּרִיחִים fell out; the corruption of מִן into הָ then became easy, and after the editor had misread אֶרֶץ חָמֹר as אֶרֶץ מִרְיָם, it was natural for him to prefix מִן.

⁶ Wl. (*Gen.* ii.) accepts the proposed reading for Moriah in

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been not very far from El-rô; but there was no walled city like Jerusalem, and the ascent of the hill would take less time and trouble than Mount Gerizim. The hill itself is to be imagined as bare of trees; but near at hand Abraham could see thick brushwood (720), in which a ram was caught by the horns.

This view of the story, too, enriches us with something that we did not know to be recoverable, viz. E's explanation of the name of the old southern sanctuary of El-rô (or, as he calls it, El-yir'e). The editor of JE having already adopted a fine narrative accounting for the name (181-14), and wishing to attach the great event described in our ch. 22 to the central sanctuary of Judah (see MORIAT), introduced the changes to which reference has been made. Elsewhere, however (see JERUSALEM), in treating the apparently corrupt text of Gen. 16:17, suggestions have been made which favour the emendation of Gen. 22:14 as follows,--'and Abraham called the name of that place Well of Jerahmeel, even as it is called to this day.'

There are, also, two other related aspects under which the 'Moriah' story must be considered. The writer obviously wishes, in the most considerate manner, to oppose the practice of sacrificing firstborn sons (cp FIRSTBORN), and, subordinately to this, to justify the substitutionary sacrifice of an animal.

In treating this part of our subject, we need not linger on the famous passage of Philo of Byblos¹ (professedly reproducing a primitive Phœnician story), in which Kronos (or rather El) is said to have sacrificed his only son Ierô to free his country from the calamities of war. In spite of its doubtful attestation and modernised form, the story has the appearance of being based on tradition. Probably it was told at Byblos to justify the rite of human sacrifice, and a similar myth may have been current among the Canaanites or the Israelites of the Israelites. The story in Gen. 22, however, is clearly intended as a basis for the abrogation of the rite. There may have been stories having the same object among the Canaanites or the Israelites; these, not the story in Philo of Byblos, would be the right narratives to compare with the Elohist's. So far, however, as an opinion is possible, the form of the Elohist's story is, apart from the detail about the ram, all his own. It was suggested, indeed, by circumstances already related in the traditional narratives; but it was moulded by himself, and it is bathed throughout in an ideal light. Evidently this pious writer felt that for the higher religious conceptions no traditional story would be an adequate vehicle.

The course which he adopted shows the writer to have been a great teacher. He admits the religious feeling which prompted the sacrifice of a firstborn son; but he suggests that the idea of such a sacrifice is unnatural (the unsophisticated mind of Isaac cannot take it in, and Abraham himself would never have thought of it but for a divine oracle), and earnestly insists that Israel's God demands no more and no less than absolute devotion of the heart. One thing more he suggests—that there are stages in religious enlightenment, and that an act which was justifiable in the wild days of JERUSALEM (q.v.), was no longer tolerable. In the Southern Kingdom a protest against the continuance or revival of human sacrifices was raised by the writer of Mi. 6:6-8; in the Northern, at an earlier date, by the Elohist.²

There is a fine Indian parallel to the story of the deliverance of Isaac in *Altariya Brahmana*, 7:13-16 (Max Müller, *Anc.*

Gen. 22, and thinks that the original seats of both Abraham and Isaac were in the north near Dan (perhaps the true [according to him] Kirjath-arba). The journey referred to in Gen. 22 would thus be from the far north to the far south.

¹ Müller, *FHG* 3:570 f.

² See further, Kamph, *Das Verhältniss des Menschenopfers zur israelit. Rel.*, 96, where recent literature is referred to. On human sacrifices in Babylonia, cp Ball, *FoB*, 14 (92), No. iv.; in Egypt, Tylor and Griffith, *Tomb of Pakeri* (Egypt

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Sanskrit Lit. 4:417), where Utnagepha, son of a Brahman, who had been all but sacrificed in honour of Varuna, is liberated by the gods, and adopted by a priest. The stage of moral development, however, represented in this story, is more advanced than that in Gen. 22.

It is true, the narrator is behind the prophet in spirituality—thousands of rams, says the latter, will not propitiate the 'high God' (God of heaven), but the Elohist spoils his pathetic narrative by a close which, for modern taste, could hardly be more prosaic.

And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold, a ram caught in the thicket by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering instead of his son (22:13). The first readers of the Book of Job, had standards and requirements different from ours. Below the new taste for spirituality lay the old taste for ritual. If human sacrifices were not to be offered, what was the surrogate for them? The voice of humanity in certain priestly circles had, it appears, spoken for a ram, which in the symbolism of vicarious sacrifice was henceforth to represent a man. The animal selected was not always the same. At the Syrian Laodicea (i.e. Phœn. Kamotha) it was a stag, which animal was annually sacrificed in place of a maiden as late as the second century A.D.¹ We would gladly know at what date this stag sacrifice was introduced. Did the humane Israelitish priests precede or follow the priests of Phœnicia? And was the original substitute for the life of the firstborn son among the Israelites a ram (820) or a stag (820)? When we consider (1) that wild animals were not usually sacrificed among the Israelites; (2) that in Gen. 22:7 a sheep is spoken of as a victim; and (3) that in the region of El-rô we should expect a gazelle (223) rather than a hart (820), it seems best to abide by the ordinary reading 'ram.'

No subsequent narrative comes up to that in 22:1-14, though the idyllic tone and the deep religious spirit of J's account of the finding of the right wife for Isaac (ch. 24) claim admiration (see REBEKAH). The narratives respecting Isaac himself tend to lower our estimate of his character; but we must remember that the patriarchs represent the highest Israelitish ideals only in part; they also embody Israelitish weaknesses. Isaac's shiftness in his relations with Abimelech (Gen. 26:1-11 R.) need not be excused when we have learned to look upon him as a tribal representative; the repetition of, virtually, the same story twice over in the life of Abraham (cp Gen. 12:10-20 L.; 20 E.) is an indication of the comparative lateness of the traditional stories of that patriarch, as well as of the fondness of the people for this particular tradition, which showed how inviolable were the persons of their ancestors.

The mingled greatness and weakness of Isaac is most strikingly shown in the story of his paternal benedictions, one of which, however, is more fitly styled a curse (Gen. 27). It is to us a somewhat repellent narrative, on account of the unfilial and unbrotherly craft of Jacob and the love of good eating ascribed to Isaac. With the ancients it must have been popular. As to

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Expl. Fund., 74), 20 f.; Crum, *ESBA* 13:13; and Masp. *Dawn of Civilization*, 173, 191; in Semitic countries, WRS *Rel. Sem.*, 361 f.; We. *Heb.*, 112 f. Maspero includes the gazelle among the animals substituted for human victims; in 200 ed. he notices Plinius Petrie's recent discovery.

¹ Porphyry, *De Abst.* 2:6; Pausan., iii. 102; cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*, 362, 456. On the commutation of victims, cp Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Sacrifice*, 1:269-271.

² 'Stag' (820) is Clermont Gaucan's reading (*J.A.*, 7th ser.

11:10). There is the same doubt as to the vocalising of 820 in the sacrificial table of Marseilles (*l. 9*); here, however, the meaning 'stag' is certainly preferable. A 'ram' in Phœnician is 820. Were the stags spoken of in the Marseilles tariff substitutes for human victims? Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*, 367) suspects an allusion in 2 S. 17 to an ancient stag sacrifice like that at Laodicea. This hypothesis, however, is not borne out by the most recent criticism (see Klo., *ad loc.*, and Bu. in *SBOT*).

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the craft of Jacob, we need not excuse it, for it was inherited by the tribes of Isaac and Jacob from their nomad ancestors. As to Isaac's passion for a certain food, this too was, no doubt, a tribal failing; a notable Arabic song in the *Hamasa* (Freitag, 506) reckons 'roast flesh' as first among the pleasures of life. The detail mentioned in 27.17, would not, however, have been thought of but for the necessity of giving scope to the cunning of Jacob. Possibly, too, the first tellers of the story may have thought that Isaac, being a semi-divine hero, and being about to pronounce fateful oracles (see ESAU), should not be treated otherwise than as a deity. It was in festival raiment (v. 15) that Jacob the deceiver approached his father (the Jews in Jerome's time said that they were Esau's priestly garments), and Robertson Smith has plausibly defended the view that the skins worn by Jacob on his arms and neck were analogous to those worn by worshippers in many lands at sacerdotal ceremonies (cp ESAU). At any rate, it is evident that the pronouncing of the oracles was a quasi-divine act, and that, according to the narrators, the circumstances connected with it were overruled by their God to the accomplishment of his own ends. It would seem that this was not one of the very earliest narratives; in the oldest stratum of tradition Isaac and Ishmael (both attached to Beer-lahai-roi) must have taken the place afterwards occupied by Jacob and Esau. The details of the present genealogical connection were of course afterthoughts. (If Isaac was originally a *Jerahmeelite* hero we can the better understand how the Israelites, whilst frequenting his sanctuary, adopted comparatively little of his legend.)

It is, however, not only at Beer-lahai-roi, but also at KETHOROTH, BEERSHEBA, and GERAR, that we find Isaac established.² These three places come before us in Gen. 20.1-33, which is substantially the work of J, though editorial insertions have been made, and v. 33 (as Bacon—see below, n. 4—has rendered very probable) should change places with 21.31-33. It was at Beersheba, according to J and E, that Isaac spent the second part of his life, and no doubt it was there, not at Mamre or Hebron (as P, in 35.27, represents), that tradition supposed the patriarch to have died. According to the most probable view of 21.33, it was Isaac, not Abraham, who planted the sacred tree at Beersheba, invoking the name of Yahwē.³ It was there, too, that he 'intreated Yahwē for his wife, because she was barren,' and that Esau and Jacob were born.⁴ It was at Beer-lahai-roi, however, endeared to Isaac (as fancy involuntarily suggests) by the memory of the interrupted sacrifice (and not less to Ishmael by the memory of his mother Hagar), that Isaac received his wife that evening when he had gone out on some unknown errand into the open country.

It is worth remarking that the Wady Muweisah (in which the well of Lahai-roi should be placed) must at one time have been better watered and more cultivated than at present (Palmer).

On apocryphal allusions, see APOCRYPHA, § 11.

1 K. 1

¹ *Rel. Sem.* 437; cp 467.

² The reader should be cautioned against some inaccurate though seemingly very critical statements in Maspero's *Struggles of the Nations*, 68. To make Isaac a resident at Hebron effaces one of the leading distinctions between him and Abraham.

³ Gen. 21.33 is interesting (cp ETERNAL, TAMARISK). Was the tree an עֵץ (tamarisk)? or an עֵץ קֹדֶשׁ ('sacred post')? and was the divine name, which Isaac, according to the original J, invoked, עֵלֹהֵינוּ, 'the everlasting (or 'ancient') deity,' or (supposing עֵלֹהֵינוּ to be corrupt) עֵלֵינוּ, 'the most high deity'?

⁴ Probably the order of the narratives is 24.25-116 26.1-12 21.31-33. See Bacon (*Genesis*, 141, 248; cp *Hebraica*, April 1891), who thinks that, in 21.33, J originally wrote 'Isaac,' 'Abraham' being due to the writer of JE, who transposed the passage; but cp Kautzsch and Ball.

ISAIAH, PROPHET

ISAIAH (Prophet)

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ISAIAH, in RV Mt. 3.1, and OT *proph.*; ESAIAH, in AV; and in AV Lxx. 48.22, *Isay* (יִשְׁעִי) everywhere except in title of Book, there *יִשְׁעִי* [see JESUAIAS, 4.5.6], son of Amoz (q.v.), 2 K. 19.2 Is. 1.1 2 Ch. 26.22 32.20 32.24, — the most gifted and powerful of those early prophets who are known to us by written records.

The name is to be explained probably either as 'help of Yahwē' (so J. H. Mich.), or as 'Yahwē helps,' from *יָסַע* *yāsac* (so Del.); cp Sab. *yāsā* and the names *יִשְׁעִי*, *yāsā*; *Isay* [see *Isay*] = *yāsā* so Klo. of the prophet—*Isay* everywhere, 188X everywhere except 2 Ch. 26.22—*Isay* [BA] and *Isay* [BA] in Ecclus. 48.20(21), but never, except Ecclus. 87 [A], of the other six bearers of the name (see JESUAIAS).

I. Isaiah lived at Jerusalem, was married (8.1), and had children (7.1-8.3). Plainly he was of high social rank. When he needs a witness he applies to the chief priest (see URIAH), and his whole conduct and bearing bespeak one who can claim social respect. In this he contrasts with Amos and Micah. We may presume therefore that he had every educational advantage which the capital could supply, and it is plain that he inherited a literary tradition of no very recent date. The heading in Is. 1.1 refers to Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah as the kings in whose 'days' (or period) he prophesied.

This heading, however, is probably the work of a late editor, who gained his information from a study of the works of Isaiah. From the reference to Judah and Jerusalem as the subjects of the prophecies, we may assume the statement to have been intended to apply only to chaps. 1-12. It remains true, however, that we have no reason to suppose that Isaiah prophesied under Manasseh. The story that he was put to death (the later legend said, sawn asunder; cp Heb. 11.37) by order of Manasseh, as a punishment for speeches on God and on the holy city which were contrary to the law, obtained a wide currency, but has no support in the Book of Kings, and is unworthy of credit.²

These dry bones of biography need to be clothed with living flesh, and for this we must turn to Isaiah's discourses, which contain the very essence of his life. Grand and antequely simple was his character, and those who have been enabled by a thorough criticism and exegesis to form an idea of the limits, the period, and the meaning of his discourses, will find themselves in a position to rectify some common misapprehensions.

II. It will be convenient to obtain our first introduction to Isaiah from certain still extant narratives respecting portions of his prophetic ministry, proceeding from his disciples or admirers at different periods,—viz. (a) Is. 6, (b) 7.1-16, (c) 8.1-4, (d) 20, (e) 30-39 (2 K. 18.1-20.19) 2 Ch. 32.

From (a)—which is an account of the vision by which Isaiah was set apart as a prophet—we learn that he entered on his ministry in the year of the death of Uzziah.

¹ *PFE* 655. Klo.'s alternative restoration *יִשְׁעִי* (the only restoration retained in *PFE* 871.3) does not seem plausible, yet the Arabic *Isa* for *Isa* might perhaps lend it some support.

² With reference to the *Is* equivalents, it may be noted here that the first vowel is oftenest *i* or *e* or *æ*, the *æ* being frequently doubled (*ææ* has = *Isay* so Klo.; cp *Isay*, 1 Ch. 23.1 AV), but also (four times in B, once in A, once in L) *u* or *o* (*u* or *o* = *Isay*, 1 Ch. 25.15 [B] = *Isay* so Klo.; *u* or *o* = *Isay*, 1 Ch. 26.25 [B] = *Isay*, cp Neh. 12.32? = *Isay*, 1 Ch. 26.25 [L]).

³ See APOCRYPHIC LITERATURE, § 42. Besides the *Apocrypha*, and *Isaiah*, cp *Isaiah*, 189, on the passage quoted from a MS. of the Targum on the prophets in Lagarde's *Proph. Chald.* p. xxviii.

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i.e., probably in 740 B.C. Isaiah had evidently been waiting for indications of the divine will—otherwise how should the words 'Send me' have darted at once to his lips? Already, too, he had the not less humbling than exalting consciousness of a divine presence which glorified the world. To this was now added the sense of a new and special relation between himself and Yahweh. He was sent to work among his people as a prophet. At the same time he had a presentiment, which in the light of his new relation to Yahweh seemed to him a revelation, that, being such as it was, not merely Israel, but even Judah, was doomed to perish.¹ The revelation was, it is true, as yet more like an objective fact than a subjectively realised truth, or rather like many a flash of insight which visits and revisits us for moments, and then disappears, till at length a sad or joyful experience makes it ours for ever. Nor was it so terrible a presentiment as it may appear to us, because it was evidently accompanied by a revelation of the conversion of a remnant, as we gather from the name which Isaiah gave to his eldest son SHEAR-JASHUB (q.v.). And we must believe that, as time went on, apparent changes for the better in the moral condition of Israel somewhat dimmed Isaiah's perception of the contents of his earliest revelation. Only by the sternest experience could he be absolutely and entirely convinced, in the depths of his nature, of the necessity for the fall of Judah.

(A) Probably to a period shortly before the writing down of the consecrating vision belongs the *gran rifiuto*

3. Is. 7:1-16; (to apply Dante's phrase) which is related in our second narrative piece (B). Isaiah and Ahaz are the sole acting figures.

Perhaps it is because the consecration narrative (A) serves as a preface that the prophet or his secretary has made no reference to the revelation of the 'remnant.' The unbelief of Ahaz was in fact an unpardonable offence which made Isaiah indisposed to look at the brighter side of his revelation. Nothing can well be sterner than Isaiah's prophecies at this period (see *SBOT*, or *Intr.* Is. 396 f.), though a short breathing-time is allowed before the sad end.

The story of the 'great refusal' of Ahaz is well known. The king expected a siege, and was preparing for it, when Isaiah accosted him. He bade him not be afraid, reminding him that Yahweh was the head of Jerusalem, whereas the rulers of Damascus and Samaria were but puny mortals, and no better than half-burned firebrands; in short the coalition against Judah would, in common parlance, 'end in smoke.' The prophet, however, saw clearly the inefficacy of his appeal. Ahaz had no confidence either in his material, or—worse by far—in his spiritual, bulwarks. 'To his friendly 'fear not' Isaiah therefore added a caution against the dangers of unbelief. What those dangers were he did not say; but Ahaz caught his meaning, and had no need to question him. 'An established house' was a common phrase for a family which did not die out, and remained in its ancient seat (1 S. 2:35 25:28 1 K. 11:38); Isaiah's caution, therefore, if we may consider its reference as limited to Ahaz, threatened the king with nothing less than the extinction of his dynasty.

At this point (Is. 7:10) the record becomes incomplete; the omission is veiled by a conventional introductory formula, indicating a fresh stage in the discourse. Probably some startling announcement was made, for the accrediting of which Isaiah conjectured that Ahaz would require a 'sign.' Then this extraordinary man, who deals with the king as though his equal or superior, gives

¹ The closing words, 'a holy seed is the stock thereof,' are probably an editorial attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage. For a possible restoration see Che. *Crit. Bib.* Budde's rendering, 'When then a tenth is there, it shall serve again for pasture' (*New World*, Dec. '95, p. 740) is improbable. The natural sense is that given in EV. The following word כְּמִי ('like the terebinth') should probably be emended to כְּמִי 'for consumption . . .'. Cp review of Marti's *Isaia* in *Crit. Rev.* Jan. 1900.

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Ahaz *carte blanche* in the choice of a 'sign' (see IMMANUEL). The king has no doubt that Isaiah can, as we should say, work a miracle, and consequently believes that one way to safety from his present foes would be to obey the prophet; but he is not sure that some worse trouble for himself might not follow. He does not believe that Yahweh will be strong enough, a little later, to save him from Assyria, and yet how can he accept Yahweh's help in the smaller trouble unless he is prepared to accept it in the greater? The only way, from his point of view, to avert the danger from Assyria is to make it a friend, which will moreover be able to save him from Syria and Ephraim. Friendship involves the protection of the weak by the strong, so that there is really no cause (Ahaz thinks) to introduce religious considerations into the question. Then Isaiah, to save his honour as a prophet, hurls, as it were, a sign at the unbelieving Ahaz. He says that Immanuel—i.e., 'God with us'—will be the name which any one of the children soon to be born will receive from its mother, for before the tender palate of the child can distinguish between foods, the lands of Rezin and Pekah will have been devastated by Assyria.¹ Isaiah has, in fact, not less political than religious insight. If he could have put off the prophet, and spoken only as a statesman, he might have asked why Ahaz should pay Assyria for humiliating Syria and N. Israel when it was its own interest to do this. There was, at any rate, no immediate necessity for burdening his small territory with tribute to Assyria, the unbelieving king was as weak in politics as he was in religion. If we possessed a fuller record of the declarations of Isaiah (Is. 17-20 cannot be relied upon, being fragmentary, and partly recast by a late editor), we should probably find that the immediate punishment of the king's unbelief specified in it was this—that deliverance from Rezin and Pekah would be a 'sign' to him, not of good, but of evil import. Since the king has rejected the opportunity so graciously given him of winning Yahweh's favour, he must not look for a long continuance of calm days. Disaster is looming right in front of him.

That the 'sign' which Isaiah indignantly hurls at Ahaz is one which, in our fragmentary record, appears to be of happy augury, has caused a difficulty to many students. Prof. F. C. Porter a particular has felt this so strongly that he has devised a new interpretation of Immanuel which deserves consideration (see IMMANUEL). Two chief objections to it must, however, be mentioned.

(1) Immanuel—i.e., 'God is with us'—by no means expresses the faith or the 'underlying assumption' of Ahaz; the true object of the king's worship was neither the old national God, nor the Yahweh of Isaiah, but policy. Hence his perturbation of mind, with which contrast the confidence arising out of a sense of oneness with their God possessed by the N. Israelites (Am. 9:14b c. 6:11).

(2) The explanation of Immanuel as an expression of the false faith of the multitude is opposed by the analogy of the name SHEAR-JASHUB (q.v.), which conveys a truth accepted by Isaiah.

It is perfectly true, however, that the unbelief of Ahaz made the confidence of the happy mothers of Is. 7:14 only too likely to prove of short duration. They would suppose that Yahweh was unreservedly favourable to their people, whereas he had but granted a short interval before the sin of Ahaz should bring its terrible punishment on king and people. The sign was not as happy a one as I. no. had intended.

(c) The third piece of narrative is 8:4 (cp next art. § 6). From 7:3 we already know that in 734 Isaiah had

4. Is. 8:1-4; a son named Shear-jashub, who was old **Isaiah's sons**, enough to accompany his father in his walks. From 8:1-4 we learn that shortly afterwards he had another son, named MATHAN-SHUL-IL-HASH-BAZ, whose name portended the fall of the

¹ Illmann's objections to this explanation are—(1) that 7:15 f. produces the impression that the child of a mother well known to Isaiah and to Ahaz is meant, and (2) that 'thy land, O Immanuel' in 8:8 can only be understood of a historical person. But 7:15 can be shown to be a gloss, and מָתָן שׁוּלִיל־חַשְׁבָּז (8:8) should rather be מָתָן שׁוּלִיל־חַשְׁבָּז. Certainly the passage is difficult; but no other solution seems available.

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two northern kingdoms. These two sons, apparently, are the 'children whom Yahwe has given him,' and, like himself, they are 'signs and omens in Israel' of divine appointment. His children, at any rate, are 'signs' in virtue of their names, which are doubtless as well known in Jerusalem as that of the crown prince himself. With regard to Isaiah we are not told that he received his name by divine appointment. It is only the prophet Jeremiah who claims to have been consecrated from his birth, and who may therefore conceivably have regarded his name as an omen (cp Jer 1.15). It is enough that Isaiah and his sons alike prophesy of the future, and rouse the dull consciences of men.

Thus, when the crisis comes, Isaiah will not stand alone. Before his inward consecration (in 38.1-7) he felt himself 'unclean' through his solidarity with his people, but now, by solidarity with him, the members of his family are virtually detached, like himself, from the 'people of unclean lips' among whom they dwell. For Isaiah's wife, too, is a prophetic personage (8.1), though she may not bear a prophetic name, she participates in the privileges of her husband.

(d) Chap. 20 describes the strange procedure by which Isaiah gave, so to speak, an acted prediction¹ of the fate reserved for two neighbouring countries. The people of Ashdod revolted from Assyria in 713, and Judah (now itself a vassal of the Great King) was tempted to follow their example.

Isaiah heard an inner voice bidding him go about, like one of the poorest class, without either sandals or an upper garment. He obeyed till the siege and capture of Ashdod in 711, which was a still more striking omen of the punishment in store for rebellion. This is the only prophetic action recorded of Isaiah. Generally he was contented with spoken prophecy,—either upon æsthetic grounds, or because spoken prophecy was less susceptible than acted prophecy of misinterpretation. The strange attitude in which he appeared for three years need not have meant what it was at length declared to mean. It might have signified merely the prophet's grief (cp Mt. 18) for Ashdod; but as we see from 27.3-6, it was a perfectly unsympathetic announcement of the fate of the north Arabian countries of Musri and Kuf,² which had long been important factors in Palestinian politics. To this Isaiah added a graphic description of the confusion of the statesmen of Palestine ('this coastland') at the fall of the single great ally on whom they had counted (cp Is. 37.36-38, § 9.4 [4]).

(e) From the two remaining narratives we must not expect too much, owing to the lateness of their date (see next art., § 15). One of them (36.1-38.16) is no doubt earlier than the other (37.36-38.16), but even the earlier is full of contradictions to the ideas and the implied situations in the universally acknowledged prophecies. So much, however, we may admit to be just conceivable:—(1) that Hezekiah in 702-1 B.C. really did take pains to propitiate Isaiah, and did convince the prophet of his disposition to obey the divine oracles; and (2) that Isaiah in consequence declared that on this occasion Jerusalem should escape a siege. The grounds for this view, however, are more hypothetical than one likes, and, at any rate, the details of Hezekiah's embassy to Isaiah and the speeches assigned to the prophet are altogether untrustworthy. And yet how transcendently great this prophet of Yahwe must have been to have formed the subject of so much imaginative writing! And how highly the later Jews must have valued the privilege of prophetic revelation to have devoted themselves so earnestly to filling up the gaps in its historical record!

III. We now turn to those discourses of Isaiah which have no accompanying narratives. We will view them as revelations of a great religious character, and treat them with the respect due to all such revelations; i.e.,

¹ He uses the same phrase as in 28.16.
² See CUSH, § 2; MIZRAIM, § 26; but cp GEOGRAPHY, § 9.

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we will not require them to exhibit throughout a cast-iron consistency. The criticism which we have sought to employ elsewhere has not been controlled by preconceived ideas respecting Isaiah's prophetic system, and we may therefore venture, as

historians, to build upon its conclusions. We have heard from Isaiah's lips his own account of his consecrating vision. Criticism justifies us in holding that he lost no time in expanding and applying the stern truth which had lodged itself in his mind. For both Israel and Judah he announced a grievous disaster, which to the deeply-moved prophet appeared not less awful than a judgment upon the world (26.21). Never again did he write in a style so poetic, so sublime. Probably he learned that a manner at once pointed and with more personality was better to win the attention of the people; indeed, as he writes, it would seem, more to relieve him, to impress others.

In 31-3 Isaiah expresses himself more fully. He anticipates a captivity like that in Jerusalem, when (if we may trust the narrative) the poorer class, were left in Judah, and the men of tyrannical character will be in a humiliated state which should remind them of their present condition.

This picture of the future (which includes a reference to the rulers who would be the prisoners) is a captive king, he is not a king. In 51-7 58-24 did not. The punishment of the rulers was delayed; the Davidic king was an, as yet, unshaken throne.

Isaiah was not at all perplexed at this. He realised the divine will that Ahaz should have and choose between the broad and the narrow way. Again and again he offered counsel to Ahaz; but the young king was too wilful to listen, and his counsellor began to grow 'weary' (7.14). One trial more, as we have seen, was given, but in vain; and then Isaiah distinctly pointed to the 'waters of the river' (i.e., to Assyria) as the source of the calamity in store for Judah as well as for Israel (8.7 f.; cp 56-57.7-20).

We have but fragments of Isaiah's discourses at this period, but it is plain that the misbelief of Ahaz had greatly deepened the prophet's conviction

of coming ruin, no words of Carlyle are more fraught with indignation and grief than 8.21 f. Still, even here all is not dark. Many, we are told, not all, will rue their opposition to the divine word (8.14), and if we could be sure that 8.9 f. and 9.2-7 (1-6) were written at this period by the prophet, we should feel that Isaiah was by no means destitute of the richest consolation. The strict conservative view, however, is difficult in the extreme, and though Isaiah certainly believed that a 'remnant' would (like himself and his disciples, 8.16-18) turn, in humble, penitent faith, to Yahwe, and so escape captivity, it is not safe to suppose that Isaiah pictured to himself its future history.

Had Isaiah any hope for (northern) Israel? He had none for the survival of the ancient kingdom; but did

he believe that in Samaria too there was a 'remnant' which would 'turn'? Three important prophecies (not counting 26-21 and shorter passages) relate to Israel: 9.9-21 (8-20) 17 and 28.1-6. The second and third of these contain passages which may seem to favour an affirmative answer; but a strict criticism will not allow us to regard 17.7 f. and 28.5 f. as more genuine than 11.11-13. Yes; Isaiah had no hope for the country which, on the ground of its past leadership, still arrogated to itself the name of Israel. It is probable, however, that when the Assyrian hosts actually drew near Samaria (later than the prophet had at first anticipated), Isaiah's hopes

¹ Büllmann (on Is. 28.5 f.) quotes all these passages as conclusive evidence.

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for his own land revived). He appears at that time to have expected an Assyrian invasion of Judah, and in prophetic vision to have seen the foe pressing on to the capital. There is actually a record of this vision in

11. Is. 10:24-26 that fine descriptive passage, 10:24-26, and we have some reason to think that 8:9/17:12-14. Isaiah at that time uttered the defiant words of 8:9, and in 17:12-14 announced the destruction of the Assyrian invaders of Judah. This, if true,

certainly not mere patriotism on the part of Isaiah. There must have been some change in the internal condition of Judah which to Isaiah's prophetic eye spoke of a modification (surely not a reversal) of Yahwe's purpose. We can hardly err in connecting this with a change in the government of the country. It is possible that Hezekiah had considerable political influence even before his father's death, and that he was supposed, on good grounds, to have been influenced by the preaching of Isaiah. This will account for the hopeful spirit of 8:9, and 17:12-14 (the present writer

12. Is. 14:25-27 would formerly have added, of a third passage, 11:25-27, which the heading states to have been written 'in the death-year of king Ahaz' (719 B.C.).¹ Isaiah at this time no longer apprehended an immediate Assyrian invasion; the reason of which is, that the Assyrian army had (in 721 or 720) received a temporary check in N. Babylon. He was well aware, however, that Sargon would soon be as dangerous as ever, and if he was still confident in the present security of Jerusalem, it was because the ruler of Judah was now, what Ahaz had not been, a believer. For Isaiah does not yet regard the individual as a moral unit. If Yahwe protects Zion, it is because Zion's ruler has responded to the demand for 'faith' (cp 28:16).

Eight years passed, and still Isaiah held the same language. For though the greater part of 10:12-16

13. Is. 10:12-16 (next art., § 7) is certainly of late origin, and written for other circumstances than those of the eighth century, yet enough remains to assure us that Isaiah in 711 regarded an Assyrian conquest of Judah as contrary to the plan of Yahwe. The grand rebuke addressed to Assyria in 10:13-15 (apart from the interpolations) should not improbably be combined with 14:24-27, which is the misplaced conclusion of the Isaianic prophecy (next art., § 9 [a], 1). Thus in 711 (this date may, on good grounds, be assumed) Isaiah believed it to be Yahwe's purpose 'to break Assyria in his (Yahwe's) land, and on his mountains to tread him under foot' (11:25). No light is thrown either in 10:13-15 or in 14:24-27 on the condition of affairs in Judah; but we must assume that Hezekiah still maintained the attitude of one who 'believed' Yahwe and his prophet, for without this we know that Isaiah could have seen no hope for his country (7:6, 28:16).

It is true, Sargon states, in a fragmentary inscription (*AB* 264 f.), that the inhabitants of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab planned revolt from the Assyrian suzerainty, and entered into negotiations with Musri (see *MIZRAIM*, § 2 f.)—the passage relates to the time preceding the siege of Ashdod mentioned above—but it is allowable to suppose either that the Assyrian scribe put down four of the best-known names of Palestinian peoples somewhat at random, or that Hezekiah confessed his error to Isaiah, and gave pledges of future obedience.

At any rate, Isaiah, who had already expressed such strong confidence in the present safety of Zion, could not and would not change his tone without solid reasons.

Again eight years elapsed; but now symptoms of a change appear. The next prophecy in chronological

14. Is. 28:22 order to the great 'Woe' on Assyria is 28:22-27 (next art., § 12, end). No passage of Isaiah gives us quite such graphic details as to the

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faults of the upper classes at Jerusalem, and it is remarkable that Isaiah appends to these details a solemn re-statement of the spiritual basis of the security of Judah. If we take this prophecy in combination with one of certainly not much later date (the denunciation of Shebna, 22:13-15, next art. § 9 [a], 2), we may infer that Isaiah again thought he saw an imminent prospect of the deportation of many of the leaders of the state to Assyria (cp 3:6). There was indeed still a possibility of averting this fate. But would these clever politicians adopt it? Of the king, however, we hear nothing. Isaiah seems to regard Hezekiah as, to a great extent, the puppet of the predominant political faction. Indeed, remembering the story of Padi of Ekron, one is inclined to think that such dependence may have been generally the lot of the small kings of Palestine at this time. At any rate, Isaiah's great object is to startle the politicians out of their security. He warns them that, though the horizon is clear at present, it will not remain so. He will not on this occasion say when the storm will break out. 'Add year to year, let the feasts run their course' (29:1). Certain it is, however, that before long ARRIET (7:1) will be marked out as his prey by the Assyrian; Jerusalem (for this is the meaning of the symbolic name employed) will be besieged and reduced to great straits. It is not the Assyrian, however, who will deal the final blow. A theophany will take place; Yahwe himself, the storm-God and the war-God, will appear and destroy the guilty city (cp 26:20).

What was the cause of the change in Isaiah's preaching? It was the rise to power of an Egyptian party at Jerusalem. The peoples of Palestine and Phoenicia saw in the new (Ethiopian) dynasty of Egypt the only power which could save them from the oppressive and uncongenial rule of Assyria (cp *EGYPT*, § 66). Isaiah, on political, but vastly more on religious, grounds, insisted on the futility of an alliance with Egypt (chaps 30 f.). He supplemented his 'woe' upon Jerusalem by the declaration that the Egyptian allies of Judah should be defeated, for Yahwe himself would fight on the side of the Assyrians (so we must understand 31:1). This cycle of prophecies (28-31) is of the highest value both for the history of Judah and for the biography of the prophet. It gives us a graphic picture of the excitement at Jerusalem and the opposition to Isaiah's preaching, and shows how the initial revelation of Judah's doom was gradually fixing itself more and more in the prophet's mind. It also confirms an idea which has probably already suggested itself to us—that Isaiah's interest is not in the circumstantial details of his prophecy, but in the connection between national sin and national calamity. His object is to reveal God in history, not—except in a secondary sense—to turn the course of events.

The negotiations with Egypt do not appear to have as yet succeeded, and if chap. 18 (next art., § 9 [a], 3) was

15. Is. 18 written at this period, it shows that Isaiah had for a time triumphed over the Egyptian party. Otherwise he would certainly not have given Judah a further breathing-time. Otherwise, too, he would not have so calmly bidden the Ethiopian ambassadors return to their own land. It is remarkable that Isaiah should speak so respectfully of the Ethiopians, for not long since he spoke quite otherwise of Egypt (30:1-7). A fuller acquaintance with this period of Egyptian history might enable us to explain this.¹ It is still more remarkable that Isaiah should have adopted so lofty a tone of enthusiasm in speaking of the prospects of Judah. May we not venture to assume that Hezekiah had initiated something in the nature of a reform,² something which might be charitably regarded as 'turn-

¹ The passage, however, is really an imaginative composition like the poem in 14:28-32 (see next art., § 5, 2 f. 19b ff.). It is *Nachherib's* death, most probably, that is referred to in both poems. See Marti's commentary, and cp *SBOT*, 'Isa.' Heb. 195, where an emended text is exhibited.

² Or, possibly, if there was a second Assyrian invasion, the prophecy in chap. 18 might refer to this.

³ See HEZEKIAH, where the supposed fact of an early reform in the cultus is controverted. Isaiah's main object was moral amendment; he has no programme for any other reform.

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ing to Yahwé? Isaiah has already told us how far, at an earlier time, the 'princes' of Judah were from practising the virtues which befit them. Must we not conjecture that Hezekiah had lately made examples of some of the chief offenders among them (e.g., Shebna)? If so, king and prophet were destined to be sadly disappointed. The prophecy in chap. 18 (if rightly dated) had been delivered on the assumption that the rulers of Judah had really 'turned' to Yahwé. It did not indeed promise that there should be no Assyrian invasion. Sennacherib would, of course, take the field against the kings of Palestine (including Hezekiah) who had refused tribute. But it did guarantee (upon implied conditions) that the invasion should be stopped at the outset by a supernatural intervention. This, however, did not happen. As Sennacherib and Isaiah agree in stating, widespread desolation was wrought in Judah by the irresistible warriors of Assyria. To all—to the prophet not less than to his countrymen—this was a sign of Yahwé's displeasure. All that could now be hoped for was to avert destruction from

18. Is. 15-26. Jerusalem. The rulers took one means of doing this; Isaiah wished them to take another. Sacrifices had never been so abundant, nor public prayers so fervent (15-15; cp. Am. 5:22-24 with 22, 15:18); but Isaiah, like Amos, attached no intrinsic value to ceremonies. One means, and one only, there was to check the progress of Sennacherib; it was to change their lives. Their God would forgive the past, and restore to them his protecting care. They would sow and reap, undeterred by Assyrian warriors; they would 'eat the good of the land.' On the other hand, if they rebelled against the divine will they would suffer the hardships of a siege (see HOSKs).
'If your sins be scarlet, they may become white as snow;
If they be red as crimson, they may become as wool;
If ye be willing and obedient, the good of the land shall ye eat;
But if ye refuse to rebel, cacti-pods shall ye eat' (15-20, last line emended).

Even in the too brief summary (15-26), the discourses of Isaiah delivered at this period move us deeply. We long to know what effect they produced. Only a late tradition on this subject has come down to us; it is that contained in chap. 38 (next art., § 15). It may be barely possible to hold that a good effect was produced, that Isaiah assured Hezekiah of safety. If this was the case, he very soon changed his tone. It is

17. Is. 22-34. certain that, as the last Assyrian warriors disappeared, Isaiah, sick at heart, used language (22:14; next art., § 9 [A], 2) which can be understood only as a final acceptance of the doom pronounced in 6:9-11. He bows to the decree of the God of Israel. For Judah there is no more hope; for himself no further ministry. The heart of 'this people' has become gross, and there is no possibility of salvation. Therefore cities must become waste, and houses uninhabited, and, should a tenth be left, this must, in turn, be consumed. For the small prophetic band—himself, his children, and his disciples—there may still be a future (cp. 5:16-18); but he has received no revelation on this subject; nor could he, without a psychological miracle, have even imagined a condition of things totally opposed to the present. Only a short time ago he could anticipate the restoration to Jerusalem of 'judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning' (1:26). Now it would appear as if, by a moral compulsion, he placed himself by the side of Amos, who had prophesied of the guilty worshippers in the sanctuary at Bethel, that 'not one should flee away, not one should escape' (Am. 9:1).

The reader may need to be reminded that the latter part of this picture of Isaiah is based upon critical conclusions which are not as yet generally accepted. The criticism

18. Resulting picture of Isaiah.

of the prophecies of Isaiah is slowly emerging from a position analogous to that in which the Hexateuch was before the publication

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of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*. The reader may, if he will, keep his mind in suspense as to the critical problems of the day, and confine his attention to the earlier part of the present article. Should he do so, he will obtain a sound though an incomplete conception of the great prophet. But to those who have seen the weakness of the old criticism, and the strength of that which offers itself as on the whole far more in accordance with facts, and who find the synthesis of new and old presented in this article historically credible, it may be safely said that the more they contemplate the character of Isaiah as now disclosed to them, the grader it will appear. We have not hitherto realised the scale and proportions of his truly heroic faith. What Abraham was in legend, Isaiah was in fact. He was prepared to trust God in the darkness as implicitly as the 'father of the faithful,' when, according to the noble story, he lifted up his hand, at the divine command, to slay his only son. For we may be sure—the variations in his picture of the future attest this—that Isaiah loved his people dearly, and was alive to the least indications of moral progress. And yet he could, with breaking heart, give up the present Israel to its doom, so complete was his faith in the all-wise purpose of the God of Israel. How that which seemed the end of all things could yet not be a fatal blow to the divine purpose, it was not for him to judge.

As a man and a prophet we have now fully recognised Isaiah's greatness. Was he also a poet? In 37:22-29

19. Was Isaiah a poet?

(next art., § 15 [A]) a very fine taunting poem on Sennacherib is assigned to him; but the lateness of the narrative in which it is placed, together with the late character of the phraseology, prevent us from accepting this assignment. Another fine taunting poem also has been claimed for Isaiah—that in 14:4-21, which was not originally connected with the late prophecy against Babylon in chap. 14 (see ISATTA II., § 9, 6 [9], B). But ideas and phraseology alike point away from Isaiah, unless we apply a very imperfect criticism to both sections of the evidence.

It must suffice here to mention the fact that in 14:22-24 reference is made to a fully developed myth of Babylonian origin, for which there is no parallel in the works of the pre-exilic prophets, and to point out the similarity of this taunting song to that in 37:22-29. Both these songs were probably composed with reference to the story of Sennacherib, and both are of late origin. Probably 14:22-24 (next art., § 9 [A], B) also should be included in the group (see above, § 12).

Nor can we reckon as more than a curiosity of criticism the theory that Pss. 16-48 were written by Isaiah, the first when the Syrians, the second when the Philistines, and the third when the Assyrians were overthrown. The simple truth is that Isaiah was too great to be a literary artist; his words were deeds.

The preceding sketch requires to be supplemented by a sympathetic survey of the prophetic literature of the post-exilic period (see PROPHETIC LITERATURE).

20. Unknown Isaiahs.

A critical rearrangement of the prophecies of the book of Isaiah not only makes Isaiah a simpler and a grander and therefore also a more truly antique personality than he could be according to the older criticism; it introduces us to a number of less original, but in some respects more attractive personages, who being neither public men nor ambitious of fame in an age (at least) that was passing away, have not been remembered by name.

They drew their inspiration (so they must have believed) from the divine Spirit which dwelt within the community (Is. 63:11, cp. Ps. 136:1), and they were content with the hope so touchingly expressed by a psalmist of similar character—

Remember me, O Lord, in the gracious remembrance of Thy people.
Oh visit me with Thy salvation.
That I may look on the prosperity of Thy elect.
May rejoice in Thy nation's joy.
May triumph with Thy inheritance.

(Ps. 136:1-4, Kay's translation.)

It may be hoped that English students will not any longer cherish the unfounded prejudice that to follow

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out the many traces of plurality of authorship in Isaiah involves less appreciation of those passages of the book which were not written by the son of Amoz.

Besides the commentaries and histories of Israel, see Dr. *Isaiah, his life and times* (93); WRS *Proph. Is.* (82), 205-156; Duhm, *Théol. des Prophètes*, 149-177; Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbiel des Jesaja* (83); Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jesajakritik*, 76-84 (90); Hackmann, *Die Zukunftsverwartung des Jesaja*

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(93); Smend, *AT Rel.-Gesch.*, 203-227 (93); Duff, *Old Test. Theol.*, 179-204 (94); A. H. Davidson, 'The Theology of Isaiah in *Isaiah* I. 94 (beginning at 296); McCurdy, *Isaiah, Proph. and Mon.*, vol. 2 (96), though a good Assyriologist, does not go deep enough into critical and historical problems to achieve his aim; J. Menold, *Jesaja u. seine Zeit*, (98); cp also § 6 of G. A. Smith's art. 'Isaiah in Hastings' *DB*. See also DEUTERONOMY, HEZEKIAH, MESSIAH, PROPHECY, TEMPLE, 2-7 (other bearers of the name). See JESAJAH, 1-6.

T. K. C.

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The criticism of the Book of Isaiah has been almost revolutionised within the last twenty years.¹ The

problems have become more complicated, the methods of the critics more varied and subtle. The present position of criticism cannot be properly understood, however, without some acquaintance with an earlier stage. It is necessary, therefore, to preface this article by a sketch of what appeared certain or probable before 1880. To give the student a mixture of the two criticisms would be misleading. He has to pass as quickly as possible through the initial stage already traversed by criticism, that he may not perplex himself with unreal difficulties.

I. EARLIER CRITICISM

We must begin with the criticism of I. Isaiah (*i.e.*, Is. 1-39), and then proceed to that of II. Isaiah (*i.e.*, Is. 40-66), remarking by way of introduction that critics in general are agreed that the final redaction of the Book of Isaiah must have been anterior to the composition of Ecclesiastes (probably about 180 B.C.), because of the description of Isaiah's wide range as a prophet in Eccles. 48:22-25, a passage which occurs not only in the Greek and the Syriac, but also in a lately discovered fragment of the Hebrew text.

Abraham Kuenen ('28' 91), one of the greatest of recent 'higher critics,' gave this sketch of the growth of I. Isaiah in the first edition of his *Introd. (Onderzoek)* in '63.

2. Kuenen in 1863.
A. CHAPTERS 1-39. 1. Arrangement.—The earliest parts of the book Kuenen takes to be the two collections, chaps. 1-12 and 13-23. The former consists entirely of genuine prophecies of Isaiah; the latter contains some prophecies dating from the last years of the exile. A characteristic of the second group is that headings are prefixed to the prophecies, with the peculiar term *נבואה* ('divine) utterance,' or 'oracle' (13: 11-28 15: 17 [20] 21: 1-11 22: 23). It is natural to assume that this was the later of the two collections, and it is possible that the present position of the short prophecy, 11:24-27, is due to the editor of this group, who may have wished, by transferring this passage from 10:1-12 (near which it must once have stood) to a place amongst the oracles of his own collection, to connect the two groups, and give them an appearance of homogeneity. This editor certainly lived in post-exilic times, whereas the collector of chaps. 1-12 was either Isaiah himself or one of his disciples (cp 8:2-16). Time passed, and other prophecies came to light which rightly or wrongly were ascribed to the prophet Isaiah. Another editor, wishing to complete

a Book of Isaiah, attached chaps. 28-33 24-27 and 34 f. and appended, as a suitable close for the book, a historical account of Sennacherib's invasion and Isaiah's prophetic activity at this period.

2. Collections of Isaiah's prophecies.—a. The earliest.—These are, Kuenen thought, in chaps. 2-4, written in the first years of Ahaz, before the outbreak of the Syro-Ephraimitish war.¹ Chap. 5 describes Isaiah's expectations a few years later, after the first defeat experienced by Ahaz. During the same war Isaiah wrote his account of his great vision (chap. 6), and from chap. 7 we learn what he held out in prospect to Ahaz at the height of the crisis. Chaps. 17-11 and 8:1-9:6 [7] are only a little later than chap. 7, whilst the prophecy in 37 [8] 10:4, which in 9:10 [1] presupposes the defeat of Rezin by the Assyrians,² and the devastation of N. Palestine, was probably delivered shortly after the close of the Syro-Ephraimitish war, when the N. kingdom was beginning to recover from its serious disasters. 11:28 is also, in spite of the heading in 7: 28, may be placed in this period. The Philistines, threatened by the Assyrian power, may have sent an embassy to Ahaz, the *protégé* of Tiglath-pileser, desiring his support.

b. The prophecies of the Assyrian period. These are divided into two classes—(a) those before and (b) those after Hezekiah's revolt.

(a) To the former class belong 21:11 f. and 1:1-7, which suggest that the Assyrian power was gradually extending towards Egypt. More certainly chap. 28 belongs to the three years of the siege of Samaria. Chap. 23 refers to Sennacherib's campaign against Phenicia. The obscurity of 2: 1-12 permits no very positive critical inference; but the mention of Assyria confirms the Isaianic authorship. Nor is Kuenen prepared to give up the epilogue (7: 1-6), though he recognises the comparative weight of the objections to the genuineness of this passage and indeed of the whole prophecy. The 'hard king of 19:4 is Sargon, who is actually named in chap. 20.

(b) Then come the important chaps. 29-32, all of which belong to the year before Sennacherib's invasion, and open the second class of the prophecies referred to. 29:1-6 is regarded as a two-fold prediction, first of Jerusalem's extreme danger, and then of her deliverance.³ The prophecies in 22:1-25 (Shebna) and 22:24-27 are delivered not much later. The description in 22:24-27 is viewed as partly imaginative; the preparations for the defence of Jerusalem were such as would naturally be made on the approach of a foe. 10:1-12 was written during the invasion; 11:24-27 is closely connected with it, and may be regarded as its epilogue. Jerusalem itself was threatened when chap. 1 was written, and 17:1-14 18 and 33 belong to the same period. All these prophecies express a firm assurance of the speedy destruction of the foe.

c. The prophecy against Moab.

This prophecy (chap. 15 f.) receives from Kuenen a careful consideration. He recognises the peculiarity in language, in style, and in ideas, of 15:1-16:12, which he assigns to an older prophet of the Northern Kingdom. The epilogue he thinks may

¹ The heading in 1:1 is of course due to an editor and of no authority (cp Cuneiforms, § 2 f.).

² This implies the reading 'the adversaries of Rezin' (צִיִּיִּים), which is accepted by Dillmann, but rejected by Duhm and Cheyne (see *SBOT*). Kuenen, however, is not unconscious of its difficulties.

³ Kuenen's view of 29:1-6, 2:1-12, has been till quite lately the one generally held. It has been well stated by Driver (*Isaiah*, 36 f.).

¹ Until quite lately the school of Dillmann has been regarded in England, as elsewhere, among students of Isaiah, as representing the farthest point to which a sober criticism can go. The willingness to reconsider things, however, shown in the art. 'Isaiah' (Hastings, *DB* 2 [99]) by Prof. G. A. Smith, justifies the hope that the transition to a more consistent critical position will not be long shown in England.

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well have been written by Isaiah, when he adopted the work of his predecessor, about the same time as 21:17 (see above, A1a). The earlier prophet most probably lived before the great conquests of Jeroboam II., when Edom was subject to Judah (cp 26:11 with 2 K. 14:7).

iii. *The historical chapters* (36-39).—These are regarded as having been compiled from contemporary documents shortly after the time of Hezekiah, and inserted by the collector of chaps. 1-35 (or perhaps of the whole book), partly to illustrate the prophecies of the Assyrian period, partly to supplement the narratives in chaps. 7-8:29 (cp above, § 2.1).

iv. *Later additions*—a. Chaps. 24-27.—The earliest of the *exile prophecies* inserted in I. Isaiah is held to be that in chaps. 24-27. The evidence against Isaiah's authorship is not indeed so overpowering as in the case of chaps. 40-66, because of the obscurity of the prophecy, but is still forcible enough. Points of contact between the language of these chapters and that of Isaiah are not wanting; but there is such a striking difference in style, in imagery, in vocabulary, and even in ideas, that on this ground alone we may be sure that Isaiah is not the author. Then the historical situation—however difficult of interpretation—some features in it may be—certainly not that of any of the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah. Kuenen's conclusion is that the author lived during the first part of the exile and that he predicts the fall of Babylon. On three points he remains in doubt: (1) where the prophet lives, whether in Judaea (cp 25:6 f. 10), or elsewhere; (2) whether 24:13 is to be regarded as a prophecy, or as a description, and whether it relates to the whole earth, or to Judah and Jerusalem; and (3) whether 27:13 f. pictures the condition of Jerusalem, or of the hostile city mentioned in 25:2-26:1 (according to Kuenen), of Babylon.

b. Chaps. 31 f.—To the same period Kuenen assigns chaps. 34 f. The writer's silence as to the Medo-Persians and his indignation against Edom are the reasons for placing these chapters early in the Exile.

Peculiar ideas and words are of course not as abundant here as in chaps. 24-27. This last remark applies also to 13:1-14:3, but the historical situation is defined even more plainly than in 34 f. as that of the Exile, and more definitely of the close of the Exile. The Babylonian oppression is presupposed, and the tone of the writer is evidently unclouded by the thought of the sufferings of his people. This enlightenment prevents us from identifying the author with the so-called II. Isaiah. The little prophecy in 21:1-10 is also on account of 20:1 clearly not Isaiah's work, and is probably not much later than 13:1-14:3.

B. CHAPTERS 40-66.—Chaps. 40-66 are regarded by Kuenen (*i.e.*, the Kuenen of 1893) as forming a single book in three equal parts (chaps. 40-48, 49-57, 58-66) marked by a kind of refrain¹ (48:22, 57:21), the substance of which was written by one man, before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, though the different prophecies or poems composing it may have been collected and arranged after that event.

a. *External evidence as to authorship*.—Kuenen examines at length the external evidence for and against Isaiah's authorship of this book.

The evidence for it is, (1) the testimony of Ezechiel, 48:1-23 (which, however, simply proves that the writer was not in a position to discriminate between works of different ages copied into the same roll).

(2) The 'edit of Cyrus' in Ezra 1:2 f. Ch. 36:23 (which has been thought to imply that Cyrus had become acquainted with the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah, but which in reality merely implies that the narrator had such a acquaintance²).

(3) The use made in 40:1-49:1 of prophecies which lived after Isaiah but before the middle part of the Exile (the extreme uncertainty of which argument, in the form which Delitzsch presented it, is shown by Kuenen).

On the opposite side there is no external evidence is produced.

¹ For the latter view of these refrains, see Delitzsch (*ABOP* I. Isaiah).

² On the question whether the publication of the 'edit of Cyrus' is a fulfilment of the prophecy, whether the kernel of the 'edit' is genuine, see Ezechiel, § 1. f. SAH II. § 6. f. f. ISRAEL, § 5. f. f. Kuenen's directions of his *Introduktion*, whilst admitting the fact of the return under Cyrus, maintained that the so-called 'edit' was a free composition of the Chronicler.

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Stress is laid on the position of chaps. 40-66, which are separated from the preceding collection of prophecies by some historical chapters, and must once have circulated in a separate form. Without any strong grounds an editor who had noticed the reference to a Babylonian captivity in 30:6 f., may have supposed that chaps. 40-66 were a grandly planned supplementary prophecy by Isaiah.

b. *Internal evidence*.—i. Historical situation.—The most important argument, however, is that based on the historical situation in those chapters. All agree that, at least in general, the author addresses the Israelitish exiles in Babylon.

Jerusalem and the cities of Judah lie in ruins; and this sad state of things has already lasted a considerable time (51:11-12; 58:12-13; 63:19-20; 64:11; 65:17; 66:14; 67:1; 68:16; 69:1; 70:1; 71:1; 72:1; 73:1; 74:1; 75:1; 76:1; 77:1; 78:1; 79:1; 80:1; 81:1; 82:1; 83:1; 84:1; 85:1; 86:1; 87:1; 88:1; 89:1; 90:1; 91:1; 92:1; 93:1; 94:1; 95:1; 96:1; 97:1; 98:1; 99:1; 100:1). Deliverance, however, is at hand; Cyrus will conquer Babylon and release the Jews, who, on their return, will rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, and enjoy unimaginable prosperity (40:1-41:27; 43:1-44:28; 46:1-48:22; 49:1-50:11; 51:1-52:12; 53:1-54:17; 55:1-56:12; 57:1-58:14; 59:1-60:14; 61:1-62:12; 63:1-64:12; 65:1-66:14). In this connection, it is noteworthy that no mention is made of Israelitish kings or of sacrifices. On the other hand, the keeping of the sabbath (58:1-7) and fasting (58:1 f.) are specially mentioned.

We are at once inclined to place such a book in the second half of the Exile.

This conclusion is strengthened by the writer's accurate knowledge of the very heart and soul of the exiles (see, e.g., 40:27; 45:4 f.; 46:6 f.; 49:24; 50:3 f.; 55:5 f.; 58:2 f.; 62:6 f.; 65:4 f.; 66:1-5).

Nor is there anything in the book suggestive of the pre-exile age. If Isaiah had written it, he would certainly have betrayed his real as opposed to his imaginary period by some involuntary allusion.

On the contrary, (1) all the allusions to the age of Isaiah, to the continuance of Jerusalem and of the temple, and to Judaea as the home of the prophet, which have been indicated in chaps. 40-66, rest without exception on misunderstanding.² (2) The proof derived by the prophet from the predictions of Israel's liberation and the fall of Babylon loses all its significance if the writer were not close at hand (see 41:1-7; 21:29; 42:9; 43:8-13; 44:19-21; 46:13; 48:1). At first sight, indeed, the passages in which idolatry is attacked³ may seem inconsistent with an exile date; but observe (1) that the writer frequently has in view not Israelites, but the surrounding heathen population; (2) that sometimes it is rather of a danger than of an actual fact that the prophet speaks; (3) that Ezekiel (20:1-32) refers to idolatrous practices among the exiles by the river Chebar; and (4) that we cannot infer from the attachment of the returned exiles to the religion of Yahweh that those left behind were all devoted monotheists.

ii. Language and ideas.—Nearly 200 years could not have passed away without leaving their impress on prophetic language and ideas. The second Isaiah is in fact very different from Isaiah I. Amos, both as a writer and as a thinker.

1. Of the personal Messiah expected by the son of Amos⁴ (96:1 f. 11:1-2) there is not a trace in II. Isaiah (see MEISSNER).

It is to a widely different figure—the 'servant of Yahweh'—that II. Isaiah assigns the liberation and the regeneration of Israel. In connection with this it should be noticed that the older prophet is much more universalistic in his pictures of the future than the younger, who is by no means free from an extreme nationalism, and cherishes exaggerated expectations of the future glory of Israel (for which, it is true, there are points of contact in some of Isaiah's prophecies; see, e.g., 11:6 ff. 18:7 19:24-25 23:18).

2. Other differences, too, may be referred to.

Thus the high respect for the sabbath expressed in chaps. 50-58 is very unlike Isaiah (contrast 1:11-13). The uniqueness of the divinity of Yahweh becomes more prominent in the second part of Isaiah, and is proved by arguments which Isaiah I. Amos could hardly have used, whilst the fundamental ideas of that prophet's discourses are somewhat in the background in chaps. 40-66.

¹ It need hardly be said that this is among the weaker of the arguments here adduced.

² Here we may reply in the words of Goethe, 'Ich sprichst ein grosses Wort gelassen aus.'

³ These passages are 40:17 ff. 41:1 ff. 43:9 ff. 44:9 ff. 45:14 ff. 46:6 ff. 47:1 ff. 48:1 ff. 49:1 ff. 50:1 ff. 51:1 ff. 52:1 ff. 53:1 ff. 54:1 ff. 55:1 ff. 56:1 ff. 57:1 ff. 58:1 ff. 59:1 ff. 60:1 ff. 61:1 ff. 62:1 ff. 63:1 ff. 64:1 ff. 65:1 ff. 66:1 ff. 67:1 ff. 68:1 ff. 69:1 ff. 70:1 ff. 71:1 ff. 72:1 ff. 73:1 ff. 74:1 ff. 75:1 ff. 76:1 ff. 77:1 ff. 78:1 ff. 79:1 ff. 80:1 ff. 81:1 ff. 82:1 ff. 83:1 ff. 84:1 ff. 85:1 ff. 86:1 ff. 87:1 ff. 88:1 ff. 89:1 ff. 90:1 ff. 91:1 ff. 92:1 ff. 93:1 ff. 94:1 ff. 95:1 ff. 96:1 ff. 97:1 ff. 98:1 ff. 99:1 ff. 100:1 ff.

⁴ This is one of the many points in which later criticism finds something to correct in the older theories.

⁵ Here again Kuenen in 1893 expresses views which later criticism shows to be inaccurate.

Such—apart from the linguistic and stylistic argument, which is not at all adequately presented by the older critics—is the reasoning by which Kuenen in 1863 justified his disintegration of the Book of Isaiah. If we compare it with that of conservative critics we are struck by its superior naturalness. It is the outcome of a critical movement of long duration, and cannot fail to be, to a large extent, in accordance with facts.

B. LATER CRITICISM

If we apply the same critical methods still further, we cannot fail to see weak points. The earlier criticism

3. Subsequent advance.

abounds in inaccuracies, and the newer criticism, after well-nigh twenty years of elaboration, has so far completed its task that Kuenen's older view (still to a very large extent represented in students' books) needs to be superseded. If we do not adopt that form of the newer criticism which is due to Kuenen himself, it is because a growing criticism cannot be tied down to the results of a single man, and because much work has been brought to maturity since 1863 (the date of Kuenen's second edition).

The interval between the traditional view of the Book of Isaiah and that which is now presenting itself was too great to be traversed without a halt. The criticism which has just been summarised will enable the reader to break the journey. He will now be in a better position to consider those points in which the earlier solutions of critical problems may have been unsatisfactory, and consequently to do justice to the criticism which still remains to be described.

The fault of the earlier critics was that they had an imperfect sense of the deep gulf between the old and the new Israel. Even the books which

4. Critical principles.

had the most beneficial effect on pre-exilic Israelites were not in all respects suitable for, or even intelligible to, the much altered people of the later age. The prophetic writings in their present form are post-exilic works, such pre-exilic records as they contain have been carefully adapted to the wants of post-exilic readers. With regard, then, to Is. 1-39, our first question should be, not, Is there any reason why this or that chapter or section should not be the work of Isaiah? but, To what age do the ideas, expressions, and implied circumstances most naturally point? We can seldom expect to find that the whole of a long passage belongs to the same period, because a post-exilic editor would almost certainly have found it necessary to modify what the earlier writer had said by length or shorter insertions. It must be remembered, too, that the prophets of the eighth century were too great and too much absorbed in their message to spend much time in the written elaboration of their prophecies. We can hardly expect to find that Isaiah left much in writing, and we must also make allowance for the perils to the ancient literature arising from the collapse of the state.

It will be well for the student to be continually revising his earlier results in the assignment of dates in the light of his later critical acquisitions. Critics are sometimes accused of arguing in a circle because they, by anticipation, mention facts in favour of the non-Isaianic origin of a prophecy derived from sections which only later will be proved to be non-Isaianic. This accusation is not reasonable. It is necessary that the whole body of relevant facts should be before the student, and it is important to see what points of contact a disputed prophecy has with other prophecies which are equally disputed. To economise space, it is sometimes necessary to leave the student to distinguish between those arguments which are immediately available, and those which will only later be seen in their full force. It will be found that each step we take in the assignment of dates will supply subsidiary facts (especially philological) in proof of conclusions already seen to be probable. But the student must not be in a hurry,

and must sometimes let difficult problems wait till he is riper for them.

It is too bold to maintain that we still have any collection of Isaianic prophecies which in its present form

5. Chaps. 2-5. goes back to the period of that prophet. To begin with chaps. 1-5. Chap. 1 has, properly speaking, no connection with chaps. 2-5. It is a preface to the whole collection of the prophecies of Isaiah (chaps. 2-33 or 35). It seems to be composite. Verses 26-31 are possibly (or probably) the close of a separate prophecy of an earlier date (see below), whilst 77, 27 f. are certainly a post-exilic insertion (cp. Marti). The early edition formed by chaps. 2-5 has been much altered. It contains true prophetic writing; but if a disciple of Isaiah really bestowed much editorial care upon it—i.e., if it was welded by such an editor into a whole—the traces of his work have entirely disappeared.

Chap. 2 (soon after 745 B.C.) is composed of two different fragments of similar contents, on the day of Yahweh (77, 6-10; 18-21, and 77, 11-17), which have been brought together by an early editor, and had prefixed to them an important eschatological prophecy (2-4).

3-4-1 (745 B.C.) is nearly in its original form (see especially Marti); but the appendix, 4-2, is beyond the possibility of doubt post-exilic.² It was in fact a fixed custom of later editors to adapt prophecies of judgment (most early prophecies were such) (cp. Am. 3-6) to the use of contrite post-exilic readers by Messianic appendices. But what of 2-4? Why should 2-4-1 have a preface as well as an appendix? Probably it has been moved from its original position, to fill the place of a passage which had become illegible. It was originally intended to be the appendix to 1-5-1, which appears to be a fragment of an independent prophecy of Isaiah against tree-worship, linked to 1-2-2c by the editorial passage, 1-2-7. Chap. 5-1-7 and 5-2-4 (725 B.C.) is editorial from two distinct but related prophecies (725 B.C.). (On 5-2-2, see below § 7, begin.)

The next group of prophecies is 6:1-9-7 [6]. In its original form this came most probably from a disciple

6. Chaps. 6:1-9-7 [6]. of Isaiah (about 734 B.C.). It consisted of a prologue on Isaiah's inaugural vision, and prophecies on the invasion of Rezin, the ruin of Syria and Ephraim, and the Assyrian invasion, and concluded with a divine warning to Isaiah and his disciples, and an epilogue of great interest, as showing the editorial care which, in this instance at least, a disciple of Isaiah bestowed on his master's work. To this has been added a fragment on the despoil of the people of Judah, 8:1-7 (except the last words) are late and editorial. Other traces of late editorial work could be mentioned.

One of them is the opening verse of chap. 7, which is dependent on 2 K. 19 (late pre-exilic), and another possibly 8:2-6 (this passage, however, can be defended as Isaianic).³ Editorial work is also plainly discernible in 7:12-25; but on this we cannot linger.

The most important monument of an editor is not the closing words of chap. 6 in MT (not in G), 'the holy seed is the stock thereof',⁴ but the Messianic appendix, 9:2-5 [9-6]. This appendix, though recently defended by Duhm, is (in the opinion of some scholars)

1-2-5 is a later addition to a late prophecy, 2-5-4 is the prophecy itself, which in a large sense may be called Messianic. Duhm regards it as the work of Isaiah, but refers it to the prophet's old age, when he may have written prophetic poems, like this passage, and like 9:2-7 [9-6] 11-16, for the edification of his disciples. But the pronounced universalism of the religion of 2-2-2, and its similarity in phraseology to passages which have an unmistakable post-exilic impress, and are regarded by Duhm himself as late, besides its want of a natural connection with the context both in Is. 2 and in Mic. 4 (for Mic. 4-1-4 gives a second edition of the passage), makes Duhm's romantically-sounding theory impossible. (Cp. Mic. vii n. 4-2, and see further, Cheyne, *Is. 9-16*, Sta. *ZATW* 1 (1897) 4-22; Hackmann, *Zukunftserwartung*, 126 ff.; Marti, *Is. 1, K.H.*, 110-11; *Isaiah's Exile*, 105 ff., and on the other side especially Bertholet, *Die Stellung des Israeliten*, etc., 95 ff.)

² So Gesebrecht (*Is. 1-5*), Duhm, Hackmann, Cheyne. Stahe in 1904 took a middle position (*ZATW* 314 ff.).

³ See ISAIAH 1, § 11, and cp. Cheyne, *Is. 1-5*, 17-18. The passage was at any rate composed and inserted later, at what period is obscure.

⁴ 9-1-1 should probably run thus (or nearly thus): 9-1-12 9-1-12 9-1-12 9-1-12. For consumption shall be on its plants, a portion long in its productions. 9-1-12 and 9-1-12 are duplicate. 9-1-12 9-1-12 is a second attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage.

almost as certainly late as anything in the whole compass of prophetic literature.¹ Its combination of enthusiasm and moderation gives the passage a unique position among Messianic prophecies: to assign it to post-exilic times (which were not incapable of fine as well as poor literature) involves no disparagement. It is clearly an independent composition attached by the editor by means of the linking verse, 96[5]f. Observe the vagueness of 96[5]f., which implies that the hope of the Messiah was already well defined in the popular mind, which could easily fill up the outlines. In the age of Isaiah such vagueness is inconceivable.² Both these additions, when accepted as Isaiah's, could not but distort the interpretation of the portions really due to the prophet.

The next prophecy is 105-126, to which 98[7]-104 was prefixed by a later editor, probably to fill up the space on a roll which was too large for the prophecy 105-116. Originally this fine passage, which is hardly to be combined with 520-10, belonged to the same group of prophecies as 51-7 and 8-24 (see above § 8). It is nearly in its original form, but, besides minor changes due to accident, 9-14[13]f. and 10-11 have been substituted for passages which had become illegible. The latter is the most important because (as rightly emended by Lagarde) it contains a reference to Belshazzar and Osiris which is unexpected in this context.⁴ Chap. 10 is Isaianic, but, even apart from the editorial insertions (see *SBO* I), does not all come from one time. 17-27b-32 are clearly an insertion from some other source, i.e., they were not written as a part of Isaiah's great 'woe' upon the Assyrian. The passage describes the expected march upon Jerusalem of a foe from the N., and Duhm doubts whether a passage so full of plays upon names can be Isaiah's. If it is not Isaiah's, one might plausibly ascribe it to Micah, who, in the bitterness of his spirit, makes very similar plays on the names of towns in danger of capture from the Assyrians (Mic. 1 6-15). We may probably date it 722 B.C. 10-10-27a, at any rate, is certainly not Isaiah's. It refers, it is true, to the Assyrian invasion, but it treats this as typical of the attack of the assembled heathen nations on Jerusalem expected by late eschatological writers. It tells us of the great final judgment on all Yahweh's enemies, from which transgressors within Zion itself will not be exempt (cp. Is. 1-28 34-4, and passages in the Psalms). There is, however, a bare possibility that some scarcely intelligible fragments of Isaiah may have been worked into his material by the editor. The Isaianic portion, 105-9-11f., may be dated 711 B.C.

To this composite work (ch. 10) three appendices were attached: (1) the last (121-6) very late indeed, so exceedingly poor is it, and so entirely unprophetic in style;⁵ (2) the first (11-18) is a description of the

¹ See Che. *Inter. Is.* 44-46 (cp. *Jew. Rel. Life* 98-101). In the works there cited (against Isaianic origin) add Volz, *Die vorchristliche Judentumsgeschichte und der Messias*, 57-60 (1911); Sellin, *Serubbabel*, 76-77 (1908). Sellin places the prophecy at the close of the Exile; he thinks that it refers to Zerubbabel. His disavowal of the phraseological argument is inconsistent with his own practice. It is true, however, that the text is in several respects corrupt. In 11-14[5], for instance, it is surely necessary to read *וְיָשִׁיב יְהוָה אֶת יְהוֹנָדָב בֶּן־שִׁנְיָאִל* (*SBO* I, Heb. 19).

If this be admitted, Isaiah cannot have written the passage, for *וְיָשִׁיב* and *יְהוֹנָדָב* are not used by Isaiah. On *וְיָשִׁיב* no stress is laid; the word is corrupt. See *SBO* I. The name of the king, *וְיָשִׁיב*, if the text be emended, is not such as Isaiah would have chosen (see Messianic, end of *Inter. Is.*).

² The fact that the composition produced no effect on Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi is not inconsistent with the assertion of the genuineness of the prophecies given in this article (cp. *Inter. Is.* 44-46).

³ The phrases *וְיָשִׁיב יְהוָה אֶת יְהוֹנָדָב בֶּן־שִׁנְיָאִל* applied to the Assyrians (cp. *Inter. Is.* 44-46) and *וְיָשִׁיב יְהוָה אֶת יְהוֹנָדָב בֶּן־שִׁנְיָאִל* applied to the Assyrians (cp. *Inter. Is.* 44-46) are clearly not Isaiah's.

⁴ On this point there is unanimity among critics. To make chap. 12 end with 12-13 would be needless caution.

Messiah as a perfect ruler—a counterpart of 96[5]f. It is not well linked to the context. A better connection was produced for the 11-18-10-16; 12 former passage (9-17 [1-6]), though in neither case is any mention made of that sitting of the population of Jerusalem to which Isaiah (11-25) refers as a condition of better government. There is also none of Isaiah's classic moderation in the terms of the description. The elaborate description of the transformation of the animal world, and the extravagance of 11-26, is in the taste of the later period.¹

(3) The second appendix (11-16) is marked out as such with singular definiteness. Whoever wrote 11-29 certainly regarded it as a suitable close. On the other hand, we can well understand a subsequent writer wishing to insert something on the restoration of the exiles of Israel and Judah. The style is poor (note the impossible expression 'root of Jesse' for the Messianic king), the rhythm still poorer; the phraseology and ideas late. 'Assyria' means to the writer the Persian empire. This is one of the most assured and suggestive results of criticism.

We have now analysed all the first part of our Book of Isaiah (chaps. 1-12), and pass on to a collection of ten oracles (13-23), mostly on the neighbours of the Israelites, each with a heading containing the word *מָנָא* (*manā*)—an expression which specially belongs to collectors and editors (cp. also 30b, where it forms part of a late insertion).

9. **Chaps. 13-23** Four short passages, however (14-17, 17-18, 20-21, 23-24), strike the eye as having no editorial headings. These must once have stood in some other connection; all appear to be genuine works of Isaiah. (1) The first is perhaps the true conclusion of Isaiah's prophecy on the failure of the plan of the Assyrian king (10-15; see *ISAIAH* I, § 13). (2) The second is either an appendix attached by Isaiah to 17-18 (see below), or a short independent prophecy of uncertain date. (3) The third (which has a late, artificial appendix, 1-7) belongs to the time of Sennacherib's invasion (Duhm, Chénay). (4) The fourth, as the brief historical preface states, is contemporary with the siege of Ashdod by Sargon in 711 B.C. It has been thought to predict the ruin of Egypt and Ethiopia; but upon archaeological grounds must be held to refer rather to the late anticipated for Pharaoh, king of Egypt (to whom Yaman, king of Ashdod, fled for refuge). See *ASHDOD*, *MIZRAIM*, § 2-6. This Pharaoh, not the Egyptian Pharaoh, is the king who will grievously disappoint the Judeans, according to Is. 20 5f., to which 30b is parallel, in complete accordance with Sargon's own statement in the fragmentary cylinder text. The opening verse therefore comes from some ill-informed early editor or biographer.²

8. (1-2). Of the ten oracles with headings, only two can be regarded as certainly Isaianic—viz. (1) 17-18, 20-21, and (2) 22-23, 24-25. (1) The former was evidently written before 720, (2) the latter falls into two parts, of which the first (*ISAIAH* I, § 17) may have been written in 701, and the second a year or two earlier. Kuenen's former view that 22-23 is an imaginary description can hardly be maintained, but it is probable that the descriptions in 22-23 5-7 8-10

¹ See *Inter. Is.* 62-66; *Jew. Rel. Life* 101-104. Sellin's remark (*Serubbabel*, 5) that, though this prophecy might also have been written at the end of the Exile, is shortly before Haggai, it contains nothing inconsistent with Isaiah's authorship, implies a wrong point of view. Considering the fragmentary state of the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah, we have to ask, not, Can we with some ingenuity imagine Isaiah uttering this or that passage? but, Is what is said in this anonymous fragment of prophecy most naturally before 720?

² So first *W. Alt* 1-2, cp. *SBO* I, *Isa* (Heb. 1) 1-10. In *Isa* 1-10 the Sargon-text is cited, but Pharaoh is wrongly taken to be Pharaoh (so Schürer, and formerly W. G. A. At this period, however, as Winkler has shown, Egypt had not yet begun again to be a factor in Assyrian politics.

³ On the interpolated passage (7-77) see *Inter. Is.* 91, and cp. especially Stade, *ZATW* 31-32 (1876).

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Let us now turn to that remarkable collection of prophecies in chaps. 28-33, beginning, for reasons of convenience, with chap. 32.

The phenomena of chapters 32 f. are very peculiar. That chap. 33 is later than any part of chap. 32 is certain, both on account of the phraseology and because of the ideas. It could not indeed otherwise have been possible for Duhm to assign 32:1-5 9-14 and 15-18 20 to Isaiah.

In *SHOT* 32:1-8 is described as a first, and 20-25 as a second appendix. It is possible, however, that Bickell¹ is right in connecting 27: 15-20 (the emendations 17 with much skill) with 27: 1-5.

The main question is not whether 27: 1-5 (or 1-5 15-20) are Isaianic or not, for the late date of this passage is even more certain than that of 32:7 (or 11 14-22) nor can it be very much earlier than 27: 6-8, which Duhm admits to be post exilic.² It is rather this: Are 27: 9-14 a genuine though strangely misplaced Isaianic fragment, akin to 31:6 f. 24? It is certainly conceivable that it once stood at the end of chap. 28-31, following the analogy of that very striking little prophecy (cp *Intr.* 4: 130). In order to recognise it as Isaianic, however, it would be necessary at any rate to emend the text, and even then there is a rhetorical indefiniteness which distinguishes the passage from 31:6 f. 24, and does not suggest Isaiah as the author.³

On the whole, the remark of Stade is as true now as when it was first made, that when we pass from chap. 31 to chap. 32 we find an altogether new set of ideas and an entirely changed situation.⁴

As to chap. 33, so far as it relates to the period of Sennacherib's invasion it gives in many ways an inaccurate view of the facts. In reality,

11. Chap. 33. however, it is addressed to a later generation which regards the Assyrian invasion as typical of later crises in Jewish history. Hence the absence of any attempt to imitate Isaiah's style; hence, too, the liturgical tone which presupposes a not very early part of the post-exilic period.

The only question is whether we may venture to follow Duhm and Bickell, the former of whom identifies the enemies referred to with the Syrians under Antiochus Epiphanes (cp 27: 34-35 with 1 Mac. 6:22-23 respectively), and the situation with that produced by the battle of Beth-zacharias and the capture of Beth-zur (164 B.C.), when Jerusalem was at the last gasp, and the Jewish revolt seemed almost crushed, whilst the latter finds in chap. 33 two Maccabean poems, the first written after a defeat, the second after Simon the Maccabee's conquest of the Akra of Jerusalem (142 B.C.). It is at least not impossible; a prophecy later than 200 B.C. is not indeed to be expected; but the phenomena of this appendix to an appendix are somewhat peculiar. Chap. 33 is more than usually unconnected; it may therefore be composite. In this case 27: 1-5 will be due to the editor. Moreover, the exilic tone of the latter part of the chapter agrees extremely well with Bickell's proposed date, 27:14 (27: 14) as a religious class-name (almost 'lawless', see Hippolytus) is specially characteristic of John, which probably belongs to the early Greek period. At the same time, it is not impossible that this usage began earlier and that the exilic tone is a reaction from the preceding melancholy of the writer (as often in the psalms). Bickell rearranges too much, however.

The composition may plausibly be referred to the dark period of the third Artaxerxes (see *Intr.* 4: 171 f. 1), but the use of 27:14 (see above) and the reference to the 'law-collectors' (cp 1 Mac. 1:24 in 27: 18 (for emendation

¹ See his article in *ZK M.* 97.

² Duhm thinks that no post exilic writer would have written so early and in such an incidental manner of the expected king. It is evident, however, that there were long spaces in the earlier post exilic period in which the hope of the Messiah was by no means vital, and in which consequently the Messiah would be spoken of without enthusiasm. On the arguments for a late date, see *Intr.* 4: 172-175, 177-180.

³ The passage is too colourless to be dated with precision, but clearly belongs to the age of the Wisdom literature, and not to any very early part of that period.

⁴ Stade's objection to 27: 9-20, that the passage is inconsistent with Isaiah's conviction that Yahweh will not let Jerusalem be captured (*ZATW* 4: 260), is, however, invalid, because Isaiah does not seem to have had such a conviction at this period (see *Isaiah*, § 14). According to Duhm 27: 15-20 are of uncertain origin, but most probably Isaianic; of 27: 9-14 he appears to have no doubt, but places it in Isaiah's period.

⁵ Stade, *ZATW* 4: 260 f. 42.

⁶ See Bickell, *ZK M.* 97, and see *SHOT* (Heil.) 100, Marti, *Is.* in *KHC* 245.

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text, see SCRIBE), together with the peculiarities of the poem, incline the present writer to agree with Marti in dating the work about 463 B.C. The objection drawn from the history of the canon is no doubt weighty; but it is not absolutely conclusive (see *CANON*, § 39, col. 665, n. 1).

The removal of the chaps. just considered (32 f.) from the work (28-31: *Isaiah* 1: § 14 end) to which they are appended makes it somewhat

12. Chaps. 28-31. easier to appreciate that work. Though only the framework of chaps. 28-31 is

Isaianic, the inserted passages do not all equally blur the outlines of Isaiah's picture of the future. Still we must not on that account think lightly of the critical problems which remain. No part of the true Isaiah has been so systematically manipulated out of regard to the feelings of later readers as this.

a. Let us first of all take 29:16-24 and 30:18-26.

It is certain from the context that Isaiah was addressing himself not to a penitent and believing community which stood in need of comfort, and whose chief fault was their dreaming of earthly means of realising God's promises, but to irreligious politicians and a 'rebellious' unresponsive people. If we apply the principles set forth above (see § 4), and ask to what age the ideas, the expressions, and the situation in 29:16-24 30:18-26 most naturally point, we cannot doubt that these passages are of post-exilic origin and addressed to the same set of people as 32:1-5 15-20. Imagine their being intended for the same audience as that which listened to the preceding prophetic speeches, and we are disposed to doubt Isaiah's sanity. By such a flattering view of the religious condition of his hearers he would have defeated his own object. Besides, what ideas could the rulers possibly have attached to the description of a 'spiritually regenerated people'? The mention of a 'great slaughter' when the 'towers' should fall might perhaps have arrested their attention; but the only 'slaughter' which they would have thought of would be that of the Assyrians, whereas the prophetic writer means a general destruction of all the opponents of what he regards as the true religion both without and within Jerusalem.

The affinity of these passages to the post exilic type of thought and expression is too striking to be overlooked or doubted by the student.

Other post exilic additions, i.e. probably 28:21-23 and 30:27-31. The latter passage develops the idea of the 'great slaughter' (30:26); it is more in the manner of 63:1-6 (§ 21) than in that of the two late additions just considered, being warlike and grandly, though hardly, picturesque.¹

28:24-26, if really Isaianic, must be addressed to an inner circle of disciples, who have assimilated the prophetic teaching of a 'remnant.' However, the leading idea of the passage is characteristically late. Its first occurrence seems to be in Jer. 10:24; but it is not quite certain whether Jer. 10:24 is Jeremianic (see Stade, *Jer.* 10:24). As to the phraseology, 28:27 in 29:29, which occurs only in Prov. and Job (Mic. 6:6 is corrupt), is perhaps the only very suspicious word. It is most improbable that Isaiah would have used it.

The most remarkable insertions of all, however, are those in 29:1-8. According to the older critics (see above, § 2, 1. c.), Isaiah put a double-headed enigma before his hearers, which only excited blank amazement as being 'out of all relation to the facts', but can the delightful part of the prophecy in 27: 1-8 really have been written by Isaiah? Surely not.

Duhm has already recognised later insertions in 27: 1-8, and we cannot stop short there. We must evidently include among the interpolated passages, for here too we are struck by the great falling off in the style, and the wide difference in the picture of the future. 'Rhythm and parallelism came easily to Isaiah; there are but slight traces of them in (all) the passages assigned here to a later writer. And whereas Isaiah can bear to contemplate a sore judgment upon Jerusalem, the author of 27: 1-8 has before him a future day when all nations shall gather together round the holy city, and be in it' (*Intr.* 4: 180). With this view Hackmann agrees. He is, indeed, the originator, except that he details 27: 7 by giving a new turn to the meaning. In short, his idea is that the dream in 27: 7 is a figure for the smallness of the appearance of the foes before Jerusalem. This is ingenious, but Hackmann targets Jer. 29: 1 (Obad. 1: 6 end).

Apart from the interpolations just considered, how-

¹ Though defended as Isaianic by Duhm it has been doubted by Gunkel and Smend. Hackmann (*Zukunftsbildung*, 4: 1) and Gunkel (*Isaiah*, 2: 143 f.) regard it as an old, genuine post-exilic.

29 appears to be a combination of three distinct prophecies (each very short but very striking) dealing respectively with the destruction of Jerusalem, the culpable insensibility of the rulers to the divine teaching, and the fatal consequences of a formal religion. Chap. 20 is contains a fragment of a prophecy on the Egyptian alliance; and there are two more fragments on the same subject in 30:1-3 and 31:1-5.¹ 30:8-17 clearly formed the close of an ancient prophetic collection; 30:1-3 (with 45d, and the supplement 67a) must have been misplaced.

Except 28:1-4, the Isaianic prophecies may be assigned to 703-702 B.C. the oracle² is earlier, and presupposes the siege of Samaria. 28:7-22 may belong to 703; it gives a warning to Jerusalem, suggested by the doom of Samaria.

The difference between the older and the newer criticism is perhaps even more conspicuous in the group of chapters (21-27) placed before that which we have been discussing. (1.)

13. Chaps.

24-27.

Referring by way of contrast to what Kuenen thought in 1863 (above, § 2 iv. 2), let us see what Duhm thought in 1892. (a) His method is that which all good critics now employ; he begins, that is, by removing later accretions.

Among these he classes (1) the song in 25:1-5, which commemorates the destruction of a strong city, and states that on this account another mighty city will praise God; (2) the taunting song on Moab, 25:9-11; (3) an artistic poem (28:1-6) which stands alone in the OT in respect of the many variants which have penetrated into the text; and (4) the little song in 27:3-5.

The prophecy itself comprises chaps. 21:25-6-8 26:20-27:1

27:1-5 is a quotation from the margin, which properly speaking illustrates 27:1, and is therefore misplaced, whilst 27:9-11 are the remainder of an exhortation to the Jews to break off from their sins, and so become entitled to deliverance, which is certainly parenthetical and very possibly a later insertion.

(b) Let us then look first at the prophecy or 'apocalypse.'

It describes the desolation of a great world-empire by war, and closes with the final judgment upon Israel's oppressors, the setting up of the divine throne in the holy city, and a festival, full of refreshment and consolation, for all peoples.

The author, Duhm thinks, lived under John Hyrcanus; he saw the siege of Jerusalem and the devastation of Judah by Antiochus Sidetes, the beginning of the war with the Parthians, in which the Jews were forced to take part (B.C. 129), and the defeat and death of Antiochus (B.C. 128). The last is the event obscurely referred to in 24:14-16, which the writer cannot for his part regard as a happy omen, because the barbarous Parthians will invade and devastate Palestine. In 25:1-5 Duhm finds the exultation of the Jews at the destruction of Samaria, and the demolition of the temple on Mount Gerizim, the 'city of nations' is Rome (cp Schürer, *Jewish People*, i. 127). The same background is assigned to 26:1-19; 26:9-11, however, Duhm refers to the time of King Alexander Jannaeus, who made the Moabites pay tribute (Jos. Ant. xii. 135). (ii.) The last of the dates just quoted is the least important; the Moabites were not dangerous to the Jews in post-exilic times. The reference to them in 25:9-11 is probably archaic.⁴ The other dates are rather plausible. The Parthians did not indeed actually invade Palestine before B.C. 40 (cp *Ench* 56:3 f. and Dillmann's note), but the author may have expected that they would do so in 128. The hatred of the Jews for the Samaritans might well find expression in a psalm,

¹ 30:1 relates to the embassy to Egypt and is Isaianic. 27:4-5a are a late insertion based on a fragment (27:4-5a) which described the flight of Hiram, King of Gaza, and his followers to the king of Moab in N. Arabia (see Mitzke, § 22). Cp this late insertion with 30a (also late), and see W. Meyer, *Lehrb.* 30:4 is a late insertion of a scribe (see Bahr, § 31:5b) is composite, but altogether post-exilic (*Inte. Is.* 30:1 f.).

² 28:3 f. is obviously Messianic in the wider sense, and is a later insertion addressed to the post-exilic community.

³ Cp Berthel, *Die Stellung des Propheten* 111.

⁴ *Inte. Is.* 25:9; p. Smend, *ZATW* 1892, 212.

and the poor style of the song in 25:1-5 favours a late date. These passages, however, are admittedly accretions. Their date is of less importance than that of the main prophecy or apocalypse, which refers to so many popular religious beliefs.

To Duhm's date for the main prophecy there are objections derived from the history of the Canon (see CANON, § 39, cp n. 1, col. 665). Strong reason is required for making any considerable part of Isaiah later than 200 B.C. Chap. 33 indeed, as an 'appendix to an appendix,' may, since internal evidence favours this, be made Maaccabean; but can we venture to assign the important collection of prophecies and songs in chaps. 24-27 to a period even later than the Maaccabees?

The matter concerns the history of religious ideas as well as of literature. Will not the period of the fall of the Persian and the rise of the Graeco-Macedonian empire answer all the requirements of the passages? It is a pity that the historical evidence is not stronger, but Marti's treatment of it in his commentary is certainly too superficial.

The opening section is the monument of a time of long-continued misery in Syria and Palestine. Such a time began under Antiochus H., and lasted till the consolidation of the power of the Ptolemies in Palestine (190). The frequent passage of Persian armies marching to Egypt must have caused much distress to the Jews; and once, if not twice, they were concerned in a revolt against Persia. Cruelly did Antiochus punish them; as Nöldeke says, 'much blood appears to have been shed in Judaea at this time. Most probably, too, Robertson Smith is right in transferring the defilement of the temple mentioned by Jos. (Ant. vi. 7 f.) to this period, and seeing in the narrative a legendary or even patriotic distortion of facts. The phrase 'the city (or, perhaps, cities) of destruction' (24:10) may allude to the fate of Sidon and Jerusalem; it would be unsafe to add, of Jericho. 26:1-10 (a liturgical poem) may describe the feelings of the pious community of Jerusalem when their city had been spared by the army of Alexander. They were deeply grateful for this, but were still painfully conscious of the ruin wrought by the tyrant Ochoz. The deportation of many Jews to Hyrcania and elsewhere had made a gap in the population, and only by a 'clow of healing' (read *שְׁלֵמָה*) from God could the martyrs be restored to their brethren. For a study of the ideas, phraseology, and situation, see *Inte. Is.* 145-162; and see below (§ 21) on 63:7-41 12:111.

Chaps. 21-27 were prefixed to chaps. 28-33 to indicate that for the post-exilic age the chief interest of the latter group of prophecies was eschatological. The two closely related compositions in chaps. 34 f. were doubtless added to promote the same interest.

The former, chap. 34 (observe the strange use made of popular superstitions), is sombre in the extreme. It relates to the great future judgment upon the hostile nations. These nations are specially represented by the arch-enemy Edom (cp 63:1-6), from whom some fresh outrage must have been suffered not long before the prophecy was written. This outrage was presumably connected with the further progress of the Edomite immigration into the S. of Judaea.

The companion prophecy chap. 35, makes up for the horrors of chap. 34. It relates to the return of the Jewish exiles and the glorification of their land.

According to Duhm, the author of these works wrote also Jer. 50 f., but why? Surely there were other members of the same school who were capable of producing or redacting this final outburst of wrath at Babylon. All that we have a right to say is that these various works were written in Palestine nearly at the same time in the post-exilic period. If the MT of 31:16a is correct, the collection of real and supposed Isaianic prophecies to which chaps. 31 f. had lately been

¹ *Offic. 24:1*, so Nöldeke, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, 176; Che. *New Herald*, Sept. 1891, perhaps also We. *Inte.* 24:1.

² Schürer, *Die Maccabäer* 120 says that Jericho, which succeeded Jerusalem as the capital of Judaea, was subdued by Antiochus; but this has been shown by Reinach (*fin. Jewish Studies in History of A. Kuhn*, 1897, 14-15) to refer to the invasion of Palestine by Artabanus the founder of the dynasty of the Sassanids, who came into conflict with the emperor Alexander Severus.

³ Synellus (Hindorf), *Law*. The notice is beyond doubt (Martens, *Lehrbuch des Griech. in Rom*, 2 f. 160). Note the Jewish name Hyrcania (cp Artabanus, a Jewish Hellenist).

⁴ *Inte. Is.* 145:9, and cp 4:17 f. *Inte. Is.* 17:1 f.

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attached were already a 'book of Yahwe'—i.e. a sacred scripture. These two prophecies, then, were very probably the latest of the group.

To an equally late period we must refer the appending of certain narratives (chaps. 36-39) to 18. Chaps. 36-39, which reference has been made already (see ISAIAH I. § 6).

These narratives, which are derived ultimately from prophetic biographies,¹ agree in most respects with the text of 2 K. 18:13-17:20. The older critics were in the main right; but their analysis of the narratives was incomplete, and they gave too much credit for accuracy to the account as a whole. Under the influence of this impression they assigned too early a date to the historical document from which it seemed to be derived.

It has been shown (especially by Stade and Duhm) that 18. 36-39 consists of two distinct narratives: (a) 36:1-37:37 f., (b) 37:38-38:18 f.

(a) *Psalms*.—As to the inserted passage, 38:9-20 (*Miktah* of Hezekiah) which Kuenen in 1863 did not deny to Hezekiah, there can no longer be any doubt that it is a post-exilic thanksgiving-psalm on the deliverance of the faithful community of Israel from some great danger (cp Ps. 30);² the song or 'supplication' (see MICHAM) is not found in the parallel section of Kings.

(b) *Miktah*.—Another passage, which to the last was held by Kuenen to be Isaiah's (though he recognised the weight of the counter arguments), and certainly belongs to the original narrative (more strictly to the second of the narratives) is held by Stade,³ Duhm, Chryne, and Marti to be certainly post-exilic. This is 37:22-32. Evidently this was taken by the narrator (or more probably by the first editor) from some lyric anthology, such as that from which we have already supposed the song in 14:4-21 to have been taken. It is in fact a line 'dramatic lyric' (cp Ps. 46:18), showing at once a vivid realisation of the traditional story, and a sense of its continued value to the community, which (as we have seen) regarded the invasion of Sennacherib as typical of a great future event.

The final redaction of the first half of Isaiah may be dated (like the appendix to chap. 19) about 250-220 B.C.; but this is not free from doubt.

On chaps. 40-48 we can be somewhat briefer. Taking this collection for the moment as a unit, and putting aside all but historical considerations, we can no more dream of assigning it to Isaiah than of ascribing 'By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept' (Ps. 137:1) to the authorship of David. There might have been a case for the Isaianic origin of 'Go ye out from Babylon' (48:20), if only the passage had run, 'Behold, in the latter days my people shall go forth from Babylon.' There might have been a case for such an origin of 'Thus saith Yahwe to Cyrus' (45:1), and of 'Our holy and our beautiful house . . . is burned up' (64:1[10]), if these passages had been introduced by 'Behold, I will raise up a king, Cyrus by name,' and 'In days to come Yahwe will send fire upon Jerusalem.' No literary critic, however, would dream of supposing that the author of chaps. 40-66 was a prophet of the eighth century who had become dead to his actual present, and lived again in imagination among men still unborn.⁴

On this point the newer critics have nothing to add to what was so well said by Kuenen in 1863. Indeed, that eminent critic in his earlier stage was right both positively and negatively as regards chaps. 40-48.⁵

On this point the newer critics have nothing to add to what was so well said by Kuenen in 1863. Indeed, that eminent critic in his earlier stage was right both positively and negatively as regards chaps. 40-48.⁶

¹ König (*Einl.* 266) also recognises that these narratives came from a separate work of prophetic origin.

² See Che. *Proph.* I. 121 f., *Int.* I. 274 ff.; Skinner, *Isaiah*, 1:39, p. 278, who holds, however, that the song is based on a record of individual experience, which was adapted for use in the temple by an editor.

³ See KINGS, BOOKS OF, § 6.

⁴ This was long the theory by which Franz Delitzsch sought to reconcile the requirements of criticism and of orthodox theology.

⁵ The later insertions (apart from the Songs on the Servant) detected by recent critics in chaps. 40-48 cannot be discussed here. The most remarkable of these are to be found in chap. 48. The editor has actually interpolated the Second Isaiah's writing

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(Duhm would say 40-55); he was right, at any rate negatively, as regards chaps. 56-66. Where he failed was in not giving due weight to certain phenomena in the second part of chaps. 40-48 which (as conservative critics saw) pointed away from Babylon as the place, and from the closing years of the Exile as the time of composition.⁷

It is this second part of chaps. 40-66 that we have now to consider.

The first question is, Have chaps. 49-55 been rightly assigned to the Second Isaiah?

(a) Kuenen himself in 1889 already saw the difficulty of his former position.

He came to the conclusion that chaps. 50 f. were written after the return from Babylon, and even expressed some doubt whether chap. 49 should not be added to the group (*Int.* 21:17 f. 142). In 536 B.C. the Second Isaiah might have brought the original Prophecy of Restoration to Judaea (Is. 44:15), and Kuenen thought it not unreasonable to credit the same great writer with the composition of the four chapters just mentioned.

(b) Kesters, too, who did not accept the tradition of a return in 536, was of opinion that 49:12-26 51:1-16 51:17-52:12 54 f. cannot have the same origin as chaps. 40-48. They were written, according to him, in Palestine, but not by the Second Isaiah. The following are Kesters' arguments.

1. As to style and diction. There is no doubt a general resemblance to chaps. 40-48. But observe that nowhere in these passages are the persons addressed described collectively as 'Jacob' and 'Israel,' and that in 52:1 Jerusalem is called the 'holy city' (עִיר קֹדֶשׁ), a characteristically late phrase, found also in 48:2 (which is probably interpolated), and in Neh. 11:18 Dan. 9:24; cp also 64:10:19 'thy holy cities' (עִירֶיךָ קֹדֶשׁ).

2. As to contents. Almost throughout, the point of view is shifted from the exiles at Babylon to the small and struggling community of Zion. There are indeed points of contact with the preceding prophecies; but this only proves that the writer of this section was acquainted with the other work, not that he wrote it. Moreover, when he comes to speak of the departure of the exiles from Babylon, his expressions are inconsistent with those of a parallel passage in the other work (contrast 52:12, 'not in hurry shall ye go out,' with 48:20, 'flee ye from Chaldaea'), and if not in 52:10-12, yet in 49:12:13 he admits the idea of a general return of the Diaspora, which is not mentioned in the earlier chapters, but was one of the chief hopes of the later Jews. (See also Kuenen's argument from internal evidence, *Int.* 21:38, or *Int.* I. 296 f.).

(c) On the other hand, several things must be observed.

(1) The disputed passages are written in the manner of II. Isaiah, and contrast strongly with chaps. 56-66; (2) they display an optimistic idealism which residence in the Jerusalem of Haggai and Zechariah would have speedily diminished; (3) and (4) the address in 55:2, appropriate enough for a preacher in Babylonia, would have sounded hollow and insincere if spoken at Jerusalem.

This evidence does not all point in one direction, and a reconciling theory is required. Let us then suppose that the passages in question were written in Babylonia by a writer of the school of II. Isaiah, but with an eye to the circumstances of Judaea. The writer's object was partly to induce Babylonian Jews

with severe reproaches addressed to his own contemporaries, whom he conceived to have fallen back into obstinate unbelief (see 'Isaiah,' *SBOT*). Nor can we here consider the question, Where did the author of chaps. 40-48 live? Probably the right answer is, at Babylon. See *Int.* I. 273-276, 282 f.

In 1880-81 the present writer began, not from a conservative point of view, to set forth these phenomena on a large scale, and to indicate the provisional conclusions to which they appeared to lead (see *Prophecies of Isaiah*, and the art. 'Isaiah' in *Encyc. Brit.* 9). He has lately (1895-97) summed up the results of a second period of study in the *Introduction to Isaiah* and in his contributions on Isaiah to *SBOT*. To these works and to Duhm's commentary (which has given the first complete explanation of the historical background of most of Is. 56-66) he must send the reader for a fuller treatment of the subject. [Marti's line commentary can now be added.] See also the important critical notes on Isaiah in Stade's *GTT*, vol. 1, which really opened the subject to discussion.

49:1-11 50:52:13-53:12 he treats in another connection. See further on in this article (§ 12).

⁷ Kesters also refers to עִיר, 'from thence,' in 52:11, as proving that the writer was not at the time in Babylonia, but in 48:20 we have 'from Babylon,' 'from Chaldaea.'

⁸ The words, 'the people in whose heart is my law' (51:7), could be strange indeed if written at Jerusalem.

to go to Judah and assist in the regeneration of Israel, partly to encourage sorely tried workers in Jerusalem, such as Jaggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

Sellin (*Serubbabel*, '99) has endeavoured to show that chaps. 40-55 were written, not in Babylon, but at Jerusalem between 515 and 500 B.C., to comfort the Jews for the failure of the high hopes attached to ZERUBABEL. [p. 15]. Those passages which seem to refer to the fall of Babylon he regards as having been written by the same author at Babylon about 545 B.C.

The passages which are most certainly Babylonian are, Sellin thinks, 40:1-20; 41:2-4; 41:21-24; 41:25-42:14; 43:1-8; 43:14; 44:20-24; 45:1-13; 46:1-10; 46:11; 47:1-14 (20 f. 7). The reference in various passages to 'the former things' (41:22; 42:9; 43:21) and 'new things' (42:9; 48:6) or 'a new thing' (43:21) are contrasted 'is explained by this theory. The successes of Cyrus are the 'former things' prophesied some thirty years ago, the glorification of Israel and the accomplishment of God's purposes for the world through Zerubbabel, as the Messianic king of Israel, are the 'new things' now just being announced. When the hopes attached to Zerubbabel failed in one sense, the prophet was still able to look forward to their realisation in another (see chap. 53).

It is absolutely impossible to accept this theory as a whole. But to those who do not accept Koster's theory (that chaps. 49-55 are a later appendix to chaps. 40-48) it may seem plausible to hold that chaps. 40-55 were written at Babylon with the object of encouraging the community of Jerusalem to hope for a speedy regeneration, and of stimulating patriots in Babylon to go to Jerusalem and help forward the cause of progress. We say 'at Babylon,' because certain passages presuppose that Jerusalem is desolate, which, strictly speaking, it was not. Only a writer living at a distance from Judaea can have indulged in such idealism.

Another difficult problem relates to the four very beautiful songs on the Servant of Yahwe (42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12). It has been doubted whether these songs are exilic or post-exilic.¹ A careful exegesis, however, proves that they could be removed without material injury to their surroundings, and that the tone of thought differs from that of the prophecies among which they are placed. They must have received their present position from a later editor, who wrote 42:5-7; 49:7-9a (or 9-12), but not 50:10 f., which (cp *Intr. Is.* 302 f.) is more recent still. These passages were designed to link the songs with their prophetic framework. The inserter and editor cannot be identified with the Second Isaiah; still less was he the author of the songs. He did his work subsequently to the expansion of the original Book of the Second Isaiah; in other words, he had before him the main part of Is. 40-55.

The songs on the Servant of Yahwe have one general object—that of exhibiting the highest Israelitish ideal in accordance with law and prophecy. They are not, however, without differences among themselves, which require to be studied.

In the first three songs the Servant is 'an imaginative fusion of all the noble teachers and preachers of the Jewish religion in and after the time of Ezra,² those of whom the writer of Daniel says, "And the teachers shall shine as the splendour of the firmament, and those who make the many righteous as the stars for ever and ever" (Dan. 12:3). These the poet may have supposed to form a band, whose members would proceed in various directions to 'bring the law to the nations' (42:1). Their experiences were not uniformly favourable, but they knew that in the end their faith in the God who sent them would be rewarded.

In the fourth song, however, the conception of the Servant is somewhat modified. Looking back on the sufferings of righteous Israelites both under Babylonian and under Persian, the poet saw them irradiated by a glorious divine purpose. He fused the different nameless martyrs into one colossal form, and identified this personage with the people of Israel, not perhaps without a thought of Jeremiah, who certainly regarded himself as representing the true Israel. It would seem that the opening and closing stanzas (1-3; 14 f., see emended text in *SBOT*) were written after the description of the fortunes of the Servant as a framework to receive it.

Sellin and Koster think that this last of the songs was written by a different writer from the rest, it is the oldest of the songs according to the former critic, the most recent according to the latter. The grounds of this view do not appear to be adequate. Already in the third song there is an approach to the characteristics of the fourth, and the phraseology of the latter is much less obscure than has commonly been thought, if proper text critical methods are applied.

Cp Riddle, 'The so-called "Ebed-Yahweh Songs," etc.,' *Amer. J. Theol.*, '96, pp. 439-440. See further SERVANT OF THE LORD.

It would seem that after the insertion of the Songs in Is. 40-55, a prophetic writer did them the highest honour in his power by imitating them.

19. Soliloquies Three brief soliloquies of this ideal personage (61:1; 62:1-3; and 63:1) are introduced in chaps. 61 f. (on which see below, § 20). The writer evidently regards the Servant as a personification of the company of prophets of whom he himself is one, and gives vividness to his prophecy by introducing the Servant of Yahwe first as discoursing on his delightful mission, and then as importuning Yahwe to fulfil his promises.³

At this point the present writer may refer to the critical theory (based on an earlier one proposed in 1881 in the article 'Isaiah' in *Encyc. Bibl.*) which he put forward in *JQR*, July and Oct. '91.

He divided the work of the Second Isaiah into two books, viz. (1) chaps. 40-48, and (2) a looser collection of discourses, consisting of chaps. 49:1-52:12; 52:13-53:12 (a later insertion by the Second Isaiah), 54 f., 56:1-57:21 (beginning with a long passage from an older prophet), and 58:1-66:17. The second book, being left incomplete by the author, was well adapted to receive additions from the Sophists, or students and editors of the religious literature. Such additional passages were 56:1-4; 58 f., 63-66.

This theory was in advance of the current criticism of the time, but is now superseded by a more completely defensible theory.

Chaps. 56-66 contain no works of the Second Isaiah, but, with the possible (or probable) exception of 63:7-21, belong to nearly the same period—that of Nehemiah.

Duhm indeed assigns all these eleven chapters to a single writer of Nehemiah's age whom he calls Trito-Isaiah (as the successor of Deutero-Isaiah). The date is, on the whole, correct, so far as regards 56:1-66:17; this portion gives a vivid picture of the difficulties with which Nehemiah and Ezra encountered, and throws fresh light on the dealings of the orthodox Jews with the Samaritans. On the other hand, the view that the book has anything like literary unity, and that it is the work of one man, is not at all satisfactory. Cp Gressmann, *Leben des Jesaja*, 2^e ed., 1898, 1899; and *Verhältnisse* (1895); Lietzmann, *Leben des Jesaja*, 1898, 1899.

We may hold it to be practically certain that chaps. 60-62 were written as an appendix to chaps. 40-55; probably the original order was 61-62-60 (cp Duhm). As to 56:1-57:21, it belongs indeed to the same period

¹ So Che. *Intr. Is.* 346; but cp Duhm's commentary.

² Ed. Meyer (*1881*, *Isaiah*, 1881) recognized this, cp also Che. *Jew. Hist. Life*, 274-275, 45.

(Dan. 12:3). These the poet may have supposed to form a band, whose members would proceed in various directions to 'bring the law to the nations' (42:1). Their experiences were not uniformly favourable, but they knew that in the end their faith in the God who sent them would be rewarded.

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² Ed. Meyer (*1881*, *Isaiah*, 1881) recognized this, cp also Che. *Jew. Hist. Life*, 274-275, 45.

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as the surrounding prophecies. But it shows in a special degree the influence of Ezekiel.

We now pass to chap. 63-64 (12), which stands in many respects alone in the prophetic literature. It is at any rate later than the neighbouring prophecies, for though some illustrate it by Neh. 12, the prayer of Nehemiah there given, and his account of what he found at Jerusalem, do not correspond to such a terrible situation as we find in this strange work. That a date in the age of Nehemiah is impossible cannot indeed be said, considering how imperfect is our information. But it is more probable that the work is a fresh monument (cp on chaps. 24-27, § 13) of the oppression and persecution of the Jews by Artaxerxes Ochus. Possibly the opening verses (63-74) were added later to soften the gloom of the passage (cp Ps. 89).

For objections to this view see C. A. Smith (Hastings' *DB*, 2495), and Marti's commentary. (Marti has to account for 64:11 by making it a later addition.) The objections are not insuperable.

1. The view under consideration separates 63-64 (12) from the other compositions which make up chaps. 56-66. It is set apart already, however, by its form and contents.

2. The passage expresses a consciousness of guilt not to be found in Ps. 44-74, which, also, have been assigned to the time of Ochus. But it was possible, even after the introduction of the Law by Ezra, to take different views of the relation of the people to its God, according to the extent given to the conception of the people. The inner circle deserved to be called pious and loyal to the covenant (Ps. 44:17 [18] 79:2); but the people at large were far from corresponding exactly to this description; they were 'neither cold nor hot.'

3. In 63 is the possession of the Holy Land said to have lasted but 'a little while,' which points to an earlier part of the post-exilic period. The text, however, is notoriously doubtful. 63:18 should be emended thus (see *SBOT*, 'Isa.,' [Heb.] 202) —

Why do the wicked trample thy dwelling-place?
Our adversaries tread down thy sanctuary.

Marti's suggested emendation is hardly an improvement upon this.

4. In 64:11 [10] the temple, over the destruction of which the liturgical poet laments, is described as 'our holy and our glorious house where our fathers praised thee,' which points to the first temple. But (1) the first and the second temple are regarded by Haggar (2:9) as the same house, and can be so regarded by another writer, and (2) the second temple had no doubt been enriched by offerings from the Jews abroad before the time of Ochus (cp Zech. 5:10 f.).

5. Ps. 74 points to the conviction that prophecy has ceased in Israel. But Is. 63-64 betrays no such conviction. We must, however, be quite sure of the correctness of the text of Ps. 74:9. There is much corruption close by. 'There is no prophet any more' is, on more than one ground, to be regarded as a gloss on the corrupt reading *ym*, which should be *ym* ('sanctuary'). 'There is no longer among us any sanctuary.'

There is one alternative, no doubt. This is to suppose that the authors of Ps. 74 and 79 and of Is. 61:7, etc., threw themselves back imaginatively into the time of the Chaldean invasion. The commemorative fast-days would provide an occasion for this. (See *PSALMS*, Book 100.) This, however, is not quite such a natural view as that here adopted. One may admit that there is a general resemblance between most of the products of the later Persian period, but those which express the deepest misery can hardly find a home except in the period of the insane cruelties of that degenerate Persian king, Ochus. It is remarkable that there are parallels of thought, expression, and situation between Is. 63-64 (12) [11], and Ps. 74 and 79, to which Robertson Smith has already given this date.

To a still later time belong two outbursts of bitter animosity in 50:15 f. 66:23 f.

The final redaction of chaps. 40-66 may be placed with probability in the early part of the Greek period.

22. Redaction of chaps. 40-66. The first half of the Book of Isaiah (unless chap. 33 be of a later date) was completed between 250 and 220 B.C. (cp § 15, end), and there appears to be no reason why the second half may not have reached its final form about the same time. On the redaction of Isaiah as a whole see above, § 1 (end).

1. *Recent commentaries.* For 'college students' no better book can be recommended than Skinner's commentary in the *Cambridge Bible* (2 vols., '66, '62), with

23. Literature. which Driver's *Isaiah* (*Men of the Bible*) may be combined. For special students the commentaries of Delitzsch (4th ed., '80), Dillmann and Kiehl (6th ed. of the *Isaiah* in *KHC*, '98), Duhm in *HA* ('92), and

¹ It could not be placed in its chronological order at the end of the book because of the unmitigated gloom of the conclusion.

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Marti in *KHC* (1908) are indispensable helps; on the whole Marti's is still present the most helpful commentary; but it needs supplementing. H. G. Mitchell's *Study of Is.* 1-12 (New York, '97) is a good book for those who do not read German.

2. Among the well-known excellent introductions to the whole O.T., none is as critical from the point of view of 1908 as was that of Kuenen (*Introd.* 2 [39], German translation, '92) ten years before. One special introduction has appeared (Cheyne's *Introduction*, etc., '94; Germ. transl., '97).

3. Among dictionary articles G. A. Smith's may be specially mentioned (*Hastings' DB* 2456-4948). This writer's earlier volumes on Isaiah ('Isaiah,' in *Expositor's Bible*, two separate parts, '83, '90); stimulating as they are, are open to very much adverse criticism. (English critics have lain too much under the spell of Dillmann.) This scholar is now giving way to the force of argument (whether his point of view is quite clear, careful readers of Duhm and Marti, and of similar books on other prophets, will be able to judge). His article, however, is, together with Skinner's unpretending but learned work, one of the most hopeful signs in English Bible-study, which at present in the O.T. department is too predominantly 'moderate.' G. A. Smith's inclusion of the 'theology' of Isaiah (a bad but generally accepted term) limits the criticism somewhat unduly, and leads him into statements which are not as securely founded as one could wish. But he is true to himself, and what he says, even when critically defective, is sure to be educationally most useful. The bibliography, which occupies over two closely printed columns, is so full that it would seem like invitation to give the like here. Besides, it is really better for the student to find out bibliographical details for himself from the references contained in first-rate books. C. H. H. Wright has a learned article in Smith's *DB* 1450-1474, and Klostermann in *KHC* 6505-07. To learning Klostermann joins a singular independence of view; but he often leads the student on rough, unpassable ways.

4. *Investigations of parts of Isaiah.* Articles by H. Stade in the *ZATW* (81-'84) have left their impress on all later works (cp *Introd.* 13). Cornill, 'Die Composition des B. Jes.,' *ZATW* 433-404 [184]. Lagarde, *Semítica* ('78, pp. 1-32); critical notes on chaps. 1-17. Gieseler, *Beiträge zur Jesaiaeskritik* ('90); cp Siegfried's review, *PLZ*, '90, p. 568. We find these words in the preface, 'I can find no other epithet for Dillmann's treatment of the text but "antiquated." It cannot be right for an interpreter to put sentences into the mouth of such masters of speech as the prophets, which by the awkwardness of their form and the unnaturalness of their contents are nothing short of offensive.' Guthe, *Das Zukunfts-bild des Jes.* ('83). Winckler, *AT Untersuch.* '97; *Altorient. Forsch.* '93, etc.; J. Ley, *Histor. Erklärung des zweiten Teils des Jes.* ('93); J. Meinhold, *Die Jesaja-erzählungen Jes.* 36-39 ('93), valuable. Kömte, *The Bible's Book of Consolation* ('99), based on two articles in the *Yene Kırkiki*, 21, Nov., Dec., '98 (exegetical and controversial). Neuhauer and Driver, *The 33rd chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish interpretation*, 2 vols., '76, '77. See also ISAIAH I.; ISMAELI; MESSIAH; SERVANT OF THE LORD.

5. *Earlier works.* Among older commentators Vittinga (2 vols. fol., 1714) stands out by his exemplary thoroughness. But the reconstruction of exegesis produced his first great work in Gesenius's *Isaiah* ('20, '21); Hitzig (33), Ewald (*Die Propheten*, '40, '41; 2nd ed., '67, '68), Dillmann (4th ed. of Knobel's *Jes.* in *KHC*, '90) worthily followed. Cp Delitzsch, 30-36, where the titles of Cheyne's earlier works on Isaiah are given; Che. *Proph.* 11, 20-250; *Introd.* 11, 283-295.

6. *Text of Isaiah.* The greatest weakness in most commentaries on Isaiah is their too great dependence on the MT. Among the older exegetical scholars of our day no one has perceived this so clearly as Klostermann, as can be seen to some extent from his article in *PAE* just referred to, and still more from his indispensable work, *Deuterogesepta, Hebräisch und Deutsch, mit Anmerkungen* ('93). If the present writer's *Book of Isaiah* in *SBOT* (Heb.), '99 (cp English edition, '00) should be grouped by scholars with this little work, and with the collections of critical emendations of other able workers, it will be a recompense. For many specimens of the fine work of Seiler, Lagarde, Grätz, Duhm, etc., the reader may be referred to *SBOT*. Later results on several parts of Isaiah will be found in *Crit. Bib.*

T. K. C.

ISCAH (יִשְׁכָּה; יִשְׁכָּה [ADEL]), daughter of HARAN I. (Gen. 11:29). The strong probability is that 'the father of יִשְׁכָּה' is a variant of 'the father of יִשְׁכָּה' (similarly Ball, Gen. 50, foot). But instead of comparing Heb. *Iscah* and *Ascalus*, we can now see that יִשְׁכָּה comes from יִשְׁכָּה, which was a necessary emendation of יִשְׁכָּה. See MICAH. T. K. C.

ISCARIOT. See JUDAS ISCARIOT.

ISDAEL. RV^{ms} GIBDIL (יִסְדָּאֵל [BA]) 1 Esd. 5:9 = Ezra 2:56 GIBDIL, 2.

ISHBAAL (יִשְׁבָּאֵל or יִשְׁבָּאֵל, §§ 20, 31, 42, *Is.* man of Baal [= Yahwe]; cp the Greek forms *εἰσβααλ* [end of 1], *ισβααλ* [end of 2], also the form *ΕΙΣΒΑΛ* *יִשְׁבָּאֵל*, in MT of 1 Ch. 8:11939; ACABAA, *ισβααλ* [1] *ισβααλ*, BAAAL-A] *ισβααλ* [1, N in 939]).

1. Most critics hold that the true name of Saul's

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successor was, not Ishbosheth (אִישְׁבוֹשֶׁתַּיִל אֶבְיָא), but Ishbaal, and they account for the form Ishbosheth ('man of shame' = i.e. of the shameful idol), and for the faulty pronunciation Ishbaal by religious scruple, see Hos. 2:16 [12] f., and cp Hos 9:10 for 1:11 and 6 of 1 K 18:21, see also JERUSALEM; MERTHAAL. Bosheth for Baal gratifies the love of alliteration.

ii. Jastrow thinks that Bosheth in Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth is a distortion of Besheth, which is the name of a Babylonian deity, as inferred from such names as Mithabai, 'man of Bati,' and suggests that Bati ('powerful' = cp *Batta*, *Isa* 1:26, 57:5) may have been a designation of the consort of Baal (*JBL*, 94, p. 19 ff.).

iii. There is, however, still another explanation which may seem to avoid some of the difficulties of both these views (see MERTHAAL).

i. The youngest son of Saul,¹ and, under the title of ANSER [γ r], his successor. His authority is said to have extended over 'Gilead, the ASHTURITES (Asherites? Geshurites?), Jezreel, Ephraim, Benjamin, and (in fact) all Israel' except Judah (2 S. 20:1-6). That his capital was fixed at Mahanaim on the E. of the Jordan shows that Saul's house felt itself safer in Gilead² than within reach of the Philistines, unless indeed we suppose with Winckler that Ishbaal was gradually pushed by the conquering David into trans-jordanic territory. So much at all events is certain, that Ishbaal was a political nonentity; the true chief of the house of Saul was Abner. Ishbosheth or Ishbaal was too young for his position (the statement as to his age in 2 S. 2:10 implies a wrong chronological scheme), and equally devoid of shrewdness and courage. The precise amount of truth in the story of the dispute concerning Rizpah (2 S. 37:12) cannot be determined; Winckler indeed hazards the conjecture that Abner murdered Ishbaal in the hope of becoming king himself. The tradition or legend, however, ascribes Ishbaal's death to two of his captains. But the story is difficult. To a man 'reckoned' as belonging to the same tribe as themselves (see IHEROTH BENJAMIN, § 3), who had also, when they came upon him, the sacredness attaching to a sleeper (see DAVID, § 11, col. 1032, n. 2, and who was 'above all' the anointed of Yahweh), they dealt a fatal blow (2 S. 4:2-7).³

A plausible explanation has been given by Ewald (*Hist.* 3:113-136). The two reputed Benjamites may have been descendants of the Canaanites, and have had to flee to GITTAIM (גִּתַּיִם) from the Canaanish town of Beeroth, when Saul put to death the Gibeonites' (2 S. 4:3, cp 21:2). The murder of Ishbaal would in this case be the performance of the sacred duty of avenging bloodshed.⁴

The Greek forms of the name are *Ἰσβαθίς* [Jos.], *Ἰσβαθῆς* [B], *Ἰσβαθαί* [A], *Ἰσβαλ* [cod. 91; Aq., Symm., Theod.]. In 2 S. 3:7 occurs the old reading *μεμφιβαθῆς* [B], *βαί* [A], but *Ἰσβαθῆς* [A] at in 3:7 and 4:10; *Ἰσβαλ* [Aq., Symm., Theod.]. If the view maintained elsewhere (MERTHAAL) be adopted, the form 'Ishbosheth' has a better claim to be adopted than Ishbaal.

2. Either Ishbosheth (or a name which may underlie Ishbosheth; see MERTHAAL) or Ishbaal seems to be the true name of the first hero on the list of David's mighty men, which is to be restored in 2 S. 238 1 Ch. 11:1 (see JASTROW). If we may follow the prevalent theory, Ishbaal is to be preferred; but in either case the name of David's hero has undergone a strange transformation. Anticipating the explanation given

¹ Another corruption of the name appears to occur in *Isuvi* [γ r], in 1 S. 14:4.

² W. G. (Gen. 4:21) ff. has tried to make out that Saul was really a Gileadite of Jabesh who conquered the tribe of Benjamin, which had previously had the leadership of N. Israel on this side of the Jordan. But see *BARC*.

³ The scene is vividly represented in B, which in v. 6 is to be preferred to M (Driver, Budde, H. P. Smith, etc.).

⁴ It should be observed, however, that 2 S. 4:2, 3 is a marginal gloss of uncertain age and authority (We. *IBS* 164). It has been suggested that David's treatment of the two captains is in a line with his treatment of the Amalekites who slew Saul, 2 S. 1:4. But is this tradition to be trusted? See *SAC*, ISRAEL, § 16; cp W. G. *Gen.* n. 195 f.

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under Ishbosheth (see JASTROW) we may remark (1) that out of the final *h* in *Ishbosheth* 'shame' = *Ishal*, combined with *h* from *ben* ('son of'), a syllable *hsh* has been produced in M of 2 S. (the letters being transposed), thus completing *Ishbosheth* (cp RV, 12) that the final *j* in (2) having been dropped, the initial *s* in *Ἰσβαθῆς* ('the Hachmonite') has been corrupted into *h*, thus producing the otherwise unknown word *Ἰσβαθῆς* (RV 'a Hachmonite'); and (3) that the name of the warrior's father can be supplied from 1 Ch. 27:1. On the third point, notice the similar designations of Eleazar and Shamamah in 2 S. 23:11 (and cp Budde, *SBOT*, ad loc.; Marq. *Fund.* 15 f.).

The corruption, however, of this passage reaches still further. In 2 S. we are told that the hero was 'chief of the captains' (so EV), from the sequel, however, it is clear that we should, with Wellhausen, read *ἡνὶ ἑκ τῶν*, 'chief of the three' (cp v. 17, 'these things did the three mighty men'). The 'three' was in fact the title of David's noblest heroes, next to whom came the 'thirty' (see DAVID, § 114, ABISHAI). The verse continues most unobscurely with three meaningless words, for a probable restoration of which see ABISHAI. At the close we hear of '800 slain at once.' In 1 Ch. the number is put at 300; but the reading '800' (which B¹ both in Sam. and in Ch. increases to 600) is supported by the obvious fact that it was by outdoing Abishai (cp v. 15) that Ishbaal obtained the first place. The account of Ishbaal in 2 S. 23:8 should therefore most probably be read thus

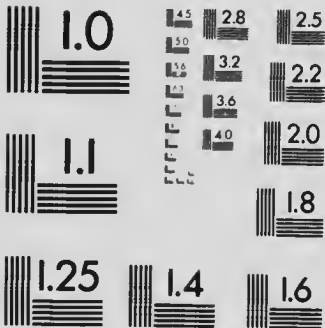
'Ishbaal, son of Zabiel, a Hachmonite, chief of the three. He brandished his spear against 800 men, slain at one time' (B¹).

The Greek renderings are *Ἰσβαθῆς υἱὸς Ἀχμονίου* [Jos., Ant. vii. 124], in S. *Ἰσβαθῆς* [Ἰσβαθαί] [A], *Ἰσβαλ* [B], *Ἰσβαλ* [C], *Ἰσβαλ* [D], *Ἰσβαλ* [E], *Ἰσβαλ* [F], *Ἰσβαλ* [G], *Ἰσβαλ* [H], *Ἰσβαλ* [I], *Ἰσβαλ* [J], *Ἰσβαλ* [K], *Ἰσβαλ* [L], *Ἰσβαλ* [M], *Ἰσβαλ* [N], *Ἰσβαλ* [O], *Ἰσβαλ* [P], *Ἰσβαλ* [Q], *Ἰσβαλ* [R], *Ἰσβαλ* [S], *Ἰσβαλ* [T], *Ἰσβαλ* [U], *Ἰσβαλ* [V], *Ἰσβαλ* [W], *Ἰσβαλ* [X], *Ἰσβαλ* [Y], *Ἰσβαλ* [Z], *Ἰσβαλ* [aa], *Ἰσβαλ* [ab], *Ἰσβαλ* [ac], *Ἰσβαλ* [ad], *Ἰσβαλ* [ae], *Ἰσβαλ* [af], *Ἰσβαλ* [ag], *Ἰσβαλ* [ah], *Ἰσβαλ* [ai], *Ἰσβαλ* [aj], *Ἰσβαλ* [ak], *Ἰσβαλ* [al], *Ἰσβαλ* [am], *Ἰσβαλ* [an], *Ἰσβαλ* [ao], *Ἰσβαλ* [ap], *Ἰσβαλ* [aq], *Ἰσβαλ* [ar], *Ἰσβαλ* [as], *Ἰσβαλ* [at], *Ἰσβαλ* [au], *Ἰσβαλ* [av], *Ἰσβαλ* [aw], *Ἰσβαλ* [ax], *Ἰσβαλ* [ay], *Ἰσβαλ* [az], *Ἰσβαλ* [ba], *Ἰσβαλ* [bb], *Ἰσβαλ* [bc], *Ἰσβαλ* [bd], *Ἰσβαλ* [be], *Ἰσβαλ* [bf], *Ἰσβαλ* [bg], *Ἰσβαλ* [bh], *Ἰσβαλ* [bi], *Ἰσβαλ* [bj], *Ἰσβαλ* [bk], *Ἰσβαλ* [bl], *Ἰσβαλ* [bm], *Ἰσβαλ* [bn], *Ἰσβαλ* [bo], *Ἰσβαλ* [bp], *Ἰσβαλ* [bq], *Ἰσβαλ* [br], *Ἰσβαλ* [bs], *Ἰσβαλ* [bt], *Ἰσβαλ* [bu], *Ἰσβαλ* [bv], *Ἰσβαλ* [bw], *Ἰσβαλ* [bx], *Ἰσβαλ* [by], *Ἰσβαλ* [bz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ca], *Ἰσβαλ* [cb], *Ἰσβαλ* [cc], *Ἰσβαλ* [cd], *Ἰσβαλ* [ce], *Ἰσβαλ* [cf], *Ἰσβαλ* [cg], *Ἰσβαλ* [ch], *Ἰσβαλ* [ci], *Ἰσβαλ* [cj], *Ἰσβαλ* [ck], *Ἰσβαλ* [cl], *Ἰσβαλ* [cm], *Ἰσβαλ* [cn], *Ἰσβαλ* [co], *Ἰσβαλ* [cp], *Ἰσβαλ* [cq], *Ἰσβαλ* [cr], *Ἰσβαλ* [cs], *Ἰσβαλ* [ct], *Ἰσβαλ* [cu], *Ἰσβαλ* [cv], *Ἰσβαλ* [cw], *Ἰσβαλ* [cx], *Ἰσβαλ* [cy], *Ἰσβαλ* [cz], *Ἰσβαλ* [da], *Ἰσβαλ* [db], *Ἰσβαλ* [dc], *Ἰσβαλ* [dd], *Ἰσβαλ* [de], *Ἰσβαλ* [df], *Ἰσβαλ* [dg], *Ἰσβαλ* [dh], *Ἰσβαλ* [di], *Ἰσβαλ* [dj], *Ἰσβαλ* [dk], *Ἰσβαλ* [dl], *Ἰσβαλ* [dm], *Ἰσβαλ* [dn], *Ἰσβαλ* [do], *Ἰσβαλ* [dp], *Ἰσβαλ* [dq], *Ἰσβαλ* [dr], *Ἰσβαλ* [ds], *Ἰσβαλ* [dt], *Ἰσβαλ* [du], *Ἰσβαλ* [dv], *Ἰσβαλ* [dw], *Ἰσβαλ* [dx], *Ἰσβαλ* [dy], *Ἰσβαλ* [dz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ea], *Ἰσβαλ* [eb], *Ἰσβαλ* [ec], *Ἰσβαλ* [ed], *Ἰσβαλ* [ee], *Ἰσβαλ* [ef], *Ἰσβαλ* [eg], *Ἰσβαλ* [eh], *Ἰσβαλ* [ei], *Ἰσβαλ* [ej], *Ἰσβαλ* [ek], *Ἰσβαλ* [el], *Ἰσβαλ* [em], *Ἰσβαλ* [en], *Ἰσβαλ* [eo], *Ἰσβαλ* [ep], *Ἰσβαλ* [eq], *Ἰσβαλ* [er], *Ἰσβαλ* [es], *Ἰσβαλ* [et], *Ἰσβαλ* [eu], *Ἰσβαλ* [ev], *Ἰσβαλ* [ew], *Ἰσβαλ* [ex], *Ἰσβαλ* [ey], *Ἰσβαλ* [ez], *Ἰσβαλ* [fa], *Ἰσβαλ* [fb], *Ἰσβαλ* [fc], *Ἰσβαλ* [fd], *Ἰσβαλ* [fe], *Ἰσβαλ* [ff], *Ἰσβαλ* [fg], *Ἰσβαλ* [fh], *Ἰσβαλ* [fi], *Ἰσβαλ* [fj], *Ἰσβαλ* [fk], *Ἰσβαλ* [fl], *Ἰσβαλ* [fm], *Ἰσβαλ* [fn], *Ἰσβαλ* [fo], *Ἰσβαλ* [fp], *Ἰσβαλ* [fq], *Ἰσβαλ* [fr], *Ἰσβαλ* [fs], *Ἰσβαλ* [ft], *Ἰσβαλ* [fu], *Ἰσβαλ* [fv], *Ἰσβαλ* [fw], *Ἰσβαλ* [fx], *Ἰσβαλ* [fy], *Ἰσβαλ* [fz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ga], *Ἰσβαλ* [gb], *Ἰσβαλ* [gc], *Ἰσβαλ* [gd], *Ἰσβαλ* [ge], *Ἰσβαλ* [gf], *Ἰσβαλ* [gg], *Ἰσβαλ* [gh], *Ἰσβαλ* [gi], *Ἰσβαλ* [gj], *Ἰσβαλ* [gk], *Ἰσβαλ* [gl], *Ἰσβαλ* [gm], *Ἰσβαλ* [gn], *Ἰσβαλ* [go], *Ἰσβαλ* [gp], *Ἰσβαλ* [gq], *Ἰσβαλ* [gr], *Ἰσβαλ* [gs], *Ἰσβαλ* [gt], *Ἰσβαλ* [gu], *Ἰσβαλ* [gv], *Ἰσβαλ* [gw], *Ἰσβαλ* [gx], *Ἰσβαλ* [gy], *Ἰσβαλ* [gz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ha], *Ἰσβαλ* [hb], *Ἰσβαλ* [hc], *Ἰσβαλ* [hd], *Ἰσβαλ* [he], *Ἰσβαλ* [hf], *Ἰσβαλ* [hg], *Ἰσβαλ* [hi], *Ἰσβαλ* [hj], *Ἰσβαλ* [hk], *Ἰσβαλ* [hl], *Ἰσβαλ* [hm], *Ἰσβαλ* [hn], *Ἰσβαλ* [ho], *Ἰσβαλ* [hp], *Ἰσβαλ* [hq], *Ἰσβαλ* [hr], *Ἰσβαλ* [hs], *Ἰσβαλ* [ht], *Ἰσβαλ* [hu], *Ἰσβαλ* [hv], *Ἰσβαλ* [hw], *Ἰσβαλ* [hx], *Ἰσβαλ* [hy], *Ἰσβαλ* [hz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ia], *Ἰσβαλ* [ib], *Ἰσβαλ* [ic], *Ἰσβαλ* [id], *Ἰσβαλ* [ie], *Ἰσβαλ* [if], *Ἰσβαλ* [ig], *Ἰσβαλ* [ih], *Ἰσβαλ* [ii], *Ἰσβαλ* [ij], *Ἰσβαλ* [ik], *Ἰσβαλ* [il], *Ἰσβαλ* [im], *Ἰσβαλ* [in], *Ἰσβαλ* [io], *Ἰσβαλ* [ip], *Ἰσβαλ* [iq], *Ἰσβαλ* [ir], *Ἰσβαλ* [is], *Ἰσβαλ* [it], *Ἰσβαλ* [iu], *Ἰσβαλ* [iv], *Ἰσβαλ* [iw], *Ἰσβαλ* [ix], *Ἰσβαλ* [iy], *Ἰσβαλ* [iz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ja], *Ἰσβαλ* [jb], *Ἰσβαλ* [jc], *Ἰσβαλ* [jd], *Ἰσβαλ* [je], *Ἰσβαλ* [jf], *Ἰσβαλ* [jg], *Ἰσβαλ* [jh], *Ἰσβαλ* [ji], *Ἰσβαλ* [jj], *Ἰσβαλ* [jk], *Ἰσβαλ* [jl], *Ἰσβαλ* [jm], *Ἰσβαλ* [jn], *Ἰσβαλ* [jo], *Ἰσβαλ* [jp], *Ἰσβαλ* [jq], *Ἰσβαλ* [jr], *Ἰσβαλ* [js], *Ἰσβαλ* [jt], *Ἰσβαλ* [ju], *Ἰσβαλ* [jv], *Ἰσβαλ* [jw], *Ἰσβαλ* [jx], *Ἰσβαλ* [jy], *Ἰσβαλ* [jz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ka], *Ἰσβαλ* [kb], *Ἰσβαλ* [kc], *Ἰσβαλ* [kd], *Ἰσβαλ* [ke], *Ἰσβαλ* [kf], *Ἰσβαλ* [kg], *Ἰσβαλ* [kh], *Ἰσβαλ* [ki], *Ἰσβαλ* [kj], *Ἰσβαλ* [kl], *Ἰσβαλ* [km], *Ἰσβαλ* [kn], *Ἰσβαλ* [ko], *Ἰσβαλ* [kp], *Ἰσβαλ* [kq], *Ἰσβαλ* [kr], *Ἰσβαλ* [ks], *Ἰσβαλ* [kt], *Ἰσβαλ* [ku], *Ἰσβαλ* [kv], *Ἰσβαλ* [kw], *Ἰσβαλ* [kx], *Ἰσβαλ* [ky], *Ἰσβαλ* [kz], *Ἰσβαλ* [la], *Ἰσβαλ* [lb], *Ἰσβαλ* [lc], *Ἰσβαλ* [ld], *Ἰσβαλ* [le], *Ἰσβαλ* [lf], *Ἰσβαλ* [lg], *Ἰσβαλ* [lh], *Ἰσβαλ* [li], *Ἰσβαλ* [lj], *Ἰσβαλ* [lk], *Ἰσβαλ* [ll], *Ἰσβαλ* [lm], *Ἰσβαλ* [ln], *Ἰσβαλ* [lo], *Ἰσβαλ* [lp], *Ἰσβαλ* [lq], *Ἰσβαλ* [lr], *Ἰσβαλ* [ls], *Ἰσβαλ* [lt], *Ἰσβαλ* [lu], *Ἰσβαλ* [lv], *Ἰσβαλ* [lw], *Ἰσβαλ* [lx], *Ἰσβαλ* [ly], *Ἰσβαλ* [lz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ma], *Ἰσβαλ* [mb], *Ἰσβαλ* [mc], *Ἰσβαλ* [md], *Ἰσβαλ* [me], *Ἰσβαλ* [mf], *Ἰσβαλ* [mg], *Ἰσβαλ* [mh], *Ἰσβαλ* [mi], *Ἰσβαλ* [mj], *Ἰσβαλ* [mk], *Ἰσβαλ* [ml], *Ἰσβαλ* [mn], *Ἰσβαλ* [mo], *Ἰσβαλ* [mp], *Ἰσβαλ* [mq], *Ἰσβαλ* [mr], *Ἰσβαλ* [ms], *Ἰσβαλ* [mt], *Ἰσβαλ* [mu], *Ἰσβαλ* [mv], *Ἰσβαλ* [mw], *Ἰσβαλ* [mx], *Ἰσβαλ* [my], *Ἰσβαλ* [mz], *Ἰσβαλ* [na], *Ἰσβαλ* [nb], *Ἰσβαλ* [nc], *Ἰσβαλ* [nd], *Ἰσβαλ* [ne], *Ἰσβαλ* [nf], *Ἰσβαλ* [ng], *Ἰσβαλ* [nh], *Ἰσβαλ* [ni], *Ἰσβαλ* [nj], *Ἰσβαλ* [nk], *Ἰσβαλ* [nl], *Ἰσβαλ* [nm], *Ἰσβαλ* [nn], *Ἰσβαλ* [no], *Ἰσβαλ* [np], *Ἰσβαλ* [nq], *Ἰσβαλ* [nr], *Ἰσβαλ* [ns], *Ἰσβαλ* [nt], *Ἰσβαλ* [nu], *Ἰσβαλ* [nv], *Ἰσβαλ* [nw], *Ἰσβαλ* [nx], *Ἰσβαλ* [ny], *Ἰσβαλ* [nz], *Ἰσβαλ* [oa], *Ἰσβαλ* [ob], *Ἰσβαλ* [oc], *Ἰσβαλ* [od], *Ἰσβαλ* [oe], *Ἰσβαλ* [of], *Ἰσβαλ* [og], *Ἰσβαλ* [oh], *Ἰσβαλ* [oi], *Ἰσβαλ* [oj], *Ἰσβαλ* [ok], *Ἰσβαλ* [ol], *Ἰσβαλ* [om], *Ἰσβαλ* [on], *Ἰσβαλ* [oo], *Ἰσβαλ* [op], *Ἰσβαλ* [oq], *Ἰσβαλ* [or], *Ἰσβαλ* [os], *Ἰσβαλ* [ot], *Ἰσβαλ* [ou], *Ἰσβαλ* [ov], *Ἰσβαλ* [ow], *Ἰσβαλ* [ox], *Ἰσβαλ* [oy], *Ἰσβαλ* [oz], *Ἰσβαλ* [pa], *Ἰσβαλ* [pb], *Ἰσβαλ* [pc], *Ἰσβαλ* [pd], *Ἰσβαλ* [pe], *Ἰσβαλ* [pf], *Ἰσβαλ* [pg], *Ἰσβαλ* [ph], *Ἰσβαλ* [pi], *Ἰσβαλ* [pj], *Ἰσβαλ* [pk], *Ἰσβαλ* [pl], *Ἰσβαλ* [pm], *Ἰσβαλ* [pn], *Ἰσβαλ* [po], *Ἰσβαλ* [pp], *Ἰσβαλ* [pq], *Ἰσβαλ* [pr], *Ἰσβαλ* [ps], *Ἰσβαλ* [pt], *Ἰσβαλ* [pu], *Ἰσβαλ* [pv], *Ἰσβαλ* [pw], *Ἰσβαλ* [px], *Ἰσβαλ* [py], *Ἰσβαλ* [pz], *Ἰσβαλ* [qa], *Ἰσβαλ* [qb], *Ἰσβαλ* [qc], *Ἰσβαλ* [qd], *Ἰσβαλ* [qe], *Ἰσβαλ* [qf], *Ἰσβαλ* [qg], *Ἰσβαλ* [qh], *Ἰσβαλ* [qi], *Ἰσβαλ* [qj], *Ἰσβαλ* [qk], *Ἰσβαλ* [ql], *Ἰσβαλ* [qm], *Ἰσβαλ* [qn], *Ἰσβαλ* [qo], *Ἰσβαλ* [qp], *Ἰσβαλ* [qq], *Ἰσβαλ* [qr], *Ἰσβαλ* [qs], *Ἰσβαλ* [qt], *Ἰσβαλ* [qu], *Ἰσβαλ* [qv], *Ἰσβαλ* [qw], *Ἰσβαλ* [qx], *Ἰσβαλ* [qy], *Ἰσβαλ* [qz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ra], *Ἰσβαλ* [rb], *Ἰσβαλ* [rc], *Ἰσβαλ* [rd], *Ἰσβαλ* [re], *Ἰσβαλ* [rf], *Ἰσβαλ* [rg], *Ἰσβαλ* [rh], *Ἰσβαλ* [ri], *Ἰσβαλ* [rj], *Ἰσβαλ* [rk], *Ἰσβαλ* [rl], *Ἰσβαλ* [rm], *Ἰσβαλ* [rn], *Ἰσβαλ* [ro], *Ἰσβαλ* [rp], *Ἰσβαλ* [rq], *Ἰσβαλ* [rr], *Ἰσβαλ* [rs], *Ἰσβαλ* [rt], *Ἰσβαλ* [ru], *Ἰσβαλ* [rv], *Ἰσβαλ* [rw], *Ἰσβαλ* [rx], *Ἰσβαλ* [ry], *Ἰσβαλ* [rz], *Ἰσβαλ* [sa], *Ἰσβαλ* [sb], *Ἰσβαλ* [sc], *Ἰσβαλ* [sd], *Ἰσβαλ* [se], *Ἰσβαλ* [sf], *Ἰσβαλ* [sg], *Ἰσβαλ* [sh], *Ἰσβαλ* [si], *Ἰσβαλ* [sj], *Ἰσβαλ* [sk], *Ἰσβαλ* [sl], *Ἰσβαλ* [sm], *Ἰσβαλ* [sn], *Ἰσβαλ* [so], *Ἰσβαλ* [sp], *Ἰσβαλ* [sq], *Ἰσβαλ* [sr], *Ἰσβαλ* [ss], *Ἰσβαλ* [st], *Ἰσβαλ* [su], *Ἰσβαλ* [sv], *Ἰσβαλ* [sw], *Ἰσβαλ* [sx], *Ἰσβαλ* [sy], *Ἰσβαλ* [sz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ta], *Ἰσβαλ* [tb], *Ἰσβαλ* [tc], *Ἰσβαλ* [td], *Ἰσβαλ* [te], *Ἰσβαλ* [tf], *Ἰσβαλ* [tg], *Ἰσβαλ* [th], *Ἰσβαλ* [ti], *Ἰσβαλ* [tj], *Ἰσβαλ* [tk], *Ἰσβαλ* [tl], *Ἰσβαλ* [tm], *Ἰσβαλ* [tn], *Ἰσβαλ* [to], *Ἰσβαλ* [tp], *Ἰσβαλ* [tq], *Ἰσβαλ* [tr], *Ἰσβαλ* [ts], *Ἰσβαλ* [tt], *Ἰσβαλ* [tu], *Ἰσβαλ* [tv], *Ἰσβαλ* [tw], *Ἰσβαλ* [tx], *Ἰσβαλ* [ty], *Ἰσβαλ* [tz], *Ἰσβαλ* [ua], *Ἰσβαλ* [ub], *Ἰσβαλ* [uc], *Ἰσβαλ* [ud], *Ἰσβαλ* [ue], *Ἰσβαλ* [uf], *Ἰσβαλ* [ug], *Ἰσβαλ* [uh], *Ἰσβαλ* [ui], *Ἰσβαλ* [uj], *Ἰσβαλ* [uk], *Ἰσβαλ* [ul], *Ἰσβαλ* [um], *Ἰσβαλ* [un], *Ἰσβαλ* [uo], *Ἰσβαλ* [up], *Ἰσβαλ* [uq], *Ἰσβαλ* [ur], *Ἰσβαλ* [us], *Ἰσβαλ* [ut], *Ἰσβαλ* [uu], *Ἰσβαλ* [uv], *Ἰσβαλ* [uw], *Ἰσβαλ* [ux], *Ἰσβαλ* [uy], *Ἰσβαλ* [uz], *Ἰσβαλ* [va], *Ἰσβαλ* [vb], *Ἰσβαλ* [vc], *Ἰσβαλ* [vd], *Ἰσβαλ* [ve], *Ἰσβαλ* [vf], *Ἰσβαλ* [vg], *Ἰσβαλ* [vh], *Ἰσβαλ* [vi], *Ἰσβαλ* [vj], *Ἰσβαλ* [vk], *Ἰσβαλ* [vl], *Ἰσβαλ* [vm], *Ἰσβαλ* [vn], *Ἰσβαλ* [vo], *Ἰσβαλ* [vp], *Ἰσβαλ* [vq], *Ἰσβαλ* [vr], *Ἰσβαλ* [vs], *Ἰσβαλ* [vt], *Ἰσβαλ* [vu], *Ἰσβαλ* [vv], *Ἰσβαλ* [vw], *Ἰσβαλ* [vx], *Ἰσβαλ* [vy], *Ἰσβαλ* [vz], *Ἰσβαλ* [wa], *Ἰσβαλ* [wb], *Ἰσβαλ* [wc], *Ἰσβαλ* [wd], *Ἰσβαλ* [we], *Ἰσβαλ* [wf], *Ἰσβαλ* [wg], *Ἰσβαλ* [wh], *Ἰσβαλ* [wi], *Ἰσβαλ* [wj], *Ἰσβαλ* [wk], *Ἰσβαλ* [wl], *Ἰσβαλ* [wm], *Ἰσβαλ* [wn], *Ἰσβαλ* [wo], *Ἰσβαλ* [wp], *Ἰσβαλ* [wq], *Ἰσβαλ* [wr], *Ἰσβαλ* [ws], *Ἰσβαλ* [wt], *Ἰσβαλ* [wu], *Ἰσβαλ* [wv], *Ἰσβαλ* [ww], *Ἰσβαλ* [wx], *Ἰσβαλ* [wy], *Ἰσβαλ* [wz], *Ἰσβαλ* [xa], *Ἰσβαλ* [xb], *Ἰσβαλ* [xc], *Ἰσβαλ* [xd], *Ἰσβαλ* [xe], *Ἰσβαλ* [xf], *Ἰσβαλ* [xg], *Ἰσβαλ* [xh], *Ἰσβαλ* [xi], *Ἰσβαλ* [xj], *Ἰσβαλ* [xk], *Ἰσβαλ* [xl], *Ἰσβαλ* [xm], *Ἰσβαλ* [xn], *Ἰσβαλ* [xo], *Ἰσβαλ</*



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ISHBOSHETH

his men) tarried in Nob'; they should be replaced either after **וְעִם** 'with him,' or before **וְעִם** (1. 15). The latter position is that recommended by Kittel (Kan. 118), who, appealing to the *δαδον-νίος* of **דָּוִד** (see below), finds in **וְעִם** (end of 1. 15), pronounced **וְעִם**, the name of David's antagonist. At any rate it seems plain that the words rendered 'and Ishbi benob' should rather be read 'and tarried in Nob,' unless indeed we boldly correct 'Nob' into 'Gob,' and 'Gob' into **רִיחוֹבוֹת** [7. 1].

Wellhausen, Kittel, and Biddle read 'Gob' for 'Nob,' comparing **וְעִם** 13. 10. M.F. This is either too much or too little. We know of no place called 'Gob,' but we do know of 'Nob.' It remains worthy of consideration, however, whether the bold step mentioned above would not really be a proof of true critical circumspection.

If 'Nob' is correct it may mean the place called Nobe by Jer. and now known as *Bet Naba*, which is on an old road from Ramleh to Jerusalem, a little to the NE. of Ajalon and some 13 m. NW. of Jerusalem. Though really more than 700 ft. above the sea-level, it lies on flat ground. Twice in 1192 Richard I. stayed here with his army, nor can it be denied that it was a natural place for David and his men coming from Jerusalem (see DAVID) to tarry in, awaiting the Philistines (12. 15 f.). **וְעִם** *καὶ ἐξελήλυθ' δαυὶδ καὶ δάδον νίος ἰωάβ κ. τ. λ.* Pesh. has, 'and David and Joab and Abishai feared the giant'.

ISHBOSHETH (אִישְׁבוֹשֶׁת), 2 S. 28. 7. 41. f. FV (following MT). See ISHBAAL, 1; MEFIBOSHETH.

ISH-HAI, the son of (בֶּן-יִשְׁחַי), **Ἰσὺ ἱεσσαί** [1. 1], a title of BENAMIT (7. 1), in 2 S. 23. 20 RV^{ms}—*Hai* is a fragment of *Hail* ('valour'); the lost letter is supplied in the Kr. (יִשְׁחַיִּים), with which 1 Ch. 11. 22 (Ἰσὺ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ [BAL.]) agrees, and which FV follows. 'The son of a valiant man' (FV), however, is only half right; **בֶּן** 'son (of),' which was added by a scribe's error, should be omitted with **אִישׁ** (*ἀνὴρ* *αἰσός*—i.e., [אִישׁ] *אִישׁ*, unless *αἰσός* is a corruption of *δυνατός*). After all, it may be best to read **אִישׁ יִשְׁחַי** **בֶּן** 'son of a Jerahmeelite of Kabzeel' (Che.).

ISHHOD (אִישְׁחֹד), 1 Ch. 7. 13 RV, AV ISHOD (7. 1).

ISHI (אִישִׁי), in mg. of FV rendered 'my husband' (so **אִישִׁי** *ο ἀνὴρ μου*), the antithesis to Bath (11os. 2. 16 [18]). See HOSEA, § 6.

ISHI (אִישִׁי), § 51, abbrev. from ISAIAM (?); **עֵשֶׂי** [13], **יעֵשֶׂי** [A].

1. A Jerahmeelite, representing the sons of Appaim, 1 Ch. 2. 31 (*ισαμια* [B], *ισσαοι* [L]). See J RAMMEEL, § 20.

2. Mentioned in a Judahite genealogy; 1 Ch. 4. 20 (עֵשֶׂי [A], *ισσαι* [L]).

3. Mentioned in a Simeonite genealogy; 1 Ch. 4. 42 (*ισσθες* [B], *ισσוע* [L]).

4. A Manassite, 1 Ch. 5. 24 (*ισσוע* [L]).

ISHIAH (אִישִׁיָּה), 1 Ch. 7. 3; RV ISHIAH, 1.

ISHIJAH (אִישִׁיָּה), Ezra 10. 31. AV. See ISHIAH, 5.

ISHMA (אִשְׁמָא), § 51, abbrev. from ISHMAEL (?), an obscure place- or family-name in 1 Ch. 4. 34 (*ραγμα* [B], *יעμα* [A], *καμαα* *ραδαβαα* [L]).

ISHMAEL (אִשְׁמָאֵל), 'El hears'; [ε] **ΙCMAHA** [BADEL] and ISHMAELITES, ISHMEELITE, 1 Ch. 2. 17

1. Position. AV (אִשְׁמָאֵל), **ΙCMAHA** [ε] **ΙCMAHA** [BADEL].

1. Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar (7. 1), is the personification of a group of tribes who were regarded as near kinsmen of the Israelites.

Their wild mode of life is admirably portrayed in the account of their ancestor—'he shall be as a wild-ass among men; his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell (as a dangerous enemy) over against all his brethren' (Gen. 16. 12). Another passage states only that Ishmael dwelt in the desert and was an archer (Gen. 21. 20).

According to some statements the home, or original abode, of Ishmael was the wilderness to the S. of Palestine as far as the frontier of Egypt. When Hagar

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is driven forth together with her child Ishmael, an angel appears to her in the desert of Beersheba (Gen. 21. 14). The other account places the appearance of the angel 'between Kadesh and Bered' (Gen. 16. 14). BERED (7. 1) is obscure; but the site of Kadesh (*Ein Kadiar*) is no longer doubtful (see KADESH, 1. § 1). The statement in Gen. 16. 14 agrees with the passage which represents Ishmael as dwelling in the wilderness of Paran (Gen. 21. 21)—i.e., the N. part of the Sinaitic peninsula. His mother was an Egyptian (Gen. 16. 3. 25. 12; cp MIZRAIM, § 24). The corresponding word in another account (Gen. 21. 6) may perhaps be a harmonistic addition by the compiler; the same narrative, however, mentions that Ishmael's mother took him a wife out of Egypt (7. 21). On the other hand Esau, the ancestor of the Edomites, marries a daughter of Ishmael (Gen. 28. 36. 3); in both passages she is expressly designated as the sister of Nebaioth, Ishmael's firstborn; but whilst in the former passage she is called Mahalath, she bears in the latter the name of Basemath. In Gen. 26. 34, however, Basemath is another wife of Esau. How this confusion is to be explained we cannot say; but it seems clear at least that the references to Ishmael's connection with Egypt on the one side and with Edom on the other, accord with the geographical position of the Ishmaelites in the N. of the Sinai desert. This, moreover, is the region explicitly assigned to them in Gen. 25. 13, though there we read that their domain extended much further in the direction of Arabia, for such is doubtless the meaning of the phrase 'from Havilah,' whatever uncertainty there may be as to the precise position of HAVILAH (7. 1), or as to the author's conception of it. The idea that the Ishmaelites were actually spread over this wide territory agrees with all that can be ascertained respecting the 'sons' of Ishmael.

According to Gen. 25. 13 f. (= 1 Ch. 1. 29 f.) Ishmael had twelve sons; these are to be regarded as eponyms of tribes or localities. In this case we

2. 'Twelve sons.' have even less right to attach a strictly literal sense to the number twelve than in the case of the twelve sons of Israel (cp ISRAEL, § 2. GENEALOGIES, 1. § 5). Nor is it possible to ascertain whether at any time there were twelve tribes forming some kind of religious confederation under the name of Ishmael—i.e., 'God hears'—or whether the tribe of Ishmael, in consequence of its superiority, came to be regarded as the father of several smaller tribes, or whether, finally, this classification be due to some other cause.

That the genealogy cannot be treated as the expression of a fixed political system is abundantly clear from the fact that in an ancient narrative (Judg. 8. 24) the Midianites are reckoned among the Ishmaelites, whereas, according to the genealogical lists in Genesis, Midian was a step-brother of Ishmael.

The name of Ishmael must have played a considerable part in very ancient times. Soon, however, it fell completely into the background. In 1 Ch. 27. 30 the chief overseer of David's camels is the

3. References. Ishmaelite Obil, which may be plausibly explained as a Hebrew, or specifically Ishmaelite, form of the Arabic *abil*, 'camel-herd' (see ABEL). Another Ishmaelite (but see ABIGAIL, 2; ITIRA) married a cousin of David and was the father of the military chief Amasa (1 Ch. 2. 17; *ισαχαλνιρας* [L], see AMASA). Moreover, J's version of the story of Joseph describes the people who brought Joseph into Egypt as Ishmaelites (Gen. 37. 25. 27. 28), whereas E. calls them Midianites (E renders **מִדְיָנִים** by *ισαχαλνιρας* in 2. 28). The Yahwistic narrator (8th century B.C. ?) speaks of Ishmaelites carrying spices on their camels from Gilead to Egypt; he must therefore have been acquainted with Ishmaelite caravans engaged in traffic of this kind. In subsequent times we hear no more of Ishmael as an actually existing people; for the mention of the Ishmaelites, together with several other ancient peoples, in Ps. 83. 7 (Maccabean), is a mere figure of speech referring to some hostile nation of the author's own time.

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On the other hand, some of Ishmael's 'sons' are mentioned later, and even very much later; we find them, moreover, in several places separated by considerable distances. (1) The first-born, Nebaioth, not unfrequently appears as *Nabatu* (not to mention slight variations of spelling) in Assyrian inscriptions¹ (see *Del. Par.* 296 f., Schr. *K. I.* 17² 147). As an example may be cited the great inscription of Asur-bani-pal (668-628 B.C.), *KB* 2217 ff. This tribe seems therefore to have dwelt in the Syrian desert or farther S. Its name is not to be confounded with that of the NABATHIANS.

(2) A considerable number of passages in the prophetic and poetical books make mention of KEDAR (q.v.), which is invariably described as a desert people in the full sense of the term.

The Assyrian inscriptions several times mention the *Kidru* or *Kadru* (see *Del. op. cit.* 296, Schr. *K. I.* 14 f., *KAT* 147 f.). Once, in an inscription of Asur-bani-pal, the name is used even as a synonym of Arabia (see *KB* 2215 f., with the variants there given). Furthermore, Pliny (511, § 63) refers to the *Cobrei* as an Arabian tribe in the neighbourhood of the Nabathians (cp. also 512, 111 17).

From these passages we may conclude with tolerable certainty that the tents of Kedar were pitched in the Syrian desert, perhaps encroaching upon Arabia proper.

(3) Adbeel is identified by *Del. Par.* 301 f. with the *Idib'ila* or *Dib'ila* (?) of Tiglath-pileser III.'s inscriptions. Their home, he states, was SW. of the Dead Sea, towards the Egyptian frontier—i.e., in the ancient territory of Ishmael (but cp. ADDEEL).

(4) Dumah is probably the eponym of the oasis of *Damā* or *Dumat-el-Jundal*, now usually called *al-Jūf* (about half-way between Damascus and al-Hail, the present capital of Nejd), on the S. border of the Syrian desert.

In Pliny 628 (§ 157) the place appears as *Domatha*, in *Procl.* 512 as *δωμαθα*, and in *Steph. Byz.* on the authority of the well-informed *Glaucus*, as *δωμαθα*. See *DEMAN*.

(5) Massa seems to occur in Ass. as *Mas'u* (mentioned with *Tēmā*), a N. Arabian tribe (see Schr. *KB* 221, *KGF* 261 etc., *KAT* on Gen. 25:14, *Del. Par.* 302). Cp. *MESHA* [i.] (Gen. 10:30).

(6) Tema (*Tēmā*), 'south country,' from the root *מָצָא*, cp. its synonym *Teman* from *מָנָה* is doubtless identical with the modern *Teimā* or *Tēmā* (in the N. of the Hijāz). Tema was unquestionably one of the most important stations on the ancient trade route from Yemen to Syria. On its historical importance and on other biblical references see *TEMA*.

(7) Jetur was one of the tribes that waged war with the Israelites settled to the E. of the Jordan (1 Ch. 5:19). From v. 10 it would seem that they dwelt there in the times of Saul. This is, however, probably wrong; but the position may be right for the Chronicler's time. The domain of Jetur must accordingly have been not far from the Israelite Peræa; somewhat fuller information on the subject may be obtained from Strabo (753, 755, 756), who places the Ituraeans, a people doubtless identical with Jetur, in the southern part of the Antilibanus, and also, it would seem, in the eastern spurs of this mountain range. The Ituræi or Ityræi² are not unfrequently mentioned during the ages in question. They were partially subdued by the Jewish king Aristobulus I. (107 B.C.) and compelled to adopt the Jewish religion (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 113); but it is scarcely probable that they remained faithful to the Mosaic law. Afterwards this country, like many other districts of Syria, served a succession of masters, until in 50 A.D., on the death of the last Ituraean king Sohemus (Sohaim), it was finally incorporated with the province of Syria (see Dio, 46:32, Appian, *Mithr.* 106, *Bell. Civ.* 5: 7, 10; *Eutrop.*

¹ Quite distinct from this are the Aramaean *Nabatu* (cf. Tiglath-pileser III. and his successors), who appear to belong to a Babylonian subdivision (see *KB* 200 ff.).

² The spelling *Ituræi* occurs once in a military inscription (*CIL* 3: 1147). On two inscriptions *Itarupaioi*, see *MDP* 1: 99, p. 83 f.

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611; Strabo, *l. cit.*; Dio, 59:12; Tac. *Ann.* 12:23). The Ituraeans were an unusually savage people, and the neighbourhood of Damascus suffered much from their depredations (Strabo, 755:1; 'omnium gentium maxime barbaros,' says Cicero in speaking of them (*Philipp.* 2:44). See *JETUR*, *ITURÆA*.

Like the Ishmaelites of old, the Ituraeans used the bow as their chief weapon; several authors mention Ituraean archers in the armies of Rome (see Cicero, *l. cit.*; *bell. Afric.* 36; Lucan, *Phars.* 7:239, 514; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 11:1; and compare Vergil, *Georg.* 2:44; Vibius Sequester in *Rusex. Georg. lat. m. n.* 15²). Similarly, in Latin inscriptions dating from the time of the Emperors we read of Ituraean soldiers (e.g., *CIL* 3: 477, 479, 481). In some of the passages above mentioned the Ituraeans are represented as Arabs (cp. also Plin., *l. cit.* § 21), whilst in others the Arabs and the Ituraeans are distinguished. In the fourth century after Christ the name of this people seems to have been obsolete. No genuine tradition as to Jetur or any of his brethren is to be found in Arabian literature, and the sole surviving traces of their existence are the geographical names *Damā* and *Tēmā*.

(8) Naphish occurs in 1 Ch. 5:12 together with Jetur, among the enemies of the Beniaminites, but nothing else is known of this tribe. See also *MIBSAM*, *MISHMA*, *HADAD*, *KEDMAH*.

Whether the language of the tribes who bore the names of Ishmael and of his sons was more nearly related to Hebrew or to Arabic remains an open question. The former view might seem to derive some support from the OT.

That a few of these tribes are occasionally described as Arabs would prove nothing to the contrary, for in the OT the term 'Arab' does not necessarily convey the precise ethnographical and linguistic sense which we attach to it at present (cp. *ARABIA*, §§ 1, 3). In favour of the hypothesis that the Ishmaelite language was at least closely akin to that which we call Arabic, it may be mentioned that in an Assyrian inscription (*KB* 2216) the god of Kedar bears the name of *Atar Samai*; here *Atar* is the Arabic 'Ithar, not the Hebrew 'Ashlar, whilst *Samai* admits of being taken as an ancient Arabic plural of *Samā*, 'heaven.' Of the Ituraean proper names in the inscriptions (*CIL* 3: 477, 481) some are undoubtedly Aramaic, others probably Arabic; but from these facts no certain conclusion can be drawn with regard to the original nationality of the people in question, as must be apparent to any one who is moderately well acquainted with the personal names of those times and countries. Still less can we build an argument upon the Arabic name *Snhaim*, which was borne by the last Ituraean king, for of the use of this name there are other instances in Syria at that period, and it is moreover quite uncertain whether this *Snhaim* was himself of Ituraean extraction.

The occasional use of the name Ishmael in later times, long after it had become obsolete in reality, as a designation of the Arab race, and the theory of the Muslim genealogists, who regard Ishmael as the ancestor of one half of the Arabs, cannot be derived from any independent native tradition; it must be mere speculation based upon the OT.

2. b. Nathaniah b. Elishama; the murderer of GEDALIAH (q.v.), whom Nebuchadnezzar had made governor of Judah after the captivity of Zedekiah (Jer. 40: 41 LXX, 47: 8 ff. and 48: 1; *אֶשְׁמָה בֶּן־אֶלִישָׁמָה* in 48:6). The terrible episode is briefly told elsewhere (see *ISRAEL*, § 43). It is enough to mention here that it was an act of vengeance on the Babylonians who had overthrown the family of David, to which Ishmael himself belonged. This conjecture is not only intrinsically probable, it appears to be proved by the fact that not only Gedaliah and his Jewish attendants but also 'the Chaldeans who were there' (*i.e.*, at Mizpah), namely, the warriors, fell victims to the rage of Ishmael. Another person was not less eagerly bent on this fell deed—this was the Ammonite king Baalis—the same perhaps who, at the beginning of Zedekiah's reign, had sought to induce that king to head a confederacy against the Babylonians (Jer. 27:3).

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With Baals Ishmael designed to place the captives whom he carried away from Mizpah, among whom were relations of his own—certain 'daughters of the king,' whom Nebuzaradan had left. The plan was deeply laid, but word of it had got abroad, and but for his unsuspecting simplicity the honest and patriotic governor might have escaped (Jer. 40 15 f.). Treachery came to the aid of revenge. First, Ishmael and his ten companions were entertained at a meal by the hospitable governor, and then, perhaps at night, they set upon their host and all who were about him, and slew them. Even certain pilgrims, who arrived the next day with offerings for the 'house of Yahwé' (i.e., the sanctuary of Mizpah?), were nearly all cruelly put to death, lest they should spread the news. Their dead bodies were thrown into the 'great cistern' (Jer. 41 6; we follow G) which ASA (7.7.) had long ago constructed in MIZPAH. Thus done, Ishmael and his caravan moved northward. They paused by 'the great waters that are in Gibeon'—possibly the ancient reservoir, the remains of which may still be seen on the W. side of the hill of *el-Lih* (see GIBEON, § 4). This gave time for Johanan (one of Gedaliah's captains) to come up with them. Ishmael and his ten warriors had to give way to superior force. Two of them were slain; the rest made good their escape to the Ammonites. The seventh day of Tishri (the seventh month), the day of Gedaliah's murder, was long observed by the Jews as a fast-day (see SHAREZER, 2).

3. b. Azel, of the family of Saul (1 Ch. 8 32 244).
4. Father of ZERADIAH (7.7.) (2 Ch. 19 11; om. B).
5. b. Jehohanan, a captain who took part in Jehoiaada's revolution (2 Ch. 24 1).
6. One of the line PASHEH among the priests in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA I. § 5 end). EZRA 10 22 (συναγὰ [B], -αγὰ [N]) = 1 Esd. 9 22, ISMAEL (συναγὰς [BA]). T. N., no. 1; T. K. C., no. 2.

ISHMAIAH (יִשְׁמָאִיָּה), § 33. 'Yahwé hears'; 1 Ch. 27 10 **CAVAIAH** [B.M.]. 1. A Zebulunite, an overseer of David, 1 Ch. 27 10; see DAVID, § 11 c [1]. 2. A Gibeonite, one of David's 'thirty,' 1 Ch. 12 4 **AV** ISMAIAH, **συναγὰς** [N]; see DAVID, § 11 c [iii].

ISHMEELITE (יִשְׁמְעֵלִי), 1 Ch. 2 17 **AV**. See ISHMAEL, § 1.

ISHMERAI (יִשְׁמֵרַי), abbrev. for 'Yahwé keeps'; **CAVAPEI** [B], **ICAVAPAI** [A], **IACCHAM** [L], b. Elpaal in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (7.7., § 9, ii, β) (1 Ch. 8 13 f.); perhaps the same as Shemer or Shemed in 7. 12 (see SHAMED). See *JQR* 11 103, § 1.

ISHOD. RV **Ishhod** (יִשְׁחֹד), as if 'יִשְׁחֹד' (man of glory'), one of the sons of HAMMOLEKETH (7.7.); 1 Ch. 7 18† (**ICADAK** [B], **COYΔ** [A], **IECC** [L]; *Virion-decorum* [Vg.]).

As the lists of P and the Chronicler sometimes seem to contain different forms of the same name, it is probable that 'Ishhod' should rather be **יִשְׁחֹד** (as if 'witness', *aramaic*), suggested by 'Jegar-sahadutha' in Gen 31 47; see GILEAD, HAMMOLEKETH. T. K. C.

ISHPAH (יִשְׁפָּה), 1 Ch. 8 16 RV, **AV** ISPAH (7.7.).

ISHPAN (יִשְׁפָּן), § 54, meaning obscure), b. Shashak, a Benjaminite; 1 Ch. 8 22† (**ICΦAN** [B], **EC** [A], **IEC** [L]).

ISHSECHEL, in RV^{ms}, represents the **אִישׁ שְׁכֵל** of Ezra 8 16, where AV has 'a man of understanding,' RV 'a man of discretion' (**ANHP CAXOX** [B], **α. CAXΩ** [A], **α. CYNETOC** [L]). A proper name seems wanted. Did the editor substitute this phrase for an illegible name? More probably we should read **יִשְׁשַׁכַּר**, Issachar (cp 1 Ch. 26 5). T. K. C.

ISH TOB (**AV** **אִישׁ טוֹב**, [**ICTOB** [B.M.], **ISTOB** [Vg.], **אִישׁ טוֹב** [Pesh.]) is mentioned with Aram-beth-rehob, Aram-zobah, and Maacah in 2 S. 10 6 8 (but not

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in 1 Ch. 19 6 9). According to AV, it is the name of a state (otherwise unknown) which furnished twelve times as many warriors as Maacah. It appears certain, however, that the words 'a thousand men' after 'the king of Maacah' (see RV of 7. 6) should be omitted; they must have arisen, by corruption of the text, subsequently to the time of the Chronicler (see 1 Ch. 19 7). Kittel (in Kau. *HS*) and Budde (in *SBOT*) preserve 'and' before 'Ish-tob' (יִשְׁטוֹב). This, however, is hardly natural; it seems better to read **אִישׁ טוֹב** (the king of Maacah) Ish-tob, and with him . . . (see Klo's note). Ish-tob is apparently the name of the king (so Jos. *Ant.* vii. 6 1, Klo., Wi.); or rather, it is a substitute for his name, for it only describes the king as a 'man of Tob.' RV renders 'the men of Tob' (7.7.), which is philologically quite possible, though here improbable. The second reference to Ish-tob (יִשְׁטוֹב, 7. 8) may be an interpolation from MT's version of 7. 6.

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ISHUAH (יִשְׁוָה), Gen. 46 17 **AV**, RV **ISHVAH** (7.7.).

ISHUAI (יִשְׁוֵי), 1 Ch. 7 30; and **Ishui** (יִשְׁוִי), 1 S. 14 49; RV **ISHVI**, 1. 2.

ISHVAH (יִשְׁוָה), § 54, 'he is worthy,' cp BARJESUS, § 1 b, one of the sons of ASHER: Gen. 46 17 (**IECCAI** [A], **IECOYA** [D], **-oyr** [L], **AV** **Ishuah**); 1 Ch. 7 30 (**IECOYA** [B], **IECOYA** [L], **AV** **ISHUAI**). The name is absent from the parallel list in Nu. 26 44.

ISHVI (יִשְׁוִי), § 42; cp **ISHVAH**, 1. b. ASHER (7.7., § 4) Gen. 46 17 (**AV** **ISHVI**; [**IECOYA** [A.D.L.]] = Nu. 26 44 (**AV** **ISHVI**; [**IECOYA** [B.1.], **IECOYI** [B.1.A.], **IECC** [F]] = 1 Ch. 7 30 (**AV** **ISHUAI**; [**IECOYI** [B], **IECOYI** [A], **IECCOYE** [L.]). The gentile **Ishvite** (**AV** **JESUITES**) occurs in Nu. 24 44 (**IECOYI** [E], [**IEAL**], **IECC** [F]).

2. The second of the three sons of Saul mentioned in 1 S. 14 49 (**AV** **ISHVI**; **IECCOYA** [B], **IECOYA** [A], **IECCOYI** [L.]). **G** represents the form **יִשְׁוִי** = **יִשְׁוִי** which is doubtless an alteration for **יִשְׁוִי** (cp 1 Ch. 8 33), see **ISHVAH**, 1. All four names are given by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 8 33).

G evidently read **י** after **g**, and Ewald (*Hist.* 3 105), Wellhausen, Driver, and others conclude that **יִשְׁוִי** = **יִשְׁוִי** or **יִשְׁוִי**, a transformation of **יִשְׁוִי**, Ishvial (see **ISHVAH**, 1). This is slightly forced, and, as Klostermann points out, Ishvi is replaced in 1 S. 31 2. It is surely obvious that the notice in 14 49, with a natural kind of art, prepares the way for that in 31 2. But it would be rash to say with Klostermann that the two names may be synonymous. **יִשְׁוִי** is simply due to textual error. The scribe wrote 'Jonathan, Malchishua, and Melchishua' instead of 'Jonathan, Aminadab, and Melchishua.' But of the first **יִשְׁוִי** all that remained was **יִשְׁוִי**, which was corrupted into **יִשְׁוִי**. The first three letters became effaced. That Ishvial is not mentioned has already been accounted for. (He was not on the fatal battlefield. **G**'s reading is but a guess.)

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The biblical writers draw within the circle of their hopes and aspirations a number of countries which were accessible by sea. 'Islands' for 'far countries' is also a common phrase in certain Egyptian records. 'Islands in the midst of the sea,' 'the lands of the sea,' and 'the end (or, ends) of the sea' are phrases used in the same connection with special reference to the coasts of Greece and Italy (**AVMM** *Ac. u. Eur.* 334 359 363 369). The later OT writers constantly use the term, and we find the 'isles of ELISHAH' (Ezek. 27 9), the 'isles of

1 Cp Saad's rendering of **יִשְׁלָה** in 1 S. 23 13.

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KITIM (Jer. 215, Ezek. 2761; Phoenicia, too, a 1 Capitor are 'isles,' according to RV of Is. 232, at 1 RV⁹⁸ of Jer. 474. This rendering is defensible in the passage in Jer. 474 (Caphor) [y. 7. 1] be Crater, but not in that in Is. The occurrence of עִיִּים in I 1111 (C is arbitrary) is a subsidiary argument for making this verse and its context post-exilic. The writers of the Prophecy of Restoration (Is. 40-55, see ISRAEL II, § 16 ff.) appeal to the 'islands' or 'far lands' to interest themselves in the successes of Cyrus and the rescue of the Jews. They even say that the 'far lands' were (longingly) for Yahweh and for the teaching of his servant (Is. 424 515; cp Ps. 971). Very different language is used by a later prophet (Is. 5912), who evidently belonged to a period of disillusionment, when the Gentile world (see GENTILES) seemed wholly given up to wickedness. 'Islands' in Eccles. 4323 (עִיִּים).

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עִיִּים, and 'island' in Job 2230 (אִי) are common. On 'wild beasts of the islands' see JACRAL (4).

ISMACHIAH (יִשְׁמָחִיָּהוּ) 'Yahweh sustains,' §§ 29 44. (cp SIMACHIAH, a Levite, temp. Hezekiah; 2 Ch. 3113) (CAMAIA) [E] [A] [L]. L adds σεχέρης and ματαρι.

ISMAEL (יִשְׁמָאֵל) [E] [N] [A] [L]. 1. birth 223 (CAMAIA) [N] [L]. RV ISMAEL [A] [L]. 2. 1 Esd. 922 (CAMAIA) [A] [L]. See ISMAEL (6).

ISMAERUS (יִשְׁמָאֵרוֹס) [A] [L]. 1 Esd. 934, RV = Ezra 1034. AMRAU, 2.

ISMAIAH (יִשְׁמָאִיָּהוּ) 1 Ch. 124, RV ISMAIAH (y. 7).

ISPAH, RV ISPAH (יִשְׁפָּאֵהוּ) [L]. B. Beriah in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (y. 7. 1, § 9, n. 13). 1 Ch. 816 (CAPHAN) [L]. ECFAIA [A]. ECFA [L].

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The mountains of Canaan are world-famous because they are the scene of the history of the Israelites—a history of gradual growth, brief prosperity, and slow yet glorious decline. For the original roots, however, of the people of Israel we must look elsewhere than in the land where its history was lived. It was not till it had become a growing tree that Israel was transplanted to Canaan, nobler already than when it first appeared, a wildling of the desert. It is true that in relating their reminiscences the Israelites expressed themselves as if in the very earliest times their people had been a full-grown tree planted in Canaan. Unquestionably in this mode of regarding the facts one can see the workings of a primitive nature; it makes the task of ascertaining the historical facts doubly difficult. Events of the wilderness period, which never come into the full daylight of history as they actually happened, are presented in a false light when they are related as events in the life of a united and settled people living and thinking under quite other conditions, such as Israel did not attain until centuries afterwards in Canaan. Thus the attempt to describe the first beginnings of Israel demands the exercise of all the skill and tact that the historian can command. First of all, he must make it his business to remove the materials of his story out of the false light in which he finds them. He must not carry back the settled and fully organised Israel of the land of Canaan into the wilderness, but must begin with separate pastoral tribes such as they were there. Next, he must constantly bear in mind the peculiarities of the narratives he works with—their legendary character, their conformity to a scheme, their didactic purpose (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2 ff.). At the same time, he must not allow his readers to forget the impossibility of reaching conclusions at once definite and certain about the beginnings of Israel. What can be done in this obscure period is really only tentative. It would be perverse, however, to be altogether silent, and so the attempt must be made.

The scene of the movement which resulted in the creation of Israel as a people is the wilderness lying

S. and E. of Palestine: more precisely, that portion of it which borders in the N. and W. on those lands of ancient civilisation, the regions of the Euphrates and the Tigris, of Syria and Egypt. The pastoral tribes that had their abode there, in as far as they can be reckoned as ancestors of Israel, belonged to the North Semitic stock, probably to the Aramaean group.

This, at least, is the assertion of Israel's own later tradition, when (1) in the patriarchal histories it uniformly represents its nearest kinsmen of pure blood as being Aramaeans (Gen. 24 29 ff.), and (2) in the liturgical formula preserved in De. 265 it designates its ancestor as a 'wandering Aramaean' (cp ARAM, § 3, col. 275). The name 'Hebrew,' far from contradicting this, actually confirms it, for עִבְרִי means one who comes from the lands bordering on the Euphrates (עִבְרִי, Is. 720).¹ Nor is the philological difficulty, that the Hebrew language is not Aramaic, of any weight. What we now call Hebrew is precisely the language of Canaan (Is. 191), which makes its appearance in the Amarna tablets as early as 1400 B.C., and the oldest Aramaic with which we are as yet acquainted (cp the Sam'al-Zenjirli inscription of King Panammu, temp. Tiglath-pileser III.) approaches the Hebrew of the land of Canaan very closely; the difference is one of dialect (cp ARAMAIC, § 2). It may be conjectured that the language of the Bedouins of that period, on the borders of the cultivated territory of Syria, was very similar to this Old Aramaic. If some of their clans or tribes migrated into Canaan and settled there, the exchange, as far as language is concerned, was thus only one of dialect.²

Our earliest notice of these pastoral tribes is met with on the Egyptian monuments. Within the period of the nineteenth dynasty certain Edomites (see EDOM, § 3) seek admission into Egyptian territory, and Ramses III. (20th dyn.) commemorates a defeat he had inflicted on the Scirites (שִׁרִּי). Now, the Edomites, as we know, are reckoned in the OT as blood relations of Israel. It is a matter of indifference whether these 'shepherds' (שֹׁמְרֵי) found the means of subsistence failing them in the over-peopled wilderness, or whether the pressure of other tribes behind forced them westward over

¹ See further HEBREW LANGUAGE, § 1, and cp EBER.

² [On the other hand it is most unlikely that there was any Aramaean element of importance in Palestine as early even as the time of Solomon (cp ARAM). Israel's theory of a general Aramaean origin may have arisen from the circumstance that some of the tribes belonged to a N. Semitic stock; cp GENEALOGIES I, § 4; FRIDES.]

¹ On the name see JEREMIAH.

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the Egyptian border. We must at any rate regard it as a parallel case when Israel's ancestors sought admission into Egypt and received permission to feed their flocks in the land of Goshen—i.e., the neighbourhood of Salt el-Henne (Gen. 45:15, 16:4, etc.; Jn.¹). Here they continued to observe the customs and usages of nomads, and consequently were regarded by the civilised Egyptians as utter barbarians who had neither part nor lot in their own public life.

As to the period of this immigration into the eastern part of the Nile Delta, and the duration of the sojourn, we have no trustworthy data.

Nor is it easy to say which of the 'twelve tribes' of Israel took part in it. According to the O.T., indeed, all of them did so; but it can easily be shown that this representation is not historical. The number twelve is itself artificial and conventional, as among other peoples.² Nor can it be even plausibly made out from the narrative that all the 'twelve tribes' were contemporaneous (Simeon and Levi, Gen. 49:5-7; Benjamin, Gen. 35:16-20; the 'grandchildren' of Jacob—Ephraim and Manasseh, Gen. 48:8-22). Several of them first came into being in Palestine itself. It is only of Joseph that the O.T. itself predicates any specially close connection with Egypt (cp. JOSEPH II., § 11). In his case the tradition is clear; and the connection can hardly be purely imaginary, though it is now impossible for us to discern distinctly the historical nucleus of truth through the veil with which legend and poetry have enveloped it. To Joseph are to be traced back not only Manasseh and Ephraim, but probably also BENJAMIN (Jn. I., § 3) (the three together being equivalent to Reuben); in other words, Israel strictly so-called. It is probable that Israel, like Ishmael or Jerahmeel, was originally a tribal name, assumed (like that of Joseph?) in contradistinction from other tribes of Hebrews, by the clans which had sojourned for some time in Egypt; but, since at a later date, in Canaan, the name embraced the whole people, we can understand how the later legend came to represent all the tribes which had had a share in the conquest and settlement of Canaan as having also taken part in the Egyptian sojourn.

The Exodus, historically viewed, is but one in a long series of movements having (in general) as their common goal the civilised land of Canaan. See EXODUS I.

Among the Bedouin tribes of that period, MOAB and AMMON (Jn. I., § 3) seem to have been the first to become sedentary (cp. however, GAN, § 7 f.).—Moab on the E. of the Dead Sea; Ammon on the NE. of Moab, on the Upper Jabbok (Dr. 2:10 f., 20 f.). Their example was followed by the Edomites (cp. EDOM, § 4), who settled on both sides (and chiefly on the E.) of the Wady el-'Araba. Their success exercised an irresistible fascination upon the tribes of the adjacent wilderness. These felt themselves touched with the breath of God, and their aimless wanderings gave way to a planned movement,—they now aimed at Canaan!

When and where they made their first inroad we know not, nor are we concerned to do more than trace the share which Israel took in this movement. We may, however, note in passing that the frequently suggested parallel between the Habiri of the Amarna tablets and the עֲבֵרִי of the O.T. does not, from this point of view, seem wholly inadmissible: only, it must not be so understood as to make the Habiri identical with Israel.

From the confused mass of tribes and clans the august figure of Moses stands out in bold relief. The name is Egyptian (see MOSES); tradition reckons its bearer (doubtless because he was a priest) to the tribe of Levi. He was a shepherd in the service of Reuel (or, according to another account, of Jethro), the priest of the Midianites, and was also his son-in-law (Ex. 2:16-22; Hobab, son of Reuel, Nu. 10:29-32; Jethro, Ex. 3:1, 4:18, 18:1 ff.; on the other hand, a Kenite,

¹ See GOSHEN I.

² The Hebrew genealogists have either to mention Joseph as one tribe, to make room for Levi (Gen. 46:10 ff.), or to omit Levi, so that Ephraim and Manasseh can be counted separately (Nu. 1:20-47). The number twelve may be the result of compromise (see GENEALOGIES I., § 5).

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Judg. 1:16, 4:11). It may safely be assumed that the Midianite priest exercised an influence on Moses' work (Ex. 18 Nu. 10). The Midianites are repeatedly spoken of as merchantmen well acquainted with the trade routes (Gen. 37:23, 36 Nu. 10:31), and we may be sure that all the news brought by caravans, about events in the wilderness and in the settled lands on which it bordered, never failed to reach the ears of their priest. Among other pieces of information came the news that the warlike AMORITES (coming down from the north; cp. col. 1586, top) had invaded the territory of the Ammonites and Moabites in the districts to the E. of Jordan, and after conquering it for the most part, had founded within it two kingdoms—a more northerly, with Ashtārōth and Edrei as its two great towns, and a more southerly, with Heshbō for capital. Perhaps the vanquished may have called upon the wilderness tribes that were related to them to assist in doing battle with the victors; perhaps the tidings of what had occurred may have been inducement enough to form an expedition against the cultivated country beside Jordan. At all events, it was Moses who had the insight to take control of the movement and who became its leader.

At the mountain of God (Horeb, see SINAI), the legend runs, Moses heard the call of Yahweh his tribal god (Ex. 3:6, 'the god of thy father'; cp. 18:4) to summon back into the wilderness the tribe of Israel now sojourning in Egypt, and to give it a place in the forward movement. Moses betook himself to Egypt and demanded permission for the tribe of Israel to depart, the God of the Hebrews having commanded them to observe at Horeb, in the wilderness, a sacrificial feast—that of the Passover (Ex. 5:1-3, 8:25 [21] ff. 10:8-10, cp. 3:12, 18). This appears to have been a skilfully chosen pretext. The demand, as relating to worship, was one that could with good reason be made, and the refusal of it must put the Egyptians in the wrong and rouse Israel's anger. Refused, however, it was. The explanation of this in the legend is that the Egyptians required the presence of the Israelites for forced labour on the building of the treasure cities, PITHOM and RAMSES. Still here and there (Ex. 8:28 [24] 10:10 ff.) we catch glimpses of Pharaoh's real suspicion. Not improbably the Egyptians were acquainted with what had been happening on the borders of the Jordan, and with the agitation of the wilderness tribes, the growth of which, as being perilous to their suzerainty over Canaan, they wished to arrest. In the end, however, Pharaoh finds himself compelled to give the tribe of Israel the liberty to migrate that it asks, and Moses leads his shepherds with all their belongings—after the manner of pastoral peoples in their migrations—out of Goshen to the wilderness.

Both the routes which lead across the narrow isthmus between the marshes of the eastern branch of the Nile and the northern extremity of the Red Sea (פְּתִיחַ) into the wilderness were blocked by walls and defensive works. Accordingly, when the Israelites had reached the vicinity of Pithom (Heroöpolis)¹—at that time the present Gulf of Suez stretched so far inland—an Egyptian army suddenly presented itself in their rear. Escape seemed impossible: the wall and the water cut them off. The men despaired of deliverance. Moses alone did not flinch. He led Israel right up to the shore of the Gulf, the waters of which were being driven back by a strong east wind. Taking this natural phenomenon, perhaps already familiar to him, as a favourable token from Yahweh, he caused the forward march to be continued during the night over the seabed that had been left dry, and the eastern shore was safely reached. The pursuing Egyptians were embarrassed by their war-chariots, and in the morning the waters began to return to their natural state and cut the enemy off. Thus Yahweh saved Israel that day out of the hands of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the

¹ See EXODUS I., § 10 ff.; GOSHEN I.

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Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore, and the people feared Yahwe, and they believed in Yahwe, and in his servant Moses' (Ex. 11.5 f.).

Moses had summoned Israel out of Egypt, in the name of Yahwe, to war, and victory had come to him before he had lifted a weapon. For all those who had lived through the experience it was a manifest work of God. The clans, which were already related by blood, felt themselves drawn together by a new bond of union through the common deliverance which God had vouchsafed to them. By the undreamed-of success he had achieved, Moses was accredited without quest on as the mouthpiece of God, and the people cheerfully yielded him obedience. He led them to Horeb (Sinai), the mount of God; and that was the scene not only of the sacrificial feast of which he had spoken to Pharaoh, but also of the institution of the 'Israelite' religion. A manifest work

of God, a prophet of God to interpret it, a community of men who had experienced it and understood it—such were the conditions under which the new religion arose. It was based neither upon the order of nature as a whole nor upon the manifestation of any particular force of nature, but was called forth by events in human history, events in the spiritual life of men.

From this we perceive that in the religion instituted by Moses we have to do with a new apprehension of God. The name Yahwe, certainly of primitive antiquity, and thus no longer capable of explanation by us, tells us nothing as to the nature of the Godhead.¹ Certain expressions in the OT (e.g., Gen. 19.24), and perhaps also the conception that underlies the *CHERUB* (q.v. § 7), would seem to indicate that Yahwe was originally thought of as a divinity of the sky. What was peculiar to and characteristic of the conception of God in the new religion was that he was not thought of as a personification of any natural force whatever, but was believed in as the lord over nature. He was not regarded as the one only God; but he was thought of as being the god to whom none of the other gods could be compared (as is shown by the old proper name *Meneb*; see *NAMES*, § 37, *METUHAN*). His might, therefore, was terrible; he was greatly to be feared. He was, moreover, continually present in Israel; which made his help a certainty, but was a warning not to neglect him. Israel's victories were to be his victories; Israel's disasters were chastisements from him. The ordering of justice in Israel was to be determined and maintained by Yahwe; he was Israel's Lord and owner (cp. see *BAL*, § 1), for Israel was his handiwork. He had his abode in Sinai or Horeb, it is true; but he was not the deity of any land or city whose power and enjoyment of the gifts of civilisation he guaranteed. Being a wilderness deity, Yahwe was not attached to any definite place in the same degree as the gods of the more civilised peoples: he went wherever his people went.

The community which Yahwe created meant more than a mere natural union of the clan and the tribe. The whole, it is true, continued to be confined within the tribal limits and to retain the tribal organisation; but the manifest work of God (the deliverance from Egypt) and the religious construction that was based upon this, founded all anew on a higher and historical basis, that had expression and evidence in the divine name, now filled with a new meaning. What bound the community together for the future as well as for the present was the exclusive worship of Yahwe (monolatry), the system of law introduced and practised by Moses, the source and guardian of which was Yahwe, but above all the hope of possessing the land of Canaan. Moses made the conquest of Canaan, as a divine command and promise, an article in the religious constitution. The name Yahwe thus acquired a strong power of attraction for the desert tribes, as in its turn it gave the

¹ Its occurrence in North Syria—also among Arameans?—has recently been proved (see further *NAMES*, § 112).

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higher sanction of faith to a movement somewhat resembling that of the Arabs against the Byzantine empire. The war-cry was in the name of Yahwe; the sacred *ARK* (2.1.) instituted by Moses was the symbol of Yahwe the war-god who went forth with his people (Nu. 10.35 f.; [חֲרֹמֵי] אֲרֹן יְהוָה 28.62). How many tribes at the outset put their faith in Yahwe's summons to war and entered into covenant with him by oath we do not know; doubtless Joseph or Israel (properly so called) formed the kernel of the new religious community.

Moses was the founder of the religion of Israel and the leader in Yahwe's war; he was priest of the sanctuary he had set up (Ex. 33.7 ff.), and, as such, he was also supreme judge (Ex. 18 Nu. 16.13b). A later age called him a prophet (חֲזִי"י Hos. 12.13[14] Dt. 18.15), and even unique in his kind (Nu. 12.6-9); this, too, was not substantially incorrect. But lawgiver in the traditional sense, as author of the Pentateuch (פְּתָח, *ô vouos*, Jn. 1.17), or as the framer of a particular kind of government, the theocratic (Jos. c. 17. 21b), Moses certainly was not.

In Ex. 24 and 34 we still meet with traces indicating that the oldest tradition knew of certain 'words of Yahwe' or 'covenant-words' which had come down from the times when the religion was founded. These words, however, have been so mixed up with non-Mosaic matter in later collections of ordinances that we are no longer in a position to clear the Mosaic kernel. Speaking generally, we may say there can be no doubt that Moses, during the period of his judgeship, established legal principles or rules which became norms and precedents for succeeding times. But it is impossible, out of the collections of laws that have come down to us, to answer the question what these actually were; for every one of the collections in question dates from times in which Israel had already accomplished the transition to the agricultural life. See *LAW LITERATURE*.

Nevertheless, Moses remains the founder of Israelite law, just as much as he is the founder of Israelite religion. Israelite law—*fas* and *facta*—was, in fact, the essential part of the Israelite religion (אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Gen. 18.19; אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Jer. 54). Apart from the fundamental law that Yahwe alone was to be sacrificially worshipped, Moses appears to have retained the traditional and very simple customs of the wilderness in matters of worship; even images were not forbidden. In 2 K. 18.4, for example, the brazen serpent is carried back to Moses (cp. Nu. 21.6-9, see *NIHUSITAN*). In fact, we may be certain that it was in the sphere of worship that primitive customs (totemism, animism) continued to survive with greatest tenacity (cp. *IDIOLATRY*). The worshipping community, strictly so-called, continued to be the clan, as before (cp. *GOVERNMENT*, § 8). With the above representation of Moses, *PROPHET*.

Through the foundation of the religion by Moses the political and economical currents of the wilderness were

5. Movements in the wilderness. directed into a new and deeper channel, the waters of which were augmented from a new source. The mysterious source of faith, touched by God, had

opened, and now poured forth its stream with elemental power; the flood laid hold of and swept along all that it could reach. Indeed, if testimony were needed to the power of Moses's personality, it would certainly be found in the fact that he established himself as leader of the movement, gaining the upper hand over all outbreaks of impatience or despondency, yet without quenching the enthusiasm. For there were many delays. A long waiting-time was devoted to self-concentration and to experimental efforts at Kadesh Barnea, now *Ein Kadis* (Nu. 20.16-13 Dt. 1.46; see *KADISH*, § 1), from which the 'mountain of God,' Sinai or Horeb, the scene of the founding of the religion, was probably not far distant. Relations were entered into and unions formed with the neighbouring or kindred tribes (e.g., Midianites, Kenites, Kenizzites), while collisions with hostile tribes (Amalekites) were not unknown. An attempt to penetrate into Canaan by the shortest way—i.e., from the south—proved un-

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successful (Nu 13 f., Dt 1 f.; cf. Nu 21 f.), but the conjecture may be ventured that the peoples known as Ken and Kenaz were originally small groups which remained within the limits of Canaan as the result of this attempt.¹ The first real advance was gained by the flood of immigrants on the road to the land eastward of Jordan; thence it was easy to enter Canaan. Again and again the devastating waters broke through the slight barriers of public order in the civilised territory—principally, it would seem, in two main irruptions, the second of which was of such force that it covered Canaan for centuries.

The details of the movement cannot now be given. It is hardly possible to trace them, for tradition invariably gives the events of the wilderness life as if they related to the entire nation of Israel, such as it was when finally settled in Canaan, and thus distorts the (presumable) facts. Moreover, all the narratives for the most part spring out of legend; many of them, also, have a purely didactic purpose. Legend laid hold of these occurrences with avidity; in the eyes of the hosts who actually took part in them—animated and exalted by religious faith—they were extraordinary, miraculous; how much more so they must have been in the memory of the people!

We can, however, perhaps still discern in dim outline the arrival of separate bands upon agricultural soil, and their attempts at settlement there. For if we compare the order of the tribes of Israel—the twelve sons of Jacob (Gen 29 v. 35 f.)—with the notices we possess of their first appearance, their settlements, and in some cases their early disappearance, we are led to conjecture that Israelite legend has placed at the head of the list those tribes which were the first to become sedentary, while those which were the last to do so are enumerated last. This criterion admits of being applied with tolerable certainty in the case of the first four Leah tribes (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah), as also in that of the tribes of Rachel (Joseph and Benjamin); and it may, accordingly, be conjectured that the younger Leah tribes (Issachar and Zebulun) were placed between these two groups out of regard to the time of their settlement in Canaan. The position of the Bilhah tribes (Dan and Naphthali) and of the Zilpah tribes (Gad and Asher) is obscure. Why were some assigned to Rachel, and others to Leah? Only this much can safely be asserted: they had come into existence not in the wilderness, but in Canaan.² Leaving these questions aside (see the articles on the several tribes) let us try, out of what can be discerned, to form for ourselves some picture of the manner in which Israel entered Canaan. But, first, as to Canaan itself.

In virtue of its natural situation between such renowned seats of primitive civilisation as Babylon and Egypt, Canaan had at an early period itself become civilised. The oldest culture of Syria, as a whole, was manifestly derived from Babylon; Northern Syria immediately borders on the Euphrates, whilst Egypt, on the other hand, is separated from Southern Syria by a desert journey of several days. The peaceful influences of trade and the inroads of war had, accordingly, brought Babylonian culture to the West as early as the third millennium B.C. (cp CANAAN, § 6, TRADE). How closely the whole life of the inhabitants of Syria about 1400 B.C. was dependent on the culture of Babylonia and Egypt is attested for us in a tangible manner by the 'Amarna tablets,³ consisting as they do, for the most part, of letters in the Assyrian language written in Babylonian cuneiform characters, and addressed from Middle and Southern Syria to the Egyptian kings, Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV.,

¹ [For the view that Caleb and Jerahmeel were among these groups, see EXODUS I, § 6; HEBRON, § 1; JERAHMEEL, JOSHUA II, § 15; KADESH I, § 3.]

² See RACHEL, LI AN.

³ [Tell el-'Amarna is the site of the town built by Khuenaten or Amen-hotep IV., near the Nile, about 180 m. S. of Memphis. Here the tablets were found in 1883 in the tomb of a scribe of Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. See CHIFFORLAGNER, § 5; CANAAN, § 10; EGYPT, § 55.]

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about the year 1400 B.C. They confirm the knowledge, previously derived from the Egyptian inscriptions, that from the time of the eighteenth dynasty (Thotmes I. and Thotmes III.) Syria had been under the suzerainty of the Pharaohs, a sovereignty which continued into the tenth century to be reasserted, though in a titful way, from time to time—then becoming merely nominal, till finally Palestine fell into the hands of the Assyrians and the Babylonians. In this way Egyptian civilisation, beside that of Babylon, acquired a formative influence on Syria; the country had for long Egyptian governors and Egyptian garrisons; and Egyptian monuments were erected.¹ It was this twofold fertilising stream—from the Euphrates and from the Nile—that produced the peculiar civilisation of Syria and gave it the mixed character it possessed, although in the domain of religion and mythology the Babylonian substratum continued to prevail throughout.

The most important representatives of this civilisation were the Hittites and the Phoenicians. Whilst the political power of the Phoenicians was limited to a narrow strip of coast in Middle Syria (see PHOENICIA), the HITTITES (*q.v.*) moulded between the Orontes and the Euphrates a great empire which continued to subsist until about 1200 B.C. In the south, in Canaan properly so-called, there were, as the 'Amarna letters let us know, many petty princes, kings of cities, who ruled over the territory immediately adjacent to their capitals. They acknowledged the Egyptian suzerainty, but manifestly regarded it as a means of maintaining their own petty power, partly against envious rivals who were constantly accusing them before the pharaoh as rebels, and partly against the hostile inroads of foreign peoples (Amorites, Hittites, and Habiri; cp CANAAN, §§ 12 ff., and see above, § 3). Thus, for example, we find 'Abd-hiba of Jerusalem protesting his loyalty to the Egyptians, while complaining of neglect on their part. Indeed the land seems at this period to have been denuded of its Egyptian troops, and the sovereignty of the pharaohs to be falling into decay.

The religion of the inhabitants of Canaan belonged to the class of Semitic nature-religions. Originally their deities were simply personified forces of nature (*e.g.*, sky, sun, moon, thunder); but from their close connection with the civilisation of the country they had become the protectors of the most important human activities and relations, such as agriculture, vine-culture, law, medicine, and war. The cultus showed manifold variety. The changing scene of life and death reproduced itself now in wild and extravagant sensuous revelry, now in the infliction of cruellest pain. Self-surrender and self-renunciation before God found expression even in the sacrifice of children (see FTHS BORN). Yet the daily pursuits of the Canaanites—agriculture, gardening, vine-culture, cattle-rearing—impressed upon the worship, in the greater part of the country, especially in the 'hill-country' strictly so-called, a very simple, rustic character. Its forms may be supposed to have been on the whole uniform; yet, on the other hand, there was no such thing as a common order, but rather a multitude of local cults. The deities worshipped were for the most part not called by their proper names, but designated as the 'lord' or 'lady' of the place where they were worshipped (*e.g.*, Baal of Hazor, Baal of Hermon, Baalath of Gebal; see BAAL, § 1, NAMES, § 42). The place of worship had an altar, beside (or upon) which was a sacred pillar (𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤍, see MASSORAH), a sacred tree, or its representative a sacred post (𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤍; see ASHERAH), and, if the place aspired so high, an image of the god, with a priest and a house for it (see IDOLATRY). The more level districts of the country, especially those places

¹ Thus, for example, the so-called Stone of Job in the Hauran was identified by Dr. G. Schumacher of Haifa in 1831, as being an Egyptian monument bearing the portrait of Rameses II. Cp EGYPT, § 52, n. 2.

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which were touched by the important trade route between the Ephraïtes and the Nûbe (see *ISRAEL*), were, properly speaking, the seats of civilisation; the mountain country, on the other hand, was the home of the simplest, peasant-like manners and customs.

In the trans-Jordanic region the frontier between the settled parts and the area wandered over by Bedouin shepherds was unstable (GAL. §§ 5 f., 10), and, consequently, the ordinances of the civilised life of Canaan were much less stringently observed. It has already been said that at the time of the onslaught of the Israelite warrior-hordes there were here two Amorite kingdoms, under kings named Simon and Og, by whom the territory of the Ammonites and the Moabites had been seriously infringed on. These Amorite kingdoms, regarded by the Israelites as hostile territory, formed the first point of attack; the invasion was begun at the southern frontier on the bank of the Arnon (*Wady el-Arnon*): Nu. 21.11 Dt. 2.24 ff. See GAL. §§ 8, 11.

It is probable that the struggle in the trans-Jordanic region was begun by the four Leah tribes—Reuben,

7. Israelite immigrations. Simeon, Levi, Judah. The Amorite king Sihon was defeated at Jahaz on the borders of the wilderness, and Heshbon, his capital, with the rest of his kingdom, conquered up to the Jabbok. The king of the more northerly kingdom, which had its chief seats at Ashteroth and at Edrei (by the *Yarmuk*), the gigantic Og (Dt. 3.11), was vanquished at Edrei (*Der'at*). The tribe of REUBEN appropriated to itself the southern portion of the conquered territory (northward from the Arnon), and cattle-breeding continued to be its chief occupation (Nu. 32.1-53 f.). The final settlement of the more northern territory seems not to have come to pass till a later day; on the other hand, Simeon, Levi, and Judah pressed on into the country to the W. of Jordan, and settled in the district of Shechem, and to the N. of that. When the independence of one of their clans (Dinah, called the daughter of Leah), which had settled in the city of Shechem itself, was threatened by the Canaanites, Simeon and Levi broke the compact that had been made with these, and massacred them wholesale (see DINAH). But the outrage brought destruction on their own heads. The tribe of Levi was scattered, and the few remnants of Simeon were driven to the extreme southern limits of the land, where at a later date they had settlements alongside of Judah (Gen. 34.49-57 [cp. We. *CH* 213 f. 354 f.]; Gen. 37.12-17). The tribe of Judah migrated—voluntarily or under compulsion?—southward, along the western slope of the hill-country in the neighbourhood of Timnath and Adullam, formed connections with the Canaanites, suffered repeated losses, and finally obtained a permanent footing only by means of alliance with families that had their seats farther to the south (Perez and Zerah; Gen. 38). Cp. C. VEEB, *JUDAH*.

The first impact of the Hebrew tribes had effected no permanent changes in the territory west of Jordan; but it was otherwise with the second. How long the interval of time between them may have been we are unable to determine; perhaps the traditional forty years of wandering in the wilderness (Am. 5.25, see WANDERINGS) originally referred to this period. The connection—no doubt there was a connection—between the two immigrations is obscure. It is even doubtful what share, if any, Moses had in the first assault. For, of course, Moses accompanied the ark; but this came up only with Israel properly so-called (the Rachel tribe of Joseph), so that we may take it that Moses arrived in the territory east of Jordan later than Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah. In Nu. 16.12-15 25 ff. an obscure reminiscence of disputes between Moses and certain Reubenite families has been preserved; perhaps on this occasion Reuben and other tribes may have broken loose from the leadership of Moses and taken their own independent way. Those who came after had at least one thing to thank their

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predecessors for: the way to the Jordan lay open, the Amorite power that barred it was destroyed. Yet the Rachel tribe of Joseph also seems to have paused, as to have been detained, for some time on the Moabite borders. For the hostile intentions of the Moabites, of which at a later date Israel was wont to speak in connection with the legendary figure of the Aramean(?) Balaam (Nu. 22 ff. Josh. 24.9), probably concerned this tribe—but cp. *RAM YAM*, §§ 1-3 ff. The Moabites, too, seem even then to have taken up an unfriendly attitude towards Israel (Nu. 22.47-25.31-26, cp. however, *MIDYAN*, § 3).

Moses did not himself reach the goal of the movement. Even in legend every trace of him disappears on Mt. Nebo, from the summit of which he is represented as having viewed the Promised Land; his grave remained unknown. A strange ending which even the later version in Dt. 1.7 f. 4. c. f. 32.42 ff. Nu. 27.12-14 does not succeed in making historically clearer. He lived only to see the first sproutings of the seed he had sown; a long time had yet to elapse before it took firm root or brought forth its first-fruits. The OT, indeed, speaks of Joshua as having been his successor, but only from the point of view that Israel was led to its god by him. That Moses had any single successor is not to be supposed; in point of fact, he had many—warriors, priests, kings, prophets, scholars—each of whom in his own time and in his own way advanced or maintained the great work of the founder.

JOSHUA (2.1-11, already mentioned in Ex. 33.11 as the 'minister' of Moses at the sanctuary, was simply the leader of the house of Joseph—Israel strictly so-called. The accounts of the book of Joshua, indeed, represent him as at the head of all the Hebrew tribes, even of that of Reuben. And, inasmuch as Joshua's victories laid the foundation of the possession of Canaan not only for Joseph but also for all the other tribes, this feature in the tradition is easily intelligible. But it is not historical; it is contradicted by what we read in Judg. 1 (cp. *JOSHUA* II., §§ 13 ff.). What actually happened was that Israel, escorting its sacred object, crossed the Jordan to Gilgal (see ARK, § 4) and conquered Jericho, Ai, and Bethel (Josh. 2-8 Judg. 1.22-26), the last-named being a commanding site on the ridge of the hill-country, and at the same time an ancient seat of Canaanitish worship. It appears to be an original feature in the tradition that Israel under Joshua waged a ruthless war against the Canaanites, that it regarded them as 'devoted' (*ḥām*) to Yahwe, and therefore extirpated them (see BAN). It is certain, however, that the ban of Yahwe fell only on those who attempted to offer armed resistance to the victorious course of his hosts, and not even on these in every case. In this matter, tradition has on the whole generalised; all the more credible and instructive, therefore, are the exceptions which it records, such as the case of Gibeon and the surrounding district (Josh. 9; cp. 2.8, 21.2). The region occupied or subjugated by the house of Joseph lay, approximately, between the plain of Jezreel on the N. and the head of what is now called the Wādy Bet Hammā on the S.; it was the best part of the hill-country (cp. *EPHRAIM*, § 3). If the younger Leah tribes really entered Canaan earlier than the tribe of Israel (= JOSEPH; *q.v.* i.) and the Bilhah and Zilpah tribes came into being there (by mixture of races), we may well suppose that they profited by the victories of the 'house of Joseph,' and even that in some cases Joseph actually fought their battles. It is possible to conjecture that such facts underlie the narratives of Josh. 10 f. (with Josh. 11, however, Judg. 4 ought to be compared).

According to the statements of the OT, the Hebrew tribes never came in Canaan into conflict with a power of any magnitude—only with minor potentates among whom there was no firm bond of union. It is otherwise, however, in an inscription found by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Karnak, which speaks of a victorious fight

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of Merneptah the son and successor of Rameses II with 'Israel' in Palestine itself.¹ Although the style of the inscription is far from being that of a sober historical narrative, we may learn from it (1) that even in Canaan itself 'Israel' had to fight with the Egyptians, and (2) that as early as 1200 B.C. 'Israel' was already in Palestine. Much, however, remains not clear. We are not told where 'Israel' encountered the Egyptians in Canaan—W. or E. of the Jordan—and we do not know whether or not the Israel with whom the Egyptians fought was identical with the 'house of Joseph' (= Israel). Rameses III also fought in southern Syria (E. *Mey. G. I. 1*, § 263, *G. I. 318 f.*). Apparently, however, by 1200 B.C. Egyptian suzerainty in Palestine was no longer a reality but a name. At the same time the kingdom of the HITTITES (*G. I. 1*, § 8) was, it seems, broken up into petty principalities by the onset of the 'peoples of the sea' (cp *Mey. G. I. 1*, §§ 263, 265). The successful occupation of Canaan by the Hebrew tribes will, accordingly, have to be assigned to the period 1230-1200 B.C., a time when a foreign power to control Syrian affairs and a home power that could unite the forces of the inhabitants in possession for purposes of effective resistance were alike wanting.

Amid such favouring circumstances an entrance into Canaan was effected by Israel; but it had not yet

8. Gradual settlement.

become a nation. A confederation of wilderness tribes is one thing; a consolidated, settled people is another. For this last the primary conditions are a permanent settlement and engagement in agricultural pursuits—conditions which in this case required more than one generation for their realisation. The settlement was carried on partly by warlike and partly by peaceful methods. The Canaanites were gradually pushed back (Ex. 23.29 f. = Dt. 7.20-22 Judg. 2.20-36). The Hebrews had already taken firm hold of the hill-country, while the Canaanites still dominated the plains by means of their dreaded war-chariots (Josh. 17.16 Judg. 1.19). In each case the details, we may be sure, worked out differently (cp GOVERNMENT, § 11 ff.). Where the conquerors had the upper hand entirely they violently took their possessions from the vanquished; those who up to this time had been masters had now to till the soil as serfs for the victors. Where the balance of power was more nearly equal, or where it varied, treaties were no doubt ultimately formed (*communitium* and *commercium*), so that Canaanite clans were received into the Israelite union of tribes, or, conversely, Israelite families became settlers in Canaanite cities (see ABIMELECH 2; SHECHEM; and cp Judg. 1.27 ff. 35 f.).

One consequence of the transition to an agricultural life now became apparent—the difficulty of maintaining the original tribal organisation (cp GOVERNMENT, § 15). The land had been divided into communes or districts, and the new-comers began to reckon in terms of these; names were chosen in accordance with dwelling places. Thus one group of families of the tribe of Joseph which had become separate from the rest was called 'the Southern' (Ben-jamin, בְּנֵי-יָמִין) because it occupied the most southern part of the whole territory of the tribe. From its growing importance and especially its valour in war (Gen. 49.27), it received the rank of a separate tribe and came to be reckoned as the youngest son of Jacob, Gen. 35.16 ff. (cp BENJAMIN, §§ 1, 4). The remainder of the territory of Joseph, again, was divided between Manasseh (Machir) and Ephraim, who are designated as grandsons of Jacob. EPHRAIM (§ 1 f.) was really the name of a district in Canaan, so that this division of Israel also was named after its seat. The permanent settlement of the clans loosened the old tribal bonds, and, more particularly, as one of its results, weakened the old defensive power. Judg. 1 shows what were the

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weak points of the Hebrew tribes in western Canaan. What happened in the case of DAN (7.1, 11) is particularly instructive. Unable to hold their own on the plain at the western base of the hill-country, they were driven back to the mountain land, but, not feeling secure even there, had no course but to migrate anew. They traversed the length of the territory of Israel, not without plundering an Ephraimite settlement, and at the source of the Jordan subdued the district of the city of Laish, which thenceforth bore the name of Dan (Judg. 1.4 17 f. Josh. 19.47). The northern tribes of Naphtali and Asher found themselves for long—the latter indeed permanently—in the minority and at a disadvantage as compared with the Canaanites (Judg. 1.31 ff.; *gith hag-galim* = Galilee).

It would seem that much pressure was always required before the tribes could be got to renew the 'wars of Yahwè' against the Canaanites; the comforts and the pursuits of civilised life may well have impaired the old ardour and delight in the business of war. Yet the religious conscience had not altogether gone to sleep. From time to time clan-chiefs¹ of specially strong personality appealed to it, and did not fail to arouse the old heroism. What the call to arms in the name of Yahwè was then able to accomplish is like a reflected image of the warlike spirit of the earliest days of a religion, which was characterised equally by self-surrender to God, immovable conviction of his nearness and help, death-defying courage in the fight, wild enthusiasm after victory, and scorn, contempt, and even God's curse, for all who refused to take part in the common cause.

The evidence of this is seen in the unfortunately ill-preserved song known as the Song of Deborah (see DEBORAH 1, § 3; JUDGES, § 7; POETICAL LITERATURE). Under the leadership of Barak and Deborah, the tribes bordering on the plain of Jezreel fight the Canaanites under Sisera near Tannach. The Canaanites are defeated, for Yahwè comes to the help of his people in a violent storm. It is remarkable that no mention is made of Simeon and Levi or of Judah, though there are references (in praise or in blame) to all the other tribes (four or five) in addition to those actually engaged (five or six). Here Israel already denotes more than the house of Joseph. In fact, the song seems to take for granted that all the ten tribes which are mentioned ought to have obeyed the war-summons of Yahwè; in other words, that they all belong to Israel. When and how this more extended employment of the name of Israel came in—whether gradually or as the result of a single event—we do not know; but the facts of the case seem to require the assumption that after a successfully accomplished occupation of the land the tribes were united by a solemn compact, as the result of which the name of Israel acquired a wider meaning. This may have been the historical occasion of the Elohistic narrative of the folk-moot in Josh. 24 (cp JUSTUAH, § 10).

On the borders of the land also the Israelite tribes had their work to do—in the first instance, in the E.

9. Troubles from without.

The westward migrations out of the wilderness were not yet at an end; other tribes sought to follow in Israel's footsteps. The Moabites, Ammonites, and Amalekites had taken Jericho (Judg. 3.13); the independence of Reuben was already at an end, and Benjamin had become tributary to Eglon king of Moab, when Ehud b. Gera freed his tribe from this imposition. After assassinating the king in his residence (where?), he called out the levies of Mt. Ephraim and regained command of the fords of the Jordan (Judg. 3). So Jephthah the Gileadite of Mizpah waged successful war, we are told, against the Ammonites (and Moabites?) who threatened Gilead (Judg. 11).

¹ Cp Spieckberg, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1896, p. 593 ff.; Steindorff, *ZATW.*, 1896, p. 320 ff.; Wiedemann, *Muséon* (1904), 1-19. See also EGYPT, §§ 59 f.

¹ On the transition from the rule of the heads of the leading families of the respective tribes to that of tribal chiefs *supra*, see GOVERNMENT, § 17.

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Of greater importance, however, and richer in results, was the stand which Gideon, or Jerubbbaal le Jeesh, of Ophrah, a member of the Manassite clan of Abiezer, made against the Midianites. These nomads had invaded the territory of Manassah with their flocks and tents, plundering and forcing into subjection the Israelites, who had formerly been their friends (Nu. 19:29 ff.)—just as the house of Joseph had at an earlier date treated the Canaanites (Gen. 47:14). Filled with the spirit of Yahwe, led the levies of his clan—300 warriors—against the Midianites, surprised them, and put them to flight (Judg. 6:9-11, 24-27, 32-33). The story is a most instructive illustration of that most religious feeling with warlike enthusiasm which characterises the early period of the national development of Israel (cp. Gideon's war-cry, 'For Yahwe and for Gideon')¹.

The event enables us to perceive how great was the change which in the meanwhile had come over Israel. Once marauding shepherds, they had become defenders of the agricultural country—defenders against the cupidity of their former allies. Gideon himself

rose to great consolidation. His territory embraced the richest and most fertile part of the country from the plain of Jezreel southward to Shechem—a petty kingdom, it is true, yet already signifying more than the power of the earlier Canaanite knightholds. Here, for the first time since Israel's coming into Canaan, we observe a movement clearly pointing to a firm fusion of the parts into one whole ultimately to be gained. Gideon (cf. Judg. 8:22 ff.) really rests upon genuine tradition declined any hereditary lordship over his territory—anything of the sort seemed to him heathenish—but after his death his (70) sons were accepted at first as masters. Soon the idea that monarchy is better than oligarchy (Judg. 9:2) found expression, and, relying upon this, Abimelech b. Gideon, of Shechem, sought to secure for himself the sovereignty over the Shechemites. The Canaanite citizens of Shechem decided in favour of their kinsman by blood, and with their support he hired a band of armed men, who, under his leadership, massacred Gideon's other descendants in Ophrah, Jotham alone escaping. Abimelech was now actually made king by the Shechemites; and for three years he ruled over 'Israel'—i.e., over the territory of Gideon (Judg. 9:22). Violence and injustice were, however, the characteristics of his rule, and, though his reign may have strengthened Israel's position in Canaan (for Abimelech doubtless felt himself to be an Israelite), this unpleasant experience of regal government cannot have disposed the Israelites to regard it with much favour (Judg. 9:7-20). See ABIMELECH, 2.

The Philistines, like Israel, were immigrants in Canaan. The present state of inquiry (see PHILISTINES)

11. Israel loses its independence. Justifies the supposition that they first appeared in Palestine in the age of Rameses III., perhaps somewhat later than the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites.

They settled on the southern coast, and, as they were not very numerous, they soon adopted the language, religion, manners, and customs of the Canaanites.² Their strength lay in their formidable armour and in their general military superiority. The slopes of the neighbouring hill-country, peopled by clans belonging to Judah (and Dan), became their subjects. Farther north, too, they pressed on, and advanced into the hill-country, defeating the tribes of Israel properly so-called again and again. The last of these defeats reduced Israel to despair. After an unsuccessful battle the sacred Ark (q.v., § 5), then kept at Shiloh, was brought into the camp in the belief that Israel would thus become invincible. Rudely indeed was the illusion shaken (see ELI). It was an incomprehensible mystery, and morally as well as materially the power of Israel was broken.

¹ See JUDGES, § 8.

² Cp. E. R. CAPITO, CHERUBIMES.

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The land lay open to the Philistines, who stationed a garrison at Gath (1 S. 13:7). Gideon in 10:1, see PHILISTINES and subdued, and laid under tribute the more level country S. of Shechem (1 S. 13:7), and the plain of Jezreel. It was probably at this time that the temple of Shiloh was destroyed (1 S. 7:1).

The Ark itself had been carried away by the Philistines, but did not, according to the narrative in 1 S. 6:1, remain long in their possession. Its return to Israel, however, is not represented as having produced any great effect. The tone of feeling was perhaps so closely akin to despair that the recovery of the symbol of the presence of Yahwe failed to revive the moral courage of the people. It is a phenomenon which we cannot help regarding as strange (see ARK, § 5).

From the midst of Israel itself was to proceed that new sense of strength which could alone nerve it to its task. The youthful people had been growing to maturity, and only needed some one to awaken its dormant energy. It was the privilege

12. Revival and consolidation under Saul. of the seer SAMUEL (7:1, 15) b. Elkamah, we are told, to find the gifted man who could do this. How early tradition represented the first meeting of Saul and Samuel is told elsewhere (see SAUL, 1, § 15). Distinguished even in outward appearance, the young Benjamin immediately approved himself to the patriotic seer as the divinely appointed prince (2:2) of Israel. Soon the hesitation which Saul showed at first was dissipated. He was, in fact, changed by the 'spirit of God' into a hero and enthusiast, who was successful in arousing a similar religious and patriotic zeal among his countrymen.

It was in the danger which threatened Jabesh in Gilead, we read, that Saul first heard the call to action. Messengers from the besieged city had passed through all Israel, but found everywhere (we may presume) the same reception as in Gibeah; there was much weeping and lamentation, but no helpful suggestion. Saul alone knew how to rouse the faint hearts of the Israelites. Like Deborah and Gideon before him, he proclaimed a holy war (cp. further, SAUL, 1, § 1, end, and notes), and the proclamation produced its wonted effect. In warlike enthusiasm Israel recovered its victorious might, and at the same time experienced the delivering presence of Yahwe. Jabesh was relieved, and the question whether the tribes should submit themselves to regal authority was decided in the affirmative. The need was indeed great. Unless some strong will should take command of such energies as still remained and unite them, Israel would be ruined. Influences which had hitherto served to unite its separate elements—faith, worship, military force, law, order—were not enough to secure prompt and united action of the aggregate. Monarchy was the one system already familiar in the life of Canaan that seemed capable of bringing the tribes together. There were no doubt some arguments urged against it—an opposition which, we may safely suppose, had two roots. For (1) the Israelite love of freedom, an inheritance derived from the desert, was incompatible with anything that brought servitude in its train, and (2) the religion of Yahwe seemed inconsistent with monarchy—the proudest fruit of heathen civilisation. Both arguments, indeed, concurred in as far as the old piety belonged to the same period with the pastoral life. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that, at the time, the kingship of Saul was welcomed by the majority as a deliverance, as a saving ordinance of God for Israel. This view not only lies at the foundation of the representation of 1 S. 9:1-10:11, but also appears plainly in a portion of the younger narrative in 1 S. 10:20-24. A harmony between the two being nevertheless impossible, exclusive use is made in the present sketch of the older narrative.

¹ See next vol., note 1.

² See GIBEAH, 1; GIBEAH, § 2 (3).

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The effect of Saul's exploit was that he was proclaimed king at Gath by the warriors. What means had he at his disposal for the accomplishment of his task? They were not, at the outset, great. At first his rule extended merely over the narrower sense of the word Benjamin (1 S. 11.11), and the more northerly tribes of Western Canaan—and the army at his command was but small, according to 1 S. 11.2, numbering only 400 men. Nevertheless Saul straightway took the field against the Philistines, his son Jonathan smote their governor in Gath and thus raised the signal for revolt. But the enemy advanced in force to suppress the insurrection, and the courage of all but a faithful few of Saul's followers failed them. Jonathan changed the position of affairs by the daring exploit related in 1 S. 11.34, and it was Saul and his six hundred who completed the defeat which Jonathan had begun. Only when the rout was general did the men of Israel who had hidden themselves join their bolder brethren.

This second success of the king was more brilliant than the first, it had been gained over the dreaded tyrants of the land, and Yahwe himself had come amidst the convulsions of nature (1 S. 11.10) to Saul's aid. The kingdom had greatly gained in strength. Unfortunately we know but little of what Saul did further for Israel. It is said that besides carrying on the war against the Philistines, he fought the Amalekites and restored the supremacy of Israel in the territory east of Jordan (1 S. 11.47 f., 15), a statement not to be altogether set aside (cp SAUL, 1, § 3). Saul's chief concern was, of course, the war with the Philistines. He gave the chief command of his army to his cousin Abner b. Ner; but brave men from all the tribes were welcomed to his banner (11.32). An independent command was certainly given for a time to David b. Yishai (Jesse) of Bethlehem,¹ in whom, as far as we know, we have the first case of a family of Judah coming into connection with the kingdom of Israel. Thus the course of events promoted the unification of Israel; even Judah, which until now had had but a very slight fellow-feeling with the Israelitish tribes, was brought within the range of the regal authority.

More than one reason is suggested by tradition for the introduction of the young David to his king (see DAVID, § 1.1). Suffice it to remark here that, whilst the melancholy from which Saul is said to have suffered and his change of feeling towards David are undisputed facts, the true grounds of his suspicion of David can no longer be ascertained from the tradition (1 S. 18.20). It is possible that a real or supposed intercourse of David with persons whom the king regarded as his opponents was the first cause of Saul's dislike of his son-in-law, and that jealousy of David's success in war and of his increasing popularity intensified this dislike into bitter hatred. At the fortress of Adullam, near the border of Philistia, the exile gathered round him a troop of 400 men who had nothing to lose and much to gain by fidelity to his person, and his fortunate marriage with the widow of Nahai (see DAVID, § 4, col. 1025; NAHAI, 1) secured a stable connection with the Calebites. But he could not long maintain his ground. He became the feudatory of Achish, the Philistine king of Gath, finding, however, means to win or retain the good graces of the chiefs of certain towns in Judah (1 S. 27.30). Cp Kamphausen, *ZATW* 674 ff. (86).

Meantime the Philistines had gained a brilliant victory over Saul, who had ventured to meet them in the plain of Jezreel. His too slightly equipped troops were driven back by these formidable warriors to the mountain range of Gilboa. Then the noble king, through whom alone Israel had gained courage to resist its tyrants, after seeing his sons fall perished by his own hand (cp SAUL, 1, § 4). He could not bear the thought of falling alive into the hands of 'the uncircumcised.' Well might these hated foes of Israel triumph in so complete a ruin of Saul's patriotic enterprise! And well may we be surprised at the darkness which closed in upon a champion so heroic! What was the cause of this lighting of his hopes? Had he overrated Israel's strength in comparison with that of the Philistines? Did the bow break in his hands because he had stretched it too far? We may venture to think so, and to believe that his morbid melancholy was partly to blame for this miscalculation of his powers. [For another view of the course of events see JUDAH, § 5; SAUL, § 4.]

After their victory the Philistines occupied the cities of the Plain of Jezreel and those by the Jordan (cp 1 S. 17.16). Both sham, the hill country, however, and the land beyond Jordan they left undisturbed. Probably they were too weak in numbers to attempt more. We may be sure, however, that Israel as a whole was in at least as bad a position after this defeat as before Saul's first victories; i.e., the tribes on the W. of the Jordan, in as far as they had to serve in Saul's army, became once more tributary to the Philistines. Judah, therefore, shared this fate. This is not to be proved from the OT; but the circumstances in themselves and the subsequent events under David (2 S. 5.17 ff.) make the theory in a high degree probable.² Still, to one acquisition of the preceding period Israel held fast, as a pledge of a better future—regal government. The victorious contests of Saul with the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Arameans provided a sure refuge for royalty on the land to the E. of Jordan (2 S. 22.7). It is the merit of Abner to have saved the tribes then beginning to grow together from the loss of this bond of union. The tribes of Israel on both sides of Jordan (except Judah) recognised Ishbosheth (ISHBAAL, 1) as king, while David, at the direction of an oracle of Yahwe, took up his abode at Hebron. There he was formally anointed 'king over the house of Judah' (2 S. 2.1-4).

The displeasing story of the brief reign of Ishbaal may be sought elsewhere (see ANNER, ISHBAAL, 1). After the deaths of Abner and Ishbaal, David

1 So the present writer renders 22.2, with Stade. For another possible view see SAUL, § 2, n.

2 (On the question of his real native place, see JUDAH, § 4.)

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16. Subjugation of Israel.

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750# 18 ID) King David, who was intimately acquainted with the military tactics of the Philistines, achieved the liberation of his people. Whether Israel freed itself by its own valiant efforts, or whether the Philistines were simply innocently tricked by the Egyptians (see DAVID, § 2, note), cannot be decided. The fact remains that David avenged the death of Sam and his sons, completed his work of delivering Israel from the Philistines, and even probably curtailed their territory at the foot of the hill country. The monarchy, by which men had clung even at the worst of their disgrace and humiliation, had stood the test, and could lay claim to the divine sanction of success. The goal set by Moses in constituting the nation had been reached; the tribes found themselves now in sure possession of the land of Canaan.

This book, however, involved a struggle of about two hundred years, in the course of which much that was old perished, and much that was new came into existence. There were now many who had little or no connection with the old state of things, whether from ignorance of blood or from common memories. The old and the new clans and tribes, especially Judah and its allies, and perhaps we should here once more include the Benjamin and the Ziphah tribes (p. above, §§ 5, 7) — were united under the royal sceptre into a new whole — the people of Israel. Its roots were in part quite distinct; but the young stems, in as far as they maintained themselves, gradually grew into one tree. The process had begun immediately on the abandonment of the nomadic life, and reached its completion under the first kings. Practically, indeed, it dated its goal when David reconstituted the tribe of Judah and closely united it with Israel, with Jerusalem for the national centre (see DAVID § 10). And when, finally, the latest won of all the cities of Israel became not only the royal residence but also the seat of the most venerable of Israel's sacred objects, the Ark (I : § 6) (2 S. 6), the history of the genesis of Israel as a nation was at an end, and now we may say that we have gained the presuppositions on which the further history of the nation rests.

19. **Boundary wars.** The chronology of David's reign is uncertain. Let us, therefore, though this has been done elsewhere (DAVID) classify and summarise, from our present point of view, the events of David's reign. His wars were not

19. Boundary wars.

generally, wars of conquest; their aim was the defence of the boundaries of the kingdom, especially east of the Jordan.¹ Before David, Saul had had the same object. That the Moabites should have been treated with such cruelty (2 S. 8.2; contrast 1 S. 22.1 f.) is surprising, but may with some plausibility be explained (see DAVID, § 8*a*). The occasion of the Ammonite war is expressly told us (2 S. 10.1-5), and owing to the connection of David's misdeemeanour with Bathsheba with an episode in this war, the campaigns against Ammon are described with some fulness. The war was closed with the conquest of Rabbath-ammon and the punishment of the people (see AMMON; DAVID, § 8*b*). Aramæans, tribes took part in the earlier battles, but without any benefit to their Ammonite allies. These were ZORAH, BATHRIGHON, ISHTITHON, and MAACHATHAI; neighbours of the Ammonites to the north, and of Israel to the east (cp DAVID, § 8*a*). In connection with this we hear of a victory over Hadadzebar, king of Zolab, at Helam (2 S. 10.15-16a 8.3 f.), which is probably not to be combined with the encounter described in the previous passage. This lends support to the statement in 2 S. 8.6 that David levied tribute from the Aramæans, even though we must admit the further statement that the Aramæan kingdom of Damascus became a permanent dependency of Israel to be open to grave suspicion.² And

¹ On David's wars as a whole, cf. HAT III, §§ 6-9, where references to recent works are given.

² See Budde, *Alt. St.* 250, and cp DAVID, § 86, ARAM, § 55.

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[illegible]

As the model of a received manuscript, however, the record of Secor on the head of the fish is more than

20 Extent of
the realm.

by Israel and by the Ammonites, indicated in 2 S 24:17. The S. border of the Ammonite side of the valley of the Arnon marks the frontier (Josh 13:19; Num 21:24). To the E. the border of the valley runs northward to Ek 15:22; K 15:20; 1 Ch 5:10. The W. side is limited by the Phoenician territory, and southward it reached the triangle of Be'er Sheva. The current expression 'S. from Dan to Be'er Sheva' (1 Ch 5:11) is a geographical formula and 'Sodium' the river, connected with 1 S. authority and sphere of influence extending beyond these limits. The long road of Edom opened up the way to the Red Sea (1 Ch 5:10). Moreover, a tributary state (2 S 8:13) was the Ammon (2 S 17:32) whence from 2 S 12:26 we are to understand complete subjection. The Ammonians lay toward the N. and, the deeply penetrated by 8:20, became tributary. David and I were compelled to surrender many districts to Israel. The boundaries of the Israelite territory eastward of Jordan were always varying. In the N. the people were really of mixed origin. On the one hand, it seems plain that in the early period of the monarchy there was a considerable mingling of clans belonging to the house of Joseph (Nu 32:7-9), on the other hand, we find an Ammonian influence (see BARZILAI, 14 settled at Mahanaim (2 S 17:32; 1 Ch 19:17-18). It is quite impossible at this point of the frontier to draw the line between Israelite territory properly so called, and the sphere of Israelite influence beyond that territory. On the N. David's rule made itself felt to the border of the Canaanite kingdom of Hama, on the Orontes, this appears from a recent expression (not from) the entering in of Hamath (Am 6:14; K 863; 2 K 11:24; Jer 3; Josh 13:4). The phrase is elastic, and has received various interpretations; but originally it probably meant the point where the plateau of Hama begins to fall away northwards towards the open valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The territory

thus defined, though not in itself large, formed a more important kingdom than had been known in southern Syria for centuries, and such as might fitly be regarded as a splendid proof of the might of the God of Israel. (Note the enthusiasm which breathes in the oracles of Balaam.)

Some idea of this may be gained from the two lists of his chief officers (2 S 815-18 2023-26).

21. Internal affairs.

features. (1) The body-guard of 600 trained warriors (see DAVID 1:116) from which we must clearly distinguish the national levy which was placed under the command of Joab. (2) That priests should be included among the king's officers was a necessity, as David from the first had established a royal sanctuary, manifestly with a view to heightening the prestige of his rule. The relations between the monarchy and worship went on steadily extending in process of time until at last, under Josiah, they were decisive for the history of Judah (see below, § 38). (3) It fell to the king to administer the sacred law of Israel (2 S. 15:15-20). This was plainly his highest duty, apart from that of leadership in war; in its discharge he was the immediate servant of God. For this function also, as a layman, he required the continual support of priests learned in the law. Untor-

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imately, we know very little about the range of the king's judicial activities: apart from the legal protection of the weak and needy (2 K. 18.26 ff. 83 ff.), he seems, in his judicial capacity, to have occupied himself chiefly in the mitigation and restriction of certain rigours of the common law (2 S. 14.1-11; cp 1 K. 20.11). Cp GOVERNMENT, § 18 ff.

For David the greatest difficulty unquestionably lay in resolving the discord between Israel and Judah. He

22. David's policy and character.

was greatly helped, no doubt, by his judicious choice of a capital,¹ and by the fact that Saul had now no surviving descendant capable of holding the reins of government. David also in his later years was careful to show due consideration for Israel, just as at an earlier time he had been at pains to figure not as the enemy but as the heir of Saul. From the account of the rebellion of his son Absalom (2 S. 15-19) it is evident that the most important accomplices belonged to Judah, not to Israel (cp, e.g., 2 S. 19.11-15 [12-16]); and from this, as well as from 1 K. 1.9 (end), it seems a legitimate inference that the interests of his own tribe were subordinated by David to those of Israel. For obvious reasons, the tension of feeling was greatest in Benjamin, the tribe of Saul, as the narratives of SHIMEI (2 S. 16.5-12) and of the revolt of SHEBA (2 S. 20) sufficiently show. The accounts of the successive rebellions dimly reflect the vicissitudes of the popular temper, and if David contrived to maintain himself upon the throne we may be sure that it was not merely on the ground of legal right, but mainly by the force of his strong personality. Marvellous indeed is the inconsistent variety of this great man's character. The reader must have vividly realised for himself the simple and half-savage manners of the period in order even to conceive how this man, whose kingly hand was deeply stained by bloody acts of injustice (not to speak of less grave errors), could have been of a deeply religious nature, and a pious Israelite. Yet even the oldest narratives furnish us with many instructive proofs that this really was the case (2 S. 9.20). How succeeding generations idealised him need not be retold here. The idealisation was by no means entirely unjustified.

The question of the succession was decided by David himself amid peculiar circumstances which have been described elsewhere (see ADONIJAH).

23. Solomon.

There were two parties at court—that of Adonijah and that of Solomon. The latter obtained the sanction of the aged king by reminding him of a promise which he had given to Solomon's mother Bathsheba (1 K. 1.13-17); the result was that Solomon was anointed king, by David's order, amid the rejoicings of the people. No blood was shed at the time, but after David's death several lives had to be sacrificed in order to extinguish for ever all hostile personal interests.² The vacancies caused by the death of Joab and the deposition of Abiathar were filled up by the appointment of BENAIHAI (1) and ZADOK (1 K. 2.35).

The few, though doubtless important, facts respecting Solomon which no critic can gainsay will be collected elsewhere (see SOLOMON). We shall here use them with the special object of illustrating the claim now made for Israel (united into a new people by David) to a share in the civilisation of the neighbouring Asiatic nations. The internal changes which this involved were no doubt necessary, but were, for religious reasons, encompassed with difficulty.

Close relations were maintained by the new king with Egypt and Tyre. Indeed, as far as the former country

¹ See DAVID, § 15, and cp Sia. *GIJ* 1270 f.; JERUSALEM, § 6.

² The harshness of Solomon's treatment of Joab was felt by the narrator of 1 K. 1.7, himself. In 1 K. 25.33 ff. we have his way of accounting for it. Better that Joab should himself expiate his deeds of blood than that David's posterity should suffer for the neglect of blood-vengeance. See, however, DAVID, § 11, col. 1033.

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was concerned, these relations were to some extent

24. Foreign relations.

forced upon Solomon. The pharaoh himself¹ appeared in Palestine, and captured the city of GAZER, which lay not far from the commercially important road from Egypt to the Euphrates. He married his daughter to Solomon, and gave her as a dowry the city which he had conquered (1 K. 9.16). The OT is silent as to the obligations towards Egypt assumed by Solomon—for such there must have been. They would probably include the protection of the trade route, and the contribution of Israelitish troops to the pharaoh's army (Dt. 17.16),—in a word, the recognition of Egyptian supremacy.

With Hiram I, king of Tyre, who at that time maintained a certain overlordship over all Phœnician cities (cp Meyer, *G.I.* 1, § 283 ff.), Solomon had a permanent treaty. Whilst the former supplied materials and skilled workmen for Solomon's buildings, the latter repaid him with the produce of his land and the cession to him of the district of CAPHUL (q.v.) (1 K. 5.10 [24] ff. 9.13-14). Moreover, the two rulers undertook in partnership certain commercial enterprises (1 K. 10.22). Towards the NE. of Israel, on the other hand, the earlier struggles with Aram were renewed, for Rezon b. Eliada (cp Aram-Zobah) founded at Damascus a new kingdom which involved Israel in severe contests. In the SE., the province of Edom revolted under the leadership of a scion of its royal house who fled to Egypt, though he seems to have had no lasting success.

Within Israel Solomon destroyed the last sporadic traces of Canaanite independence (1 K. 9.20 ff.).

25. Internal affairs.

commissariat of the court and the army was provided for by dividing the land into twelve departments (1 K. 4.7-19.27 ff.; see SOLOMON). He imported war-chariots and horses from Egypt, and stationed them in selected cities.² He built fortresses which mark out clearly the limits of his territory and the routes that he wished to protect. His realm skirted the Mediterranean from Carmel to Dor (cp DOR, § 2) (1 K. 4.11). Like other great kings he was a builder on a large scale; but he could only carry out his projects (which included palace and temple in combination, Millo, the walls of Jerusalem, frontier fortifications, and garrison fortresses) by imposing ruthless *corvée* on his people. The insurrection of JEROBAM (q.v., 1) was due to the popular indignation at this forced labour. It failed; but its energetic leader found refuge, like other political offenders, at the court of Sheshonk, in Egypt (see SHESHONK).

There were three traditional elements in Solomon's greatness, each of which continued quite late to be proverbial—wisdom, power, and wealth (1 K. 3.5-14). Of these the last can most readily be accounted for; it arose out of Solomon's share in the commerce of Western Asia. To begin with, he dominated (probably in concert with Egypt) a portion of the maritime route which was the means of communication between Egypt and Babylonia (Assyria), together with its lateral branches (Megiddo; cp TRADE). He had in his power the trade which centred in ELATH (q.v.), and even sent ships of his own by the Red Sea to OPHIR (Southern Arabia?). Finally, he appears (1 K. 10.22) to have joined Hiram in sending ships across the Mediterranean to Tarshish (Spain). How much ground there may be for the other elements in the legendary picture of him (see, e.g., 1 K. 3.15-28 10.1-13) we are hardly in a position to say. Even if we allow for ex.agg. ration, however, it is certain that the splendour of his reign was never matched in the history of Israel. He was not indeed such a king as the prophetic writers describe by the name of 'Shepherd' (e.g., Jer. 23.4 Ezek. 34.23). His ideal was that of the ordinary Oriental monarch. He

¹ Was it perhaps Pischbennu? See Meyer, *G.I.* 311. It was, at any rate, one of the last kings of the 21st (Tanitic) dynasty.

² [See BETH-MARCAOTHU, MARCAOTHU.]

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loved display, and his subjects had to defray the cost. Hence the many overseers of taxes and works who appear among his officers. Under David we hear nothing of them, nor can the difference be accidental.

Nevertheless, we must not unduly depreciate what Solomon contributed towards the accomplishment of the task allotted to Israel. As long as this people stood outside the civilised world, it was impossible that its lofty faculty should bear fruit in the history of mankind. It was much that Solomon by the material greatness of his reign gave that compactness to the body politic which Israel needed as a condition of progress. As for religion, by building the temple at Jerusalem, which was at first nothing but the court sanctuary, Solomon closely associated together monarchy and cultus, while at the same time he provided a sacred place that became for a distant future the most precious token of the divine presence and help.

Israel's transition to civilisation is an event of great importance, the effects of which may here be briefly elucidated. In different spheres there arose the same question: What can Israel adopt from the heathen civilisation of Canaan without impairing or losing its faith in God?

26. The new civilisation. There were not lacking indeed, now and in the centuries that followed, some who clung to the simple piety of the wilderness (shepherds, Rechabites, Nazirites); but theirs was a lost cause; the mass of the people decided for civilisation. Along with the agriculture of the Canaanites, Israel adopted the cultus of the land of Canaan (holy places, feasts, sacrificial customs), and transferred it to Yahwé. No doubt there were priests who did the best they could to correct this cultus in accordance with later religious views (Ex. 34.14 ff. 23.14-19); but the superstitious multitude certainly inhibited the fancy that the fruitfulness of the soil depended on the continuance of the old religious ceremonies. Here lay the root of that hard struggle between Yahwé and the 'Ba'lim' which even the prophets were unable to end.

There were two other influences which Israelitish religion had to contend with. First, political friendship and commercial intercourse with neighbouring states involved, according to the ideas of the time, some recognition of the divinities of those states and of their cultus; these became guests of Israel (cp. 1 K. 11.7 ff.). This did not accord, however, with the strict conception of the old ordinance of monolatry (Ex. 34.14). Next, Israelitish law had to undergo a complete transformation before it could meet the requirements of a country of agriculturists. With a view to this, Israel had again to go to the school of its heathen neighbours, who alone had the knowledge and experience required for such a reform. 'Criminal law' was perhaps less affected by these changes; but 'civil law' had to be largely modified, in order to suit entirely new conditions. That this process gradually went forward in an Israelitish sense is vouched for by the collection of laws in Ex. 21-23, and also by the fact that the prophets of the eighth century fought for the law of Yahwé then in force in Canaan as old and well known. Israel's peaceful labours and increasing security in Canaan produced the impression that the 'wars of Yahwé' had achieved their object. Hence more and more Yahwé lost his significance as a god of war, and the sacred ark became a symbol of divinity in general (see ARK).

The engrafting of Canaanitish civilisation on the Israelitish stock produced its fairest fruit in a store of legends, large fragments of which are still extant (cp. GENESIS, § 5). It was formerly supposed that we had here a strictly Israelite heirloom. But how improbable it is that Israel should have brought with it from the desert legends which presuppose civilised conditions! Add to this that Assyrio-Babylonian literature has revealed to us similar stories of such high antiquity that there can be no doubt

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of the dependence of the biblical narratives (J in Gen. 1-11) on them.¹ It is natural to suppose that Israel received these legends from the lips of the Canaanites, transforming them by infusing into them its own religious ideas. Presumably this was how the stories of the patriarchs arose. (See ABRAHAM, ISAAC, JACOB.) It is obvious that Abraham is closely connected with the primitive sanctuary at Hebron, whilst Isaac belongs to Beersheba, and Jacob to Bethel. The Canaanitish meaning of these names [the original form of which is obscure] must be very uncertain. It is clear, however, that when Jacob received the additional name of Israel, it was because this patriarch was the first to be fully adopted by Israel proper, as a sign of which he is represented as father of the twelve Israelitish tribes. It is clear, too, that in constituting these legendary figures its own ancestors Israel attached to them all that was significant for its own individuality and history—origin, wanderings, fusions and partings, religion and cultus. To them was ascribed the divine favour and the human virtues in which Israel prided itself. The variety in their treatment, and the specific individuality that was developed for each, may perhaps be accounted for by variety of origin. Abraham became a type or ideal of Israelitish piety; Jacob more a picture of the actual Israelite of history. These transformations may have been accomplished between the tenth and the eighth centuries B.C. They teach us not only with what delight and ease Israel accommodated itself to its new relations, but also how strong and yet assimilative a faculty was at the service of the religious convictions of its leaders. That these were to be sought, in the first instance, among the priests and prophets cannot be doubted.

With the death of Solomon, the unity of the monarchy and of the nation was at an end. Popular sentiment in Israel was against Rehoboam; Israel did not even come to Shechem at his request, but he at Israel's; Israel, not he, laid down the condition; the suppression of the revolt under Jeroboam had left behind it angry feelings towards the house of David. The old men, in their mild wisdom, hoped the best from a policy of compromise. Rehoboam, however, sided with the younger men, who recommended him to try intimidation. This was the signal for the open rupture. The excitement was great. Adoniram, the overseer of the public works, was stoned; Rehoboam himself had to seek safety in precipitate flight. That Jeroboam, the former opponent of Solomon, was proclaimed king over the northern tribes, including Benjamin, shows clearly the connection of the movement with earlier events (cp. JEROBOAM, 1).

28. The Disruption. The division of the nation into two kingdoms was regarded differently by the two parties. The Judæan view of it comes out in 1 S. 7 (7) 1 K. 12.16 (cp. 22. 7, 15); the Israelite in Dt. 33.7, and in the Abijah-story (1 K. 11.26 ff.). Although the latter owes its present form to Judæan editorial work, it yields the very interesting fact that an Israelitish prophet took occasion from Solomon's policy to condemn in the name of Yahwé any longer domination of Israel by the royal family of Judah; he regarded, that is, Solomon's proceedings as a violation of divine ordinances. But if the kingship of Jeroboam was demanded by Yahwé through his prophets, it was legitimate in the best sense of the word, and not at all a revolt against Yahwé. At the same time Israel reasserted its old right to provide for its own government, which did not, however, exclude a willingness to recognise the Davidic rule in Judah (1 K. 12.16)—a remarkable fact which shows how quickly and how deeply this new tribe of David's creation had struck root. Not even the well-earned popularity of David, however, had been able to fill up the gulf between Israel and Judah. By his magic

¹ [CP CAINITES, CREATION, DELUGE.]

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personality he had drawn and held together the two parts for a time; but there had been no real blending. Whilst Israel, with or without Judah, felt itself to be complete both in religion and in politics, for Judah the separation meant a serious loss. Hence the longing for reunion continued to live in Judah; the weaker part forgot not the time of its splendour, and after wards included the revival of it among its hopes.

It is possible that Jeroboam I. treated the ancient rights of the tribes and clans with more consideration than Solomon; but evidence is wanting. In matters of cultus he trod in the footsteps of David and Solomon. According to 1 K. 12:25 ff., he turned Bethel (and Dan?)¹ into a royal sanctuary (Am. 7:13), erected two golden oxen (see CALF, GOLDEN) in honour of Yahwē, appointed priests as royal officials in connection with them, and held at Bethel, as Solomon had held at Jerusalem (1 K. 8:65), a great harvest thanksgiving festival for Israel. The capital of the new kingdom was Shechem.

The disagreement between the two kingdoms made war inevitable. Rehoboam regarded the Israelites as rebels; hence actual hostilities may have been opened by him, as the late addition in 1 K. 12:21-24 assumes. The short statements, 1 K. 14:30 15:6 ff. 16, however, are certainly to be understood of a state of war, not of a series of important battles; and matters remained in this condition under Rehoboam's immediate successors, Abijah and Asa, down to Jehoshaphat (some sixty years). At the same time Rehoboam seems to have sought to render still more complete the readiness for war that he owed to Solomon (2 Ch. 11:8-12), and so to secure the existence of the weaker kingdom of Judah.

If, however, its position was not seriously endangered by Israel during his time, this was probably in consequence of Egypt's reasserting itself once more as overlord in Southern Syria. Shishak had, according to 1 K. 14:25 ff., laid Judah under contribution; according to his own monument, preserved at Karnak, he had traversed the whole of Palestine, pillaging and plundering (see SHISHAK). This marauding expedition, however, had no permanent result; lasting and effective protection for Judah could be found only in some greater power in Syria itself. Hence the kings (even Rehoboam?) attached importance to inducing the Aramaean kingdom of Damascus to take up an attitude friendly to them and hostile to Israel. Physical conditions favoured this endeavour, as the Arameans—Israel's enemies from of old—were cut off from the maritime district by the intervening Israelitish territory. Besides, the Judæan king, Asa, appealed (1 K. 15:19) to a treaty already formed between his father Abijah and Tabrimmon (Tāb-Rammān) of Damascus. These attacks from the E. fully occupied the northern kingdom, and seemed to guarantee a quiet life for Judah. But appearances were delusive; the clever calculations of the politicians of Judah proved incorrect. For the fierce and prolonged Syrian wars not only most painfully weakened the northern kingdom, but also drew Judah into the current of Israelitish politics. And so it happened that the disruption of the kingdom is closely connected with the decline of the power of Israel as a whole in Palestine. The course of events in detail was briefly as follows.

That Israel kept a good watch over its eastern frontier we see from the measures taken by Baasha, who had slain Nadab the son of Jeroboam I. during the siege of the Philistine town of Gibeon, and was reigning over Israel with TIRZAH [q.v.] as his capital. He prudently came to terms with the Arameans (1 K. 15:19), and then, taking up the war against Judah with energy, cut off its people from all communication with the north. In this extremity king ASA (q.v.) sent all the treasure that remained in the royal palace and temple to BEN-HADAD I. (q.v.), king of Damascus, with the petition

¹ Cp. Kle. *So. A. E.*, *ad loc.*

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that he would 'break his league with Baasha' (1 K. 15:19). Benhadad thereupon overran the territory of Israel at the upper Jordan as far as the W. shore of the Lake of Gennesaret (see CHINNEKOTIN), and compelled Baasha to break off the war with Judah. Asa was thus enabled to push forward his frontier a little further N. (see ASA). Baasha on his side (we may suppose) prosecuted the war with the Arameans (cp. 1 K. 16:5), and thus Judah enjoyed comparative peace (1 K. 15:16-23).

The rise of the dynasty of Omri was important for Judah as well as for Israel. The new king was a successful warrior, who, after a sharp struggle for the throne (ELAH, 2; ZIMRI, 3; THIRI; 1 K. 16:8-22), was proclaimed king by the army before Gibeon. The normal relation between Israel and Judah had hitherto been one of hostility. But we find that when Jehoshaphat, son of Asa king of Judah, went to Samaria to meet Omri's son Ahab (1 K. 22:2 ff. 45), there was an alliance presupposed between the two kingdoms, an alliance, however, in which it was Israel's place to dictate and Judah's to yield. This dependence of Judah is shown by the military service rendered to Israel on several occasions during the Syrian wars (1 K. 22:2 K. 8:28 ff.) and against Moab (2 K. 3:4 ff.); probably it did not extend further. Nor can it be decided whether the peace between the two kingdoms was brought about by war or by negotiation, or whether Omri already had views tending in the direction of reconciliation. We know but too little about this king, who had the wisdom to make Samaria his capital, and also brought Moab again under tribute, but was not, it seems, a conspicuously successful king (see OMRI). Ahab, at any rate, stands out in the meagre narratives of the Syrian wars as so strong a personality that one feels inclined to trace the reconciliation with Judah to his firm and skilful policy. The losses and concessions of Omri (1 K. 20:34) may well have made this step a necessity. The result was that in several successful campaigns Ahab drove the Arameans out of the territory of Israel and compelled them to restore the cities which they had previously conquered (1 K. 20:2-34). He established with Benhadad II.¹ (1 K. 20:34) a commercial compact, with equal mutual rights, between Damascus and Israel, and formed a friendly relation with Ethbaal (Ithuba'al) of Tyre, whose daughter Jezebel he received in marriage (1 K. 16:31). Meantime the contemporary king of Judah made an attempt to renew the Red Sea trade (see JEHOSEPHAT, 1). Thus for a time internal peace enabled both kingdoms to revive the famous traditions of the days of Solomon.

Then there rose out of the north, more and more audibly, the angry mutterings of a dreadful war storm.

30. New complications; Assyria.

Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria (860-824), following in the footsteps of his father Ašur-nāṣir-pal, had reached in his victorious career the neighbourhood of the middle Orontes. At Karkar (854 B.C.) his course was indeed checked by a large army of the allied kingdoms of middle and southern Syria, the latter represented by Ahab its overlord; but the attack was resumed in 849 and 845 (see AHAB). This was a summons to union for the southern kingdoms of Syria; in the presence of the incessantly advancing power from the north, the old distinctions between great and small must disappear. The enmity between Israel and Aram had rooted itself too deeply, however, to be dispelled forthwith by the recognition of their common danger. Boundary disputes raked up the embers of hate and easily fanned them into flame, and in one of such the heroic Ahab, who had gone forth in company with Jehoshaphat of Judah to the reconquest of the city of Ramoth in Gilead, met his death (see AHAB, RAMOTH-GILEAD). Nevertheless, the friendly relation between Israel and Judah continued. It had been sealed by the marriage of Jehoshaphat's son

¹ Or was it Benhadad I., as Winckler supposes? See BEN-HADAD, § 1.

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Jehoram with Athaliah the daughter of Ahab. Yet Israel's star was obviously on the decline. In the reign of Ahaziah the son of Ahab, Mithra king of Moab threw off the yoke of Israel (cp the Mesha inscription), and the attempt made by Ahaziah's successor Joram, with the help of Jehoshaphat, to invade and subdue Moab from the south, failed (2 K. 3.4-27). Not long afterwards Edom freed itself from Judah, and even the Canaanite city of Libnah, on the western frontier of Judah, asserted its independence (2 K. 8.20-22). On the E. frontier of Israel, however, the Syrians were unable to make any advance, as the attacks of Shalmaneser II. were renewed every three or four years.¹ When Hazael had succeeded Benhadad at Damascus (844-843 B.C.), Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah encountered him at Ramoth in Gilead, the very place where Ahab had received his death-wound from the Syrians. Now, however, Israel was in possession of the city, which was not the case in the time of Ahab. Israel's position had, therefore, improved in this direction.

The subversion of the dynasty of Omri by Jehu ben-Niassi gave a severe shock to the established order of things. The story of this bold warrior's

31. Revolution of Jehu.

deeds of blood is told elsewhere (see JEHU). 'Come with me,' he said to Jehonadab ben-Rechab (see JONADAB, 3), 'and see my zeal for Yahwé' (2 K. 10.16). This self-laudation was not entirely groundless. An oracle of Elisha suggested his revolt (see below), and the violent extirpation of Baal-worship is in the spirit of a traditional action of Elijah. In external affairs the headstrong usurper had to moderate his energy. Hazael of Damascus was defeated (842; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 28) and besieged by Shalmaneser II.; and, though the siege failed, Jehu found it advisable to buy the favour of the Assyrian by payment of tribute (cp the 'Black Obelisk' of Shalmaneser, *KB* 1). In Judah too the sanguinary measures of Jehu gave the signal for violent disputes about the crown. On the death of Ahaziah, Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, had the descendants of David slain in Jerusalem, one alone escaping the hands of the assassins. Perhaps she hoped, as queen of Judah, to be able to take vengeance for her kindred on Jehu. We only hear, however, of the vengeance by which she was herself overtaken. After the lapse of six years the chief priest Jehoiada proclaimed Joash, the one Davidic prince who had escaped, king, and ordered Athaliah to be slain in the royal palace. Thus the kingdom of Judah was, after a brief interruption, recovered for the family of David. These bloody revolutions, however, weakened the powers of resistance of both kingdoms, and loosened the restraints of religion and morality; and when Hazael of Damascus ceased to be disturbed by Shalmaneser (*i.e.*, in 839) Israel and Judah had to feel the full weight of his arm. Hazael conquered the east of the Jordan (2 K. 10.32 f.²), and traversed the west as far as Gath; indeed he was restrained from an attack on Jerusalem only by great presents (2 K. 12.17 [18] f.). This obsequiousness on the part of Joash was regarded, perhaps, as cowardly and premature, and he paid the penalty with his life (2 K. 12.20 [21] f.; cp JOASH).

Amaziah, the son of Joash, was indeed admitted to the throne; but his courage and daring, although they probably gained Judah some advantage over Edom, brought, later, the greatest humiliation on his country. A wanton challenge, sent to Joash king of Israel, was expiated by the captivity of the king and the occupation of Jerusalem by the foe. No wonder that Amaziah fell a prey to the same fate as his father (2 K. 14.19; cp AMAZIAH, 1).

¹ The narrative 2 K. 6.24-7.20, according to Kuenen, relates to the time of Jehoiachaz, son of Jehu; according to Winckler, however, to that of Ahab, before 854 B.C. See JEHORAM, AHAH.

² These verses are evidently out of their original connection. Instead of 'to cut Israel short' (722²⁵), read 'to be wroth with Israel' (722²⁵), with Luzz, and Hitz.

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It is, however, surprising that the crown did not now become the prize of ambitious politicians or daring soldiers, as was the case in Israel. That the people of Judah did not renounce the Davide family throws a fresh light on the popularity of its founder. Amaziah's son, Azariah or Uzziah (see UZZIAH, 1), was raised to the throne; and through him a last period of quiet and of conscious strength was opened for Judah, as it had already opened for Israel. It is true, Azariah was probably in some degree dependent on Israel. Still, we may infer from Is. 2 that his was a prosperous reign, and we know from 2 K. 14.22 that he extended the influence of Judah once more to Elath on the Red Sea. Of the Israelitish kings Joash and Jeroboam II., we learn that they obtained fresh successes against the Arameans when the Assyrian kings Ramman-mārī III. and Asur-dan III. fought against Damascus in 806 (or 803) and 773.¹ Jeroboam II. is even eulogised as the 'deliverer' of his people; he is regarded as having restored in its fullest extent the earlier dominion of Israel (2 K. 13.22-25, 14.23 ff.; cp Am. 6.12).

These years of peace and renewed vigour revived the pride and courage of the northern Israelites. But they were due, after all, to the weakness and

32. Decline of Israel.

inertness into which the Assyrian kings had lapsed (772-746), and when in 745 Tiglath-pileser III. (on the question of his original name see TIG) mounted the throne, the Syrian states could see that a last life-and-death struggle had begun. The internal disorganisation was heightened by dissensions within the parties which recommended, now adhesion to Assyria or to Egypt, now self-defence in alliance with the states of Syria, as the one means of escape from the danger of annihilation. Thus Menahem, who had marched 'from Tirzah' (but see TAPPIAU) against the regicide Shallum, and dealt with him as he had dealt with Zechariah (2 K. 15.2-15), placing the crown on his own head, sought in 738 (on the date see CHRONOLOGY, § 33) to prop himself on Assyria by paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 15.19 f.). On this occasion, we are told, the king of Assyria 'came into the land' of Israel for the first time. Menahem's son Pekahiah was made away with, however, by the Israelitish-Aramean party, and Pekah son of Remaliah put in his place (see, however, PEKAHIAH). We learn the aims of this party from the war begun by its leaders, Rezon of Damascus and Pekah of Israel, against Ahaz of Judah. They wished to turn the ruling dynasty out of Jerusalem, and place the son of Tabeel (probably = Rezon; cf. *AT Untersuch.* 74 f.) on the throne of David, because Ahaz of Judah had shown himself averse to their plan of holding together in alliance against Assyria (Is. 7). Ahaz thence the warning of the prophet Isaiah to the winds (cp AHAZ, § 2 f.), and, like a clever politician, asked Tiglath-pileser III. to help him against his too powerful enemies, who were now joined in the S. by the Edomites (2 K. 16.5 ff.). Tiglath-pileser added the northern and eastern frontiers of Israel to his kingdom, sent the principal inhabitants into exile in Assyria (2 K. 15.29), marched into the S. of Palestine, appointed Hoshea, one of the Assyrian party, king of Israel (2 K. 15.30), and put an end to the kingdom of Damascus (734-732). Hoshea submissively paid tribute for some years till he was seduced from his allegiance by the promises of 'So, king of Egypt'. Hitherto this king has been taken to be pharaoh Sabako, or some Egyptian petty-king. But Winckler (*Musri*, etc., *ATG*, 98, i.) finds in him an officer of the N. Arabian land of Musri, which was unwilling to let itself be driven by the Assyrians from the trade-routes of S. Syria. Shalmaneser IV. (727-722) besieged Hoshea in Samaria for three years. It fell to his successor Sargon, however (722-705), to reduce the city (722). The upper classes (to the number of 27,290) were deported to Mesopotamia and Media.

¹ [Cp ASSYRIA, § 32; DAMASCUS, § 9.]

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whilst foreigners from the banks of the Euphrates were settled on the vacant lands. By this policy the Assyrian kings sought not only to break the power of a subjugated nation, but also to secure the subjection of its country by filling it with people who could only preserve themselves by close adherence to Assyria.

Such was the end of the N. Israelitish kingdom. It shared the fate of the other states of northern and mid

33. Effect on Judah: prophetic and popular views. Syria. It fell a prey to the Assyrian policy of conquest, after the wars with the Arameans had drained a large measure of its strength. This must be our verdict as long as we take into account only the action and reaction of ordinary forces. In Israel, however, there were not lacking men who saw in the fate of Israel a divine judgment. Of such, we know the prophets Amos and Hosea. They and their successors have so much importance in the history of Israel that we cannot be content with a mere mention of their names; but, in order to do them justice, it is necessary to reserve a fuller treatment of their position and activity for another place (see PROPHECY).

The chief point to notice respecting the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries is this—that with one accord they took a view of the situation of Israel which was repugnant in the highest degree to the mass of the people. That no less a punishment than annihilation was impending over Israel (Am 5:1 f. 9:1-4 Is. 5:1-7) was a statement that could not be reconciled with the popular view of the nature of Yahwē. That men could be found to come forward with such a message is a phenomenon which is especially strange in Judah, because the expeditions of the Assyrians against southern Syria, subsequently to 734, were not dangerous to that kingdom. It is true, Assyria, since 722, became the next neighbour of Judah, which had to send its yearly tribute to Nineveh; but, for all that, Ahaz could boast that he had secured his land, his capital, and his throne, whilst his opponents, first Danasus, and then Israel, had been extinguished by Assyria. Facts spoke for Ahaz, not for Isaiah the prophet (Is. 7:1 f.); and the multitude, as the fashion then was, interpreted this as showing that Judah had received a guarantee of the divine goodwill towards it, and a recognition of its superior piety. The proud and powerful Israel had fallen; the despised Judah had been delivered. For the present and for the future Judah had become heir to Israel for good as well as for evil. As people went up to Jerusalem from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria to sacrifice to Yahwē (Jer. 41:5), many—such as found it possible to do so—would remove their home from Israel into Judah on the conquest of Samaria (722); for the hopes of the whole nation naturally rested in the remnant that had been found worthy of obtaining deliverance. All this raised the self-respect of the men of Judah and enhanced the importance of Jerusalem.

34. International politics. But at the same time, just as before in the case of Israel (see above, § 32), there arose political parties, which by their struggles used up what strength remained to the diminished people. As Hezekiah ben Ahaz (from 720 B.C. onwards, see CHRONOLOGY, § 36) was no friend of Assyria, we can understand that Judah did not throw away opportunities of manifesting its aspirations after independence. About the time of the revolt of Hamath, Merodach-baladan made himself master of Babylon and sought (circa 720 B.C.) to incite Hezekiah to a common contest with Sargon (cp Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 135 ff.). To what extent Hezekiah entered into these negotiations we are not told; but very soon Sargon re-established his dominion over Syria, and therefore over Judah, after defeating at Raphia the Egyptians (or, according to Winckler [see above, § 32] the army of the N. Arabian Musr; 720 B.C.). The year 713 found Hezekiah negotiating again with Ashdod and Egypt (again, according to Winckler, the N.

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Arabian Musr), but the conquest of Ashdod in 711 (Is. 20, see ASHDOD) put a speedy end to the warlike programmes. Hezekiah no longer held aloof from the mighty movement that shook the whole Assyrian empire on the death of Sargon in 705. Indeed, partly with his own consent, partly against his will, he was regarded as the head of the allied forces of southern Syria, which looked on this occasion of revolt with all the more confidence in a successful issue, because Babylon had risen once more in the East, and Egypt (or rather Musr-Meluhha in N. Arabia) too was taking an active interest in the concert of nations. In 701 Sennacherib, Sargon's successor (704-682), having first of all reduced to allegiance the eastern part of his kingdom, set out for Syria. There his first step was to compel to submission by the battle of Eltekeh (cp Josh. 19:43 ff. 2), and lay under tribute, the S. Syrian states—among them Hezekiah, whose mercenaries refused obedience (Del. *Ass. HWB* 171; 2 K. 18:14-16). Later, he sent a division of his army from Lachish against Jerusalem, and demanded the surrender of the city, so as to secure his rear. Isaiah exhorted the resourceless Hezekiah to hold fast, and predicted the preservation of Jerusalem; and in point of fact, perhaps on learning of disturbances in Babylon, Sennacherib withdrew (2 K. 18:17-19:34 36 f.). As it is improbable that Tirhakah, who apparently did not complete the overthrow of Egypt until 691, took part in the events of 701, the conjecture has been advanced that on a later expedition to the SW. of his kingdom, undertaken against Egypt, Sennacherib once more threatened Jerusalem in vain, being compelled to retreat by a severe misfortune, as is intimated in 2 K. 19:36-35 and Herod. 2:141.¹

The preservation of Jerusalem from the Assyrians made not the slightest change in Judah's political position. On the other hand, it was a

35. Effect on religious ideas: Isaiah. success of the greatest moment for the cause of Yahwē, and of far-reaching importance for the establishment in

Judah of the religious ideas of the prophets. For, whilst the prophetic movement came to an end in Israel with the dissolution of the state, in Judah it had time to gather strength and prove itself in overcoming internal opposition. Thus there was formed by degrees that 'remnant,' the seed of the future, which could be entrusted with the intelligent guardianship of Israel's historical inheritance. Isaiah was the originator of this movement in Judah. With enthusiasm and with finished eloquence, he spoke of Yahwē as the sovereign of the world, and of the power of faith or trust in him, also of the vanity of the worship of images (cp HOSEA, § 7) and the transitory nature of all worldly might, of the imperishable character of Yahwē's work in Israel (= Judah, Jerusalem), and the perfection of the future kingdom of David. Nor were those who adopted his ideas few or lacking in influence. The measures, too, of Hezekiah, that aimed at a purification of the cultus (2 K. 18:4) owed their inception to the effect produced by Isaiah's labours; though the preference for Jerusalem as the only place of worship is certainly more in accord with the popular interpretation of the experiences of the last generation and the interests of the royal priesthood. On this question cp HEZEKIAH.

The broad stream of popular life inclined for the present to the other or heathen side, if we may so call it. In its sense of weakness the people

36. Opposite party. looked for divine help, and did not omit to propitiate Yahwē, as popular conceptions of him required, with costly sacrifices (Mic. 6:6-8). Political parties demanded close alliance with Assyria (or Egypt), while the prophetic party taught that Assyria or Egypt was to be regarded merely as an instrument in the hand of Yahwē. Manasseh b. Hezekiah, who came to the throne about the same time as Esarhaddon

¹ Cp Stade, *ZATW* 173 ff. [86]; Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 26 ff.; Che. *Intr.* 15, 222 ff.; also Tiele, *B. IG* 114 ff.

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(681-668) and reigned till 642, joined unreservedly the ranks of the partisans of Assyria, and was able to carry out to the full the policy begun by his grandfather Ahaz. Perhaps Esarhaddon's expeditions against Egypt in 674 and 672 led him to show marked favour to everything foreign. In honour of Assyria, he made arrangements in his temple for the Assyrian star worship (2 K. 21:5, 23:12). The approval of his people he hoped to secure by once more permitting and patronising the traditional forms of Canaanitish-Israelitish cultus, the so-called worship of the high places that Hezekiah had restricted. Even the Canaanitish cult of Molech (= Melek, King), child sacrifice, was transferred to Israel's god Yahwé (Jer. 7:31, 19:5, Ez. 20:26 ff. 30 ff.; cp. Dt. 12:29-31), and the king himself, like Ahaz before him, set his people the example of this self-sacrificing worship, which was supposed to be well-pleasing to God (2 K. 21:6, 16:3). It only indicates the terrible anxiety that oppressed the minds of the people that men did not refuse to offer even their own children in sacrifice to the gods. Manasseh further constituted the temple of Yahwé a sanctuary for the most diverse cults, so as to accommodate with his altars and images the manifold relations of the international trade into which Judah was now led as a dependency of the Assyrian empire. Never had the attempts of the kings of Israel to initiate the people into the civilisation of W. Asia succeeded as they did under Manasseh (2 K. 21:9)—for a considerable time. In religion, however, the faith and simple piety of the people were in the greatest danger. Still, their representatives knew the meaning of the struggle, and showed themselves ready not only to contend but also to suffer for their cause. Neither compulsory measures nor the prospect of external advantages made them waver. Manasseh, however, persevered in his policy throughout his whole reign. If the Chronicler relates the contrary (2 Ch. 33:11-17), he is only reproducing the legend that grew up, under the influence of later theories of divine retribution, out of an incident which was probably simply this, that Manasseh favoured the revolt of Sams-šum-ukin against his brother Ašur-bān-pal, and then obtained pardon of the latter at Babylon. Amon ben Manasseh followed in his father's footsteps; but he soon fell a victim (640) to a court conspiracy. This was, however, suppressed by the people, who came to the succour of the Davidic dynasty, and proclaimed Josiah, Amon's eight-years old son, king.

By this revolution the Assyrian party was thrust aside: it had to give place, in the government and at the court of the young king, to men of national sentiment or prophetic ideas.

37. Religious reform.

The fruit of this change was nothing less than the laws of Deuteronomy and the cultus reform of Josiah (621 B.C.). From 2 K. 22:1 we learn only how the king was won for the cause, not who it was that gave the real impulse in this praiseworthy enterprise; but we can have no doubt that it was the prophetic party, though it may seem strange that we see them putting their own hands to the work of reforming the existing conditions rather than, as one might expect, enunciating ideas and principles. It was really necessary, however, for the prophets, if they were not to speak and suffer in vain, to descend from the bold heights of their ideals into the sphere of rude reality. In this they remained true to their old demands with all their rigidity. Fighting for Yahwé and the true Israel, they sought to banish every heathenish element from the popular life, or, where that was impossible, transform it—i.e., make it Israelitish. From this point of view we can understand how, despite previous procedure and their own ideas (e.g., Hos. 8:12, 13, 12 Jer. 7:21-23), they made questions of cultus a matter for legislation. The cultus was, as it were, the open door through which heathenism was continually breaking in upon Israel, as the experiences of the times of Manasseh just past had abundantly shown. To

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close this door the prophets certainly needed powerful allies—namely, the priesthood of the royal temple at Jerusalem and the king himself. The priests were needed, because the future position of the temple and its officers was in question; and the king, because without him uniform changes in the cultus of the whole people would at that time have been quite impossible. Originally, indeed, the position of prince brought with it no right to interfere with the cultus; the management (of the cultus) was the affair of the families and clans, and later, in Canaan, of the tribes and cantons.¹ The kings, however, without in any way changing the old state of things, had added royal sanctuaries where, apart from the cultus of their own clan, they could on special occasions assemble the entire nation to a great sacrificial festival. According to the varying exigencies of the political alliances of the day, they even practised the cult of foreign deities. Thus it was that the kings acquired a claim and found an occasion to interfere in matters of cultus outside the limits of their own clan. (See the history of Jehu, Joash b. Amaziah, Hezekiah, Manasseh.) It was these relations that made it imperative that the originators of the reform of the cultus should secure the introduction of the laws by the king himself. (On the nature and significance of the new law book, see DEUTERONOMY, § 4 ff.)

The inception and execution of the religious reforms of Josiah coincided with occurrences of the gravest

38. Kings as religious leaders.

import within the Assyrian empire. About the year 645 B.C. Psammetik I. had asserted his independence of Assyria and again reunited Egypt under one sceptre. Soon afterwards his army advanced into Syria. If

Herodotus (2:137) is to be believed, siege was laid to the city of Ashdod (2:137, col. 327) for twenty-nine years (640-610?)—whether the defenders were Assyrians or a native power we do not know. It would not be astonishing to find that, even thus early, Assyria had refrained from opposing the forward movement of Psammetik, for it was about this time that barbarian hordes of Scythian origin poured down from the north of Asia into the Assyrian empire like a devastating flood (Herod. 1:103 ff. 11; cp. ASSYRIA, § 34, EGYPT, § 67). Even if in doing so they compelled the Medes, who were also now threatening Assyria, to look to their own safety, these wild and rapacious invaders must inevitably have had the effect of greatly loosening the reins of Assyrian authority in W. Asia, and probably also, in some parts, of breaking them altogether. It would appear that Psammetik I. succeeded by gifts and entreaties in averting the Scythian irruption from Egypt; but Ashkelon was plundered by them. They must undoubtedly, therefore, have at least touched on the borders of Judah also, but without penetrating into the hill-country properly so called. Under the awe-inspiring impression produced by these new invaders—they were Aryans, not Semites—the prophets Zephaniah and Jeremiah, about 630-626, once more renewed the vaticinations of their predecessors as to the coming judgments of Yahwé, which, following the new development in the knowledge of God and of the world, they now represented as a universal assize or judgment of all nations. If the Babylonians found it possible to cast off the Assyrian yoke with impunity and establish a kingdom of their own under Nabopolassar in 625 (cp. ASSYRIA, § 34), assuredly some increased freedom of movement must have been possible about the same time also to Syria, which lay so much farther off; and it is, therefore, not in the least improbable that Josiah was able to lay hands upon parts of what had formerly been the kingdom of Israel without resistance (cp. 2 K. 23:15, 10 ff.). Everywhere the collapse of the Assyrian power began to be reckoned upon as certain. As soon as the

¹ Cp. GOVERNMENT, § 17 ff.

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hordes of the Scythians had passed, or had reached some point of rest, Cyaxares of Media, in alliance with Nabopolassar, set out against Nineveh to strike the decisive blow. That powerful fortress was taken in 637-606 and levelled with the ground. The sovereigns of Assyria then disappeared from history. Not, however, the empire over which they had ruled; the victors took possession of their heritage. Egypt also claimed its share in what the Assyrian kings had been compelled to relinquish; Necho II. (609-595) led an army against the lands bordering on the Euphrates. At Megiddo in the plain of Jezreel he was opposed (608) by JOSHIAH (7.21), who, we may be sure, acted as he did trusting in Yahwé, and because he regarded it as his mission to avert a renewal of foreign dominion over Syria. The Greek and Carian mercenaries of Necho proved, however, too powerful for him. He had to pay the penalty for his bold endeavour with his life. He was deeply mourned by his people, who found themselves misled (2 K. 23.29 f.; cp 2 Ch. 35.20-27 1 Esd. 1.25-32) by the hopes (pitched far too high) which the reign of the pious Josiah had inspired. (See JOSHIAH.) Jehoahaz, son and successor of the lost king, was forced to do homage to the new master of S. Syria, whom he overtook at Riblah (7.21) on the Orontes. Necho, who was on his northward march, sent him to Egypt as a prisoner (2 K. 23.31-34 Jer. 22.10 ff.), filling his place, as tributary king of Judah, by the choice of his more trustworthy elder brother Jehoiakim (Eliakim) (2 K. 23.34 f.).

Until the fall of Nineveh Necho was left undisturbed in the gratification of his ambition: the whole of Syria up to the Euphrates became Egyptian.

40. Babylon supreme. No sooner, however, had Nabopolassar seized the Babylonian crown than he despatched his son and successor Nebuchadrezzar, II. (604-562) to check the Egyptian advance. At the battle of Carchemish on the Euphrates (605) Necho was defeated and compelled to abandon Syria (Jer. 46.2)—perhaps, however, not all at once, for, according to 2 K. 24.1, it was not till about 600 B.C. that Jehoiakim acknowledged the suzerainty of Nebuchadrezzar.

Thus the result of these great changes, as Judah was concerned, was disappointing; in spite of the well-meant reforms of Josiah, and in spite of the downfall of Nineveh, it found itself politically in no better case than under Hezekiah and Manasseh; the only difference was that Babylon had stepped into the place of Nineveh, and that the Egyptians had once more, and with emphasis, resumed their old relations with Syria. The religious disappointment to which we have referred (§ 39, end) was followed, as might be expected, by a strong reaction (Jer. 44.15-19), which vented its rage especially on the prophets, as the Book of Jeremiah repeatedly shows. The policy adopted by Manasseh, but consistently opposed by the prophets, of friendship with foreigners, seemed only too clearly justified by facts. Once more, therefore, we see renewed at the close of the history of Judah the old coquetry with two great foreign powers,—with this difference, that the balance of favour now inclined towards the newly-recruited Egyptian empire.

Three years passed, and Jehoiakim renounced his allegiance (598). Nebuchadrezzar's army promptly

41. Revolts. invested Jerusalem; the boy-king Jehoiachin, who had succeeded his father, quickly surrendered himself and his officers to the Babylonians. Nebuchadrezzar passed sentence of exile (*i.e.*, deportation) both upon him and upon the noblest of the Jews, assigning to them (among them to the prophet Ezekiel) new dwelling-places in Babylonia. It is from this event in the year 597 that Ezekiel reckons the years of the 'Babylonian captivity' (Ez. 1.2 8.1, etc.; on 2 K. 24.1-6 cp Klostermann).

Nebuchadrezzar plainly considered this humiliation of the little kingdom enough to render it harmless for

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the future. He handed over the government to a son of Josiah, a full brother of Jehoahaz (Jer. 37.1 2 K. 23.31 24.18), Zedekiah by name, of whom he exacted a solemn oath of fidelity (Ez. 17.13), at the same time causing the poorer inhabitants to take the places of the richer owners of the soil whom he had banished. There was an error, however, in his calculations; the Jews had a stubbornness and a power of resistance for which he had not allowed. The poorer people triumphantly took possession of the estates of their exiled countrymen (Ez. 11.15), and many prophets, the opponents of Jeremiah, foretold a speedy end for the foreign supremacy (Jer. 27.14 ff. 28).

As early as in 593, plans were being matured in Jerusalem for a general rising of Judah and its neighbours (Jer. 27.1 ff.); the stimulus may have come from Egypt, where Psammetich II. had succeeded to the throne in 594. On this occasion Zedekiah came to the conclusion that it was better to prove his fidelity by appearing in person before Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. 51.50 ff.). Later, however, he gave way to the persuasions of Hophra (Apries, 588-570), when that Pharaoh intervened in the affairs of the Phœnician cities (Herod. 2.161), and so this weak king dealt a fatal blow to the independence of Judah and to the house of David.

In 586, after a siege of a year and a half, the army of Nebuchadrezzar forced Jerusalem to surrender, the

42. Sack of Jerusalem. Egyptians who were advancing to its relief having meantime been repelled (Jer. 37.5). Zedekiah sought safety in flight; but before he could cross the Jordan he was captured near Jericho. Nebuchadrezzar, who had remained in his headquarters at Riblah, received his prisoner sternly, and sent him in chains to Babylon. Within a month NEBUZARADAN (7.21) set fire to the finest buildings in Jerusalem, including the royal palace and the temple, made great breaches in the city walls, and sent some seventy of the higher officers and nobility to Riblah, where Nebuchadrezzar caused them to be executed. Once more the inhabitants of Jerusalem suffered the penalty of exile, their lands being assigned to those of the poorer class who were left behind.

The sorely weakened people received for their governor Gedaliah, son of Ahikam. It was a skilful

43. Gedaliah. choice, as Gedaliah was much trusted and from his father's time had been on terms of close friendship with Jeremiah (Jer. 26.24). He fixed his residence at MIZPAH (7.25), and forthwith fugitives from far and wide rallied round him to strengthen the bonds of national union. How this promising attempt was ruined by a revengeful prince of the house of David, who treacherously fell upon and murdered both Gedaliah and those who were about him (some of whom were Chaldeans), is told elsewhere (see ISRAEL, 2). It is an episode the details of which well deserve special study, and we need only add here that Johanan b. Kareah delivered the captives whom Ishmael had carried off from Mizpah, and afterwards, for their greater security, conducted the trembling Jews¹ to Egypt. The aged Jeremiah was, against his will, a member of the party. (See *Chetani, Jeremiah, his Life and Times*, 188-200).

Thus came to pass that death of Israel as a nation of which Amos had long before spoken (Am. 5.1 f.).

44. Review. The resistance had been brave; but the enemy was not to be denied. The strength and tenacity which were natural to it had, in the case of Israel as distinguished from its neighbouring kinsfolk, been intensified by a faith in God that was higher than theirs. It was not without reason that men in the olden time had spoken of the great heroes of the 'wars of Yahwé.' As this highly naturalistic form of religious enthusiasm gradually gave way before the

¹ They had good reason to tremble. A Chaldean army was still besieging Tyre (586-573), and in 582 there was a third deportation of Jews to Babylonia.

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influences of a peaceful civilisation, there grew up within Israel itself through the activity of the prophets a religious opposition which was highly prejudicial to the national well-being. It is undoubtedly correct to regard the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries as the true heroes of the Israelite genius. We must not allow ourselves to forget, however, that they were responsible for the destruction of the nation's old satisfaction with itself, and that the heads of the people often quite honestly regarded them as troublers of the public peace (see, e.g., 1 K. 18:17 Am. 7:10 f.). Upon this internal malady supervened external dangers (Hos. 5:12-14), and thus the effective strength of the nation was doubly impaired, even quite apart from the internal jealousies and rancours of the various tribes and clans: Ahab, Jehu, the Syrian wars in the north, and Manasseh in the south are typical instances. In the later history of Judah the influence of the prophets comes into the very forefront. What arrests and almost astonishes is the disproportion between the soaring flight of religious thought and its practicable impotency. The prophets felt themselves to be messengers of the God of the whole world to the nations (Jer. 1:10), at the same time that his people were going helplessly to ruin. Faith rebels at the irksome limitations of space, and feels itself strong enough to face the world. Less attractive to behold is its shadow-like double,—the blind stubbornness and pride, which in Jeremiah's time cannot conceive the possibility that Yahwé, the God of the world, could ever cast off his own. Hence the strange juxtaposition of diffidence and boldness, of courage and despair. That petty selfishness and personal hatreds should be added to these at a time when 'to be or not to be' was the question which let loose every passion need not startle us. For the multitude it was an unintelligible and depressing destiny, that the people of Israel should on account of its faith be precluded from taking a place among the great kingdoms of the world. To us this is no longer a riddle; we give our pity to the vanquished brave, our admiration to the little flock, helpless and despised, which recognises an inward renewal as the only way of healing, accepts suffering as a merited chastisement, and, in humble expectation, waits for the day when God shall bring to victory the cause of his own in the sight of all the world. From the midst of such a company a new Israel did indeed actually spring up; but it was not a new people.

We must not allow ourselves to picture the land of Judah after 582 as a mere howling wilderness. According to Jer. 52:28-30, 4600 men in all were carried into exile out of Jerusalem and Judah; this will represent a total of some 14,000-18,000 souls—certainly but a modest fraction of the entire population, although doubtless representing its best and most vigorous elements. If we take into account also those who had migrated into Egypt, we may safely assume that among those who remained behind were included but few persons who had had experience in the conduct of public affairs. The necessary consequence was that the residents felt themselves reduced to a state of apathy and helplessness. The establishment of such a condition in the conquered land was no doubt in the interest of the conqueror; but it was not a state of complete desolation. A strong Edomite incursion from the SE. still further diminished the territory of what had once been the kingdom of Judah, and forced the Judahites who still remained into closer contiguity (see EDOM). The Calebites whom they drove from Hebron moved up into the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, which at a later date was spoken of as their native seat (1 Ch. 2:50 ff.; see CALEB, § 4). Jerusalem remained throughout the centre of the community, and sacrifice was even offered among the ruins of the temple (Jer. 41:5; cp Lam. 1:4). As the resident remnant were now without any natural head—we hear nothing of any

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Babylonian governor—resort was naturally had to the ancient division of the people according to families and clans, or even according to local communities, and the care of the common interests was handed over to the heads of families (elders).¹ Although no doubt there still remained a few who continued to cherish the old proud spirit (Ez. 33:24-29), the mood of the majority was humble, anxious, subdued in the extreme. The community lay helpless, exposed to the insults of its neighbours; men felt that they had been smitten to the earth by the divine anger; the proudest hearts were crushed by trouble (Lam. 2:4). The truth of the prophet's prediction as to the fate of Israel and Judah had been personally experienced in the direst measure, and all that now remained was with shame and confusion of face to answer the prophet's summons to repentance and amendment; the anniversaries of the sad events of the downfall were observed with fasting and mourning (Zech. 7:3). In thus turning to God, hearts gradually began to glow again at thoughts of Yahwé's faithfulness and might. The rights of Zion over against the nations were no longer despaired of; hopes of a vindication, of a day of vengeance, began to be cherished, and men to wait on Yahwé (Lam. 5).

For most of the exiles in Babylonia, also, the destruction of Jerusalem was as startling as it was unexpected.

46. In Relying upon prophetic utterances (Jer. 27-29 Ez. 12:1-13:23), they had, from 597 B.C. onwards, looked forward to a speedy release and return to Jerusalem. They regarded themselves as the true Israel, and proudly looked down on those who had been left behind in the old home (cp Jer. 21 Ez. 11:1-20). For this attitude their past certainly supplied them with good reasons; but they did not in the least degree answer the requirements which had been made of a true Israel by the prophets. The chiding discourses of Ezekiel (especially 1-24) show all too clearly that as yet there was no sign of a 'new heart' in them. The capture of Jerusalem in 586 seems at last to have had this consequence, that the exiles, as Jeremiah (29:4-6) had already counselled, began to lay their account with a more prolonged sojourn in foreign parts. To what degree they were distributed over the country at large we do not know; in several localities (Ezek. 1:38, etc., Ezra 8:7) they were settled in considerable numbers, and here they maintained in full force the old clan relations, not only *de facto* but also by means of registers (Ezra 8:17, cp Ezek. 13:9). Doubtless it fared better on the whole with the exiles than with those who had been allowed to remain behind in the old country.

This holds true very specially of those who had no desire to assert Israel's loftier place among the nations, who simply threw themselves into the ordinary tasks of daily life, and soon, amid the widely ramified trade and commerce of the great world-state, found themselves better off than they had formerly been among the lonely hills of their highland home. Most of them, it must, however, be said further, became lost to their own nation, just as already the descendants of the exiles of the kingdom of Israel had become absorbed by their new surroundings in Mesopotamia and Media. The disadvantages of a life in a foreign country were felt to the full, on the other hand, by all those who were

unable to forget the God of Israel and his 'holy city' (Is. 52:1). According to the ideas then prevailing, it was a literal impossibility to serve Yahwé in a foreign, unclean land (Hos. 9:3-5; cp Ps. 137:4). All the more did it become incumbent to practise whatever served to maintain the connection with home. Personal intercourse with Jerusalem, which at first had been vigorously maintained (Jer. 29:1 ff. 25:1-5; Ezek. 24:26), naturally became less after the laying waste of the city and the repeated measures for reducing its population; the pious-minded found themselves in the end restricted to the memories,

¹ Cp GOVERNMENT, § 24.

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the cherished customs, and the writings they possessed. It being impossible to worship Yahwe by sacrifice, they kept up all the more assiduously such customs as had in themselves some sort of independent existence apart from the temple-worship:—prayer (in which the face was turned towards Jerusalem; see 1 K 8:42), fasting, circumcision, Sabbath observance; the last two, in particular, came to be distinguishing marks of Israel as opposed to heathendom. At the same time this thought found entrance, that renunciation of one's will and the surrender of the heart to God was the true sacrifice, well pleasing to God (Ps. 51:16[18]).

Special diligence was devoted to the preserving, editing, and multiplying of books, and, consequently, the calling of the scribes (סופרים) rose to great importance.¹

It was to the 'law'—i.e., to Deuteronomy and similar collections, as, for example, Lev. 17-26, which they edited and transcribed—that their attention was given in the first instance. Under the leadership of the prophet Ezekiel, who in chaps. 40 ff. of his book lays down specifications for the building of the temple, and prescribes its services after the manner of a legislator, advance was steadily made along the path indicated in Deuteronomy—that of imposing a special stamp upon the worship of Israel by means of laws. New, but in full accordance with the circumstances and temper of the period, was the express enactment of regular days and sacrifices of propitiation (Ezek. 45:18-20).

The editing of works of a historical nature was carried on along the same lines as those on which it had been begun in Judah before the Exile—viz., the past was measured by the standard of the law which had been in force since 621, and so was found to present little that was good (cp the books of Kings).²

The thoughts were wholly those of Judah, though the name was that of Israel. The conceptions of prophetic circles, as these had developed and taken root in Judah in consequence of the activity of the prophets from Isaiah onwards, became victorious in the religious field, and it was from these that the new post-exilic Israel took its origin. Judaism, it is true, developed many noticeable characteristics which we are not as a rule accustomed to observe in the prophets (because they are there only in rudiment). The law in the later sense of the word has its roots in Deuteronomy; but it is impossible to separate Deuteronomy from the influence of the prophets. Is. 1:10^f already confronts us with the thought that everything depends on Israel's obedience or disobedience.

The idea of retributive justice in itself is of venerable antiquity, and not confined to the religion of Israel; but the prophets had actually put it forward as the key to an understanding of history, and with a view to securing the freedom and responsibility of the individual, had so modified it (Jeremiah and Ezekiel) as to represent retribution as visiting the guilty person alone, and even as judging the individual exclusively according to what might be his attitude at the moment of judgment. Out of this arose a new conception of the divine precepts. They became for Israel the conditions under which it was capable of receiving the divine gifts (Dt. 28 ff. Lev. 26); by fulfilment of the law alone could Israel, whether the nation or the individual, receive life (Ezek. 20:11 Lev. 18:5 Neh. 9:29).

The interest in worship, which henceforth has free scope in the laws, first meets us in the legislation of Deuteronomy, and was first aroused by the prophet's view that the worship of Israel ought to have its foundation in the proper history of Israel.

The type of personal piety also displayed in Judaism had its pioneers in the later prophets. What Jeremiah had begun in his touching dialogues with God—the expression of the experiences and emotions of the individual soul—the Israelite, by nature lyrically disposed, now took up with great warmth as the motive of his religious poetry. Repentance, supplication, thanksgiving, praise,

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doubt, assurance of faith, now find their expression in a form that will continue to be the form for religious emotion to the end of time. A closer self-examination, a recognition and confession of sin—manifestations of the religious life so frequently met with after the Exile—were demands of the prophets (Jer. 3:1 ff. Ezek. 36:31 ff.) with which many in Israel learned in exile to comply. For the exiles were now actually living through and experiencing the nation's death in the land of the heathen; the pain and the sorrow of it was gradually leading many to recognise the full truth of what the prophets had judged. Those thus disciplined learned to bow themselves submissively under the hand of God, and to bear the suffering willingly as a merited punishment (עֲנִיָּה, עֲבָרָה, עֲשָׂה).

In such an attitude they became reconciled to God; out of the promises of the prophets the aspiration after deliverance drew strength for hope to live by; and this hope became all the livelier in proportion as Yahwe came to be sincerely acknowledged as the only God of heaven and earth. From him it was possible to expect Israel's vindication in the sight of the heathen nations even against the mightiest world-powers.

The first indication of a turn of affairs for the better was the liberation of Jehoiachin (Jeconiah), and the bestowal on him of regal honours by

48. Dawn? Evil-merodach (561-560; cp 2 K. 25:27-30. Or was it not until Neriglissar?). Yet other, more weighty, indications kept expectation alive for a considerable time. As there was now peace between Media and Babylon, the existing relations of the great powers seemed stable. All the greater was the tension when at last heavy storm-clouds began to gather over Babylonia. Cyrus II. of Persia had become (since 550 B.C.; see CYRUS, § 2) the next neighbour of Babylonia, and was too insatiably energetic to curb himself at the frontier of that empire. The kingdom of Lydia—i.e.,

49. II. Isaiah. all Asia Minor—had been conquered in a single campaign, and as the conqueror passed along the northern border of Babylonia the author of Is. 40-55 discerned in his triumphant march a premonition of the coming vengeance of God upon proud Babylon. At last the hour for a message of peace and comfort to suffering Israel seemed to have come. The prophet spoke in soul-stirring strains of the mighty deeds of Yahwe the God of the world—deeds by which he was to free his people from servitude to the heathen, bring them marvellously back to their own land, and there, before the astonished gaze of all the nations, make them great and glorious as never heretofore. He designated Cyrus as the instrument, the anointed, of Yahwe, through whom Jerusalem and the temple should be again restored; he spoke of the grand mission of pious Israel, to bring to the heathen the knowledge of the one true God. He gave exulting expression—he, a nameless prophet—to his sure confidence in the victory of the monotheistic faith; he saw fulfilling itself before his own eyes and amid the forms surrounding him that which by all the ordinary laws of human existence can only be the growth of a long-continued development.¹

We turn now to the actual sequel. Nabonidus having proved himself incapable of defending the country

50. Cyrus. against the invader, the people of Babylonia hailed Cyrus as a welcome deliverer. The most important cities, including Babylon itself, fell into the hands of the Persians without any serious struggle (538 B.C.). Cyrus, therefore, had no occasion to resort to the harsher rigours of war. On the contrary, although himself a follower of the Zoroastrian religion, he caused himself to be credited with being also a favourite and a worshipper of Merodach (see CYRUS, § 6), his policy being thus most favourably distinguished from the fanatical measures of Semitic princes against the gods and temples of conquered peoples. The Old Persian religion allowed him, and his successors, not only to respect, but also to promote the religious of

¹ Cp EDUCATION, §§ 5, 6; SCRIPES.

² Cp HEXATEUCH, §§ 18 ff.; HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 7.

¹ Cp ISAIAH II., § 16 f.

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other nations. He was thus in a position to respond to the religious wishes of the Jews. He gave orders to restore the temple of Yahwē, 'the God of heaven,' in Jerusalem, and sent **SHEŠIBAZZAR**

51. Sheshibazzar. (7.7.)—doubtless himself a Jew, and perhaps even a descendant of David—with

suitable powers, as his governor to Judah. There, we are told, he laid the foundation of the new temple; but we learn also that an arrest was soon afterwards laid upon the enterprise (Ezra 5.13-16). There can hardly be any doubt that Sheshibazzar was accompanied to Jerusalem by prominent compatriots, such as Zerubbabel, a descendant of David and Joshua b. Jozadak the priest, and that they were able to appeal to royal authority in the prosecution of their aims (cp Ezra 6.1-5). We may doubt, however, whether, as the Chronicler affirms (Ezra 1.6), Cyrus gave a general permission for the return of the exiles to their native land.

This was the first event that brought some stir into the quiet and secluded life of the Jewish population at Jerusalem. The impulse, however, seems to have met at first with opposition and obstruction rather than support. Although we have no trustworthy information on the subject, this is certainly intelligible. The returned exiles, with the powers committed to them, would soon become troublesome to the native-born Jews, with their rights and privileges. Moreover, it seems very probable (cp Ezra 4.1-4) that the people of Samaria—among whom, notwithstanding their intermixture with foreigners (2 K. 17.24; Ezra 4.2-10), the worship of Yahwē survived (2 K. 17.25 ff.) and was later brought into connection with Jerusalem (2 K. 23.13-19; Jer. 41.5)—endeavoured at first to reap some benefit for themselves from the permission of Cyrus to rebuild the temple, by making common cause with the Jews. Hence the first impulse resulting from the permission of Cyrus may have led to collisions in which the influence of the governor and the goodwill of the exiles spent themselves.

Yet the event of 538, in itself unimportant, was like the little stone flung into a confined sheet of water, which creates a long-protracted disturbance. Nineteen or twenty years later the movement to build the temple was begun again by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. Zerubbabel, who now appears as Persian governor of Judah, a man of Davidic descent, and Joshua the 'high priest,' to whom Zechariah (3.7) expressly attributes the control of the temple precincts, begin with the people of Judah the restoration of the temple in 519. The inactivity of the co-religionists is met by the prophets with the promise that zeal displayed in building the temple will bring down the blessing of God—i.e., the final realisation of the prophetic ideals of pre-exilic and exilic times—the overthrow of the great heathen empires, the gathering of the exiled and dispersed, the rehabilitation of the Davidic monarchy, and the recognition of Yahwē at Jerusalem on the part of the heathen. The temple was actually completed on the 23rd of Adar 515 (with Ezra 6.15 cp 1 Esd. 7.5 and Jos. Ant. xi. 4.7). It had been built by the people of Judah without help from the Persian government.

This appears clearly from Ezra 5.3-6.15, which refers to the latter part of the period of building. According to Ezra 6.8-10, indeed, Darius directs that the expenditure should be refunded out of the revenues of the province of Syria and Phœnicia, and that a regular allowance should be paid for the maintenance of the daily ritual of the temple. But it may be doubted whether this order was really carried out.

The restoration of the temple was an important achievement. In spite of its unpretentious appearance, the temple constituted an important rallying point for the native population, and exerted a strong attractive power on those who lived remote from Jerusalem (cp Zech. 6.10). Naturally it became more than ever imperative for the Jews that they should have a care for the regular service

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of the sanctuary. Nor was this, in the circumstances of the time, a simple or easy matter. The duty fell on, indeed, with the tendency of religious life in the times immediately preceding the Exile, as we know from Deuteronomy and Ezekiel. But neither was there any longer a king in Jerusalem to maintain the court sanctuary, nor can we find any trace of the provision of Darius (Ezra 6.9 ff.) having been carried out. Since, moreover, there was at that time, as Ezra 5.1 ff. shows, no real Persian governor at Jerusalem, the priesthood, with Joshua the 'high priest,' a descendant of Zadok, at their head, were simply dependent on the good will of the people. But, as appears from expressions in Mal. and Is. 56 ff., this does not seem to have secured them any adequate provision. There was no fixed order to unite willing and unwilling in a common contribution with regularity. The wealthy heads of families cared only for themselves (Is. 56.10-12). To the utter absence of any spirit of friendly co-operation were added calumny, fraud, and violence. The administration of justice was feeble or subservient to avarice. A large proportion of the people were poor and suffered actual distress. The pious, who anxiously endeavoured to be obedient to the word of Yahwē, felt themselves much oppressed by these conditions. The promises of a better time not having been realised, the zeal of the pious seemed to have been vain; it was paralysed by the practices of those who would hear of no sharp distinction between the service of Yahwē and their heathen surroundings. Intermarriage between people of Judah and Canaanites was by no means rare, and through the influence of the old family ties a blending of religious cults was brought about, in which the heathen as the stronger became victorious (cp Neh. 13.23-27). Of these two tendencies, which might be called Jewish-Canaanite and Jewish-prophetic respectively, the former maintained close relations with the people of Samaria—whose peculiar history had forced them to a similar course—who now endeavoured to establish rights in the temple at Jerusalem. Naturally the adherents of the prophets would acknowledge no such rights; but even those who favoured the cultivation of closer relations hesitated to change so radically the rights of the temple (fully recognised as these were) and perhaps thereby to endanger their stability. The people of Samaria retorted by resuming an attitude of open enmity, making the Jews feel their superior power (Is. 62.8 ff.). It is not strange that in these circumstances a satisfactory ordering of the temple worship was not attained.

Even external peace was not unbroken. Although the expeditions of the Persians against Egypt (517, 485, 455) did not affect the Judæan highlands, the revolt of Megabyzos, satrap of Syria, against Artaxerxes I. (465-425) would affect the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The condition of things, was therefore, deplorable in Jerusalem about the middle of the fifth century B.C. (Is. 59.15 ff.).

It was by Nehemiah and Ezra that a deliverance was effected. In firm faith in Israel's future, with great dexterity and immovable tenacity, they fortified the defenceless Jerusalem, and established the temple worship by the organisation of the Jews as a religious community.

As to the chronological order of the events that secured this result difference of opinion prevails; especially marked is this in the case of the arrival of Ezra and his caravan at Jerusalem (Kuenen, Ed. Meyer, and others—458 B.C., under Artaxerxes I.; Koster—about 430 B.C. under the same king; van Hoonacker—398-397 B.C. under Artaxerxes II.; Mennert). The account given in the following paragraphs agrees in the main with the theory of Koster (*Uet Herstel*, 1894; see EZRA II., § 9).

Nehemiah, a cup-bearer of Artaxerxes I., Longimanus (465-425), learned in Susa from some men from Judæa that Jerusalem lay in ruins and its people were groaning under a burden of wretchedness. He obtained of the king leave of absence and authority, as governor of the district of Judah, to attend to the fortification of Jerusalem. Arrived in Jerusalem in 446-445, he devoted

his attention in the first place to external relations. The strenuous efforts of the people of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood enabled him to restore the walls of the city in fifty-two days. The people of Samaria with Sanballat of Bethhoron at their head, vainly sought by open threats and hidden craft to put obstacles in his way. The plunder of the poor by the rich during the building of the walls he restrained by earnest admonition and the example of his own unselfish conduct. He did not allow himself to be intimidated in his plans by prophetic threats or by the ambiguous attitude of leading members of the community actively allied with Sanballat and his dependants (Neh. 1-6). He took systematic measures for the safety of Jerusalem, and secured an increase of the population by immigration from the surrounding district (Neh. 7:1-5 II:1 f.). Of his further doings during the twelve years of his first stay at Jerusalem we have no information; but he appears even then to have taken in hand the regulation of the temple service (Neh. 12:44, cp. 13:4-10). In 434-433 he returned to the Persian court.

Soon, however, he came back to Jerusalem. Henceforth he devoted his attention particularly to religious

56. Second visit. Arrangements in favour of the priesthood here scindend banished from Jerusalem even a member of the high priestly family who had become allied by marriage to Sanballat, provided for regular payment being made to Levites and singers, insisted on strict observance of the Sabbath, and sought to prevent mixed marriages (Neh. 13:4-31).

Many indications favour the opinion that the expedition of Ezra was connected with Nehemiah's second

57. Ezra. journey to Jerusalem, and was perhaps even occasioned by Nehemiah. At the head of some 1800 men of Judah (= 5500-6000 souls), Ezra, priest and scribe, left Babylon with the two-fold mission assigned him by the king—(1) of submitting the state of things in Judah to the test of his lawbook, and regulating it accordingly (Ezra 7:14-25 f.); (2) of bringing to Jerusalem the rich presents of the king and his retinue, of the province of Babylonia, and of the Jews' co-religionists (Ezra 7:15-19). Ezra's enterprise aimed accordingly at pronouncedly religious ends. In the externally mixed and internally disunited people loosely congregated round the temple, Ezra's companions were to form the solid kernel of a new 'Israel' that should render obedience to the law of God, and so could cherish with a good conscience the hope of being worthy to experience the fulfilment of the divine promises (cp. Dt. 28:1-14 Lev. 26:1-13). In fact, a company of 6000 souls invested with royal authority might well seem capable of bringing about a thorough-going reform in Judah.

Yet Ezra encountered great difficulties. These would spring not only from the religious contrast between those who came from Babylon and those that were native born, but also from the sudden increase of population produced by this influx of families of the highest rank. It is only, however, of the religious movement begun by Ezra that we hear. Learning with horror and grief of the mixed marriages that were common in all ranks he assembled the people in front of the temple and endeavoured to arouse in them the sentiments he himself felt. His acts and words produced a profound impression. A resolution was passed that a searching investigation should be instituted with a view to dissolving the mixed marriages in the district of Jerusalem. Whether a real separation, however, was made at this early time between 'holy' and unholy is not quite clear from Ezra 10. At all events, Ezra had by his religious energy produced a lasting impression on the multitude.

His greatest achievement, accomplished with the co-operation of Nehemiah, was the organisation of the new Jewish community (about 430 B.C.). This came into existence by the heads of families pledging them-

selves by formal subscription (cp. Neh. 9 f.) to the observance of the law (Neh. 9:15-10:3; 10:1-12) and other regulations with reference to the temple services (Neh. 12:19 [13:4-12]).

The prescriptions quoted from the Law (Ex. 11 f.) point to Ex. 23 and Dt. 15. The measures decreed and imposed upon itself by the assembly (Neh. 12:12-13:40b) aim at regulating the temple service by contributions made by the community in common (temple tax, firstlings, first-born, tithes), and culminate in the concluding assertion, 'We will not neglect the house of our God.'

It was apparently after this organisation of the community—not, as the present order of the book of Nehemiah implies, before it—that Ezra's

59. The new law. law-book was solemnly read in public (Neh. 8:1-12). As its first effect is mentioned (Neh. 13:18) the new celebration of the feast of 'Tabernacles,'

which plainly answers to the prescription now to be found in Lev. 23:34-43. This leads to the assumption that the law-book of Ezra contained in the main the Law of Holiness (P₁ or P₂) and the oldest parts of the Priestly Code proper (P₃ or P₄; see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 9). The amplification of this book and its combination with the older parts of our Pentateuch will have followed soon after (see CANON, § 23 f.). How far Ezra himself had a share in this work we do not know. At all events, the work undertaken by Nehemiah and Ezra was thus completed, inasmuch as the laws demanded by the new conditions of things were accorded authority equal to that of the older collections (cp. § 61). This fact is reflected in the later Jewish legend according to which the Law was written out anew by Ezra (4 Esd. 14:19-22 4Q:47; *Prek. Ith. i. 1, 2*). We have another important monument of the constitution of the post-exilic community in the list of its families and local communities (Ezra 2=Neh. 7=1 Esd. 5) adopted by the Chronicler as a list of exiles returned in the time of Cyrus see EZRA II, § 9). According to it, the number of men in the community amounted to 42,360—i.e., some 521,000 souls.

Before proceeding with the history of this newly constituted community, we must briefly set forth its

60. Idea of congregation. characteristics and its relation to the pre-exilic people of Israel. The fundamental idea of Ezra's new creation is

clearly dependent on those by which it was preceded—Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, 'Law of Holiness' (see LEVITICALS)—it is that of a holy people in a holy land. Since the predominant conception of holiness was in the ritualistic sense of purity, we have the impression of the whole community being regarded precisely as a sacrificial brotherhood of the old times. The stranger (גֵּר, גֵּרָא) is excluded; marriage with him makes unclean; circumcision and the Sabbath are the badges of the Jewish community, and serve, along with the observance of other prescriptions, to sanctify the land. In fact, it was the organisation of the Jewish community after the Exile that for the first time completely abolished the old sacrificial communion of families or clans. All its members contributed alike to the maintenance of one and the same cultus at the single sanctuary. Thus the post-exilic community in regulating the cultus by law took up a position completely in harmony with that sketched by the last representatives of prophecy at the beginning of the Exile. But, unlike them, it was not content with expelling from Israel everything heathen. It sought in the institution of a common cultus a bond, firm and strong, to unite in a close fellowship the individual members—an end secured formerly by the establishment of the monarchy. Hence to the highest representative of the ecclesiastically reorganised community—the high priest—were transferred also badges of royalty of many kinds (e.g., ANOINTING [p. 2, § 3]).

The support and strength of the community was the new law-book, which was certainly regarded by those

61. The Torah. in authority merely as a reasonable modification and completion, and therefore as the legitimate successor, of Deuteronomy. The application of it became a learned accomplishment.

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It was written and its provisions were many and varied. Moreover—and this was the chief difficulty—it was not enough to know the written law. That contained only certain prescriptions, namely those which had been regarded as of special importance when the various collections were made. The system as a whole, the mode of procedure, the various legal precedents, were unwritten. Without a knowledge of the latter, however, administration of justice in Israel was really impossible; the written law could be used only by one who understood the place and significance of the several statutes in the whole body of law, and their use in accordance with the ancient unwritten law of established usage. Hence the skilled use of the law fell more and more out of the hands of the priests and became the affair of the scribes (*סופרים*), who, no doubt, not infrequently belonged to the priesthood (cp. e.g., the case of Ezra himself). The more influential the scribes became, the more would the priesthood have to reckon with them. The sphere of Jewish law and Jewish legal administration cannot be measured according to the modern distinction between spiritual and temporal, ecclesiastical and political. The 'affairs of Yahwe' (cp. the antithesis in 2 Ch. 19.11) included besides the cultus the whole realm of law. In Israel law had always been counted as a holy affair of Yahwe's; the Jewish community could not for a moment give this up if it recognised obedience to the will of Yahwe as its mission, according to Ezra 7.25f., the royal powers vested in Ezra do not indicate in this respect any restriction of any kind.

On the other hand, Nehemiah and Ezra tacitly abandoned political independence, and in so doing gave up a vital part of the hopes and ideas of the prophets. This very sacrifice, sore as it was, opened to them a way of escape from a desperate position, and guaranteed them not only room for their undertakings, but also the strong support of the imperial power. The followers and adherents of the prophets, indeed, were offended; and there must have been some deeper influence at work than the mere bribes of his enemies, when we find Nehemiah complaining even of enmity on the part of the prophets (Neh. 6.6-14). The result, however, confirmed the policy of Nehemiah and Ezra; and it is accordingly no matter for surprise that in the sequel the position of the prophets fell grievously in popular esteem (Zech. 13.5-6). The abandonment of political independence, however, was only a preliminary. The coming glorification of Israel before all the heathen was the goal for the sake of which Nehemiah and Ezra sacrificed their laborious work on points of detail and minor matters. The old political programme of the prophets was retained or reconstructed in the form of eschatology. The position accorded to strangers in the Jewish community clearly establishes the character of this sacrifice as a mere preliminary. Following Deuteronomy, the law-book of the post-exilic community decides (Ex. 12.49 Lev. 24.22) that there should be one law for native (*אזרח*) and foreigner (*גר*); indeed, foreigners have the option of circumcision, and can thus become completely merged in the community. This is a fruit of the universalism of the prophets. On the other hand, from civil qualifications the *גר* is excluded.¹ This would aim at keeping the civil community pure as the birthplace of the future nation, preserving a true 'Israel' for the time of the great crisis. In the Jewish constitution instituted by Nehemiah and Ezra, accordingly, what we find is a well thought-out attempt to secure for the remnant of Israel, even without political independence, the enjoyment of their religious inheritance in its fullest extent.

Notwithstanding the emphasis that was, especially in the beginning, laid on the community, piety was a concern of the individual. In this respect the views

¹ Alfr. Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Israeliten u. d. Juden z. a. Fremden* (1906), 160 ff. See STRANGER.

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that meet us in the Memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra

63. Practical religion.

(see EZRA II, § 5) are instructive. Every male member of the community who had passed his twentieth year had to pay the temple tax (Neh. 10.2 [13] f. 1 x 30 *g* f.). Except where the nature of the case demanded otherwise, it was the duty of the community to pay the provisions of the law. The sufferings of nearly 200 years were, indeed, recognised in the true prophetic spirit as divine punishment for the sins of the nation. A thoroughgoing reform would, it was hoped, end the long chastisement and usher in a time of grace. But, although there was no doubt about the common guilt, everyone was required to acknowledge and confess his sin (cp. Ezra 9.6 f. Neh. 9). There thus began to prevail in the Jewish community a constant consciousness of sin. The stiffness of the law so often spoken of must give place to self-abasement and humility before God (*תביעה*). As obedience to God came to be obedience to the law, to be solicitous (*שקט*) about the law was accounted specially praiseworthy. Certainly we have coming to us from post-exilic times the noblest testimony to the supreme blessing of communion with God (*עז*, Ps. 73.1 f.), and touching descriptions of a soul's conflict with unmerited suffering (*תביעה*). They show us that personal piety then flourished in strength. Still, under the dominion of law religion could not fail to become prevalently a matter of form and outward act. The contrast was similar in another respect. The monotheistic attitude of mind toward God was assured; it directed men's eyes beyond the Jewish community on to the other nations. The worship, however, to which men were devoted moved in narrower bounds on the ruins of a popular religion that was no more.

The formation of the Jewish community did not pose on their land a new constitution. The law accommodated itself to traditional relations, supplementing them and filling them with the new spirit.

64. Political constitution.

If no special governor for Jerusalem were appointed, the district was administered from Samaria by the resident Persian officer, who appears to have had an adviser at Jerusalem (Neh. 11.24). Taxation and military service were in his hands. The highest place among the native population was occupied by the 'elders' or 'nobles,' the hereditary representatives of the families settled in the capital. In their hands was the civil and, in conjunction with special judges, apparently also the judicial administration, except in as far as these matters were attended to locally (cp. Ezra 5.3 f.). From this, it seems, arose the *γερονται*, senate or syndrium, the existence of which, however, we are not able to prove till the Greek age (108 B.C.; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 33). An officer, however, who at first ranked alongside these, soon rose above them all, even above the descendants of David,—the high priest. He ruled in the sanctuary and administered temple dues paid by all alike. The sacred office, therefore, easily became a prize for the ambitious and avaricious, and occasionally an object of sanguinary struggle. As Josephus says (*Ant.* xi. 13.10), the constitution was accordingly an aristocratic oligarchy.

In the country towns also there were 'elders and judges,' the latter of whom were probably subject to appointment (Dt. 16.18 Ezra 7.25). The basis for this new arrangement was plainly provided by the old organisation of the nation by clans. The officers often mentioned by Nehemiah (*שגיטות*; *עז* 'rulers'; *רשעים* 'deputies') were persons appointed by and subordinate to the Persian governor (Neh. 5.17).

Nothing shows more clearly the deep impression made by the constitution of the Jewish community than

65. Samaria. Israel, at Shechem. The alliance of the leading families in Samaria and Judaea had found in Nehemiah an undaunted opponent. He did not shrink from expelling from Jerusalem a descendant of the high priest Eliashib who had married a daughter of Sanballat (Neh. 13.28), and all prospect of nearer rela-

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tions was excluded by the organisation of the community. What they had not been able to attain in common with the Jews, the Samaritans accomplished, however, for themselves, with the assistance of the Jewish fugitives. They installed the Zadokite from Jerusalem as their high priest, built a temple on Mt. Gerizim, and adopted the Pentateuch, with certain alterations, as their law (see *CANON*, § 25).

By Josephus, indeed (*Ant.* vi. 2), these events are brought into connection with the expedition of Alexander the Great; but, since there can hardly be any doubt that Josephus has incorporated in his narrative the statements of Neh. 13.26, he must have assigned them too late a date (see *CANON*, § 25).

The organisation of the Samaritan community must have been completed not later than the first half of the fourth century B.C.

The history of the Jewish community after the Exile is known to us only in part. About the close of the Persian and the beginning of the Greek

66. Persian period.

period we know very little. During the long struggle of the Egyptians for freedom from Persia (408-343 B.C.) not only was Syria often traversed by Persian armies, but also it was itself the scene of battles fought under Artaxerxes III. Ochus (358-338) with great vigour and ferocity. The Jewish community would certainly suffer. It appears, however, also to have made common cause with the insurgents in Egypt and Syria. For, about 351, Ochus seems to have had part of the populace of Judea conveyed, apparently by Orophernes (the HOLOFERNES [9.1] of the Book of Judith), to Hyrcania (and Babylonia), and it was presumably in the years 348-340 that the persecutions inflicted on the Jews by Ochus's notorious general, the Egyptian eunuch Bagoas (= Bagosai, *Jos.* *Ant.* xi. 7.1), fell.¹ Undoubted allusions to these events are not to be found in the OT; but passages in Is. 21.27, also 61.7-61.12 [11], *Pss.* 44.7-49.89, have lately been referred to them.²

The weight of the intolerable oppression led the Jewish community to hail the wonderful triumphal progress of Alexander the Great as a

divinely sent deliverance (cp Is. 21.14-16 *Pss.* 40.2). The change of rule seems to have been accomplished peacefully as far as Jerusalem was concerned, though hardly with the special favour personally shown by Alexander that Josephus mentions (*Ant.* xi. 8.1). But Alexander's brilliant victories were not followed by peace. After varying contests between Antigonus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy, including even a conquest of Jerusalem by the last mentioned ruler, probably after the battle of Gaza (312), the S. part of Syria was, in consequence of the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.), assigned to Ptolemy I.

Under the wise and judicious rule of the first three Ptolemies (305-221) the Jewish community, probably for the first time, enjoyed a considerable period of peace and quiet. The battles fought against the Seleucids in the middle of the third century (cp *Dna.* 116 ff.) did not, it would seem, affect the highland district, and the religious peculiarities of the Jews were respected by the Ptolemies. We must, accordingly, suppose that at this time there was a strengthening and extension of the community.

The advance of the Seleucids in Syria did not at first produce any change in the favourable position of the Jews. The victory of Ptolemy IV. Philopator over Antiochus III. the Great at Raphia (217 B.C.) was, indeed, hailed by the Jews with joy. When, however, after 202, Antiochus III. resumed and pursued with better success his plans of conquest, the inclinations of the Jews were transferred to him. After he had defeated the Egyptian general at the sources of the Jordan in 198, the Jews made voluntary submission to him and assisted him in driving out the Egyptian garrison from the citadel (Akra) of Jerusalem. We can

¹ Cp W. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (92), pp. 170 f. 175 f. (For the name cp BAGOAS, *Bruguié* I.)

² *Che. Intr. Is.* 358 ff. Cp ISRAEL II, §§ 13, 21.

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hardly credit all that Josephus tells of the consequent favour shown by Antiochus (*Ant.* xii. 3.1/2), but we may infer from it that the Jewish community prospered under this representative of the house of Seleucus. From that time onwards (198-7 B.C.) Judea belonged to the kingdom of the Seleucids.

We come here upon the surprising phenomenon of a Syrian party—i.e., one friendly to the Greeks—controlling opinion in Jerusalem.

66. Contact with Hellenism.

The Chronicler, who compiled the books of Chronicles and also Ezra and Nehemiah (see *HISTORICAL LITERATURE*, § 15) in the first half of the third century, proves beyond a doubt the complete victory of the ideas for which Nehemiah and Ezra had fought. The history of the past is there recast as if the standards of the present had always prevailed in Israel. This directly concerns also the estimation in which foreign innovation was held. But it would be wrong to conclude that there were none but orthodox (so to speak) in the Jewish community. The Psalms show that such as remained true to the law had much to complain of in the way of calmness and violence on the part of the 'godless' whom, it was hoped, Yahweh would sometime cut off from the community in judgment. These were such members of the community as favoured the foreigner. According to the descriptions in the Psalms, they were to be found in the more wealthy classes. Their reliance on the kingdom of the Seleucids is explained by the fact that it was there that Greek life was able to get a hold and root itself. The Egyptians were so set and fixed in their way of life and their civilisation that even the Ptolemies could not move them. Alexandria, the creation of Alexander the Great, and other places in the Delta, became famous seats of Greek culture and commerce. But it was otherwise in W. Asia. The natural boundaries of the nations had already been abolished by the Assyrians and Chaldeans (*Is.* 10.14 f.), and throughout their empire there had been a blending of races and religions. The equalising influences of trade and commerce increased under the rule of the Persians, who opened new routes. But the state created by the Asiatic conquerors was only a loose collection of separate groups in which the old native forms survived. When the Greek conquerors had forced an entrance for themselves, a great swarm of peaceable stragglers followed in their train, and had no difficulty in making their way into the loose groups and forming alliances with them. Naturally it was in the newly-founded or newly-colonised Greek cities that this process began, and it was even later confined in general to the towns (the settled country was now Aramaic, the desert Arabian). Greek education, art, and trade were pursued; new markets were opened up; luxury and unstinted self-indulgence gave life a seductive lustre. It

was the Jews outside of Jerusalem, in 69 a. Diaspora, the Diaspora, that made the first acquaintance with Hellenism (cp *DISPERSTION, HELLENISM*). We cannot trace with any certainty the rise of Jewish communities in foreign lands. The accounts in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 1.34), of forcible settlements in Egypt and Asia Minor have been called in question. It is more likely that trade interests led the Jews abroad, and that allied families joined them in the leading commercial towns. Here they learned to speak, think, and live as Greeks. They were sought out by anyone who came from Jerusalem (*Eccles.* 31.6-11); and they in their turn visited Jerusalem, their spiritual mother, and told how greatly the world was changed. And for Jews the outer world had long ago come to have a two-fold significance: it was not only the power that was hostile to Yahweh, who would yet break its strength, but also the multitude of those who would sometime bow themselves before him and bring offerings to him at Jerusalem. Hence it was not simply a sign of unbelief or apostasy if men had regard for the

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new forms of the world, and did not forget the man in the Jew—and the man at that time was the Greek, fairly launched on his career of cosmopolitanism. Writings such as Koheleth, Jonah, Ecclesiastes testify to this—each in its own way. Ecclesiastes allows even the external demands of Judaism to fall into the background in order to lay the emphasis on the demand for fear of God and moral conduct. Such a conception of life approximated to that of the Greek popular philosophy of those times. In the far-reaching current of universalism such inner relations must not be underestimated. In the intercourse between Judaism and Hellenism it is certainly the lower motives of conduct that come more clearly forward—vanity, greed, lust of power, licentiousness. For the men of distinction and wealth at Jerusalem this was the main thing (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4).

There were at this time two among the priestly families at Jerusalem that contended for the leadership—the Oniades and the Tobiades.¹

69 A. Two parties. Oniades were the pious guardians of the prophetic inheritance rescued from the exile, and set their hopes on the mild rule of the Ptolemies. The Tobiades, on the other hand, regarded the strict separation of Israel from other nations, especially from the dominant Greeks, as hurtful; they were, therefore, in favour of the Seleucides. But perhaps the question was one of political ascendancy more than of religious antagonism. Matters came to an open conflict when Ptolemy VI, Philometor, planned the subjugation of southern Syria (173 B.C.). The high priest Onias² felt himself so strong that he drove the Tobiades and their partisans from Jerusalem (Jos. *Hist.* i. 11). These sought help of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (175-164), who gladly seized the opportunity to get the better of Ptolemy's friends in Jerusalem. Any compendious account of the struggles in 173-170 for the high-priesthood in Jerusalem is difficult owing to the frequent contradictions of our two sources—Josephus and 2 Maccabees. The course of events was perhaps somewhat as follows: Antiochus IV. displaced ONIAS in favour of his hellenizing brother JASON. The latter in turn had to make way for MENELAUS in 171. In the first campaign of Antiochus IV. against Ptolemy, Jason came back and drove out Menelaus, but was unable to retain his position. He was perhaps slain by Onias (170 B.C.). Onias found an asylum for himself and his followers in Egypt (cp § 71 below). Menelaus was restored by Antiochus to the high-priesthood, and, as years passed, was the better able to ensure the king's protection since the latter had incensed against himself all the more seriously-minded Jews.

On returning from Egypt in 170 B.C., Antiochus made his way into the temple and plundered it. This

70. Antiochus Epiphanes. desecration of the sanctuary aroused the religious feeling of the Jews, and showed them that they had nothing to expect in the way of appreciation of (not to speak of consideration for) their peculiarities. Even the more shortsighted and careless recognised the danger that threatened the Jewish community from the side of Greek civilisation. Any prospect of accommodation or even reconciliation vanished. The tension on both sides increased; even at this time there may perhaps have been bloody encounters in Jerusalem. But Antiochus did not on this account give up his plan of getting the little group of strange enthusiasts on the southern border of his kingdom out of his way; for him Jerusalem was nothing but an inconvenient focus of disturbance and insubordinate nation. When, in 168 B.C., he had to retire before the Romans from Egypt, he sent an officer (Apollonius? 2 Mace. 5-4), who took the city

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by surprise, and turned the ancient city of David into a military fort (Ara. 1 Mace. 1:34-7), the garrison of which held the inhabitants in terrified submission.

Antiochus wished to destroy with a firm hand the real roots of opposition, and, accordingly, directed his measures against the Jewish religion. The edicts was suppressed, the altar of burnt offering, as changed into a place of sacrifice to Zeus (1 Mace. 1:64); the Torah rolls were burnt; Jewish customs (Sabbath, circumcision, etc.) were forbidden; those who remained faithful to the law in spite of the pressure brought to bear on them were executed (December 168 B.C.). The high priest submitted. He plainly regarded it as possible to retain, as a Hellenistic Jew, the position of head of the Jewish community. With the energy which had been manifested at Jerusalem, the king's officers attempted also in the country districts to compel the Jews to offer heathen sacrifices and adopt heathen usages. Thus the work of Nehemiah and Ezra, moderate and conciliatory as it was, which offered a last retreat for the religion of Israel, was dissolved.

The fall of the power of Persia had left the way to the East open to Greece and all that it brought with it, and this it was that stifled the life of Judaism. Having nothing like it to oppose to it, Judaism was powerless against it; devout persons died for their faith before it. To combat this faith in itself was not the intention of Antiochus; he did not understand it or even perceive that it was, just as at that time the Jews were nowhere understood by the Greeks. All that Antiochus saw in the Jewish faith was the source of passionate quarrels that he had to compose. As the priestly nobility were ready to fall in with him, we must not wonder that Antiochus imagined that he could win the compliance of the people also. But this calculation proved to be false; the Jews resisted. In virtue of his sovereign rights, he demanded of the Jews by force what other Syrian peoples had yielded to the Greek power without difficulty. And here we find his fundamental mistake: he saw nothing more in Yahweh the god of the Jews than in (say) Dagon the god of the Philistines, or in Melkith the god of the Phoenicians.

The attitude of the Jews towards the violent measures of Antiochus was various. The priestly aristocracy

71. Effect of his policy. submitted; or them prohibition of marriage and their as all-important. Onias the high priest, who had fled to Egypt, became the originator of a religious schism by which he seems to have meant to remove the ground from under the feet of the Palestinian Jews. With the permission of Ptolemy VI, Philometor (181-146) he built (in 170) on the ruins of an Egyptian sanctuary at Leontopolis in the district of Hehopolis (= Tell el-Yehudiya) a Jewish temple (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9:7-14; *Hist.* vii. 10:2 ff., cp DISPERSTON, § 8). This remarkable undertaking was fitted to draw the Jews of Judaea who had remained true to the law in the same direction as the legitimate high-priesthood had gone—namely, to Egypt (cp § 8, 1916). There can be no doubt that at that time many went this way; it seemed a way out of the hopeless night. Most, however, of the devout-minded people could not bring themselves to abandon Yahweh's holy city, and its claim to be the holy city for all nations. They fled into the wilderness and hid themselves in clefts and caves. If attacked on the Sabbath, they would quietly submit to death rather than desecrate the day by fighting.

This passive resistance, however, was suddenly changed into active. An aged and honoured country priest at

72. Revolt. Modein, a place between Bethhoron and Lydda, slew a Jew who was offering sacrifice according to heathen ritual, killing the Syrian officer at the same time. Fleeing eastwards, Mattathias made his way in safety with his five sons over the mountains, and there in the wilderness entered into an agreement with others of like mind to fight, if

¹ Cp H. Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung* (Göttingen, 1905).

² The Onias II. and Onias III. of Josephus are probably originally one and the same person. Cp further Wellh. *GGG*, 1905, pp. 947-957.

attacked, even on the Sabbath. This was the signal for a religious war (167 B.C.). It was a desperate act, the most foolhardy in the whole history of Israel. Faith and holy indignation, exasperation and burning hate, drove the Jews to strain their powers to the utmost. They achieved indeed remarkable feats, aided by the natural advantages afforded them by their native mountains. The Maccabees, however, would have succumbed to the armies of the Seleucids had not the latter by their endless contests for the throne themselves provided an escape.

The example of Mattathias and his sons won over the adherents of the Law. Many sufferers from persecution, along with the union of the Assideans (*Hasidim*, חסידים; 1 Macc. 2:42), joined them. Their first step was to use force against the renegade Jews, destroy the signs of heathenism in the land, and restore the customs of Israel. Meanwhile Mattathias died after handing over the work to his sons Simon and Judas.

73. Judas. The latter, Judas 'Maccabeus' (see MACCABEES, THE), undertook the leadership in the war (166 B.C.), and proved himself a devout and courageous man, equal to the task he had undertaken. It was only under him that the war with the Syrians themselves began. He first defeated Apollonius (1 Macc. 3:10 ff.; cp 2 Macc. 5:24); then, at Beth-horon, Seron the military commander of Coele-Syria; then, at Emmaus (= 'Imzeas'), Gorgias, supported by the viceroy Lysias; and lastly, at Beth-zur, Lysias himself (165 B.C.). The generalship as well as the success of Judas reminds one vividly of the battles fought by Saul and David against the Philistines; faith-inspired enthusiasm, foolhardy valour, and judicious tactics, taking advantage of the natural difficulties of the ground, helped the Jews to victory. Thus, master of the open country between Bethzur and Beth-horon, Judas determined to make the capital the religious centre of revolt.

74. Cultus reorganised. (Mizpeh, north of Jerusalem, had hitherto been the place of resort for common prayer and lamentation.) The temple site was secured against attack from the Syrian garrison in the Aera; new priests were installed, upholders of the law; the signs of heathenism were removed from the sacred precincts; the legal cultus was restored in its full extent. On the 25th Kislev (December) 165 B.C. (exactly three years after its profanation) the temple was formally dedicated—a ceremony that was afterwards commemorated by a yearly feast (חג המצות, Ps. 30 title). For Judas and his party these achievements were very important. They not only dismayed the friends of the Greeks and animated the hopes of the supporters of the law, but also robbed the schismatic attempt of Onias of all danger as far as Palestine was concerned. What a revolution in men's frame of mind had already occurred in Judah we learn from the Apocalypse of Daniel, which was written about this time (see DANIEL, § 8 f., and cp DEDICATION, FEAST OF).

The religious feeling of the author had already recovered its equilibrium; the leaders of the heathen party are derided; the faithful adherents of Yahweh are comforted; Yahweh himself brings to an end the rule of the heathen; his eternal kingship over the world passes to pious Israel; whoever has died without participating in the divine reward will receive it after the resurrection; the great distress is the pledge that the longed-for time, the glorification of Israel in the eyes of all nations, is at hand. The prophetic picture of Israel's future, repressed by Nehemiah and Ezra, has powerfully affected the author's thoughts. The victories of Judas count for little with him (Dan. 11:34); it is not success of human power that he desires for Israel; what he saw at hand is wrought by God himself—it is the end, the consummation. The ideas of the prophets appear in him in an eschatological form; the goal of his hopes is heaven *and* earth; the glory of Israel is the work and gift of God, not the fruit of the toil and labour of man.

The thoughts of the Maccabees led, as very soon appeared, to a different goal. The garrison of the Aera in Jerusalem, which was threatened by the growing power of Judas, sent word of their straits to King Antiochus V. Eupator about 163 B.C. The regent Lysias ac-

cordingly marched forth with the young king at the head of a large army against the insurgents, drove them back from the south to Jerusalem, and shut them up on the fortified temple-plateau. Matters threatened to go hard with Judas, when unexpectedly an arrangement was come to, by which the king allowed the Maccabees the free exercise of their religion, and promised them indemnity, while they in exchange were to hand over the sanctuary,—in addition to which, however, they had subsequently to consent to the dismantling of their fortresses.

The occasion for the religious war was thus removed, and the disastrous step of Antiochus IV. in 168 retraced. In consequence the question naturally arose: Ought not Judas and his followers to lay down their arms? Many thought so; in particular the Assideans; and so when ATTALIS (q.v.), who was a priest of legitimate descent and had been nominated by Demetrius I. to the high-priesthood in succession to Menelaus, now at last deposed (171-164 B.C.), was about to be brought into Jerusalem by Bacchides the governor by military force, they declared themselves ready for peace (1 Macc. 7:12 ff.). Following the example of Nehemiah and Ezra, they for the present asked nothing more than religious freedom. Judas, on the other hand, would not hear of any such end to the war; for the sake of religious freedom, and in addition to it, he was determined to achieve political liberty. This too was a revival of prophetic ideas, yet without any such eschatological transformation as is met with in Daniel. The antithesis of the two tendencies, which was not at the outset absolute and irreconcilable, arose in part from divergent views of the situation at the moment, a situation in which Judas had no confidence. However this may be, it is at this date (162 B.C.) that the war of religion may be said to close, and the Maccabean struggles for secular power to begin.

Judas's distrust of Bacchides and Alcimus soon proved to have been justified. The confidence that had been reposed in them they rewarded with violence and blood; as ruler of the capital and of the country, Alcimus favoured the friends of the Greeks, and the situation once more became similar to what it had been between 173 and 168. After the withdrawal of Bacchides, however, Alcimus was unable to maintain his authority, and Demetrius I. ordered Nicanor to break the power of Judas. But an ineffective campaign ended in the defeat and death of that general in a battle between Beth-horon and Adasa on the 13th Adar (March) 161. Bacchides, on the other hand, once more joined by Alcimus, had better success. He routed the army of Judas near Eleasa (?), and Judas himself fell in the battle (161 B.C.).

The cause of the insurgents seemed utterly ruined (1 Macc. 9:23 ff.); all they could do was to maintain themselves in the wilderness of Tekoa as

76. Jonathan. a party of freebooters. Bacchides meanwhile sought by comprehensive measures to give peace and security to the country in the interests of Alcimus and his followers, yet without interfering with religious liberty. When, however, after the death of Alcimus (160 B.C.), a renewed effort to bring Jonathan and his followers under his power had proved abortive, Bacchides decided to enter into the negotiations for peace that Jonathan had proposed. In other words, he now sought to restore order in the country by the help of the very man whom, in common with the Grecian party, he had regarded as the arch disturber. The hellenizing priestly aristocracy thus lost their external support. Jonathan dispensed justice at Michmash and cleansed the land of Hellenisers. Only in Jerusalem and other strongholds did the foreign garrisons and their Jewish supporters retain command. The land itself now finally emerged from a state of war (158 B.C.). This was the first political success of Jonathan.

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From this time onwards the rule of the Maccabees or Hasmoneans advanced steadily, as Jonathan was able to secure one advantage after another for himself from the contentions between the various claimants for the throne of the Seleucidae. Moreover, the majority of the people were manifestly on his side. When, in 153, Alexander Balas was set up as king in opposition to Demetrius II, the latter sought the friendship of Jonathan by giving him permission to surround himself with an armed force. Jonathan transferred his abode to Jerusalem, and fortified the temple hill, and, except from the Acra and Bethzur, the Syrian garrisons were withdrawn. Demetrius was, however, outbitten by Alexander Balas, who designated Jonathan high priest and sent him a purple robe and a crown. Jonathan's ambition was stronger than his fidelity. At the Feast of Tabernacles in 153 B.C. he assumed the high-priestly office which had for seven years been vacant (*Jos. Ant.* xx. 10). Since Demetrius II, as it fell out, was worsted, Jonathan was able actually to enjoy the fruits of his crafty policy. In 150 B.C. Alexander showed him great honour at Ptolemais, and designated him a high official (*σπάρτηγος* and *μεριδάρχης*) of the kingdom of Syria. Attempts to bring him into suspicion failed of their object. The contentions for the throne between Demetrius II. (see above, col. 1068) and Alexander Balas in 147 B.C. brought Jonathan new advantages; defeating Apollonius, the governor of Coele-Syria appointed by Demetrius II., he received the town and district of Ekron. After the death of Alexander Balas (145) Jonathan bid defiance to Demetrius II. and besieged the Acra at Jerusalem, and when the king summoned him to Ptolemais in indignation Jonathan contrived to turn his anger into good will. His present dignities were confirmed, and the province of Judah to which three districts (Apherema, Lydda, and Ramathaim) were added in the north, was declared free of tribute. What engagements Jonathan entered into on his side we do not know (1 Macc. II. 28 ff.). Anyhow, he was unable to get further concessions from Demetrius II., although it was by his soldiers that the king was rescued from the insurrectionary populace of his own capital. It is easy, accordingly, to understand Jonathan's taking the earliest opportunity of joining the side of the king's enemies. A former officer of Balas, Trypho (Diodotus) of Apamea, came forward as guardian of Balas's young son, still a minor, and proclaimed him king as Antiochus VI. (145 B.C.). In return for valuable presents and confirmation in all his dignities, Jonathan undertook, along with his brother Simon, to drive out the troops and other supporters of Demetrius II. from southern and middle Syria, and assume possession of the land in the interest of Antiochus VI. The carrying out of this commission meant nothing more than the stamping out by force of any opposition the two brothers might encounter. This, however, did not satisfy Trypho, who was aiming at the crown for himself. He decoyed Jonathan to Ptolemais and confined him there. Simon made his way to Jerusalem, where the people, supposing that Jonathan was already dead, elected him leader. He prepared to resist Trypho, who attempted to force his way into Judea but had to withdraw without success after pretending to treat about handing over Jonathan. The execution of the latter at the command of Trypho at Baskama in Gilead left a free field to Simon (142-135 B.C.). He carried on the measures for securing the land, and concluded formal peace with Demetrius II., which not only put an end to war, but also secured absolute freedom from tribute, an event of such importance that Jewish dates were thenceforth reckoned from it (*Sel.* 170-143/142 B.C.). Next year, too, Simon forced the Syrian garrison to withdraw from the Acra. Thus disappeared from Jerusalem and Judaea the last mark of foreign supremacy. In 141 the people solemnly conferred on Simon the hereditary rule

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as high priest, commander-in-chief, and ethnarch (cp 1 Macc. II. 25 ff.). Simon struck the first Jewish coins (1 Macc. 156). Thus out of the war against Greek civilisation there had arisen a new Jewish state.

Simon and his successors not only maintained the position they had won, but also extended its influence. This was the easier that the kingdom of the Seleucidae was more and more falling apart. Simon must also be regarded as the first of the Maccabees to gain the friendship of the Romans with a view to securing his position in Asia (142 B.C.; 1 Macc. II. 2445; *Jos. Ant.* xii. 73; *Justin* xxvii. 3). From a contest with Antiochus VII. Sidetes (of Σιδῶν in Pamphylia), who, after unavailing negotiations, entrusted his general Cendebæus with the war, Simon came out victorious. He was honoured as a circumspect and righteous ruler. His violent death, however, was like a presage of the end the new line of rulers was to meet. Along with two of his sons he was murdered at the castle of Dok (Dokcs), near Jericho, by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who sought to make himself master of the land. But John Hyrcanus, Simon's third son, anticipated him and secured the support of the people of Jerusalem, where he ruled from 134 to 104.

In the beginning of his reign Hyrcanus was hard beset by Antiochus VII., who subjected Jerusalem to a long siege. That Hyrcanus came off after all without loss of territory may be attributed perhaps to Antiochus's policy,

78. John Hyrcanus.

perhaps to the influence of the Romans in Hyrcanus's favour (cp *Jos. Ant.* xii. 84-92). On his expedition against the Parthians Antiochus VII. lost his life (128 B.C.), and Hyrcanus once more asserted his independence. He maintained a standing army of mercenaries, built the so-called Baris on the NW. of the temple site (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 43), and concluded a firm alliance with Rome (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 1022). He extended by conquest the narrow limits of his rule towards the E., S., and N. He destroyed the temple of the Samaritans on Mt. Gerizim, subjugated the Idumeans in the S., and compelled them to accept the Jewish Torah. The siege of the city of Samaria brought him once more, however, into serious conflict with the Seleucidae, a conflict from which it was probably the powerful word of Rome that delivered him. Hyrcanus still regarded himself as in the first place high priest, and also enjoyed a high degree of popular favour. Yet even in his time emerged the opposition of the Pharisees against his family, which was only furthered by the closer connection between the Hasmoneans and the Sadducees. Hyrcanus's son and successor, Aristobulus I. (Judas), saw no means of securing his power save that of putting out of the way several members of his own family. He subjugated and made Jews of the Itureans at what had till then been the N. limit of his domain (in Galilee?), and assumed the title of king. After a reign of one year (103 B.C.) he was succeeded by his brother Alexander Jannæus (see

79. Alexander Jannæus.

JANNAEUS), who secured the throne by the murder of a brother (102-76 B.C.). In his reign the complete secularisation and transformation of the ruling priestly family became very obvious. He had coins struck, for example, not only with inscriptions in Hebrew characters, but also with bilingual inscriptions in Greek characters, in which he designated himself simply king. His aim was to extend as much as possible the bounds of his kingdom, and so he was almost constantly in the field or besieging fortified positions. His operations against Ptolemais involved him in a disadvantageous war with Ptolemy Lathyrus, from which he finally escaped only through the intervention of Ptolemy's mother, queen Cleopatra of Egypt. East of the Jordan, he subdued Gadara and Amathus; on the coast, Raphia, Anthedon, and Gaza.

The changing fortune of war, but still more his

strained relations with the Pharisees, deprived him of the favour of the people. At first he sought to quench in blood every appearance of hostile feeling. When, however, he was defeated by the Arabian chief Obadas and lost his whole army, the popular fury broke into open revolt. People were not afraid even to go the length of rousing against the Hasmonæans Demetrius Acærus (Eucærus), one of the last of the Seleucidæ. Alexander Jannæus was defeated at Shechem and fled to the hills. Then the shame and regret of his people came to his succour. A considerable body of armed men gathered about him, with whom he cut his way through the opposing forces; and he came to temporary terms with Demetrius. Blood then flowed in streams to secure peace at home for this inhuman high priest.

The last years of his reign Alexander spent once more in foreign wars, especially with the Arabians. These had now for several centuries been slowly pressing forward out of the desert into the cultivated land, had already settled at certain points (Edom and Lebanon), and were now trying, like the Hebrews more than a thousand years before, to push forward into the heart of the country. Alexander Jannæus encountered them repeatedly on his military expeditions—successfully east of the Jordan, where he conquered Gerasa (?), Golan, and Seleucia. It was on one of these expeditions that he met his death (76 B.C.). His career strikes one as strange—it is as if the Hasmonæan had assumed something of the wildness and ferocity of the Seleucidæ. At all events, the inner contradiction inherent from the first in the Hasmonæan priest-kingship was now undeniable. If the advice he is said to have given his wife just before his death with regard to the conduct of the government (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 155) be authentic, something of this contradiction must have been felt by Alexander Jannæus himself. He is represented as having advised his wife Alexandra (Hebr. Salomé or perhaps more correctly Salmā) to concede greater influence to the Pharisees—i.e., to go farther in giving spiritual affairs their rightful place.

Alexandra ruled from 75 to 67. She made over the high-priesthood to her oldest son Hyrcanus, an irresolute indolent man, and held back her second son, the daring Aristobulus, from any share in public affairs. The power and extent of the kingdom—which was, roughly, equal to what it was in the days of David—she maintained intact, without entering on wars of any seriousness. In internal affairs the Pharisees were supreme (see below, § 83). Their feeling of satisfaction with the rule of Alexandra found expression in edifying fables, in which they extolled those days as a time of special felicity. Scarcely, however, had Alexandra closed her eyes, when there broke out between her sons that struggle for the succession in the course of which the kingdom of the Maccabees went down. Aristobulus II. defeated Hyrcanus II. at Jericho, and forced him to enter into an agreement acknowledging Aristobulus as king and high priest. But this peace was short-lived.

Soon there appeared at the head of the opposition to Aristobulus an Idumæan named Antipater, whose father of the same name had been governor of Idumæa under Alexander Jannæus. This man, the father of the future king Herod, acquired great influence, and contracted alliances widely, in particular with Arétas king of the Nabatæans. He persuaded Hyrcanus to seek refuge with him, and induced Arétas, in consideration of promised cessions of territory, to make Hyrcanus king of Judæa by force. Arétas actually defeated Aristobulus, and drove him, supported by the Jews, to take refuge in the temple stronghold, where, with the priests, he defended himself boldly.

Such was the state of affairs in the Maccabæan kingdom when Pompey sent his legate Scæurus to Syria about Easter 65 B.C. The rival brothers made him the same offer as the price of his support. Scæurus decided

in favour of Aristobulus, and ordered Arétas to return to his country; Hyrcanus had to content himself with a diminished territory. But Pompey himself had not yet spoken the final word. He was assailed with presents and embassies, and finally the two brothers themselves, as also representatives of the people who wished the ancient priesthood restored, received a hearing at Damascus in the spring of 63 B.C. Pompey wished to defer sentence; but when Aristobulus appeared to be preparing to resist, Pompey pursued him with his army to his stronghold of Alexandrium, and then on by way of Jericho to before Jerusalem. Aristobulus wavered, swaying between defiance and dejection. Pompey had him taken prisoner. The party of Hyrcanus gave over the city, while the supporters of Aristobulus maintained the temple stronghold. Pompey found himself compelled to subdue this by a regular siege. After three months the Romans forced their way through a breach into the sacred enclosure, where a frightful massacre ensued, the Jews even slaughtering one another. Accompanied by his followers, Pompey visited the interior of the temple, without, however, touching the sacred furniture, and next day gave instructions that the regular sacrificial cultus was to be restored. Hyrcanus received the high-priestly office and with it a princely dignity of diminished extent, and subject to tribute, while Aristobulus had, with his family, including his two sons Alexander and Antigonus, to follow the conqueror to Rome. The freedom of the Jews had lasted but eighty years (142-63 B.C.). Its end was lamentable. The spirit that gave it birth had long been gone.

Before investigating the last fortunes of the Jews in Palestine under the Romans, we have to notice some internal events which occurred during **81. Synedrium.** the rule of the Maccabees. The latter had practically changed the religious community of Nehemiah and Ezra into a secular state; but they were far from subverting the institutions which had arisen out of that community. The high priest remained—they themselves were the high priests; and side by side with them there was still the college of elders (*γερουσία*), an aristocracy in which the social organism culminated.

It is probably to this body, with the high priest, that the phrase 'community of the Jews,' *קְהִלַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל*, on the coins of the Maccabees from the reign of John Hyrcanus onward refers. At a later date the council usually received the Greek designation *synedrium*, Hebraised as *sanhedrin* (*סֵנֶדְרִין*).

However, though this supreme council remained, the seats in it were filled by supporters of the Hasmonæans. In the previous period (§§ 76 ff.) the members had been the heads of the clerical and the lay nobility (besides the high priest); the ruling class thus formed received the name of Sadducee (from Zadok; cp Ezek. 44. 15 f.). It may be asked whether any of these old families attached themselves to the Hasmonæans. All that we know is that, by the favour of the Hasmonæans, a new aristocracy arose, and, to a large extent, monopolised the seats in the Synedrium. This was the share of power accorded to them. That Alexander Jannæus gave the council but little scope is not surprising. They had ample compensation, however, under his successor Alexandra. The president of the council was the high priest, and Alexandra was a woman. Besides recognising the independence of the council, Alexandra gave seats and votes in it to the long-repressed party of the Pharisees. Their conceptions of religion and law thus received complete recognition, and the function of public judgment was transferred to the so-called Scribes, the *soferim* or masters of legal science. This was no slight curtailment of power for the once omnipotent lay nobility.

The leadership of the Synedrium remained with the priests—in the last instance with the high priest—but these found themselves compelled at all points to take account of the scribes who enjoyed the popular favour.

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The membership of the supreme council reached the number of seventy-one.

The two parties brought into prominence by the changes in the Synedrium under Alexandra, the Pharisees and the Sadducees, claim our special attention. The Sadducees, in the strict sense of the word, indeed, were, as already stated (§ 81), displaced by the Hasmonæans. As the name persisted, however, we must suppose it to have been transferred to the new priestly aristocracy and their followers.

This is not difficult to understand, for on the one hand the ascendancy of priestly families remained, and on the other hand the same antitheses which had manifested themselves before the wars of religion, reappeared in an altered form. Before the wars, the priestly régime, by its friendliness to Hellenism, had imperilled religion, and now it seemed as if the secular rule of the Hasmonæans were about to overwhelm it altogether. Before the wars the Assideans with the scribes at their head had been drawn together for the defence of the heritage left by Nehemiah and Ezra; now it was the Pharisees who came forward on behalf of the law and against the national state which was breaking up the foundations of the law and of the religious community.

The Sadducees represent the new state which grew out of the Maccabean rising, the Pharisees, the community of which the Torah was the first and final cause' (Wellhausen, *Phar. u.*

83. Pharisees. *Sadd.* 24 f.). Pharisees were energetic in the assertion of their principles certainly; but they renounced all political aims. They were not political like the Sadducees; like the Assideans, whose heirs they may probably be said to be, they held by the ideals of Nehemiah and Ezra. The Pharisees were the 'scribes' who in dead earnest sought to turn the law into practice with the utmost literality, and thus, if they did not create a new type of piety, they at least remodelled the old on much sharper lines.

It is in this sense that the name Pharisees ought to be taken (see SCRIBES AND PHARISEES); whether assumed by themselves or bestowed by others it well expresses their arrogant claim to be the true Israel. In particular, they put the sanctity of the sabbath upon a new level, and exacted an outward purity by a constantly increasing number of precepts, so that religious fellowship became more and more the fellowship of a school, and piety a highly specialised art. 'The unlearned cannot guard himself against sin, and the layman can never be truly pious' (Hillel). Ignorance of the Pharisaic teaching was in itself an evidence of want of righteousness; acquaintance with their legal precepts was held to be the only means for the attainment of true righteousness. Hence it is written in the Mishna (*Sanh.* 113): 'It is a graver sin to say aught against the learned in the law than to say aught against the law itself.'

As regarded the future of their people (see the Book of Daniel, and ep ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 47, 58 f.), the Pharisees expected to see the world-supremacy of Israel established by the immediate hand of God from heaven, and deemed it an impertinence to try human means of establishing it. The foreign rule of the Greeks (and afterwards of the Romans) they also considered contrary to the will of God; yet they held it more tolerable than the existence of a national state by which everything was secularised; in point of fact they could not dispense with foreign rule, for its disappearance would take away the condition on which their very existence depended—the law of the post-exilic community. To the national and political questions of the day they had no answer ready; they simply pointed to the future which God was to give. That a party like this should have been able to acquire so great an influence over the people is extraordinary; it is only partially explained by the secular rule of the Maccabean priestly kings. We must also bear in mind that the people longed for a spiritual food which their priestly leaders could not give them, and so betook themselves to the Pharisees who claimed, not without right, to be champions of the law.

Besides these two parties Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 59) mentions a third *αἵρεσις* or 'sect'—that of the *ΕΣΣΕΝΕΣ*

84. Essenes. (*q.v.*). In point of fact these were a brotherhood, somewhat of the nature of a monastic order. Josephus (*l.c.*) introduces them about the middle of the second century B.C. (*ep. Ant.* xiii. 112). The name signifies 'the pious ones' (*ἄγιοι*).

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and seems to point to an origin similar to that of the Pharisees. The part they played in the history of Israel was quite unimportant. One of the leaders in the war against Rome was an Essene (*Jos. B.J.* ii. 204).

To return now to the narrative. In 63 B.C. Pompey constituted Syria a Roman province, thus establishing the Roman hold upon the western portion of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ.

85. Hyrcanus and Antipater. The Jewish portion properly so called—Judæa, Galilee, and Peraea—he left under the high priest, Hyrcanus, who, however, was subordinate to the governor of the province and paid taxes to him. At the same time Pompey 'liberated' from the Jewish rule certain towns on the coast and in Peraea, which soon united themselves into a league, the so-called *ΔΕΚΑΠΟΛΙΣ* (*q.v.*). Aristobulus and his children Pompey took with him to Rome. These arrangements were a severe blow to the power of the Hasmonæan dynasty and its supporters, the Sadducees. It need not surprise us, therefore, if some resistance was offered; and so strong was the attachment of the people to the native house that in every attempt at revolt a native army was always at command. Jewish history henceforward, accordingly, down to the accession of Herod, is mainly a record of the rebellions against the Romans and of the disturbances connected with the Roman civil wars so far as these affected Syria.

Aristobulus's eldest son, Alexander, had escaped from Pompey and summoned the Jews to arms against his uncle Hyrcanus, the nominee of Rome. The governor of Syria, Gabinius, however, in 57 B.C., shut him up in the stronghold of Alexandrium and compelled him to lay down his arms. In the revolt, Gabinius, plainly with the view of further weakening the Jewish power and lessening the influence of Jerusalem, the capital, broke up the Hasmonæan territory into five administrative divisions—those of Jerusalem, Jericho, Gazara, Amathus, and Sepphoris. A second revolt was headed by Aristobulus himself, who, with his younger son Antigonus, had escaped from Rome; but he was taken prisoner in Macherus and sent back to the imperial capital. Whilst Gabinius was engaged on an Egyptian expedition, a third rising was led by Alexander; but his army was dispersed in 55 B.C. Gabinius, who had hastened back and now rewarded Hyrcanus and Antipater for their fidelity to Rome by cancelling the arrangement made two years before, and restoring Hyrcanus to his former authority. M. Licinius Crassus, the triumvir, who succeeded Gabinius in the following year, seized the temple treasure of Jerusalem; and after his death the quaestor Cassius Longinus suppressed a fourth revolt of the Hasmonæan party which had broken out, under the leadership of Pitholaus, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee (Taricheæ). Pitholaus was put to death and Alexander brought under pledges to keep the peace (*ep. Jos. Ant.* xiv. 5 ff., *B.J.* i. 8). Julius Caesar's purpose of sending Aristobulus against the followers of Pompey in Syria was frustrated by the poisoning of Aristobulus before he could leave Rome (49 B.C.). Shortly afterwards Alexander the son of Aristobulus also was put to death, by Pompey's orders, at Antioch. Antipater was more fortunate when, after the battle of Pharsalus and the death of Pompey (48 B.C.), the victorious Caesar was pressed hard in Alexandria. So useful was Antipater to him that Caesar acknowledged his debt to the Idumæan by the gift of the Roman citizenship and immunity from taxes. At the same time he confirmed Hyrcanus in his high-priestly office. Antigonus too, the son of Aristobulus, presented himself before Caesar in Syria and pressed his claims; the only result, however, was that Caesar bestowed still more signal marks of favour upon Antipater, whom he appointed 'steward' or procurator (*ἐπιτροπος*) of Judæa. At the same time he constituted Hyrcanus and his sons hereditary allies of the Romans, guaranteeing them immunity from imposts, with other

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privileges, and granting permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8-10, *BJ* i. 9f.).

Thus the Jewish aristocracy gained nothing by all its scheming. The power of the hated Idumean, Antipater, went on increasing, and although he was astute enough to pose always as the faithful servant of his lord, in point of fact, under the languid administration of Hyrcanus, he had a free hand. He carried on the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and established good order throughout the country, committing the administration of Jerusalem and the south to his son Phasael, and that of Galilee to his son Herod. The Jewish aristocracy, from their own point of view, were fully justified when they sought to get rid of both him and his sons. For this a pretext was supplied them by a high-handed proceeding of Herod, who, in Galilee, had caused to be executed without reference to the council a certain Hasmonean commander, Ezekias, and certain of his followers who had sought at their own hand to continue the opposition against the Roman supremacy. The dominant party in Jerusalem persuaded Hyrcanus to call Herod to account before the council in Jerusalem. Herod duly appeared, but not as a culprit, and, supported by Sextus Caesar, the governor of Syria, succeeded in overawing the council so that no judgment was given. Once more he returned at the head of an army and threatened the city; but Antipater was able to appease his wrath. The aristocratic party, however, did not rest content with this. Some years later when C. Cassius Longinus, one of the murderers of Caesar, was living in Syria (44-42 B.C.), Antipater was poisoned, probably with the connivance of Hyrcanus, by an Arabian prince (Malichus) who seems to have been in his service.

Whilst Malichus was still seeking to gain time, however, before striking again, Herod got rid of him by an assassin's hand (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11, *BJ* i. 10 4f.). Though Antipater had fallen, his family retained or even increased its power. Herod earned on all hands thanks and praise when, in 42 B.C., he successfully repelled, on the borders of Judea, an attack made by Antigonus with the support of Ptolemy Mennai of Chalcis (Lebanon). Hyrcanus himself publicly showed his favour for him by giving him in marriage his granddaughter Mariamne, a daughter of Alexander. By liberal presents Herod strengthened his hold on Antony, who made Syria his headquarters for some time after the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.), in spite of adverse deputations from the hostile party in Jerusalem. Phasael and Herod were appointed tetrarchs and charged with the government of the Jewish provinces of Palestine (41 B.C.; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 121f.). However, though all promised well for Herod, it was only to last for a short time. This was how the change occurred.

Lysanias of Chalcis, son and successor of Ptolemy Mennai, had carried on negotiations between Antigonus and the Parthians under Pacorus who, in 40 B.C., had pressed into the province of Syria, with the result that the conquering invaders were induced by great promises to make Antigonus king of Judea. The stroke succeeded; Antigonus found a sufficient number of anti-Roman followers; in Jerusalem itself the parties came to blows. The Parthians induced Hyrcanus and Phasael to go for purposes of negotiation into the camp of the Parthian satrap Barzaphranes; at his instance they were made prisoners at Edippon (Achziv) by the sea-side. Herod escaped the machinations of his enemies by a timely flight to the fortress of Masada by the Dead Sea, where also his family found safety. In this way Antigonus (Heb. Mattathias) came once more into the heritage of his ancestors (40-37 B.C.). Hyrcanus and Phasael were handed over to him by the Parthians; the former he caused to be incapacitated (by mutilation) for the high-priestly office; Phasael committed suicide. The Parthians, after seeking to compensate themselves for their services by extensive raids, carried Hyrcanus off to Parthia, where, however, at the intercession of the

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Jews in that country he was set at liberty (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 133f., *BJ* i. 13).

Herod, however, did not give up his cause for lost. His request for money being rejected by Malichus (the Nabatean prince), he applied to Antony, 87. Herod, journeying by Alexandria and Rhodus to Rome. By large promises he induced Antony, who saw how useful he might become, to nominate him through the Senate (with the support of Octavian) king of the Jews. After only seven days Herod was able to set out for his new kingdom (40 B.C.). His way to the throne, however, was not to be as smooth as he hoped. In 39 B.C. he landed at Ptolemais. With the help of Ventidius, the governor of Syria, he first relieved his brother Joseph in Masada and then appeared with his army before Jerusalem. Antigonus, however, had bribed the Roman general Silo, and Herod was soon compelled to retire to Galilee; nor did he again resume operations in Galilee and Judea (where meanwhile his brother Joseph had fallen) till after he had received fresh encouragement from Antony who was hurrying through to the siege of Samosata in Commagene. In the spring of 37, however, Herod again attacked Jerusalem, and with the help of Sostius the governor captured it after a five months' siege. Antigonus, who had surrendered to Sostius, was, at the instance of Herod, beheaded in Antioch. Thus, after three long years from his nomination, Herod actually came to his throne (37-4 B.C.). The Idumean house of Antipater had by Roman help vanquished the party of the Sadducees (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 14-16, *BJ* i. 14183).

Two things Herod considered to be indispensable for his government—the continued friendship of the Romans and the extinction of the Hasmonean party. The former object he sought to secure by princely gifts of money; the latter he came near attaining by putting many of the adherents of Antigonus to death; he also lowered the dignity of the high-priesthood by filling the office at his pleasure. To keep on good terms with Antony was an anxious task, as Cleopatra of Egypt coveted southern Syria, and Alexandra, widow of the murdered Alexander (see above), found it to her interest to intrigue with Cleopatra against Herod. The latter had conferred the high-priesthood upon an 'obscure' priest from Babylon named Ananel (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 24), thereby giving great umbrage to his mother-in-law Alexandra, who had wished to secure the office for her son Aristobolus. To avoid losing Antony's favour through Cleopatra, Herod forthwith deposed Ananel, and appointed the handsome and popular Aristobolus in his place. Nevertheless Alexandra still found cause to complain of Herod, and was meditating a secret flight to Cleopatra with her son, when the scheme was betrayed, and Aristobolus was put to death (35 B.C.). The end of the long story is that Herod's good fortune did not desert him even when Alexandra complained to Cleopatra; Herod once more pacified his patron. Cleopatra made sure of large tracts in Palestine ceded to her by her lover, including the fruitful region of Jericho. All this was on the eve of the decisive battle of Actium. To please Cleopatra Herod had to take the field against the Atrachs, whose tribute he had to collect for the queen. He succeeded in conquering them; but it was a hard struggle. Then came the fresh difficulty of winning over to his side the new master of the world, for Antony's cause was ruined. His cunning suggested to him what to do. First, he put out of the way the aged Hyrcanus (whom in the beginning of his reign he had brought back from Babylonia) as an alleged conspirator, and then he went in person to Rhodus and laid his crown at the feet of the young Octavian. The result was as he had calculated. Octavian not only confirmed him in his position, but soon after the death of Cleopatra bestowed upon him her domains, as well as other important places in S. Syria. With a single break (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 9f.) Herod retained the favour of

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Augustus down to the end of his reign; Josephus declares that he 'was beloved by Caesar next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Caesar' (Jos. *BJ* i. 20.4). Some years later (*circa* 25 B.C.) he removed the last danger to his crown. The only remaining male descendants of the Asmonean family were the sons of Baba (Sabbai?). He accused them of treason and caused them to be slain.¹

The position of Herod in the Roman Empire was that of a *rex socius*. His title and authority he held from Caesar and the Senate. He had to defend the imperial frontier and to furnish auxiliary troops, but was not allowed to make treaties or wage wars at pleasure. On the other hand, he had full freedom in the management of domestic affairs, and was not laid under any tribute, or made subject to the authority of the Roman governor of the province of Syria. The confidence placed by Augustus in his capacities he fully justified. The ravages committed by the Arabs of Trachonitis had caused great complaints. With great skill Herod penetrated into this difficult region, and enforced peace,² receiving from Caesar a large territory to the NE. (Batanea, Trachonitis, Gaulanitis). In 20 B.C. Herod was also endowed with the tetrarchy of Zenodorus (Ullatha and Panias).³

Favoured by the *pax Romana*, Herod did much for the cultivation of the land. He created magnificent cities (Samaria = Sebaste; Strato's Tower = Caesarea) and built numerous fortresses, temples, theatres, and baths. He extended and beautified the temple site at Jerusalem, and built anew the temple itself. He helped his people in many ways (see, e.g., the account of the famine),⁴ and yet he could only now and then secure their full approval.⁵ Never did the Jews feel affection for his person; they rightly saw in him the obedient servant of Rome, and were all the less ready to forget that he was only a 'half Jew.' His reign did nothing to lessen the tension between Jew and Greek; it rather increased the tension, although he made extraordinary efforts to introduce the seductions of Hellenism into the 'holy mountain.' In a certain sense his aims were those of Antiochus Epiphanes; but he more nearly reached them. He knew the Jews well, and generally speaking spared their religious feelings; the affair of the high-priesthood is an exception. To Hellenise such a people as the Jewish, however, was no longer possible; neither by gentleness nor by severity could the effects of the great Religious War be obliterated. Besides, Herod had really no skill in the arts of compromise and conciliation. He was too passionate, too suspicious, too domineering to be able to inspire confidence. To the end he never lost the tyrant's lust for power, never enjoyed the settled stability of a really strong monarch. Indeed, one may doubt whether he had any wish beyond keeping his power over the Jews; their Hellenisation he did not seriously care for. His entire policy can be explained from this point of view—even to some extent his abominable murders, though it must be admitted that these were partly stimulated by circumstances which could not but excite his jealousy.

Herod's reign was not wanting in splendour. His love of display manifested itself in the magnificent buildings which he erected both within his kingdom and beyond it (cp Jos. *BJ* i. 21). He had connections with prominent representatives of the culture of the time—notably Nicolaus Damascenus. The visit of M. Vipsanius Agrippa to Jerusalem threw the Jews into veritable transports of joy (*Ant.* xvi. 2). The foundation of Herod's power, however, was hollow. His extraction indeed made him unfit to be a national king, and in

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his heart he was more Greek than Jew (*Ant.* xiv. 73). What is more, a national kingdom was no longer what the Jewish community desired. Religion had taken a new turn under the influence of the Pharisees; it was now much more supranational; the law and the monarchy it held to be irreconcilable. However zealously Herod may have sought at first to meet the Pharisees' views, they could never become his friends. They refused to take the oath of allegiance, just as the Essenes did (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10.4 xvii. 24). The old aristocracy he himself had deprived of its influence; to support his rule he had therefore nothing to rely on but force. He never shrank from employing any means, however ghastly, to gain this end (*Ant.* xv. 8.10.4 xvii. 6, *BJ* i. 336). Cp further, HEROD, § 3.6.

In his first will, made after the execution of Alexander and Aristobolus, his two sons by the Hasmonaean Mariamme (6 B.C.), Herod had appointed

89. The succession.

Antipater his son by his first marriage to succeed him. Even before the execution of Antipater in 5 B.C., however, this arrangement had been exchanged for another according to which Antipas, his youngest son, by his marriage with the Samaritan Malthace, was to be his heir. Shortly before his death (4 B.C.), he cancelled this settlement also, and designated Archelaus¹ as king, Antipas and Philip² tetrarchs—the former of Galilee and Peraea, the latter of Trachonitis, Batanea, Gaulanitis and Panias. The validity of this will he himself made to depend on its confirmation by Augustus. Hence his heirs one after the other betook themselves to Rome to find safe anchorage for their ship while the storm of revolt was already raging at home. Before Augustus gave his decision, fresh petitioners arrived. It was a deputation of Jews deprecating the continuance of the existing order of things, and desiring that the whole country might be brought immediately under the Roman sway. Augustus, however, decided in favour of Herod's last will. Archelaus as ethnarch became ruler over Idumaea, Judaea, and Samaria, with the exception of the cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippus, which were incorporated with the province of Syria; Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis as far as the Jordan (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 9-16).

This apportionment of Herod's dominions did not last long, so far as the realm of Archelaus was concerned (4 B.C.–6 A.D.). A deputation of Jews and Samaritans complained to Augustus of his arbitrariness and cruelty, and Augustus, the emperor, summoned him to Rome and deposed him, relegating him to Vienna in Gaul. His dominions became part of Syria, but under the special charge of a procurator (*ἐπιτροπος*) of equestrian rank (6-41 A.D.).

The procurators were so called, originally, from the duty which fell to them of collecting the revenues for the imperial treasury. As administrators of a given district they had at the same time the military command, and also

judicial prerogatives. These last the procurators of Judaea used but seldom. The ordinary dispensation of justice was left in the hands of the highest native court, the Synedrium, whose position received thereby fresh importance. The *jus gladii*, however, remained exclusively with the procurator. For military purposes he had not, like the legate-governor of Syria, Roman legions at his disposal, but only auxiliary troops raised in the country itself (*καταπέδαι καὶ Σιδαρηνολοί*). The military headquarters were at the residence of the procurator—Caesarea; but there were garrisons all over the country; in the citadel Antonia at Jerusalem, for example, a cohort was stationed. The imperial taxes the procurator collected through the native authorities; how wide were the ramifications of these is shown by the list of eleven toparchies enumerated by

¹ An elder son by Malthace.

² Son of Cleopatra of Jerusalem.

¹ On this period see Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1-6, *BJ* i. 18.4-20.
² Note the story of the 500 Jews from Babylon who could shoot arrows when riding on horseback (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 21). For the whole episode see *Ant.* xv. 10.1 xvi. 9.2 xvii. 2.
³ *Ant.* xv. 10.5, *BJ* i. 20.4. ⁴ *Ant.* xv. 9.1-7.
⁵ *Ant.* xvi. 2.5.

Josephus (*F.* iii. 35). The local taxes, on the other hand, were farmed out to contractors (*publicani, τελωναι*), who, as a rule, doubtless, were Jews. The Jews had to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor; and though worship of the emperor was not exacted of them, sacrifice for him was offered in the temple twice daily. The Jewish worship stood under the protection of the Roman state; but this did not exclude a certain amount of supervision of temple matters by the Roman officials. As a rule it was customary to spare Jerusalem the sight of the imperial emblems ('effigies') carried by the troops (cp *ENSIGN*).

Such in brief were the arrangements set up in the domains of Archelaus in 6 A.D.—arrangements which had been desired by the Jews at the death of Herod. The system conferred upon them a higher degree of self-government, and therefore of liberty to follow their own laws and customs, than they had previously enjoyed. An aristocratic constitution with the high priest at its head (*Jos. Ant.* xx. 10) again came into being. The aristocratic families reaped the chief advantage from this, although in the Synedrion they had to share the power with the Pharisees. The high priests were named, however, by the Roman governors, and it only too soon became evident that the immediate rule of the Romans did not tend to tone down but rather to exaggerate points of difference.

The procurators who held office in Judaea from 6 to 41 A.D. were: Coponius, M. Ammius, Annias Rufus, Valerius Gratus (15-26), Pontius Pilate (26-36), Marcellus (36-37), and Marullus (37-41) (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 22-42 610). At first no doubt unwittingly, but afterwards certainly of malice, they often wounded the religious susceptibilities of the Jews. Pontius Pilate went so far in this that a complaint laid by the Samaritans before the legate L. Vitellius (35-39 A.D.) proved effectual; Vitellius sent Pilate on his defence to Rome and took measures to quiet the agitated spirits in Jerusalem. He handed over to the priests the high-priestly robes which had been kept in Baris-Antonia since the days of John Hyrcanus, and caused his army on its march against the Nabateans to avoid Jerusalem so that the holy land of the Jews might not be desecrated by the imperial emblems (37 A.D., cp *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 43 53). These little courtesies, however, were wholly inadequate to heal the ominous breach which was daily driving Jews and Romans farther apart.

With the first procurator Coponius the imperial legate P. Sulpicius Quirinius (11 k. 21 ff.) had come as governor to Syria, and in 6-7 A.D. carried out the Roman census in Judaea. This new method of taxation excited great

horror and aversion. The high priest Joazar, a son of Boethus (*Ant.* xv. 93), was able indeed to turn aside the threatened storm; but the proceeding left a deep mark behind it in the rise of the Zealots—a political party which regarded the payment of taxes to the foreigner as the token of a sinful servitude (God alone requiring to be honoured as king and lord), and therefore advocated war to the death for the establishment of the divine kingship, according to the promise. The founders of the party were Sadduk the Pharisee and Judas the Galilean (of Gamala) who may probably be regarded as son of the so-called 'robber' Ezekias who was put to death by Herod (*Jos. Ant.* xvii. 105 xiv. 93 ff. xviii. 1). The very designations of the two leaders would lead us to expect to find in this new party a combination of the doctrines of Pharisaism with the practical aims of Hasmonæan patriotism; and this expectation is realised in the attitude the Zealots actually took. From the Pharisees they took over the then current form of prophetic eschatology—the divine kingship, destruction of the enemies of the nation, freedom, the Messiah, etc.; from the Hasmonæans, the precepts which enjoined a bold fight for religion and fatherland. To expect the divine kingship yet quietly to accept the kingship of the

godless, they regarded as a sinful absurdity. The Pharisees repudiated this departure from the purity of their principles (cp *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 1); but the intensified religious interest which had been diffused throughout the nation by their own influence had prepared the soil for the seed of the Zealots. Between the Sadducean aristocrats (who had again come to the helm after the deposition of Archelaus) and the Zealots, collision was inevitable; the two parties were mutually irreconcilable, as had already been seen at the census of Quirinius. The more the Jews had experience of the harshness of the Roman rule, the more numerous did the Zealot party become. As contrasted with the half-hearted they came forward as thorough, as the out-and-out party who not only taught about the kingdom of God but also were willing to put their lives into jeopardy to set it up. Their immediate result was to keep their own people and the Romans in a state of unrest; but their ultimate aim was to secure the mastery of the capital. So soon as they had reached it, the hour would have struck for the last decisive struggle with the Romans.

In this position of parties there arose once more, unexpectedly, the prophetic summons: 'Turn ye' (*Μετανοείτε*).

92. John the Baptist. Since Mal. 3.7 had been uttered, it had fallen into oblivion; it seemed indeed to have become unnecessary. However, John the Baptist (28-29 A.D.) with his call to repentance presented a picture of the future quite different from that cherished by his contemporaries. The alternative to repentance was judgment, and if he was right, it was on the Scribes and Pharisees that the divine judgment would fall first. His preaching found much acceptance, and before his career was cut short by Herod Antipas (see below, § 95) Jesus of Nazareth had raised the same cry, not in the wilderness, but in the haunts of men.

To Jesus the right way to God was clear; he himself exemplified that way, and he so taught concerning it as to make it easy for any one to find it.

93. Jesus. His thoughts show the closest contact with the religious tendencies of the time; evidently they took shape under the pressure of the questions which were stirring his contemporaries. They had their own roots, however, in a supramundane sphere, and therefore could not be confined by the narrow limits of Judaism. To the call to repentance Jesus added as a motive that the kingdom of God was at hand, thereby characterising the traditional piety as powerless to reach that divine goal. In his teaching he used the same terms as the popular leaders of the time; but he put other ideas into them. Without discarding the current conceptions of a coming judgment and regeneration of the world, he substituted for a Jewish world-theocracy, the idea of a kingdom of kindred souls bound together by their common faith in God and love to man. He dissolved the strange combination of heavenly and earthly elements which formed the latest Jewish eschatology, and thus cleared away the last remnants of the popular religion,—including of course the popular conception of the Messiah. He taught men to apprehend not only God but also the fellowship of man with God in a spiritual manner. For him as for them, the kingdom of God was a divine institution, a divine gift; but it was for men themselves ever to create it afresh and extend it among themselves day by day. All this and more may be historically said of the teaching of the Master (see *JESUS*, § 11 ff.), who at length crowned his work by enduring a shameful and painful death as of God's ordering, and as the way to complete ultimate success.

All this meant an open breach with Judaism. The ruling classes scorned the means of raising their religion to a higher plane pointed out to them by Jesus of Nazareth. Nay, more; they pronounced him a blasphemer when in his appearance before the high priest

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he acknowledged himself to be the Messiah—not of course in the sense attached to the word by current Judaism (see *MESSEAN*, § 6), but in the sense of being the final exponent of the full divine meaning of the religion of Israel. This new forthsetting by his ministry obtained such a degree of independence and strength as no longer to require the shelter of a nationality or of a national religion, and became capable of forming a society of its own, drawn from humanity at large. Judaism, in isolating itself from the course of this development, had to take the consequence. When Christianity and Judaism gradually separated, it was as if a mighty river had changed its bed: a feeble current still crept along the old channel; but the main, the perennial, stream flowed elsewhere.

We turn now to the northern portion of Herod's divided kingdom. As we have seen, the north-eastern

94. Philip the Tetrarch.

part had been assigned to Philip, Herod's son by Cleopatra of Jerusalem. 'Philip' built himself a new capital, Caesarea (Philippi), near the most easterly of the Jordan sources on the site of the ancient Paneas, and with the title of tetrarch governed the eastward-lying territory, mainly inhabited by Gentiles, as far as the mountains of the Hauran. It was to his zeal for building that the fishing village Bethsaida (called by him Julius after the daughter of Augustus) owed its promotion to the rank of city. He married Salome (see § 95), and died without issue in 33-34 A.D. Josephus speaks of him as a wise and just prince (*Ant.* xviii. 46). After his death his dominions were thrown into the province of Syria till 37 A.D., when Caligula bestowed them, with the tetrarchy of Lysanias (Abilene), upon a grandson of Herod and Mariamne—Agrippa I., the son of Aristobulus,—with the title of king (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 21-46 § 10).

The territory assigned to Herod Antipas, on the other hand—Galilee and Peraea—was mainly peopled

95. Antipas.

by Jews. For the protection of the main road through Galilee he fortified Sephoris, while towards the S., as a frontier fortress against the Arabs, he built Betharamphtha (Beth-haran) which he named Livias or Julius; but in this line of activity his greatest work was the foundation and adornment of Tiberias. His first wife, whom he married for political motives, was a daughter of the Nabatean King Aretas; after his repudiation of her he allied himself with the ambitious Herodias (see *HEROD*, § 7). Through her daughter Salome she procured the death of John the Baptist (29 A.D.), whom Herod Antipas had caused to be imprisoned in the fortress of Machærus (see *JOHN THE BAPTIST*, *MACHÆRUS*). King Aretas began hostilities on account of the repudiation of his daughter, and inflicted a severe blow upon Herod (36 A.D.). At the instance of the latter, Tiberius ordered his legate Vitellius to suppress Aretas; but while halting at Jerusalem on his way to Nabatea, Vitellius (37 A.D.) heard of the death of Tiberius and forthwith abandoned the expedition. The bestowal of Philip's tetrarchy on Agrippa I. by Caligula led Herodias to urge her husband to go to Rome for a royal title also. At the same time, however, Fortunatus, an ambassador of Agrippa, arrived in the capital with heavy charges affecting the fidelity of Antipas; and as the latter was not able entirely to clear himself, he was deposed by the emperor and banished to Lugdunum in Gaul, whither he was followed by Herodias, his territory being added to the dominions of King Agrippa I. (39-40 A.D.; see *HEROD*, § 12).

Under Caligula (37-41 A.D.) a heavy storm-cloud gathered over Jerusalem. In 39 A.D.—thus immediately

96. Petronius.

after the outbreak of the bloody persecution of the Jews in ALEXANDRIA (72)—a conflict between the Gentile and the Jewish inhabitants of the emperor's city of Jamnia gave occasion for a command by Caligula to P. Petronius, the governor

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of Syria, to have the statue of the emperor set up by force in the temple at Jerusalem. If the Jews refused compliance they exposed themselves to the wrath of the emperor, who sought the customary divine worship for his own person in good earnest; but compliance would involve disloyalty to their law. They proceeded accordingly in troops to Ptolemais where Petronius was collecting his army, and laid before him solemn protests against what was being proposed. In Tiberias, whither Petronius had betaken himself, the Jews convinced him still further of their inflexibility in this matter, and he accordingly came to the resolution to try to change the emperor's mind. This had in point of fact already been accomplished by Agrippa I. who was then staying in Rome; but when the report of Petronius reached the emperor's hands he was thrown into such a furious passion by the obstinacy of the Jews that he sentenced Petronius to death for disobedience. Tidings of the murder of Caligula (Jan. 41) arrived, however, in time to prevent the execution of this order. Thus the storm-cloud passed away and the outlook of Judaea became brighter than even the boldest had ventured to hope (*Phil. Leg. ad Caium*, § 30 ff.; *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 8).

One of the first acts of the emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) was not only to confirm Agrippa in his former

97. Agrippa I.

dominions but also to add to them Judaea and Samaria. Thus without once drawing sword this gay and showy knight of fortune had come into the entire kingdom of his grandfather Herod. He held it for three years (41-44 A.D.). He knew how to utilise with skill both persons and circumstances alike in Rome and in Palestine. In Jerusalem and elsewhere, where it seemed expedient, he held himself up as the patron and supporter of the approved Pharisaic Judaism of the day. In Caesarea, as everywhere else among foreigners, he was the man of Greek culture, the friend of the Romans. During his brief reign the land had rest. He even received the praise of the Pharisees, who, we may be sure, would hardly have remained permanently his supporters. Against the heads of the young and growing Christian Church he took violent measures (*Acts* 12:1-19). He even made faint tentative efforts to give an anti-Roman character to his reign. He began the building of a strong wall round the northern suburb of Jerusalem; but the legate Marsus procured the imperial prohibition. He also summoned five Roman vassal princes of Syria and Asia Minor to Tiberias; but Marsus again ordered them back to their places. Agrippa I. died suddenly in Caesarea; his Gentile soldiers welcomed the tidings with joy (*Jos. Ant.* xix. 4-9).

Claudius, yielding to the representations of those around him, decided not to nominate the son of

98. Procurators.

Agrippa I. (also called Agrippa), now seventeen years of age, to the vacant throne, but to place the whole territory under procurators subordinate to the governor of Syria. Very soon again there arose the strained relations which had been found so intolerable in Judaea and Samaria under the previous procurators from 6 A.D. onwards. The first procurator, Cuspius Fadus, revived the old controversy as to the custody of the high-priestly vestments; but, by the emperor's command, the arrangement arrived at by Vitellius in 36 A.D. was adhered to (*Jos. Ant.* xx. 1), and the supervision of the temple, as well as the right to nominate the high priest, was now bestowed upon Herod of Chalcis (41-48 A.D.), a brother of the deceased Agrippa. What the disposition of the Jews was indicated by the appearance of the prophet-adventurer Theudas, with whom, however, Cuspius Fadus made short work (*Jos. Ant.* xx. 51; cp *Acts* 5:36). His successor Tiberius Alexander, of Jewish-Alexandrian origin, caused the sons of Judas of Gamala, Jacob and Simon, to be crucified—no doubt as being prominent among the Zealots (*Ant.* xx. 52). After the ravages of a great famine, the exasperation of the Jews against the ad-

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ministration of Ventidius Cumanus (48-52) began to show itself in open insurrection. During the feast of the Passover, a soldier of the Roman guard had insulted the Jews; their complaints led the procurator to take certain defensive measures which in their turn caused a great panic in which many lives were lost (*Ant.* xx. 53). A Roman soldier seized hold of a roll of the Law; the excitement of the Jews over this was so great that Cumanus caused the soldier to be beheaded (*Ant.* xx. 54). Festival pilgrims from Galilee were attacked by Samaritans, the Jews retaliated, and when Cumanus sternly interfered, the leading people in Jerusalem had the utmost difficulty in averting a general outbreak. The dispute was referred by the governor Umimidiu Quadratus to the judgment of the emperor, who at the instigation of young Agrippa sentenced Cumanus to banishment (*Ant.* xx. 61 ff.; *BJ* ii. 123 ff.; otherwise Tac. *Ann.* 1254).

The successor of Cumanus, Antonius Felix (52-60 A.D., see FELIX), was so arbitrary and cruel that discipline

99. Felix; Sicarii.

broke down and public order threatened to disappear. The Zealots from their hiding-places made the country insecure; it availed little that Felix effected numerous executions and caused their leader Eleazar, who had been taken captive, to be sent to Rome. They began to be looked upon as the champions of liberation from the Roman yoke; their following increased and they secretly leavened the masses with the spirit of revolt. They were named, from the weapon (sica) which they carried concealed under their garment, sicarii. They assassinated at their own choice, but also at the instigation of others; for example, at the instigation of Felix himself they murdered Jonathan the high priest, who had become an inconvenient monitor. Fanatics, both honest and dishonest, possessed by the eschatological ideas of the time, were continually throwing the sparks of religious enthusiasm among the excited and inflammable masses (cp. Acts 21:38; *BJ* ii. 134 ff.). Even the Jewish governing class, the priestly and the lay aristocracy, became disintegrated, each fragment using such power as it had for selfish ends (*Jos. Ant.* xx. 85-8; *BJ* ii. 132-6). Meanwhile, the oversight of the temple, and the right to nominate the high priest, after the death of Herod of Chalcis, was conferred by Claudius upon his nephew Agrippa II. (about 50 A.D.), who also received the territory of Chalcis and afterwards (about 53 A.D.), in place of this, the former tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, as well as the territory of Varus (Noarus) with the title of king (*Ant.* xx. 52-7; 97).

The flame of avowed revolt burst forth not in Jerusalem but in Caesarea. Here in this half-Gentile,

half-Jewish city a dispute for supremacy had arisen between the two classes. After Antonius Felix (52-60) had been recalled by Nero and a successor (Porcius Festus, 60-62) appointed in his place, the Gentiles of Caesarea succeeded in procuring from Nero a decision by which the Jews were deprived of their equality of standing (*ισοπολιτεία*) with the Gentiles. To the Jews this gave occasion for the great insurrection. For some years indeed it remained confined to Caesarea and the surrounding country, and did not in the first instance spread as far as to the capital. Porcius Festus (see FESTUS) exerted himself in vain, however, to quell the rising. His successors Albinus (62-64) and Gessius Florus (64-66) disregarded all law and justice to such a degree that pacification became impossible. The Sicarii could not be exterminated; those who could entered into arrangements with them for securing life and position (so, for example, the wealthy Ananias of Jerusalem, who at one time had been high priest); other influential people surrounded themselves with a sort of bodyguard so as not to be helpless at a time when everyone was taking the law into his own hand. Albinus indeed took some trouble to conceal his misdoings; but Gessius Florus did not shrink from the

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employment of open violence and thus drove even the peacefully disposed of the Jews to retaliation. A coarse insult to the Jews in Caesarea had again led to street riots. As even the native soldiers took part against the Jews the latter quitted the city, taking their books of the Law with them—an occurrence which for Josephus marks the beginning of the war (*BJ* ii. 144).

The anger excited in Jerusalem by these events had not yet died down when Florus caused seventeen talents

101. War threatens.

to be taken from the temple treasure, plainly because the Jews had failed to pay their taxes (*BJ* ii. 165). Popular indignation now expressed itself in intemperate speech against Florus, who thereupon appeared in Jerusalem with his soldiers, would grant no terms, and gave orders to plunder the Upper City, also causing many inhabitants of Jerusalem—among them Roman citizens—to be crucified. Soldiers summoned from Caesarea answered the friendly greeting of the Jews, by his orders, with coldness and rudeness, and attempted by a *coup de main* to seize the Antonia and the temple. This plan, however, was not successful; Florus returned to Caesarea and sought to stir up the Syrian governor Cestius Gallus against the Jews. The prudent bearing of Gallus at this juncture, combined with the appearance of Agrippa II. in Jerusalem, produced a short lull; but when Agrippa spoke not only of obedience to the emperor, but also of submission to Florus, the anger of the people burst forth against him also, so that he had to leave the city. A band of Zealots established themselves in the fortress of Masada by the Dead Sea. At the instigation of Eleazar, son of Ananias, it was determined that henceforth offerings of those who were not Jews should no longer be received in the temple—and thus that the daily sacrifice by and for the Roman emperor should be discontinued.

The supreme council of Jerusalem exerted itself to the utmost against this rebellious decision. Florus left it to itself; but Agrippa sent to its aid 3000 horsemen with whose help it carried on a struggle for four weeks against the war party who held the temple. The party of rebellion soon began to gain ground, burned the archives containing the records of indebtedness, obtained possession of the Antonia citadel, and shut the adversary up in the royal palace. A son of Judas of Galilee the founder of the Zealot party, Manaem (Menahem)¹ by name, conducted the siege. The garrison—Roman and native alike—desired to capitulate; but free exit was allowed only to the natives, among them the troopers sent by Agrippa. The former high priest, Ananias, was put to death and soon afterwards Manaem also, who had made himself hated for his cruelty. At last the Roman garrison also had to surrender; though their lives had been promised them on oath, all were massacred, their captain alone excepted. On that same day the Jews who had remained in Caesarea were put to death or thrown into prison by the Gentile inhabitants. In retaliation armed bands of Jews went round the border places inhabited by Gentiles plundering and massacring. The Gentiles replied with a persecution of the Jews which extended as far as Tyre and Ashkelon and even Alexandria. As Florus was helpless, Cestius Gallus now marched into the Jewish territory with an army. Galilee he soon subdued; and during the feast of Tabernacles he made his appearance in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. After some skirmishes before the gates the army gained possession of portions of the city and began to attack the north side of the temple. The rebels had already given up their cause for lost, when suddenly Cestius Gallus ordered the retreat. The Jews followed him and inflicted heavy losses. Once more songs of victory were sung by her own people within the capital. This was the prelude to the war of May-November, 66; the war party had triumphed both at home and abroad.

Formal preparations for war were now begun on both

¹ Cp. MANAEM.

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sides. In Jerusalem everything had to bend before the zeal of the war party, or else take its departure. The aristocracy themselves took in hand the defences of the country.

The Jewish territory from Lydda to Perea and from Idumaea to Galilee was divided into seven districts, each under its own commander; thus for example Galilee was assigned to Josephus the Pharisee, destined afterwards to become the friend of the Romans, and the historian of the war. He has himself described the measures he took for the defence of Galilee (*R/* ii. 20 f.; *Vit.* 7 ff.). It is quite clear from what he says how hard—even to impossibility—was the task of uniting in common defence against the Romans those who had been so long accustomed to deeds of violence. No wonder that the more thoughtful spirits were filled with anxiety. Nero, whom Cestus Gallus had betimes apprised of the state of affairs, summoned his proved general T. Flavius Vespasianus to Achaia and charged him with the conduct of the war against the Jews in revolt. Vespasian caused his son Titus to bring the fifth and the tenth legions from Alexandria while he himself proceeded to Antioch and took command of the fifteenth legion along with the auxiliary troops supplied by three kings in alliance with Rome—Antiochus of Commagene, Soëmus of Emesa, and Agrippa II. Father and son met in Ptolemais where they began operations.

The first measures taken were against Galilee. The city of Sepphoris had already received a Roman garrison and was being held against Josephus. As soon as the army of Vespasian appeared upon the scene, the Jews withdrew into the fortified cities. Of these the first to succumb to the Romans was Jotapata (1 Panenios = July 67). Josephus himself, who had already reported to headquarters the evil case of his army, conducted the defence and was seized in a hiding-place by the victors. He ingratiated himself with Vespasian by the prophecy that both he and his son were destined for the imperial throne, and was detained in friendly captivity. After having advanced along the coast as far as Joppa, Vespasian made his headquarters with Agrippa II. at Caesarea Philippi, whence he caused Tiberias and Taricheae—both cities belonging to Agrippa—to be brought back to their obedience. The storming of the fortress of Gamala in Gaulanitis proved no easy task (*Sept.* Oct. 67). But when in addition to this the garrison of Mount Itabyrion (Tabor) had also been overcome and Giscala the home of the Zealots had opened its gates to Titus, the whole of Galilee was at the feet of the Romans, though John of Giscala, the leader of the rebels in the last named city, had indeed eluded Titus by a ruse and made his escape to Jerusalem. Vespasian fixed the winter quarters of the fifth and fifteenth legions in Caesarea Palaestina and those of the tenth in Scythopolis.

The tidings of the unprosperous course of events in Galilee, when they reached Jerusalem, where the high priest Ananias and Joseph son of Gorion were nominally in command, had the effect of letting loose the full storm of rage and fanaticism against the Romans. The arrival of John of Giscala with his Zealots added fuel to the flames. With the fanatics, to be old or prudent was to be indolent and weak. In the country about Jerusalem the struggle of parties came to bloodshed; the issue soon declared itself in favour of the fanatics. The conflagration now reached Jerusalem itself. It directed itself in the first instance against those who, there was some reason to fear, might seek to quench it—against the high-priestly nobility and their adherents, and in particular against the Synhedrium as it had hitherto existed. It had hitherto been unfortunate enough in its efforts against the enemies of the fatherland, and in the judgment of the excited masses this constituted a fault which in those stirring times demanded instant punishment. The

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ordinary processes of law and justice seemed too long or too uncertain, and the power of those who administered them as dangerous to the sacred cause. Accordingly, no trial was conceded to those priestly nobles who in the meantime had been arrested and cast into prison; they were put to death where they were and the cruel perpetrators of this crime (*Ex.* 22:27) were praised as deliverers of the people out of the hands of traitors. Regard for their own safety lade the Zealots take into their own hands the supreme authority. As, however, the populace, under the influence of Ananus, assumed a threatening attitude, the Zealots withdrew themselves to the temple area, the strong walls of which afforded them protection. The priority of claim to the high-priestly office asserted by certain priestly families they declared to be abolished, and, appealing to an ancient custom, they reintroduced election of the high priest by lot.

The leading members of the Synhedrium showed unwillingness to accept such a reversal of existing arrangements without a struggle. The people sided with them and actually forced the Zealots back from the outer temple enclosure into the sanctuary itself. In order to save the latter from desecration Ananus opened negotiations and in doing so gave his confidence to John of Giscala who already on previous occasions had acted as negotiator for the Zealots and now finally went over to their side, accusing Ananus of acting in pre-arranged concert with the Romans. He counselled the Zealots to call in the aid of the Idumaeans if they wished to escape certain death at the hand of Ananus or the enraged people. His advice was taken and soon 20,000 Idumaeans, eager for war, stood before the walls of Jerusalem. Ananus sought to bring them to reason; but under cover of a dark and stormy night, the Zealots slipped from the temple and led the Idumaeans through the sleeping city up to the temple hill and into the inner precincts, whence they now commenced the attack upon the outer temple court and the city. Ananus and his associates were slain and many citizens with them; others were thrown into prison. The triumphant Zealots introduced a new council (Synhedrium) of 70 persons, but again dispersed it at the point of the sword when it proved uncomformable to their wishes. The Idumaeans perceived too late the real nature of the work for which their aid had been invited. Filled with shame, they left the blood-saturated city in the hands of the Zealots, who put to the sword all suspected persons, and reduced Jerusalem to helpless subjection (*Jos.* *R/* iv. 3-6).

Vespasian watched this feverish outburst with the coolness of a practised general. He very well knew

that the more the strength of the 105. Vespasian. was wasted by this internal struggle, the feebler would be the resistance he would at last have to overcome. The reports by numerous deserters as to the ambition of John and the envy and ill-will with which he was looked upon by others confirmed him in his watching attitude. The revolution in the capital made itself felt, however, also in the surrounding country. The Sicarii extended their predatory raids as far as from Masada to Engedi. Following their example others also banded themselves together for plundering the cities and villages, amongst them in particular the desperado Simon bar Giora of Gerasa (*R/* iv. 72-93). At last, in March 68, Vespasian resumed the war. He reduced Perea as far as to Macherus and thereafter occupied the districts of Thamna, Lydda, Jamnia, Ammaus, Bethneptepha¹ and Idumaea. Next he marched by way of Ammaus (where the fifth legion had its camp) and Neapolis (Sichem) down into the Jordan valley and threw a garrison into Jericho (June 68), thus drawing, however widely, the first line of investiture round the centre of the rebellion.

At this juncture, tidings of the death of Nero (9th

¹ [Βεθνεπτιφών, Niese, *Jos.* *R/* iv. 81.]

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June, 68) reached Vespasian in Caesarea. He determined to delay the siege of Jerusalem and wait the orders of the new Emperor, Galba. Thus the summer passed away, as also the succeeding winter, Galba having been murdered in Jan. 69 and Otho named as his successor. This inaction was, to the Jews eager for battle, hard to bear; but in the meantime they kept their swords in practice in fratricidal conflicts, and thinned their own ranks by all kinds of jealousy, envy, and evil passion. Simon bar Giora plundered right and left through the whole of the territory still unoccupied by the Roman troops, from the district of Akrobattene in the N. down to Idumaea in the S., drove the Zealots back to the shelter of the walls of Jerusalem and made himself master of Idumaea and its capital Hebron. In Jerusalem itself a mutiny broke out against John; his Idumean soldiers resolved to call in the help of Simon against the Zealots, who had again retreated to the temple hill. Simon in this manner became master of the city in April 69, and exerted himself to get the Zealots expelled from the temple also (*H* iv. 9: ff.).

Vespasian now drew his lines more closely round the city. In June 69 he advanced from the N. as far as Bethel and Ephraim (*g.v.*, ii.), and in the S. his general Cerealis subjugated Idumaea and held it in check by garrisons. The way to Jerusalem was now open; but once more grave tidings from Rome hindered him from taking the decisive step. Vitellius had taken the place of Otho on the imperial throne. The news roused the disapprobation of the legions stationed in the E., and in July 69 Vespasian himself was acclaimed emperor from the Nile to the Danube, and hastened to Rome. The siege of Jerusalem was thus left to Vespasian's son Titus, who had at his side Tiberius Alexander, formerly procurator of Judaea, now governor of Egypt, and Josephus, now freed from his captivity.

Titus marched upon Jerusalem from Caesarea at the head of the fifteenth and twelfth legions by way of

106. Titus. Samaria, while the fifth legion advanced from its camp at Annumas and the tenth from Jericho. Titus pitched his camp one and a half hours northwards of Jerusalem (April 70). The leaders of the revolt within the city had in the meantime gone on with the building of the outer wall which had been begun by Agrippa II. (see § 97), and had even sent messengers to the many Jewish colonies on the Euphrates to stir them to revolt (*B* vi. 62). Jerusalem itself was full of the numerous visitors who had come up for the Passover feast, so that feeling was highly strung; it expressed itself in loud shouts of joy when Titus at the head of a body of horsemen was almost surrounded by a band of Jews close by the northern wall of the city. The Zealots had in the meantime split into two factions: Eleazar son of Simon had made himself master of the inner sanctuary and confined John of Giscala to the outer temple precinct and its immediate southern neighbourhood, so that John had to defend himself on two sides—against Eleazar and against Simon bar Giora who was master in the city. When, however, Titus proceeded to place the fifteenth, twelfth, and fifth legions on the height to the north (Mt. Scopus; see NOB) and the tenth legion on the Mt. of Olives to the east, the Jews combined. A vigorous attack was made upon the tenth legion while it was engaged in the work of entrenchment; but it was repulsed by the bold intervention of Titus. While Titus was making preparations for the investment properly so-called, John succeeded in getting the better of Eleazar and his people in the inner sanctuary, and thus Jerusalem no longer had three parties, but only two—John with 8000 men and Simon with 15,000. Titus directed his first attack, with embankments, towers, and battering rams, against the first wall in the neighbourhood of the Tower of Hippicus. Not until the blows of the rams had begun to fall did the contending parties within the city begin to come to their

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senses and think of uniting in a common defence. By the fifteenth day of the siege, the seventh day of Artemisius (approximately May 70), the Romans had already forced their way into the northern quarter of the city enclosed by the first wall. Immediately Titus pushed forward his camp and began to breach the second wall. After five days his troops were able to advance through it; but in the vigorous street fight which ensued they were repelled by the Jews and constrained to fight for three days more for the reconquest of the walls.

Meanwhile the siege operations now began to be directed against the citadel of Antonia and the Upper City. Titus sent Josephus a second time to summon the Jews to surrender (*H* v. 31: 92 ff.). He knew that pestilence had already broken out in the overcrowded city, and also that famine was beginning to make itself felt, and he wished, if possible, to preserve the city and especially the temple from destruction. The leaders, however, refused to negotiate; they proudly placed their reliance on the temple and the almighty power of God. The inclination of the people was in the other direction; whoever saw a convenient opportunity stole away from the city and went over to the Romans. Those in command were roused by this to all the greater vigilance. Intimidation was not spared, and stringent measures were taken to exact provisions for the soldiers from the wealthier inhabitants. To add to these difficulties Titus now put into force with greater strictness the military law regarding deserters. Yet all these untoward circumstances together could not break the spirit of the defenders. How great was their resourcefulness and how desperate their courage the Romans found by experience. After seventeen days' labour four embankments had been raised—two against Antonia and two against the Upper City. Those before Antonia the Jews undermined and destroyed by fire; those before the Upper City with the machines were also set on fire by them during a hard-fought struggle.

These losses had their effect on the besiegers, and raised grave doubts whether the means hitherto em-

107. Blockade. ployed would suffice for the reduction of the city. Hence Titus resolved on a strict blockade. A rampart—39 stadia in circumference, with thirteen watch towers—was completed by the legions in three days (*B* v. 122).

The position of affairs in the city daily grew worse; famine led to the most inhuman acts. The preternatural suspiciousness of the Zealots was always discovering new traitors who had to lay down their lives that the city might sleep secure. Still, the hope of a divine intervention and of the Messianic empire (*H* vi. 52 ff.) still held its own through all the pangs of hunger, all the shouts of combatants, and all the blood-thirsty jealousy of opposing parties. What amazing abysses does not human nature here disclose!

In twenty-one days the Romans had raised four new embankments which were watched with the utmost vigilance. Shaken by the rams a part of the wall at the Antonia citadel collapsed; but the Jews had already erected a second behind the breach. This also the Romans surmounted on the 5th of Panemos (approx. July), and accordingly could assert the mastery in the citadel. On the 15th of Panemos the daily sacrifice in the temple (קָרְבָּן) ceased to be offered. Well might the courage of many sink. Titus, first through Josephus and afterwards personally, pleaded that the temple might be spared; but all in vain. Nothing was left for it but that the struggle should be carried out to its issue within the sacred enclosure. The first battle being indecisive, the Romans built a new embankment against the wall of the inner precinct, while the Jews destroyed the chambers between the Antonia and the inner temple enclosure—partly by fire.

On the 8th of Lous (ca. August) the rams were brought to bear on the walls of the inner forecourt.

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As nothing, however, could be effected either by their means or by scaling ladders, the gates were set on fire. When these actually began to burn horror paralysed the defenders. Titus, however, on the following day, caused the flames to be extinguished. His sole object had been to secure a freer path for the larger attack which he had planned for the 10th of Louis. Before this could quite be carried out by the soldiers, however, one of the party tossed a burning brand into one of the chambers surrounding the temple. The wildest consternation ensued among the Jews. Titus ordered the extinction of the fire; but the Roman soldiers pressed on, and put the horror-stricken Jews to the sword. Scarcely had Titus for the first time cast eyes on the Holy of Holies when the flames were already crackling under the door; soon they sprang aloft and enveloped all. On this very day a prophet had summoned the people to the temple to see the fulfilment of the signs of deliverance. The raging flames, the infuriated soldiers, the groans of the wounded and the dying, all spoke with another voice. It was the judgment. The words of John the Baptist and of Jesus of Nazareth had come true.

Thousands perished in the temple flames; some of the Zealots sought safety in the Upper City. The Romans set up their standards in the sanctuary, sacrificed before them, and hailed Titus as Imperator. After an ineffectual attempt at an arrangement with the authorities he ordered the city to be burned. The Jews now retired into the palace of Herod and gave up the rest of the city to the spoiler. Once more the legions had to set about engineering works, and on the 7th of Gorpains (*ca.* September) 70 A.D., machines were brought to bear. It was now plain that the powers of resistance of the besieged had been broken at last; when the wall fell their pride turned into helplessness and cowardice, and they sought to hide themselves in the subterranean passages. On the same day the Roman soldiers made their way through the Upper City, burning, plundering, and massacring. Of the Jews who arrived, the leaders were put to death, and the finest-looking of the youths were preserved to grace the triumph; of the remainder, some were sent to the Egyptian mines, many were sent as presents into the provinces for use in scenic displays. Death or captivity was also the lot of those who had hidden themselves in the subterranean passages; John of Giscala was sentenced to imprisonment for life, Simon bar Giora was set apart for the triumph. City and temple were destroyed, only the western portion of the city wall with the three towers of the palace of Herod was left standing, so as to admit of the 10th legion and some auxiliary troops having their camp there. Of the rich plunder, there were afterwards exhibited to the Romans in the joint triumph of Vespasian and Titus the Golden Altar of incense, the golden candlestick, and also the book of the Law.

Three strongholds still remained in the hands of the Jews; Herodeion and Masada to the W., Macharus to the E. of the Dead Sea. Herodeion surrendered to Lucilius Bassus, who now commanded the 10th legion, without a struggle; Macharus, only after a protracted siege. As Bassus died soon afterwards, the siege of Masada fell to the lot of his successor, L. Flavius Silva. This fortress stood at a height of more than 1500 ft. above the level of the Dead Sea, on the almost inaccessible summit of a mountain (now es-Sebbeh), and since the commencement of the war had been held by the Sicarii under Eleazar, a relation of Judas of Galilee. After great exertions the soldiers of Silva at last succeeded in making a breach in the walls; but the defenders already constructed behind it another wall of timber and earth. This withstood the blows of the ram better than the stone wall had done; but it was capable of being set on

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fire by the besiegers. Hereupon Eleazar persuaded his band to a solemn resolution to commit suicide together. When accordingly, on the 15th of Nanthicus (*ca.* April) 73, the Romans made their way over the burning wall into the fortress, they did not find a single man alive. Masada was afterwards held by a Roman garrison.

Vespasian had already settled what was to be done with Judaea, by an order addressed to L. Bassus. The whole scene of the rebellion, as it had been handed over by Nero to Vespasian as a special province, he now claimed as his private property. Cesarea Palestina was converted into a Roman colony (Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Cesarea) and continued to be the seat of a governor (who at the same time commanded the 10th legion) as well as the administrative capital. The 10th legion lay for the most part at Jerusalem. Eight hundred veterans were settled at Emmaus near Jerusalem. All Jews within the Roman empire were required to pay the traditional temple tax, the didrachma (Mt. 17 24), into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This determination unquestionably was a very deep wound to Jewish susceptibilities. As a general rule, however, the position of the Jewish religion as a *religio licita* within the Roman empire was not assailed. Nowhere except in Egypt was violence resorted to. Fugitive Sicarii had fomented disturbances in the Jewish community in Alexandria, and this led Vespasian to order Lupus the governor to destroy the Jewish temple founded by Onias (see HERES). Lupus and his successor, Paulinus, plundered the temple of its dedicated gifts and sacred vessels, closed it and rendered it inaccessible. The Jewish worship had been carried on here for the space of 243 years (Jos. II vii. 104 has 343 years, by an error).

It was but natural that a paralysing reaction should follow the fearful struggle of the Jews with the Romans.

111. Reorganization of the Jews in Judaea. Not only were their physical forces exhausted; the community had—a more serious matter—been deprived of its religious centre. Its highest authority, the Synedrion, had even before the siege of Jerusalem been destroyed by the war party (§ 104). Now, with the destruction of the temple, the cultus also had been brought to an end; the priests had been deprived of their vocation, the community of its appointed representation in the presence of God. The mother-country itself was now compelled to live after the manner of the Jewish diaspora. The Pharisees, with Johanan b. Zakkai at their head, settled in Jamnia and addressed themselves to the task of once more rallying the dispersed of Israel around the Law. They revived the Synedrion into new life by the formation of a court of justice consisting of seventy-two members (§ 105), which disposed of civil causes arising between Jews in Judaea and, so far as was practicable without conspicuous disregard of Roman rights, also dealt with criminal cases. This court of justice could not pretend to any legal title; it owed its existence to the necessities of the case; but it seems in all probability to have been ultimately recognised by the Romans. Soon it rose in importance to such a degree that its pronouncements were recognised by the whole diaspora. Its head, who bore the title of *nāsī*, ethnarch, or patriarch, received from every Jewish community yearly dues, which were brought by so-called 'apostles.' The study of the Law and the practice of Pharisaic piety were also carried on with all the zeal proper to persecuted causes. What had been lost—temple and worship—every effort was made to preserve, so far as was possible by means of writing; the ancient precepts for the regulation of Jewish social life in Judaea were modified in such a way as to admit of their being applied under the altered conditions.

The Jews in Palestine adapted themselves to the new circumstances with remarkable rapidity. This can be

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explained to a great extent by the reaction which followed the feverish days of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. The Jews were glad to take refuge under the shelter of any new arrangement, however temporary and inadequate. They sought for comfort in their abiding sorrow, certainly in their doubt, some fixed point towards which they could direct their thoughts and hopes. This they found in the teachings of their rabbis versed in the Scriptures, from whom they learned to accept their misfortunes submissively as a chastisement from God. This was certainly a wholesome salve for broken spirits. Nevertheless the rabbis had not learned from the terrible divine judgment the thing which in truth most concerned their peace. They impressed upon the Jews the old transcendental hope that at the time appointed by God the redemption—i.e., the world-theocracy—would come (cp. Apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Esd.). It was the very depth of their unprecedented humiliation which seemed to justify the expectation that the hour of deliverance was not far off. Nor was it long before the determination was again arrived at to seek to hasten the event by their own efforts.

The Emperor Domitian caused the didrachma tax (which, as we have seen, had from 70 A.D. onwards to be paid to Jupiter Capitolinus) to be exacted with particular strictness, and forbade conversion to Judaism (which still had its supporters even within the precincts of the imperial palace). He is said also to have sought, like Vespasian before him and Trajan after him, to exterminate the Davidic family by persecution. These measures show how greatly the power of the Jewish diaspora was still felt by the Roman empire. It was in the places where the diaspora was strong that the first risings took place when Trajan waged war on the Parthians on the eastern frontier of the empire. Egypt, from the Thebaid to Alexandria, trembled before the wild outburst of Jewish hatred against the Greeks and the Romans. In Cyrene also it burst forth with blood-thirsty ferocity. In Cyprus the Jews carried out a fearful massacre and destroyed the city of Salamis (circa 116 A.D.). Trajan sent one of his ablest generals, Marcus Turbo, to Egypt; but it was only by degrees that he succeeded in quenching the fire of rebellion in the blood of its instigators. Even in Mesopotamia the Jews rose and threatened to bar the emperor's return from Ctesiphon. Here it was Lucius Quietus who restored order with remorseless firmness. Even down to the first year of the emperor Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) the agitation seems to have shown itself—perhaps even in Palestine—in commotions of diminishing intensity.

Towards the end of his reign Hadrian unintentionally furnished the occasion for a rising of the Jews in Judaea itself.

113. Struggle with Hadrian. Circumcision had been forbidden by law in the Roman empire, being placed in the same category with castration. The prohibition was regarded by the Jews—though by no means levelled exclusively at them—as a prohibition of the exercise of their religion. Further, Hadrian issued orders that the now deserted Jerusalem should again be rebuilt as a Roman colony. This expression of imperial goodwill towards their ancient capital the Jews regarded as the worst of injuries, the deathblow to all their dearest hopes; for the execution of the emperor's command would mean nothing less than the conversion of Jerusalem into a Gentile city. The zeal of the Jews was accordingly kindled once more on behalf of the city of their God, and they flew to arms on the sacred soil of Judaea. Probably the disturbances first began about 132, after the emperor's second visit to Syria in 131. So far as we can learn from the scanty notices preserved to us, the struggle took the form of a guerilla war only; the insurgents fixed their quarters in fastnesses, caves, and subterranean dens, and sought as best they could to expel the Romans from Judaea.

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The leader was a certain Simon, better known by his surname, Bar Kosiba or Bar Kochba; the first of these two forms indicates his origin

114. Revolt of Bar Kochba. genealogically or locally (cp. 1 Ch. 4:1), the second his dignity (see Nu. 24:17) as Messiah; he was doubtless of Davidic descent. His coins bear the legend 'Simon Prince of Israel'. The Roman Governor Flavius Severus was unable to quell the rebellion which burst out on all sides and spread even beyond the boundaries of Judaea. Jerusalem was 'liberated,' as the legend on the coins of Simon has it, and the sacrificial system was probably again revived; perhaps an attempt was also made to rebuild the temple. The entire Jewish diaspora supported the movement, so that the whole world was thrown into commotion (Dio Cassius 69:1). It seems probable that Hadrian himself lingered for a while near the scene of the struggle; and he summoned his best generals to deal with it. Julius Severus, who came from Babylon, brought it to a triumphant end. The closing scene took place not at Jerusalem but at BETHER (7 B., cp. Ezra 2:20 G., see GUTHRIE), now BETHUR, to the south-west of Jerusalem. In the eighteenth year of Hadrian (134-5) the little fortress was captured after a brave resistance, Bar Kochba himself having already been slain. The whole war probably lasted $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (132-135 A.D.). It was bloody in the extreme, and brought Judaea to the lowest ebb. The captive Jews were offered for sale at nominal prices on the market place beside Abraham's oak at Hebron, or sent off to the slave markets of Gaza and Egypt.

What the rebellion had been intended to prevent now took place without resistance. Jerusalem was built as a

115. Jerusalem becomes Aelia Capitolina. Gentile city and received the name of Aelia Capitolina, with the rights of a Roman colony but without the *ius Italicum*. On the former site of the temple was built a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with an equestrian statue of the emperor Hadrian. No Jew was permitted to enter the precincts of the city; once more it was to be the possession of heathen deities and their worshippers. Such was the end of the history of Israel on the mountains of Judaea.

I. For ancient history of the East in general:—Max Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*,¹⁰, Bd. I, f. 40^b, 80; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, Bd. I, 84;

116. Literature. A. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Gesch. von den ältesten Zeiten bis an Alexander den Grossen*, '84; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alten Ägyptens*, '87; Fr. Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, '85; C. P. Tiele, *Bab.-ass. Gesch.*, Bd. I, f. 86-87; H. Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, '92; H. Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, '93 ff.; J. F. McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 1 f. '94-96; F. Justi, *Gesch. des alten Persiens*, '79; Th. Nöldeke, *Aufsätze z. pers. Gesch.*, '87; W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, '94; W. Baudissin, *Studien zur sem. Kel.-gesch.*, I, f. 76-78; Baethgen, *Beitr. z. sem. Rel.-gesch.*, '88.

II. For history of Israel in general:—H. Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*,³, Bd. I, 7, '64-68; H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis an die Gegenwart*, I-18, '53 ff. English edition abridged by author, 5 vols., '91-92; F. Hitzig, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, I, f. '69; Abr. Kuenen, *De Godsdienst van Israel tot den ondergang van den joodischen Staat*, I, f. '69-70; Jul. Wellhausen, *Gesch. Israels*, I, '78, from second edition onwards entitled *Proleg. zur Gesch. Israels*,¹⁰, '99; Ed. Reuss, *Gesch. der heil. Schriften des A.T.*,¹⁰, '00; Th. Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, I, f. 87 f., '89 (1); R. Kittel, *Gesch. der Hebräer*, I, f. '88-92, E.T., 2 vols., '94-96; E. Renan, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, Bd. I-3, '87-98; Jul. Wellhausen, *U.G.*, '97; H. Winckler, *Gesch. Israels in Einzeldarstellungen*, I, '95, 2, 1900; Aug. Klostermann, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Ezra und Neh.*, '96; Piepenbring, *Historie d'Israel*, '98; C. H. Cornill, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, '98, E.T., *History of the People of Israel*, '98; H. Guthe, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, '99; C. F. Kent, *A History of the Hebrew People*, 2 vols., '96-97, and C. F. Kent and J. S. Rigg, *A History of the Jewish People*, '99-100.

III. On special periods or points:—W. Max Müller, *As. und Eur. nach altägypt. Denkmälern*, '01; H. Zimmern, 'Palästina um das Jahr 1400 vor Chr. nach neuen Quellen' in *ZDPV*, 13 (1901) 131-147; H. Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna (Keilschriftliche Bibliothek)*, Bd. 5, '96; Ed. Meyer, *Glossen zu den Thontafeln von Tell el Amarna*; from *Ägyptische Gesch.* für Georg Ebers zum 1. März, '97, pp. 62-76; Jul. Wellhausen, *Comp. des Hex. und der hist.*

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noteworthy, however, is that the 'Blessing of Moses' connects the tribe not as comrades in war (as in Judg. 5) but as guardians of a great religious fair (in 33:13 f.). It is here that they had formed a northern confederation like that of Shechem which had its religious centre, according to Wencker (67:246), on Shechem's sacred mountain. On what mountain such a gathering of northern clans may have been held does not appear, possibly on Iabok (Heiler, *Viraf*, *Steuertraget?*) or Carmel (Knobel, *Bertholet*). Nor have we any clue as to the deity who was thus honoured, unless we can venture to find a veiled hint in a well known story connected with the birth of Issachar and Zebulun.

Reuben found *daddim* (see MANDRAKE). These naturally belonged to Leah, the fruitful mother, but Rachel bartered her share. Issachar and Zebulun were born to Leah, Joseph to Rachel. Whatever be the meaning of Reuben's being assigned to Leah (see REUBEN), the tribe was mixed up with GAD (v. 33). Now Mesha tells us (I. 12) that when he took Atarah from Gad he carried off *מגדת*, which implies a cult of some kind. The *Gadite* cult may have been shared by Reuben, unless, indeed, 'Reuben' in Gen. 30:4 was originally 'Gad,' whose birth has just been told of (v. 11). Gad could be called Leah's son. If there underlies the story of the *daddim* the fact of an old cult, it is a little difficult to extricate it naturally, but it is not unworthy that the Issacharite tribal hero Dola, or his clan Phuah, is said to be 'son of Dodo' (דודו), the text of the passage, however, is doubtful; (see § 7).

It seems certain that popular etymology connected the name Issachar with the Hebrew root *šāḇ*, 'wages' (cp. the gloss *ō ierī mēšōr* [B.M.] and Jos. *κέρματον πεινυμένους*) and in J's form of the theory the hire had to do with the mandrakes (Gen. 30.15).¹ It has been thought that religious ideas sometimes led to the omission of certain tribe-names (cp. GAD, § 2). If the omission of Issachar was intentional, the reason may have been political (see below, § 61) but implications involved in the 'Dinla' story might be enough. Or if the connection of the name with an Egyptian *g-ō-s* 'ar' (which is in fact one of the alternatives proposed by C. J. Ball, *SEOT* on Gen. 30.18; see below, § 61) was held by some in ancient times, it is barely possible that this may have been disadvantageous to the tribe.

The first syllable of Issachar may possibly have been taken by J to be the Hebrew word שָׁכַר (so We, *ThB*, p. v, also 95 f., and Ball, *op. cit.*), the whole name being explained as 'man of hire.' Another popular explanation may have been יִשָּׂשכָר (cp Jer. 31.15 = 2 Ch. 15.16; Eccl. 4.9); perhaps also יִשָּׂשכָר יִשָּׂשכָר .² The theory that the name is compound is not impossible (cp § 6). Many modern writers, however, incline to the view that it is simple.³ Thus Ball compares the Arabic *askar*; ⁴ Nestle (*AJSJ*, 13.175 f. [197]) seems to favour Wellhausen's comparison of the Nabataean name ܝܫܫܚܪ ;⁵ and Cheyne thinks Issachar is a popular corruption of Yizrah'el (יִזְרְהֵל [197]), which he has suggested as the original of Israel (יִשְׂרָאֵל) and of Jezreel (יִזְרְעֵל) (see JACOB, § 6): Jezreel lies on the borders of Issachar. On the second part of the name see further, below, § 6.

Issachar finds prominent mention in the present text of the battles-song in Judg. 5. It would be natural that the brunt of the struggle should fall there.

1. **Rarely mentioned.** It is noteworthy, however, that whilst Josh. 21:23 (1 Ch. 6:72 [57]) assigns Debir to Issachar, Josh. 19:12 places it on the border of Zebulun. Moreover, in the passage where Issachar is mentioned in Judg. 5 the text is uncertain. There is no quite unambiguous evidence that Deborah or Daberath (whether a person¹ or a town)² or Burak, belonged to Issachar (see DEBORAH, § 2 f.). Can there have been a desire to suppress the name of Issachar? It is not quite impossible. The writer to whom is due the enumeration of tribes summoned by Gideon (Judg. 6:35) and of tribes that gathered together to pursue Midian (7:23), if rightly represented by MT,³ omits Issachar—the very tribe which, one would suppose, would be most intimately concerned, and (if we suppose that Purah is a corruption of Puah; see GIDEON, § 1 π.) may have supplied Gideon with his attendant. Similarly, Issachar is allowed no part in the fight described in Judg. 4. Still more strange, perhaps, is the omission of the same tribe from the list of those summarily told of in the latter part of Judg. I.⁴ Moreover in the 'Blessing of Jacob' the reference to Issachar is rather disparaging, and in both the 'Blessings' Issachar yields precedence to Zebulun, although in Gen. 30 Issachar is the elder of the brothers. Is all this accidental? Or can a reason be found?

2. **Special Cults?** Issachar's being a Leah-tribe associates it with Zebulun (cp the connexion of the two in Dt. 33.13 f.), and they are mentioned together in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5.14 f.); their territories were contiguous. What is

¹ Moore, Budde, and others.

21. Niebuhr: *Wi. G/2* 126.

³ Of course the text may be corrupt; see GIBSON, § 1, where it is proposed to read 'Issachar' in the Gideon story for Asher (Judg. 6 35).

⁴ We. 177215 suggests that Isaacar may have been included in Joseph; Bu. (*Ktub* 44 ff.) and Moore (*Judg.* 43) suggest that it was omitted through accident or design in abridgement.

¹ In 1, Leah gave up her handmaid to Jacob (7, 18).

² The name appears in the consonantal text invariably as קְרִי . This is printed קְרִי , that is with the Kr קְרִי ; but in different authorities occur the following five other forms: קְרִי (without *dagesh*), קְרִי , קְרִי , קְרִי , on which see Ginsburg, *Introd.* 250-254 (cp Baer-Del. *Gen.* 84 f.).

³ The view that the second *g* was meant to show that the *g* is *g*, not *g*, is supported by Nestle (*A/S/L* 13 175 f., *Trans. IX Or. Cong.* 262) who, however, believes that the *g* was really *g*. The double *g* may, however, be due to 'Volksetymologie.'

dominant entity, however, be due to 'Volksetymologie':
 4. 'Sorrel' or 'reddish-brown' of horses (cp. Lane, *ad voc.*,
 Wj. G122r-1, n. 1); cp. Gen. 49.14a, and note the derivation of
 יָסָקֵר (see Ass.). The phonetic equivalent of Isachar in Arabic
 is *yaskur*, which occurs as a tribal name (see, e.g., Yāqūt 3.288
 f. 143); cp. *ḥaṣṣa* in a Minoan inscription, from *Maṣṣa* (p. 574).
 (DHM *Ep. Deuk.* no. XXV, f. 4; see further Muller's note, p. 48.)

ОИМ *Ер. Дѣлк.* no. xav. l. 4; see

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If we judged by appearances we should conclude that in historical times Issachar played no important part. Some of the kings of Israel, however, appear to have been men of Issachar.

There seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that one of the older sources of Kings called Baasha 'son of Ahijah, of the house of Issachar' (1 K. 15.27).¹ Of the origin of Omri nothing is said; but that he also was of Issachar is for several reasons not improbable.² If then there is anything in the notion that there was a tendency to avoid mentioning Issachar (see above, §§ 1-3) it might be suggested that under the Jehu dynasty it became the fashion to disparage the 'house of Issachar.' It would not be strange if this were so. On the other hand Jehu himself may have belonged to the house of Issachar.³

That would be the most natural explanation of his being called in inscriptions of Shalmaneser II. 'son of Omri' (A. 17 189 f. 208); note also the phrase 'statutes of Omri' (Mic. 6.16; see OMRI, 1). However that may be, Jehu was a trusted general of Ahab and Joram. The last king of the line was slain near Ibleam. Jehu's father's name is given as Jehoshaphat, the name (not a common one) of the governor of Issachar in the list in 1 K. 4, v. 19. In MT (v. 17) he is said to be son of Paruah, but Paruah should probably rather be Puah, the Issachar clan.⁴ Jehu is oftener, however, called son of Nimshi. This is obscure; but if we may explain it on the analogy of the Punic *נִמְשִׁי* || *נִמְשִׁי* Nimshi would imply the cult of a god *נִשְׁ*, which might be the same as that referred to in the Issacharite PAASHA [q.v.].⁵

On the other hand Jehu may have been a southerner. There are not lacking features of his policy that would fit in with such a theory (see J. 11.1, § 2), and Nimshi may have been a southern name (cp Abihai, Amasa; and, for the first part of the name, Naomi and Rhaam [1 Ch. 11.4]).

Whether the dynasties of Omri and Jehu were from Issachar or not—and the saying in Gen. 49.14 f. suggests that Issachar supplied, rather than were not wanting influences that might have enabled men of that tribe to take a leading place. If 'nature has manifestly set Esdraelon in the arms of Samaria' it has also assigned it a different lot. Commenting on the 'Blessing' of Issachar (Gen. 49.14) G. A. Smith says (p. 383) 'To the highlander looking down upon it, Esdraelon is room to stretch in and be happy.' The most important point, however, is that the plain of Megiddo is the natural route from Sharon to the Jordan. From the earliest times it contained the sites of fortress towns (see ESDRAELON). Though its connection with Ephraim and with Gilead was very close, we have no hint how it became connected with Israel; perhaps in self-defence against the inroads of the still unsettled peoples of the east; or in connection with some other great struggle.⁷

¹ SA's *οἶκος ἐσσαχαρ*, indeed, may not be strong evidence confirmatory of MT; but SB need not be opposed really. *βελαν ο υος αχαια* may be a dittograph of *βααση υ. α.* due to homoioteleuton (αυτον . . . οἶκος) (the *χαρ* of SB's *ἐχαρᾶν* [ἐχαρᾶσεν] (L) for *παρ* of SA's *ἐπαρᾶν* looks oddly like the end of *ἐσσαχαρ*). SB adds *ἐσσαχαρ* of MT after *βεδδαια* (= *βελαν* of SB).

² He was chief general under the 'house of Issachar,' and we are not told his origin. It is plain that Ahab had a palace at Jezreel (although 'which, was in Jezreel' in 1 K. 21.1 may be an insertion [S om.]), which continued to be the home of the family. The original owner of the hill of Samaria may have been an Issacharite (cp the clan of Shimron). It should not be ignored that in the Chronicle's list of Davidic tribal princes, the prince of Issachar is called Omri (1 Ch. 27.18). Naturally in such a list (cp Gray, *HPV* 185 f. 188), no stress can be laid on this; but traditional names do occur in the list—see Ephraim, Benjamin. (By a strange coincidence the plain of Megiddo is now called Merj ibn 'Amir.) Here might be mentioned also the Phoenician policy of the house of Omri. Cp Smith, *DBD* 14876, Guthe, *GT* 138.

³ Still, one of his house was called Jeroboam.

⁴ The *נ* may be from *נִשְׁ* which perhaps stood between *נִשְׁ* and *נִשְׁ*, as in SB *υος φουασουδ ἐσσαχαρ* (i.e., 'בן נִשְׁ פִּיה שֶׁר בִּן'), and practically in SB *υ. βαρσασου* (i.e., 'בן נִשְׁ פִּיה שֶׁר בִּן') *ע* *ע* *ע*.

⁵ If the Jehu dynasty also belonged to the house of Issachar a political reason for the rise of a fashion of disparaging Issachar is hard to find.

⁶ *GA* 319.

⁷ Guthe (*GT* 73), who accepts 1 S. 11 as it stands, infers from

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It appears that at one time the plain of Megiddo was pretty completely under the power of the Philistines.¹

At least, the Zakkar(i) (Tā-[k]-ka-ra-[y]), who were associated with them had firmly established themselves at Dor in the 12th century.²

Who the people were who suffered from these intruders we are not told. It might be supposed that they would hardly be Israelites, who probably settled first in the highlands; that the strangers would be interested merely or mainly in the trade-routes and the cities lying on them, and that it was from them that these were won by Israel. That may be so. The struggle, echoes of which we find in Judg. 5, may conceivably have had this very result. No more, however, can we be sure that the land was found in the undisturbed possession of 'Canaanites.' We hear of the district first in the time of Thotmes III. and it was thereafter more or less continually in the power of Egypt or contesting that power. The Amarna correspondence, however, shows us not only the open country but also the towns (e.g. Megiddo [A. 15.193]) threatened by the Habiri. The one thing that seems to be clear is that the population must have been even more than usually mixed.³

It is not impossible that some Egyptians might remain when Egypt finally withdrew. At least, there would be natives or settlers who had been attached to them in one capacity or another, especially mercenaries. The Egyptian derivation of the name Issachar referred to above (§ 3), therefore, is perhaps not quite impossible. Issachar is the only name of the 'twelve tribes' (besides Naphtali) from which no gentile is formed in the OT,⁴ which makes it not improbable that it is a compound name. The Moabites knew a neighbouring people as Ish-gad (see GAD, § 1). It may be, then, that there was in the Gilboa district a community known to their neighbours by some such name as Is-sachar—i.e., the men of the god Sakar—as Ish-gad were the men of the god Gad (GAD, § 1 f.).⁵

Another theory (Che. *Crit. Bib.*) not open in the same way to the objection referred to below, regards *יִשָּׁכָר* as a popular euphonic adaptation of a primitive tribal name Ish-hēre (יִשְׁהָר) 'man of the sin'; cp the place-name Beth-sheme-h (Josh. 19.22); but the author of this theory prefers the explanation Yizrah (ell mentioned above (§ 3, end)).

The difficulty (referred to above) in the way of supposing that 'Issachar' contains a reference to a god Sakar, is that, although, according to the Sakkāra list, a king of the second dynasty (the Sesokhris of Manētho) bore a name compounded with that of this deity, and such compounds were favourites (Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 150) in the old empire (cp Seker-ha-ha'u; Lieblein, *Dict. de noms hiéroglyphiques*, no. 1359 and others), there does not appear to be any evidence that the name of this god was used in forming proper names outside of Egypt.

Saul's choosing Bezek as mustering place (1 S. 11.8) that he counted on drawing from Issachar and the northern tribes, Bezek, however, is just opposite Jabesh, and Winckler's argument (*GT* 2158, etc.), that Saul was a Jabeshite (cp SAUL), is certainly plausible. Even if it were to be held, with Cheyne, that Jabesh-gilead is a corruption of some other name, Guthe's inference is not conclusive: the mention of Bezek might be a consequence of the corruption (see SAUL, § 1, near end).

This statement may stand even if it should be held that the people referred to in the original form of the story in Sam. as holding Israel in subjection were not the Philistines. See SAUL, § 1, and ZAREPHATH, where other related changes in the reading of the traditional story are proposed.

² WMM, *MT* 16, 1000, f.; cp Dor.

³ Guthe thinks that Issachar and Zebulun came from across Jordan, and probably were pushed into their later seats by Joseph when it followed (*GT* 50). Cp § 8, end.

⁴ In the case of *יִשָּׁכָר*, however, in Judg. 10, it is just possible that a final *ח* has been lost before the following *ח*. Otherwise we must insert *ח* (Moore), or substitute it for *ח*, before *יִשָּׁכָר*. It is difficult, at all events, to follow Budde (*ad loc.*) in regarding the text as sound. Nu. 27.814, which he cites, do not seem to be really parallel, the meaning there is 'the Israelite'; here it is 'an Issacharite.' See, further, the article cited below, next col. n. 3.

⁵ Of the Egyptian god Sakar not very much is known. His name is met with chiefly in combination, as Ptah-Sakar, or Ptah-Osiris-Sakar. Originally apparently a sun-god, he became the god *קַר* *εὐχόμεν* of the Memphis Necropolis, ultimately giving his name to the modern village Sakkāra (Wiedemann, Petrie).

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It is true the letters SKR (סכר) occur in several proper names at Carthage: a god סכרסכר (CIS 1253 [254]); cp סכרסכר in a Makar inscr., Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 149; סכרסכר (CIS 1267 372; Eut. 152); but in each case סכר is preceded by *z*, and the name סכרסכר (in a Sidon inscription: *Rev. d. l. 12*, II, 3, p. 76 [191]) seems to show that the divine name is not סכר but סכרסכר. Nor is the name סכרסכר, also at Carthage (CIS 1218 [1354]), decisive. There does not seem to be any unambiguous case of סכר preceded by a divine name. סכר is therefore probably, as elsewhere, for סכר (so Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, 139). We find a Sacar (סכר) in 1 Ch. 11 32; סכרסכר David's hero Ahiam the HAKARITE (of Arad? A. 100); but in 12 S. 23 33 Sacar becomes Sharar. See also ISHAR. In 1 Ch. 26 a certain Issachar is seventh son of Obed-edom; but there may be dittography: סכרסכר. Sacar in the case of Sacar, the fourth son (7, 4): סכרסכר. See also the case of Sacar, the fourth son (7, 4): סכרסכר.

The later history of Issachar is obscure (cp § 6, 11, 12, 13).

7. Later history: How few people are expressly said to have belonged to Issachar has been noted already (§ 4, begin.). For an interesting case see SHINAMITE, SHULAMITE; for a tradition regarding N. Israel's great prophet, see HOSEA, § 9. With Belemoth, the name of his supposed birthplace, cp S's Baithemoth mentioned below, § 8.

On the Issacharite 'spy' (Nu. 13 7) see JOSEPHI, § 1 n. On the representatives of Issachar in the list (1 K. 1) of Solomon's prefects and in the Chronicler's list (1 Ch. 27) of David's captains (cp of tribes (Omri) see above, § 4, with footnote (4)).

In Tola we have a typical case of the equivalence of 'genealogies' and 'annals.' According to Judg. 10 1 f. 'Shamir in Mt. Ephraim' boasted that it was the resting-place of Tola, son of Puah, son of Dodo, an Issacharite 'judge' of Israel. In P's 'genealogy' of Issachar part of this story appears as a simple list of names.¹ For 'Tola the son of Puah who dwelt (יָשָׁב) in Shamir' we find four sons of Issachar: Tola, Puah, Jashub² (יָשָׁב), Shimron.

In the genealogical lists there is nothing equivalent to the 'ben Dodo' inserted in Judg. 10 1 after Puah. It is therefore not improbable that 'ben Dodo' is to be explained as a marginal note, and 'Mount Ephraim' as a (perhaps erroneous) gloss on Shamir (שָׁמִיר) (cp Gen. 46 13 Num. 26 23 f. 1 Ch. 7 1). It is not likely that the genealogy contained a name KAREAH.⁴

With regard to the Issachar clan names it is remarkable that Shamir is a precious stone (DIAMOND, § 2), whilst Tola is a dye-producing worm, and Puah, apparently, a dye-producing plant. On this coincidence see, further, ZEBULON.

To the four names given in P the Chronicler adds eleven descendants of Tola, four of whom are 'sons' of Yizrah-yah (cp above, § 3, end).

P's geographical details about Issachar are not clear. Instead of a 'boundary' (v. 18) we find a list of towns (omit AV 'toward', RV 'unto'—i.e., the *q* of יִצְרָחֵיךָ—with the versions), ending with a fragment of boundary (v. 22) = Tabur (טָבֹר יִצְרָחֵיךָ) ('land of Tabur'?) (cp טָבֹר, טָבֹר, טָבֹר some MSS בְּאֵרֶשֶׁת־טָבֹר: see below, n. 5), and two unknown places: SHAHZUMAH and BETH-SHEMESH. The (thirteen? so Pesh.) towns in the list are JEFZEE (Zer'in) on a northern promontory of Gilboa, CHUSULOTH (Kish) below the hills of en-Nāyira, SHUNEM (Silem) on the SW. slope of Nebi Dahi, HAPARAIM perhaps (el-Fariye?) on the hills between Carmel and el-Lejjūn, SHION perhaps (Ain Sha'in?) across the plain NW. of Nebi Dahi, ANAHARATH perhaps (Arrāne?) on the lower hills west of Gilboa, RABBITH (q.v.), KISHION (Kishon?; Tell abu Kudēs?), EBZ (q.v.), REMETH (q.v.), EN-GANNIM (Jennin), EN-HADDAD (for En-harod?, *Ain Jilād*), and BETH-PAZIEZ. To these places is to be added JAKMUTH (Josh. 21 29) = RAMOTH (1 Ch. 7 73 [58]), which is the third of the four Levitical cities in Issachar: Kishion (Josh.) = Kedesh (1 Ch.), Daberath, Jarmuth = Ramoth, and En-gannim (Josh.) = Anem (1 Ch.).

8. P's boundary. Instead of a 'boundary' (v. 18) we find a list of towns (omit AV 'toward', RV 'unto'—i.e., the *q* of יִצְרָחֵיךָ—with the versions), ending with a fragment of boundary (v. 22) = Tabur (טָבֹר יִצְרָחֵיךָ) ('land of Tabur'?) (cp טָבֹר, טָבֹר, טָבֹר some MSS בְּאֵרֶשֶׁת־טָבֹר: see below, n. 5), and two unknown places: SHAHZUMAH and BETH-SHEMESH. The (thirteen? so Pesh.) towns in the list are JEFZEE (Zer'in) on a northern promontory of Gilboa, CHUSULOTH (Kish) below the hills of en-Nāyira, SHUNEM (Silem) on the SW. slope of Nebi Dahi, HAPARAIM perhaps (el-Fariye?) on the hills between Carmel and el-Lejjūn, SHION perhaps (Ain Sha'in?) across the plain NW. of Nebi Dahi, ANAHARATH perhaps (Arrāne?) on the lower hills west of Gilboa, RABBITH (q.v.), KISHION (Kishon?; Tell abu Kudēs?), EBZ (q.v.), REMETH (q.v.), EN-GANNIM (Jennin), EN-HADDAD (for En-harod?, *Ain Jilād*), and BETH-PAZIEZ. To these places is to be added JAKMUTH (Josh. 21 29) = RAMOTH (1 Ch. 7 73 [58]), which is the third of the four Levitical cities in Issachar: Kishion (Josh.) = Kedesh (1 Ch.), Daberath, Jarmuth = Ramoth, and En-gannim (Josh.) = Anem (1 Ch.).

1 On the question of the relative priority of P's list and Judg. 10 1, see the article referred to in n. 3.
2 For the variants see JASHUB.
3 See an article on the genealogy of Issachar and Tola in the *OLZ* 3 466 f. (1900), where, for example, it is suggested that 'ben Dodo' possibly means 'son of his *dal*'—a gloss due to the fact that Tola is represented as son of his younger brother.
4 The reading *Kapre* (קַפְרֵי) in eight minuscules, six of which omit 'ish Yissakhar, is probably a fragment of 'Issachar' or 'Yissakhar' (see preceding col. n. 4).
5 Almost unanimously omits v. 22 b. MT reads 'sixteen.' Possibly 'to Tabur' (טָבֹר) was read as a place name: Beth-bar (?); cp several of S's variants. This would give sixteen towns.

ITHIEL

According to Josh. 17 10 (also P) Issachar bordered on Manasseh on the (S.) W. (cp EPHRAIM, § 6), whilst according to 27 11-13 (J) the most important cities in Issachar (see § 5)—Beth-shean, Bileam, Taanach, Megiddo (with Dor)—were, 'with their districts,' claimed by Manasseh and eventually made dependent by Israel (cp Judg. 1 27 1 Ch. 7 29). H. W. H.

ISSHIAH (יִשְׁיָה) [once יִשְׁיָהוּ = 'man of Jah' (?); יִשְׁעִיָּה [BAL]].

1. AV ISSIAH, an Issacharite (1 Ch. 7 3; יִשְׁיָה [B], יִשְׁעִיָּה [A], יִשְׁעִיָּה [Vg.]).

2. AV ISSIAH, a Korahite, one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 6; יִשְׁיָה [B], יִשְׁיָה [A], יִשְׁעִיָּה [Vg.]). See JAHVIAH § 11 (4 III).

3. The head of the line Rehahiah (1 Ch. 24 21 om. B, יִשְׁיָה [A], יִשְׁעִיָּה [Vg.]); in 1 Ch. 26 25 his name appears as JEMAHIAH (יִמְיָה, יִשְׁיָה [B], יִשְׁעִיָּה [Vg.]).

4. AV ISSIAH, b. Uzziel (Jahaziel), a Levite (1 Ch. 23 20, יִשְׁיָה [B], יִשְׁיָה [A], יִשְׁעִיָּה [Vg.]), of whose sons Zechariah is alone mentioned (ib. 24 25, יִשְׁיָה [B], יִשְׁעִיָּה [A], יִשְׁעִיָּה [Vg.]).

5. Ishijah, RV Issijah, one of the line HAKIM in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA I, § 5, end); Ezra 10 31 (יִשְׁיָה [B]) = 1 Esd. 9 32, ANEAS (אַנְיָאס [B]).

ISSUE (יִשְׁעִיָּה, etc.), Lev. 12 7 15 2 etc. See MEDICINE.

ISTALCURUS (Ἰσταλκούρου [A]), 1 Esd. 8 40. See ZABUD, 2, and cp UTHAI.

ISUAH (יִשְׁיָה), 1 Ch. 7 30; RV ISHVAH.

ISUI (יִשְׁיָה), Gen. 46 17; RV ISHVI.

ITALIAN BAND (ἡ σπειρα ἡ καλούμενη ἰταλική), Acts 10 1. See CORNELIUS, § 1, and cp ARMY, § 10.

ITALY (ἰταλία). From the age of Augustus the word Italy was used as a geographical term in the same sense in which we use it now. See further ROME; ROMANS.

It occurs four times in the NT, viz. Acts 10 1, 'the Italian band' (see ARMY, § 10, CORNELIUS, § 1); Acts 18 2, the expulsion of the Jews 'from Italy'; 'from Rome'; Acts 27 1, Paul's voyage to Italy, i.e., to Rome; Heb. 13 24, 'those of Italy' (see HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO, § 9).

ITCH (יִצְחָק), Dt. 28 27 f. See DISEASES, 3.

ITHAI (יִתְיָה), 1 Ch. 11 31. See ITTAL.

ITHAMAR (יִתְיָה), derivation uncertain, 'father of Tamar' (cp ABIEZER and I-EZER; but 'N' is more probably a fragment of a divine name, see ICHAROD, JEZEBEL; ITHAMAR [BAFL]), the name of a guild of priests which, to judge from 1 Ch. 24 3 f., was of less importance than that of ELEAZAR (q.v.). See GENEALOGIES, § 7 [iv.], ZADOK, and cp C. Niebuhr, *Gesch. d. ebr. Zeitalters*, 120. It is in accordance with this that in the priestly genealogies Ithamar appears as the youngest (4th) son of Aaron, Eleazar being the third (Ex. 6 23 28 1 Nu. 3 2 f., cp Lev. 10 6 12 16 [P]). In P's description of the wanderings Ithamar is represented as superintending the Gershonites and Merarites (Nu. 4 28 33 7 8). The Kohathites (to which the high-priestly family belonged) are not under his charge. The guild is mentioned again in the list of the returning exiles (Ezra 8 2 = 1 Esd. 8 29, יִתְיָהוּ [B]). It is curious to notice that in this passage the name Ithamar is in connection with the line Phinehas and Gershon. The supposition that Eli was a member of this guild is manifestly uncritical, and has been shown to rest upon a misunderstanding; see Eli, § 2. S. A. C.

ITHIEL (יִתְיָה), perhaps 'El is with me,' cp IMMANUEL; and see NAMES, § 28), in list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA II, § 5 [d], § 15 [1 a], Neh. 11 7 f. [יִתְיָה [B], יִתְיָה [A], יִתְיָה [Vg.]). Although the Nabataean name יִתְיָה is closely parallel (CIS 2 100), its meaning is equally uncertain—'Bel exists,' or, 'he whom Bel leads'; to render 'Bel is with me' is, of course, impossible, since the preposition *w* is not used in Aramaic.

1 Quoted by Driver (*CIS* 92) in connection with the mysterious ISHVI (q.v.).

ITHIEL AND UCAL

ITHIEL AND UCAL (יִתְיֵל וּכָל), τοῖς ΠΙ-ΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ ΘΕῶν ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΟΜΑΙ, personal names in Prov. 30.1, where RV renders 'The words of Agur the son of Jakeh'; the oracle. 'The man saith unto Ithiel and unto Ucal.' It is usual to retain 'Agur son of Jakeh' as the name of some unknown Jewish or non-Jewish sage, but to get rid of Ithiel and Ucal by changes of points or consonants. Thus Kamphausen (Kau. HS) renders v. 1 (after the heading), 'The man speaks (saying), I wearied myself about God, I wearied myself about God, and pined away' (יָגַד; so Del., Frank.). This, however, implies an unusual construction of the verb יָגַד with an accusative. Hitzig, Delitzsch, Frankenberg prefer to make יָגַד, 'God,' a vocative; but the context does not suggest an address to God. 'Agur son of Jakeh' is almost equally hard to explain. Toy owns perplexity. **ΕΘΝΑΥ**, however, puts us on the right track. τοῖς ΠΙΣΤ. ΘΕῶν represents יִתְיֵל וּכָל, all of which can still be traced in MT, except that יָגַד stands for the second יָגַד (see further *Crit. Bib.*). The text probably is, 'The words of the man (called) hak-kôhéleth, the guilty one, to those who believe in God.' Cp KOHELETH. T. K. C.

ITHLAH (יִתְלָה), Josh. 19.42 RV, AV JETHLAH.

ITHMAH (יִתְמָה), a Moabite, named in David's army-list (1 Ch. 11.46†; ΕΘΕΜΑ [BN], ΙΕΘ. [A], ΙΕΘΑΜ [L]).

ITHNAN (יִתְנָן), § 10, a town in the southern part of Judah, mentioned along with Kedesh and Hazor in Josh. 15.23 (ΑΚΟΡΙΩΝΑΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΙΝΑΜ [B] for Hazor and Ithnan; ΙΘΝΑΖΙΦ [A] for Ithnan, Ziph in v. 24; ΙΘΝΑΝ [L]). See ETHNAN.

ITHRA (יִתְרָא), 2 S. 17.25†. ΕΥΨΕ. JETHER (q.v., 3).

ITHRAN (יִתְרָן), 'eminent'; cp JETHRO. 1. A Horite clan-name, Gen. 36.26 (εθραν [ADE], Ιθ. [L]) = 1 Ch. 1.41 (γεθραν [B], εθραν [A]). See DITHON.

2. In a genealogy of ASHER (q.v., § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7.37 (εθρα [B], εθρα [A], om. L.). In 1 Ch. 7.38 the name apparently recurs as JETHER 6 (יִתְרָא, εθρα [B], εθρα [A]). **ΕΛ** gives εθραν (i.e., Ithran?) for Ulla the father of Hanniel and Rizia (v. 39); see ARAH, I.

ITHREAM (יִתְרֵא), § 46, cp ABIATHAR, JETHER, JETHRO, AMMI [NAMES WITH], and see below; see also Gray, *HP.V* 49 55; ΙΕΘΡΑΑΜ [B], ΙΕΘΡΟΑΔ [Jos.], the sixth son of David by Eglah, 2 S. 35 (ΕΙΕΘΡΑΑΔΑΜ [A], ΙΕΘΡΑΜ [L]), 1 Ch. 33 (ΙΘΑΡΑΜ [B], ΙΕΘΡΑ[Α]Μ [AL]); see DAVID, § 11d. The name is miswritten JERIMOTH (q.v., 9) in 2 Ch. 11.8, where we should probably read 'Mahalath (see MAHALATH), daughter of Ithream and of Abihail daughter of Saul.' The Chronicler, who draws from an older source, not knowing Abihail (a name corrupted elsewhere into MICHAEL) as a daughter of Saul, has emended יִתְרֵא into יִתְיֵא (Eliab). Accepting the old view which identifies Ithream's mother EGLAH (q.v.) with Michal, Klostermann suggests that Ithream (i.e., 'residue of a kinsfolk') described the child of Michal as a representative of the almost extinct family of Saul. In itself this view is not implausible (cp Judg. 7.6), at least if Klostermann's explanation of Eglah be in some form accepted; but it seems to the present writer to be opposed by the analogy of the names Rehoboam, Jeroboam. To explain Rehoboam as 'the people is wide,' and Jeroboam as 'the people increases' (see NAMES, § 46) appears arbitrary; *am* in such names (when genuine) is, at any rate in the older period, presumably a divine title (see AMMON, § 1), and Ithream ought to mean 'the (divine) kinsman is pre-eminence.' T. K. C.

ITHRITES, THE (יִתְרִי), ΔΙΘΑΛΕΙΜ [BA], Ο ΕΘΡΙ [L], a family of Kirjath-jearim. 1 Ch. 2.53 (see SIOBAI). In 2 S. 23.38 1 Ch. 11.40 Ira and Gareb are called Ithrites:

1 So Jerome (*OS* 118 13, 'Ethnan in tribu Juda') and Eusebius (*ib.* 24 57, *Εθναμ φησιν Ιουδα*).

ITUREA

2 S. (αἰθραῖος [B^a], εθραῖος [B^b], εθθεναῖος [B], εθραῖος, τεθραῖος [A], ιεθρεῖ, ιεθεμ [L]), Ch. (ηθρηεῖ, ιοθρηεῖ [B], ιοθρηεῖ, ιοθρηεῖ [N], ιεθρεῖ [A], ιεθρεῖ [L]). In 2 S. 23.38 αἰθραῖος [B] seems to suggest a reading יִתְרֵי (Th., Klo., Marq., H. P. Smith)—i.e., a native of JATTIR (q.v.), in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15.43 21.14).

ITTAH-KAZIN (יִתְחָה קָזִין), Josh. 19.13, RV ETH-KAZIN.

ITTAI (יִתַּי, εθθαι [BA], ΙΘΙ [L], εθιC [Jos. Ant. vii.92], εσθαῖος [ib. 10.1]). 1. A Gittite, who with 600 Philistines entered into David's service shortly before Absalom's rebellion (2 S. 15.18 f. [προς] εσθθαι [B in v. 19]). So far as the text is intelligible, it would appear that Ittai—his name was probably once in v. 18d, thus providing a natural introduction to v. 19a—was a 'stranger' (יָנִי) who had been exiled from his native place (reading יִתְרֵי, G. Vg.), and David advises him to return and take back his brethren with him, adding a benediction¹ (see TRUTH). In the fight against Absalom, he is a commander of the third part of the army. The rapidity with which Ittai, who when we first meet him had only been a short time with David (2 S. 17.20, יִתְרֵי), springs to the high position of commander along with Joab and A. ai (2 S. 18.25 12) is surprising. It is natural to suppose that he was one of David's well-tried warriors, perhaps one who had been with him during his residence at Ziklag. It is hardly safe to identify him with 2 (below).

2. Ittai, one of David's heroes, who, probably to distinguish him from 1 (above), is styled 'h. Ribai from Gibeah of the children of Benjamin,' 2 S. 23.29 (εσθαῖ [B], om. A, εθθι [L]) = 1 Ch. 11.31 ITTAI (יִתַּי, αἰρεῖ [B], αἰρεῖ [N], ἥθου [A]). S. A. C.

ITUREA—i.e., the territory of the *Ituræans*, which should mean especially (see ISHMAEL, § 4 [7], and cp GASM. HG 545) the southern part of the Antilibanus. It is mentioned in AV of Lk. 3.1, where the appearance of the new prophet, John the Baptist, is elaborately dated. The passage which, according to RV, runs, '... and his brother Philip (being) tetrarch of the region of Ituræa and Trachonitis,' and according to AV, '... of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis,' is in Greek (Ti. WH), Φιλιππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετραρχούντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίδος χώρας. Which of the renderings is correct? It is important to notice that in Acts 16.6 the AV and the RV differ once more. The best MSS have τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (so Ti. WH). This, as appears from Acts 18.23² (if the text is right), should mean, in Lk.'s style, 'Phrygia and the region of Galatia.' Herod Philip, then, on this view of Lk.'s meaning, held a tetrarchy composed of two districts called respectively Ituræa and Trachonitis; but here two difficulties arise.

a. It is at any rate doubtful whether there is a single Greek writer before Epiphanius³ (*Har.* 19) and Eusebius (*OS* 268 93) who uses 'Ἰτουραία, 'Ituræa,' as the name of a country.

Apollonius, in a list of countries, mentions Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἰτουραίων⁴ (*Civ.* 57), and though in Jos. Ant. xiii.13 Dindorf reads 'Ἰτουραίων, Niese's and Naber's reading 'Ἰτουραίων is proved to be right by the following words, which refer to the people of the Ituræans.⁵

This, however, is the less serious difficulty. In Acts 18.23 it is possible to read with (apparently) Pesh. τὴν Γαλατικὴν καὶ Φρυγίαν χώραν, and apart from Lk.'s presumed usage, it would be not unnatural to understand the words of Lk. 3.1 as implying that Ituræa and Trachonitis were partly at any rate the same region.

1 On the text see Dr. ad loc.

2 τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν (Ti. WH).

3 Ramsay, *E. r. posit.*, '941, p. 52.

4 Ramsay, *ib.* pp. 52, 146.

5 πολέμους [Ἰτουραίους] καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας προσκτισάμενος.

6 See Chase, *E. r. posit.*, '936, p. 405. Blass and Chase are on one side, Lightfoot and Ramsay on the other, in the interpretation of Acts 16.

IVAH

6. The next difficulty is geographical. It is quite conceivable that a wild, semi-nomadic race like the Itureans may, when their home on the Antilibanus was taken from them, have migrated into Trachonitis (proper), and that this region was therefore sometimes spoken of as Iturean. G. A. Smith very aptly refers to the migration of many Druses from the Lebanon to the Jebel Hauran (to the SE. of the Hauran, on the edge of the desert), which has therefore acquired the second name Jebel ed-Drüz. There is, however, no historical proof that the Itureans migrated in this way, and that hence their name attached itself to this new abode; and in view of the extreme care with which Lk. describes the date of the Baptist's appearance, it cannot be thought likely that Lk. would have used this second, popular name ('the Iturean region') for Trachonitis, when there were other territorial names which had so much better a claim to be referred to in connection with Herod Philip.

For of what did the tetrarchy of Herod Philip consist? Josephus tells us. It was Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and certain parts of the 'house of Zeno (or Zenodorus)' about Paneas (*Ant.* xvii. 114, *B.J.* ii. 63). Now even if we grant (for argument's sake) that the latter territory,¹ not (according to the hypothesis just now rejected) Trachonitis proper, may be intended by 'the Iturean (region)' in Lk. 31, who can think it likely that Lk. would mention the region of Paneas² in preference to the names of more important territories? Surely he would rather have selected Gaulanitis (*Jos.* *Ant.* xvii. 81) or Auranitis (*xvii.* 114). Is it not on the whole probable that he actually did so? No names are more liable to corruption than those of places. In the very passage which has occasioned this article (Lk. 31) there are traces of the existence of a false reading *Ἰδουαίας* for *Ἰτροπαίας*; what if *Ἰτροπαίας* itself is a corruption of *ἀδριατικός*? Omit *ἰδ*, which, after *ἰτ*, would be a natural transcriptional error, and you have a group of letters which might easily be confounded with *ἰτροπαίας*. This is preferable, not only to the rather improbable conjectures mentioned above, but also to the suggestion of Holtzmann (*HC* 157) that by an anachronism the evangelist assigns to Philip the territory afterwards possessed by Agrippa.

See the discussion between Chase and Ramsay, and between Ramsay and G. A. Smith in the *Expositor*, '936, '944; and cp Schürer, *Hist.* 2, Appendix 1.

T. K. C.

IVAH (יְוָה), 2 K. 1834, RV IVVAH. See AVVA.

IVORY (יוֹדֵם), 'tooth,' implying that the Hebrews knew that ivory was not a *horn*; MT, and consequently EV, twice assume that יוֹדֵם also means 'ivory'.

Apart from such sources as the tusks of fossil elephants and allied animals, and of the narwhal, etc., which may practically be neglected, ivory is derived from the incisor teeth or tusks of the ELEPHANT (*q.v.*). It is the solid dentine or central substance of teeth.

¹ No stress can be laid on *Eus.* *OS* 26893, *Ἰτροπαία ἡ καὶ Τροάωντις*; for, though Eusebius was a native of Palestine, he does not escape geographical mistakes, especially when dealing with the E. of the Jordan.

² G. A. Smith argues that 'if the name [of the Itureans] spread down the slopes of Anti-Lebanon SW. towards Galilee [see *Jos.* *Ant.* xiii. 113], it is quite possible that it also spread down the same slopes SE. upon the district of Paneas' (*Expositor*, '944, p. 230). Schürer, too, remarks (*Hist.* 211 ff.) that this district formerly belonged to the Iturean state.

³ יוֹדֵם (1 K. 1022 2 Ch. 921, AVmg. 'elephants' teeth, *ὀδόντες ἀεφάντων* [only A in 1 K.]) has been taken to mean 'tooth of the habibim' (יְהוֹבִים), which Schrader (*KAT* 187) connects with *Ass. Yin alab*, 'tooth of halab'; but the authority for this supposed Assyrian name for the elephant is most insecure (cp *Elephant*, n. 2). 'Ivory' in *Ass.* is *Sinni-piri*, or, in the Amarna tablets, *Sinni-biri* (cp *Zeit. f. Völkerpsych.* 13 249), and, unless we emend יוֹדֵם to יְהוֹבִים ('elephant,' cp *Syr.* *ܝܠܐ*, etc.), it is best either to identify with the Egypt. *ab, ebu* (cp *Lat.* *ebur*), 'elephant' (with this we might combine the theory of an ultimate Sanskrit original [*ibhans*? cp *ἀέβας*]), or to read 'ivory and ebony' (יוֹדֵם יוֹבֵם) as proposed elsewhere (see EBONY).

IYE-ABARIM

which, alike on account of its mass, its fine elastic quality, and its property of taking a high polish, has always had a high commercial value.

The Tyrians, it appears, obtained ivory from Dedanite or Rhodian merchants (*Ezek.* 2715; see

1. Source. DOBANIM); the Israelites, in Solomon's time, through a ship or ships of their own, from OPIR (*q.v.*, 1 K. 1022, cp 7. 18). It is generally supposed that part of this ivory came from India,¹ though the African elephant has always been the main source of the commodity (this on account of the large size of the tusks, and because there are tusks in both the male and the female). Assyria received a small quantity from Egypt through Phoenicia—usually in the form of skilfully chiselled plaques or ornaments. Generally, however, it was imported in its rough state; the Assyrians themselves worked it up. This will account for the different style and character of the actual finds (cp Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* 239 ff.). The Egyptians obtained their ivory partly from Ethiopia, which was reputed to be very rich in it (cp *Plin.* v. 810), partly from Cyprus (*Brugsch, Geogr. Aegy.* 317 322; *WMM, As. u. Eur.* 336, n. 2; cp Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 140 191; *EGYPT*, § 33). On the coast of Asia Minor there was an ivory industry of great antiquity (cp *Il.* 413-144).

Ivory being a hard and durable substance, many articles, carved and veneered, have survived to our time both in Egypt and (especially) in Assyria.

2. Use. Cant. 514 has been quoted as referring to such objects; but *ʿēth* (עֵת) perhaps rather suggests a mass of ivory than an artistic product (see Siegfried, *ad loc.*). 'Vessels of ivory' are mentioned only in *Rev.* 1812; but ivory was used by the Israelites as well as other peoples in the decoration of palaces (1 K. 2239; cp *Am.* 315 and, if correct, *Ps.* 453 [9]). The Ninevite palaces were certainly inlaid with ivory (cp *Hom. Od.* 463, chambers of Menelaus). Amos (64) refers in anger to the 'beds of ivory' of the nobles of N. Israel (the reference to Zion in 61 can hardly be original).² In Taylor's cylinder inscription it is said that in the tribute of Hezekiah to Sennacherib were 'ivory couches, splendid seats of ivory' (*Schr. KAT* 719 293; cp *BED*, § 5). Rather strangely we read in Cant. 74 [5] of a 'tower of ivory.' Some particular tower seems to be meant (cp 7. 5 44); but where and what was it? Delitzsch thinks that it was panelled with ivory externally—a difficult supposition (see below). Among the Phoenicians ivory was used to ornament the ship's deck (or rudder [?] *Ezek.* 276), just as, at an early age, ivory was used by the

3. Other references. Greeks in the handles of keys or bosses of shields, etc. It is probable, however, that the above list of references should be shortened.

Thus in *Ps.* 458 [9] and Cant. 74 [5] יוֹדֵם, 'ivory,' only appears through a corruption of the text. In the former passage יוֹדֵם should probably be יוֹבֵם, 'ointments' (*Che. Ps.* 12), and in the latter יוֹבֵם should be יוֹבֵם (Wi.) or יוֹבֵם (Che.). See Winckler (*AOF* 1293 f.), and more fully Cheyne (*JQR*, Apr. '00), who takes 'the tower of Lebanon which looks towards Damascus' to be a variant of 'the tower of Senir.'

Some additions, however, may be made to the list. Thus in 1 K. 1022 many read 'ivory and ebony' for 'ivory'; in 1 Ch. 292 the same reading is possibly right for 'onyx-stone'; and in 1s. 2162 'ships of Tarshish' should not improbably be 'palaces of ivory.' See EBONY.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

IVVAH (יְוָה), AV Ivah, 2 K. 1834 1913 1s. 3713†. See AVVA.

IVY (ΚΙΤΤΟC), 2 Macc. 67. See BACCHUS.

IYE-ABARIM (יְיֵה אַבָּרִים), Nu. 3344 RV, AV IJE-ABARIM.

¹ J. Kennedy's article (*J.R.S.* 15, Apr. '05, pp. 241-265) comes to a different conclusion. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

² Cheyne would change יוֹבֵם, 'Zion,' into יוֹבֵם (see ZARETHAN).

IYIM

IYIM (יִימִים), Nu. 33⁴⁵ RV, AV IIM.

IYOB (יֹאבִיב), Job 1: RV^{mg}, EV JOB.

IZHAR (יִצְהָר), 'it (?) shines' or 'oil', § 54; יצ[ח]אב [BAFL], b. Kōhath, a Levitical family name (Nu. 3:13, AV IZEHAR; Ex. 6:18, יצחאב [B] יעצחאב [F]; יצ. 21, צאב [F]; Nu. 16:1, יצחאב [F*]; P; 1 Ch. 6:2 [523], 18 [63], יעצחאב [L]; 38 [623], 23 [1218†]). In 1 Ch. 6:22 [7] the name is less correctly Amminadab (but יעצחאב [AL]); see AMMINADAB (3). See GENEALOGIES i, § 7 (iii. c).

The gentilic is **Isharite** (יִצְהָרִי), 1 Ch. 21:22, יעצחאב [B], יעצחאב [A], יצחאב [L]; 26:23, יעצחאב [B], AL as 21:22; יצ. 29, יעצחאב [B], יצחאב [A], יעצחאב [L]; AV once **Izharite**, Nu. 3:27, אצחאב [B*], יצח. [Bab], יעצחאב [A], יצח. [FL].

IZHAR, RV; AV JEZOAR (יִצְהָר, kt.; יִצְהָר, krē), a son of ASHHUR [q.v.] of Judah; 1 Ch. 47 (צאב [BA], יצחאב [L]). For krē, see ZOHAR, 3.

JABBOK

IZLIAH (יִזְלִיָּה), 1 Ch. 8:18 RV, AV JEZLIAH.

IZRAHIAH (יִזְרָהִיָּה), 'Yahwè rises', §§ 35, 53; cp ZERAHIAH b. Uzzi, an Issacharite: 1 Ch. 7:3 (זאריא [B], יעזראא [A* v^d], יעזריא [A' and A], יעזריא [L]), cp ZERAHIAH b. Uzzi (1 Ch. 6:6 [512] etc.). The identical name appears also in the EV under the form JEZRAHIAH [q.v.].

IZRAHITE, (יִזְרָהִיָּה), 1 Ch. 27:8. See ZERAH.

IZRI (יִזְרִי)—i.e., a man of יִזְרָה; a Jezerite, see JEZER), a son of Jeduthun (1 Ch. 25:11, יִזְרִי, יעזר[ע] [BA], יעז. [L v. 14]). In 1 Ch. 25:3 his name appears as ZERI (יִזְרִי; יעזר[ע] [BAL]).

IZZIAH (יִזְיָה), Ezra 10:25 RV, AV JEZIAH.

J

JAAKAN (יִיאָקָן), 1 Ch. 1:42† RV, AV JAKAN [q.v.].

JAAKOBAB (יִיאָקֹבָב), § 73; cp ASHARELAH, JESHARELAH, a Simeonite name (1 Ch. 4:6; יאקאבא [B], יאק. [A], יעקבא [L]).

JAALA (יִיאָלָא) [Gi. Bā.], other readings יַעַל and יַעֲלָה [Gi. J.], Neh. 7:58, יַעֲלָה [B], יַעֲלָה [NA], יַעֲלָה [L]; Ezra 2:56. The b'ne Jaala, a group of children of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM, and cp EZRA ii., § 9).

The readings are: Neh. 7:58 (יעל[ח]א [B], יעל[ח]א [NA], יעל[ח]א [L])=Ezra 2:56 (יעל[ח]א [B], יעל[ח]א [L])=1 Esd. 5:33, יעל[ח]א (יעל[ח]א [B], יעל[ח]א [L]).

JAALAM, RV Jalam (יִיאָלָם), §§ 54, 64; יעל[ח]א [BADEL], an Edomite clan, 'son' of Esau (see EDOM, § 2), Gen. 36:5 (יעל[ח]א [F]) 14:13 (יעל[ח]א [D^{vid}]); 1 Ch. 1:35 (יעל[ח]א [L]).

JAANAI, RV Janai (יִיאָנַי, also יַעֲנַי [Gi. J.], a Gadite (clan), 1 Ch. 5:12† (יאנעין [B], ינאי [A], יאנאי [L]) O ΓΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟ; cp SHAPHAT [4]).

JAAR (יִיאָר), 1326 RV^{mg}. See KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 3.

JAARE-OREGIM (יִיאָרֵי אֹרֶגִּים), 2 S. 21:19; see ELIANAN, § 2.

JAARESHIAH (יִיאָרֶשִׁיָּה), 1 Ch. 8:27 RV, AV JARESHIAH [q.v.].

JAASAU, RV Jaasu, RV^{mg} Jaasai (יִיאָסָא, kt. יַעֲסָא; cp יַעֲסָא, §§ 31, 52), one of the b'ne BANI in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 10:37 (יאסי [Vg.], יַעֲסָא [Pesh.], και ΕΠΟΙΗCΑΝ, i.e., יַעֲסָא [BNA], om. L), whose name may be recognised in the ELIASIS of 1 Esd. 9:34 (ελιασειc [BA], om. L, formation analogous to יַעֲסָא).

JAASIEL (יִיאָסִיָּעַל), § 31; 'El performs,' one of David's heroes, 1 Ch. 11:47, AV JASIEL (εccειηλ [B], εc. [A], εccειηλ [A], iecc. [L]). He is called הַמִּצְפָּתִי (ὁ μενιπαβεια [BN], ὁ μεσβια [A], ὁ μασβια [L], PH MASORIA [Vg.]). AV and RV (by a virtual emendation of the text) render this 'the Mes(z)obaite.'

The reading is conflated; we must read either יַעֲסָא, 'the Mizpahite,' or יַעֲסָא, 'from Mizpah.' The designation was no doubt suggested by 'Igal ben Nathan of Mizpah' in 2 S. 23:36 (see IGAL, 2). יַעֲסָא and יַעֲסָא were easily confounded (cp the play on יַעֲסָא and יַעֲסָא in Gen. 31:49-52). Probably Mizpah in Benjamin is meant by the Chronicler, who gives the name Jaasiel to a Benjaminite prince, h. Abner, in 1 Ch. 27:21 (אסיער [B], אסיער [A], יאסס. [L], יאסיע [Vg.]).

On the names in 1 Ch. 11:46-47, see DAVID, § 11 (ii. c).

T. K. C.

JAAZANIAH (יִיאָזָנִיָּה), § 32; 'Yahwè hears' or 'weighs'; cp AZANIAH; יַאֲזָנִיָּה, Jer. 35:3, Ezek. 11:1; יַאֲזָנִיָּה, Jer. 40:8; יַאֲזָנִיָּה, Jer. 42:1; יעזניא [BNAQ].

1. Son of the Maacathite; a captain (2 K. 25:23; יעזניא [B]; Jer. 40:8, JEZANIAH). Probably identical with Jezaiah b. Hoshai, Jer. 42:1 (אזניא [BNAQ])—in 43:2 called AZARIAH [q.v., 16] (אזניא [BNAQ], אזניא [NA*]), which is read by B [except Q^{mg}] in the former passage. Cp JOHANAN (9).

2. b. Jeremiah, a Rechabite head (Jer. 35:3; יעזניא [BNA]).

3. b. Shaphan, head of seventy elders of Israel in a vision of Ezekiel (Ezek. 8:11; יעזניא [BNA]).

4. h. Azur, a leading Jerusalemite (Ezek. 11:1; יעזניא [BAF]).

JAAZER (יִיאָזֶר), Nu. 21:32, etc. See JAZER.

JAASIAH (יִיאָסִיָּה), 'Yahwè strengthens,' cp JAAZIEL; § 29; יעז[ח]א [BA], יעז[ח]א [L]), one of the 'sons' of Merari (1 Ch. 24:26 f.).

JAASIEL (יִיאָסִיָּעַל), 'God strengthens,' cp JAAZIAH; § 29, a Levite, of the second degree, a temple musician (1 Ch. 15:18, יעזניא [BN], יעזניא [A], יעזניא [L]).

For 'Zechariah, Ben, and Jaaziel we should, omitting בן, read 'Zechariah and Jaaziel' (E. Z. v. 10, c.), cp KL SHOT 'Chron.,' ad loc. With the omission of the initial בן the name appears again in v. 20 as יַעֲזִיָּעַל (AZIEL, יעז[ח]א [BNA]). The proper vocalisation is undoubtedly יַעֲזִיָּעַל, a reading to which the versions point.

JABAL (יִיאָבֶל), Gen. 4:20†. See CAINITES, § 11.

JABBOK (יַבְבֹּק), יאבוק [BADEFL], but יאבאק [L in Josh. 12:2 Judg. 11:13 22]; יאבאק [BNAQ] or יאבאק [JOS. Aut. i. 20:2]. The 'luxuriant

1. Course, etc. river' is the significant name of the tortuous stream which divides the hill-country of Gilead (see GILEAD, § 3), and finally reaches the Jordan just above ed-Dāmiyeh (see ADAM, i.), about 25 m. in a straight line N. of the Dead Sea. Like the Arnon it has a continuous stream; the whole course, not counting the windings, is over 60 m. (G. A. Smith). It is now called (from its clear blue colour) the *Nahr es-Zerki*. It is famous in Hebrew tradition from its connection with Jacob's change of name (Gen. 32:22 [21]), and also as the boundary between the kingdoms of Sihon and Og. In Dt. 3:16 Josh. 12:2 it is called 'the border of the B'ne Ammon'; the phrase applies to the upper part of the Jabbok, where, circling round, it passes RABBATH-AMMON, near which are its sources. Cp Nu. 21:24 Judg. 11:3 22. On the N. of the Jabbok are the ruins of Gerasa (see GILEAD, § 7), between which place and Philadelphia, Eusebius (OS 263:78 130:30) rightly places the river.

F. B.

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² Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 439; so Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, 174. On the Roman road referred to, cf. Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 273 f. Van de Velde (242-5, 322) and Porter (*Handbook*, 317) agree with Robinson; Furrer (in Riehme, 664 a) gives his weighty authority to Merrill's site.

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JABNEEL

fied into the conquest of all N. Canaan by Joshua and all Israel. A preliminary trace of such a scheme is seen in Judg. 4, where Jabin is already called 'king of Canaan who reigned in Hazor.' See Moore, *Judges* 108 ff.; and JUDGES, § 7.

JABNEEL (יַבְנֵיֶל, 'God builds'; יַבְנֵיֶל [AL]). 1. Shortened into **Jabneh** (יַבְנֵיֶל, 'he [God] builds'; 2 Ch. 266 (אֲבֵנִיָּה [B], *abēniyā* [A], *abēniyā* [L]); the JAMNIA and JEMNAAN of a later day. A Philistian city between Ekron and the sea (Josh. 15:11; *אֲבֵנִיָּה* [B]); cp Jabni-ili, the name of a prince of Lachish in the Amarna tablets (Wi., 2184). According to Petrie, Thotmes III. mentions two places called Yehema, one of which is our Jabneel, and the other is the mod. Yenima, near Megiddo (*Hist. of Eg.* 2:327; cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 160). The Priestly Writer includes Jabneel within the limits of Judah (Josh. 15:11); but the earliest evidence of Jewish occupation is in 2 Ch. 266, where Uzziah is said to have taken the city and demolished its fortifications. It is next mentioned in the time of Judas the Maccabee. Two accounts have come down to us—one historical, viz., 'at the two generals Joseph and Azarias made an unsuccessful attempt upon Jamnia (1 Macc. 5:55-62); and the other most probably a falsification of history, viz., that Judas made a night attack upon 'the jannites,' setting fire to the haven' (for there was a port also called Jamnia) together with the fleet, 'so that the glare of the light was seen at Jerusalem, two hundred and forty furlongs [stadia] distant' (2 Macc. 12:8 f.).

According to Jos. (*J. v.* xiii. 67; *BJ* i. 22) Jamnia was taken at last by Simon the Maccabee. But it can hardly have become part of the dominions of the Hasmonaeans (see 1 Macc. 10:69, 13:40) until the time of Alexander Jannaeus, who subdued all the cities of the coast from the Egyptian border to Carmel with the exception of Ashkelon (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 154). It became Roman under Pompey (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 44; *BJ* i. 77), and, having apparently become greatly depopulated, was restored and repopulated by Gabinius (*BJ* i. 84). It was given by Herod to his sister Salome (*Ant.* xvii. 81), who in turn gave it to the empress Livia (*Ant.* xviii. 22; *BJ* ii. 91). Strabo (xvi. 2:28) speaks of it as a village which, along with the district pertaining to it, had once been able to send 40,000 men into the field. In Caligula's time its population was principally Jewish (Philo, *De Leg. ad Caium*), and when the heathen section of the inhabitants erected an altar to the emperor it was immediately destroyed by the Jews. This, being reported to the emperor by the procurator Herennius Capito, was the occasion of the imperial order that the image of Caligula should be set up in the temple at Jerusalem (see ISRAEL, § 96). In the Jewish war Jamnia was taken by Vespasian. It was to this place that Johanan b. Zakkai retired, after having been, by a singular stratagem, conveyed out of the doomed capital to the Roman camp.² There he formed a Sanhedrin, and so Jamnia became the religious centre of the Jewish people down to the collapse of the revolt of Bar Cochba (135 A.D.). In the fourth century it was but a *παλιχρη* (*Onom.* 260:35); but its bishop took part in the Council of Nicea.³ In the time of the Crusaders a castle called Ibelin stood on the site of the ruined city, which was supposed to have been not 'abacel, but Gath.

The statements of ancient writers respecting the position of Jamnia are very precise (see, e.g., 2 Macc. 129, quoted above). It is represented by the modern *Yebna*, a considerable village, 12 m. S. from Joppa, and 4 m. in a direct line from the sea. There are ruins of the ancient port at the mouth of the Nahr Rūbin (see BAAL MIT, 3) to the NW. The district is fertile, and traces can still be seen of the plantations which once adorned the neighbourhood of the haven.

2. An unidentified site in the territory of Naphtali (Josh. 19:33 *עֲבֹדָאִי* [B]), doubtless the *Ἰάβναια* or *Ἰάβναιθ* of Jos. (*BJ* ii. 206; *Gal.* 37), in upper Galilee, which from about 23 B.C. formed part of the tetrarchy of Zenodorus, and afterwards of that of Herod Philip (Jos. *BJ* ii. 63; *Ant.* xv. 103; xvii. 114; *BJ* i. 204). It must therefore be sought somewhere about Lake Hūleh or in the neighbourhood of Bāniās. The con-

¹ For other references to the seaport see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 154; Pliny, *II-V* v. 136; *Itol.* v. 1826.

² Grätz, *Hist. of the Jews*, 2:26 f.

³ At Mahozza (Fortus) Jamnia there was still a convent of St. Stephen in the sixth century.

JACHIN AND BOAZ

bination of this Jabneel with Kefar Yama (now the ruins called *Yemma*, 7 m. S. of Tiberias), adopted from the Talmud by Couder (*PEFM* 1:365; cp Neubauer, *Geogr.* 225), seems difficult to reconcile with the true border of Naphtali (see BEZAANANNIM). T. K. C.

JACHAN, RV Jacan (יַחְזָן, § 54; יַחְזָן [B], יַחְזָן [A], יַחְזָן [L]), a Gadite (1 Ch. 5:13 f.).

JACHIN AND BOAZ. Jachin (יַחְזָן; יַחְזָן [BL], יַחְזָן [A], יַחְזָן [Jos. *Ant.* viii. 34]) was the name of the right-hand (i.e., southern) pillar 'at (Klo., 'before') the porch of the temple,' and Boaz (יָבֹז; בּוֹאֵז [L], בּוֹאֵז [A], בּוֹאֵז [B], [א]בֹּאֵז [Jos.]) that of the left-hand (i.e., northern) pillar (1 K. 7:21 = 2 Ch. 3:17); see PILLAR, and cp the 'pillars by the posts' in Ezek. 40:49 (see Toy's note *SBOT* [Eng.] *Ezek.*, *ad loc.*).

The names are enigmatical; we cannot evade an effort to explain them. So much is clear at the outset that, like the names of the walls of Babylon (see BABYLON, § 7), they must have a religious significance. The walls, and the pillars in question as well, have names because they are sacred objects. We can advance a step further by considering what these enormous pillars were. They seem originally to have been symbols of the 'vast mountain of the gods' (see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF) in the far N., the brilliance of which, faintly suggested by the burnished bronze of the pillars, is described by Ezekiel (28:16; cp Herod. 2:44, and see CHERUB, col. 742, n. 4). That mountain had two special features—its firm strength and the abode of the Elohim on its summit. We may expect therefore to find these two points expressed in the names. Jachin will therefore express the immovableness of the symbolic pillar; cp Ps. 65:6 [7], סִכֵּן הָרִים, 'who establishes the mountains.'

This explanation at any rate appears certain, whether or not we bring Jachin into relation to the name Akna-zaph, which Erman reads on the so-called 'Stone of Job' (rather, Stone of Rameses II.) in Haurān (see EGYPT, § 58, n. 1).

Boaz ought to refer to the mountain dwelling-place of the divine beings. It is difficult, however, to verify this assumption. יַבֹּז looks like a mutilation of a longer word. The initial ב is a hindrance to our taking ז from the root יָזַל, 'to be strong,' יָבֹז בַּעַל, 'by the strength of Baal,' is hardly the right form; we expect a statement such as יָבֹז בַּעַל, 'strong is Baal.' This, however, would not give us the *variety* which we look for; such a name would be too nearly synonymous with Jachin, and the initial ב cannot be ignored. We may conclude, therefore, that the last letter י is a fragment of a word; the preceding letters יַבֹּז are surely a mutilation of בַּעַל (cp *βεεζεβελ* in RB's text of the Gospels; e.g. in Mt. 10:24).¹ Looking next at the Psalm which Solomon is said to have sung on the completion of the temple, we notice that two of the striking phrases in it are יָבֹז, for the 'establishment' of the sun in his glorious mansion in the sky, and בֵּית יָבֹז, for the 'high house' or temple in which Yahwé was to dwell for ever (Che. *OPs.* 212). The word יָבֹז in the latter phrase is precisely what we want. Not impossibly, therefore, the full name of the pillar on the left hand is Baal-zebul ('Lord of the high house').² The idea which it expressed was familiar to the Phœnicians; a synonymous title was Baal-zaphon (see BAAL-ZAPHON). It was also not unknown to the Israelites (cp BAAL-ZEBUL). In later times, probably, the name of the second pillar was deliberately mutilated, because of the new and inauspicious associations which had gathered round it. It was after all a Phœnician (Hiram) who had given

¹ Westcott-Hort's unwillingness to suppose an accidental (*Introd.* 159) error is surprising. If Beel-zebul is unknown except from the NT, Baal-béth (Zenjirli inser. of Panammu, l. 22) and Paal-meon are not, יָבֹז is the יָבֹז of 1 K. 8:13. *Ass. Mt. zabal* (see *KAT* *ad loc.*).

² See ZDPV 14:1 15; Sayce, *HCM* 295, n. 1.

JACHIN

the name; a later age did not approve of Solomon's close connections with heathen peoples.

Subsequently to this pious alteration of the name, one of the supposed ancestors of David (see DAVID, § 1, n. 1) was furnished with the name Boaz (only found late), to indicate that he was a pillar of the Davidic family (cp Tg. on 2 Ch. 3:17).

A few other conjectures may, in conclusion, be mentioned. **Ⓢ** in Chron. renders Jachin *κατόρθωσις* and Boaz *ἰσχυρ*. Ephrem, who is followed among moderns by Thénien, combines the two words (pointing 122) into a prayer for the firm establishment of the temple. EVwg. explains Jachin, 'He shall establish,' and Boaz, 'In it is strength'; more plausibly WRS. (AS² 208) interprets the former 'The stabilisher'; the latter, 'In him is strength.' Klostermann deals boldly with MT; he adopts 122, 'It shall stand (well),' from **Ⓢ**; and emends 122 into 122, 'Lord of strength' = 'the strong' (cp B's *δαλός*). In view of the close bond which united Tyre and Jerusalem in the time of Solomon, and the fact that it was a Phœnician who named the pillars, Mr. S. A. Cook suggests that 122 may be a corruption of 122, 'Baal,' and that 122 might have been understood to be the Phœn. equivalent of 122 (Ph. 122, 'to be' = Heb. *הָיָה*, *haya*).¹

T. K. C.

JACHIN (יָכִין), 'he [God] establishes'; cp Jehoiachin; יָכִין [JACHIN]; in Gen. יָכִין [A]. יָכִין [A*¹]; in 1 Ch. 9:10 יָכִין [I]. 1 Ch. 21:17 יָכִין [B].

1. A son of Simeon, Gen. 46:15 (אָכִין [A]), Nu. 26:12. In the parallel text, 1 Ch. 4:24, the name is JACHIN (יָכִין).² Jachinites (יָכִין, אָכִין [B], אָכִין [A]) occurs in Nu. 26:12.

2. Head of a priestly family; 1 Ch. 9:10 24:17 Neh. 11:10.

JACINTH is given by RV for יָכִין (ΙΑΙΥΡΙΟΝ; *ligurinus*) in Ex. 28:19 39:12, where AV has *LIQUOR*; also in EV of Rev. 21:20 (ιακύνθους; RVmg. 'sapphire'), and in AV of Rev. 9:17 (ιακύνθους; 'of jacinth,' RV 'of hyacinth'). In Ex. 28:10, RVmg. gives 'amber,' cp Enoch 71:2, where the streams of fire (Dan. 7:10) are likened to 'hyacinth' (Dl. and Charles).

The *hyacinthus* of the ancients (mentioned in Rev.) was probably our sapphire (see SAPPHIRE). It is now commonly held (see, e.g., Riehm, *HHB* 20) that the Heb. *lshem* (אֶשְׁמֶת) is the jacinth, for a description of which see below. This, however, appears to be a mistake. It is probable that אֶשְׁמֶת is simply a miswritten *haimit*² (see AMBER), or perhaps rather, *haimit* (see TARSISHI, STONE OF). This may enable us to account for the superfluous *kal dappurim kal xpruim* which comes between *laqum* and *ayurim* in **Ⓢ** of Ezek. 28:13 (where, apart from this, the fuller catalogue in **Ⓢ** is to be adopted). *haimit* is in fact understood by many to mean an alloy of *gold and silver*; *dappurim kal xpruim* seems to be a gloss on the word *haimit* or *haimit* (which must have stood in the true text of Ezekiel), intended to correct the rendering *ayurim*. We are of course not bound to agree with this gloss, but the word *haimit* or *haimit* ('white sapphire'?) but see AMBER) may with some confidence be substituted for אֶשְׁמֶת. Elsewhere (see TARSISHI, STONE OF) it has been shown that the word also appears disguised as *tarshish*, *tarshish*. It is no objection to this theory that *tarshish* and *lshem* both occur in the list of precious stones in Ex. 28:17-20, for this list comes from P, who makes up such lists as he best can, and does not mind including variants.

The true jacinth is a red-coloured variety of silicate of zirconium, those varieties which are yellow brown or green being distinguished, if transparent, by the name of *jargon*, while the dull-coloured varieties, more or less opaque, are termed rightly *zircon*. The true jacinth, when polished, is peculiarly brilliant. It is extremely rare. Probably many of the antique camei or intagli reputed to be jacinth are merely hyacinthine garnets; garnets, however, have a lower specific gravity.

T. K. C.

JACKAL. (1) יָכִין *tin* (perhaps = 'howler') is

¹ Such an interpretation agrees with E's explanation of the divine name in Ex. 3:14 (see NAMES, § 111 f.).

² The suggestion of Lindl that *lshem* may be the Egypt. *reshem* is of course possible; it is adopted by Hommel (*AHT* 283); but it does not meet all the circumstances of the case.

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found only in the pl. יָכִין (the fem. form יָכִין, Mal. 1:3, is probably due to corruption; Stade reads יָכִין, 'pastures' [cp **Ⓢ** *δδουα* [BNAQ], perhaps for *δδουα*, but **Ⓢ** may have connected the word with יָכִין; Pesh. 'dwellings']); AV renders DRAGONS (but 'sea-monsters' in Lam. 4:3); RV JACKALS.² Throughout Palestine the common jackal is by far the most common of all the beasts of prey.

It is the same jackal which is so well known elsewhere, and has spread through SE. Europe and SW. Asia as far as Barmah, as well as through N. Africa. As its name (*Canis aureus*) implies, it is of a reddish-gold colour, darker in the upper parts.

Jackals usually hunt in packs, but at times are seen in pairs or even alone. They are comparatively harmless to man, and, as a rule, feed on carrion; but they also attack and kill fowls, lambs, kids, etc., and even weakly sheep and goats. They do not, however, refuse fruit, and are especially fond of sugar-cane. The cry of the jackal may be heard every night by the traveller in Palestine (cp Ahe. 1:8). As a rule they are nocturnal, but not exclusively so; they hide during the day in disused stone-quarries, caves, and especially in deserted ruins (Is. 13:22 34:13 35:7). Jeremiah's hearers, therefore, knew what he meant when he spoke of Jerusalem's becoming a 'place of jackals' (Jer. 9:11 [10] 10:22; cp 51:37 49:13).

(2) In Judg. 15:4 Ps. 63:10 [11] Lam. 5:18, RVmg. gives 'jackal' as an alternative rendering for EV 'fox' (יָכִין). See Fox and cp HAZAR-SHITAL, SHAALIM.

(3) Whether the word rendered 'doleful creatures' (יָכִין, *g'im*) in Is. 13:21 always meant the jackal, we cannot tell. Houghton (*ISB*, 15:122) well compared *Ass. ahu*; but whether this word really means the jackal (so Del.) is not quite certain. Jensen pronounces for the leopard; Houghton, improbably, thought of the hyena. Cp Del. *Heb. Lang.* 34.

(4) Finally the *ayim*, יָכִין, of Is. 13:22 34:14 Jer. 50:39, AV 'wild beasts of the island,' from a supposed connection with 'island' (cp יָכִין, and see ISLE). RV WOLVES, mg. HOWLING CREATURES, may be compared with the Ar. *banita dawa*, 'jackals.' The equiv. Syr. *banith awoy* is used by Bar Hebr. in his commentary on Job 30:29.

A. E. S. — S. A. C.

JACOB (יָכִין), but five times יָכִין; יָכִין (אֶלְכָּב).

Son of Isaac and Rebekah, and father of the twelve reputed ancestors of the tribes of Israel; himself also called Israel.

The name is explained in Gen. 25:26a (J) 'the supplanter,'—'after that, his brother came out, and his hand took hold of Esau's heel; so his name was called Jacob,' as if

1. Name. 'one who takes hold by the heel,' from יָכִין 'a heel.' In Gen. 27:36 (J), however, 'Jacob' receives a fresh explanation—viz., 'deceiver' (one who slinks after another); so too Hos. 12:3a [4a], where render 'he deceived his brother' (see Now.). These, however, are only popular etymologies. It is the prevalent critical opinion that Ya'akob (Jacob) is really a shortened form of Ya'akob-el (Jacob-el), a name analogous to Israel, Ishmael, Jeralmeel, and admitting several explanations, such as 'God follows' or 'God rewards' (both from the Arabic; cp Lag. *Ubers.* 127). This is thought to be confirmed by the place-name Ya'akob-el, found in the Palestinian name-list of Thomas III., which probably corresponds to a Palestinian Ya'akob-el; see JERUSALEM and ii., and cp Gray, *HPV* 214 f. Pinches, too, has found on contract-tablets of the age of Hammurabi (*circa* 2285 B.C.; see BABYLONIA, § 54) the personal name Ya'akob-ilu, and Hommel (*AHT*, 61, 96, 112) says that Yakubu (cp Jacob) occurs also. This, if the tablets are genuine, appears to prove the antiquity of the name. It must not, however, prevent us from seeking an underlying earlier form.

Ya'akob is the name, not of an individual, but of the imaginary ancestor of a tribe; neither 'God follows' nor 'God rewards' is the sort of name that we expect as the condensed expression of the religious faith of the tribe. In the mouth of the people the original name would very likely soon be contracted or distorted. We may plausibly conjecture that Ya'akob is at once a contraction and a distortion of Abi-el-el (*circa*, 'the [divine] father is glory'), the name which was also distorted into ICHABON and JOCHABED. If the god of the tribes of Israel was Yaliwe, whose 'glory' (originally in the storm) so

¹ The plural (once יָכִין, Lam. 4:3 kt.) is to be distinguished from the sing. יָכִין (twice in MT 2:37), of which the pl. is יָכִין, see ORATIONS (leg.).

² [Aq. has *σείρηνας*, Symm., Theod. *ἀντιβάρ* in Mal.]

greatly impressed his worshippers, and who is called in an archaistic psalm 'the God of glory' (Ps. 29.1), we can well understand that the reputed ancestor of the tribes might have as his second name (but cp § 6) Abi-cabod. It is quite true that Ya'akov looks very much like a shortened theophorous name. We are naturally inclined to regard it as analogous to Yiphtah (Jephthah) for Yiphtah-el (Jiphtah-el); but popular imagination was quite capable of reconstructing names on a new model, and we have perhaps other instances of this close at hand in ISAAC and JERAMEEL, both of which, as they stand, are formed analogously to Ishmael, but are more probably popular corruptions. It may be added that the occurrence of the names referred to above does not prove the disappearance of the form Abi-cabod. This name (a name which may have had different independent personal and local references, and have been by no means confined to the reputed ancestor of the Israelites) may have been in use among the Israelites subsequently to the times of Hammurabi and Thotmes III., as indeed the occurrence of Ichabod in the story of Eli proves that it was.

The story of Jacob is intertwined at the beginning with that of Isaac and of Esau, and at the close with that of Joseph. To the special articles

2. Underlying traditions (a).

ISAAC, ESAU, and JOSEPH we must, therefore, refer the reader to avoid repetition. The interesting reference of Hosea (if it be Hosea who writes) to the story of the infant Jacob's strife with his infant brother in the womb, which receives from him an unfavourable interpretation (Hos. 12.3 [4]), is referred to under JACOB, § 1. It is to this story and to the narrative of Jacob's deceit towards his father and his brother that the Second Isaiah is supposed to refer in Is. 43.27. The difficulties of the passage, however, are not slight, and no stress can safely be laid upon it. The traditions are given with great vividness in Gen. 25.29-34 (J) and 27 (JE), and deserve an attentive study. Here, however, we need only consider the composite narrative in 27.42-28.9, which forms the introduction to the story of Jacob's journey in search of a wife. In 27.42-43 Rebekah is represented as urging Jacob to flee from his incensed brother for a few days to her brother Laban in Haran. This is, undoubtedly, the work of JE. In 27.46 28.1 f., however, the visit to Laban is put forward as a command of Isaac, who, stirred up by his wife, desired to prevent Jacob from following the example of Esau in marrying a Canaanitish—or, more strictly, a Hittite—maiden. There can be no doubt that P (who is the writer of 27.46-28.9) gave quite a different representation of the early life of Jacob from that given by JE, and though it is usual to disparage P, yet here, as in other cases, he preserves valuable material. The danger of a 'Hittite' wife at Beersheba was, it is true, small enough; but it has been maintained elsewhere that the names of the non-Israelitish tribes inhabiting Canaan have suffered much from the errors inseparable from transcription of texts, and that 'Hittite' (התי) in this and other passages is an error for רהבתי 'Rehobothite.' It has been argued that 'Rehoboth' attached its name to a larger district than the Wady Ruhailah, so that when Isaac, according to popular tradition, left Rehoboth for Beersheba, he may perhaps still have been in Rehobothite territory. It is more probable, however, that Beersheba was introduced out of regard for the increased veneration of Israelites for the sanctuary of Beersheba, and that the original tradition (preserved by P) represented Isaac as passing the close of his life either at Rehoboth or at any rate at a spot almost certainly within Rehobothite limits—viz. Khalasah (better known to us as ZIKLAG). This view is confirmed by the consideration that in 35.27-29 Jacob is said to have 'come to his father to Mamre, to Kirjath-arba, that is, Hebron,' where his father Isaac died, and where Esau and Jacob buried him. It seems plausible to

1 'Thy first father' is usually explained of Jacob, but was not so understood by Q, and is very peculiar. The parallel phrase 'their interpreters,' if correct, does not favour this view. Probably, however, we should read,

אָבֹר רִנְיָה לְחַמָּה 'Thy magnates were inclined to sin,

וּבְשָׁרֵיךָ פָּשְׁעוּ 'And thy rulers rebelled against me.'

The next line (see SBOT ad loc.) probably contains a reference to 'thy princes' (שָׂרֵיךָ).

hold that 'Hebron' here is miswritten for REHOBOTH (q.v.).

The view, which was most probably that of P (or at any rate of P's authority), that Isaac lived at or near

3. Underlying traditions (b).

Rehoboth, and that Jacob started on his quest of a wife from the district of Rehoboth, is not less probably the ancient one. We have now to see where Jacob went. I and E say that it was to Haran; P that it was to Paddan-aram (Gen. 28.5). So at least the present text represents; but there is strong reason to distrust its readings, and to change 'Haran' into 'Hauran,' and 'Paddan-aram' into 'the uplands of Hauran' (עֲרֵב הָאֲרָם; cp Hos. 12.13 [13], below). In Gen. 29.1, however, we learn from E that on leaving Bethel Jacob 'went to the land of the Buë Kedem.' Probably E really wrote this, and interpreted Buë Kedem to mean 'easterns'; the phrase 'the land of the easterns' might no doubt be applied to the Hauran, where, according to the earlier tradition, Laban dwelt. It is not very probable, however, that 'sons of the east' (= easterns) was really an ethnographical term; where the phrase appears to be so used, it would seem that *Kedem* (east) has arisen by an easy corruption out of *Rekem*, which in turn may be a very old popular corruption of *Jerahmeel* (see JERAHMEEL, § 4). The most natural inference is that E (or rather perhaps E's authority) has preserved a phrase from a very early tradition, according to which Jacob (or Abi-cabod?), on leaving his temporary resting-place, directed his steps to the 'land of the Buë Jerahmeel.' If so, it is probable that his destination was not the Hauran but Hebron.

Both Haran and Hebron are mentioned in 1 Ch. (2.42-46) as descendants of 'Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel.' Hebron is probably the name of which we are in search; among the descendants of Hebron appear three names which may be different corruptions of the name Jerahmeel (see JERAHMEEL, § 4).

At Hebron (the well-known Hebron) Jacob was, according to the tradition, in the land of 'the Buë Jerahmeel.' The name 'Jerahmeel' has, it is true, a fluctuating reference. All that concerns us here is the fact that Hebron could be regarded by the early narrator (whom we have no occasion to place before the time of David) as Jerahmeelite. On his way thither the traveller would naturally halt at the site now called ed-Dāhariyeh, but in ancient times probably known as KIRJATH-SEPPHER [q.v.]. This may very possibly have been mentioned as Jacob's resting-place in the earlier form of the story. A glance at the map will show that from Rehoboth to Hebron the journey is as straight as possible, and that Khalasah, Bir-es-Seba' (Beersheba), and ed-Dāhariyeh are convenient resting-places on the road. The early narrative must have further stated that while at Hebron Jacob married wives called respectively Leah and Rachel. Rachel (not less than Mahalah, 1 Gen. 28.9) we must take to be a popular corruption of JERAHMEEL (q.v., § 4). Leah (as We. and Stade have seen) is the name whose ethnic is 'Levi'; the manifold connections of the Levites with the far S. have been shown elsewhere (see LEVI). The meaning of this early story is that the tribe called Abi-cabod effected a union with the Jerahmeelite tribe of Levi. Probably Winckler is right in thinking that the priestly character of the tribe of Levi is earlier than its entrance into Canaan, and it is not out of place to remark anew (cp Esau) that in Gen. 27.15 Jacob seems to be represented as in priestly attire.

As the text stands, however, it is to Haran, or rather to Hauran, that Jacob's steps are bent, and on the way he naturally halts at the famous sanctuary of Bethel. The narrator indeed represents him as having consecrated the well-known *massēbah* which stood there; but if Winckler's explanation of L.VZ [q.v.] be correct ('sanctuary'), the narrator unintentionally refutes his own statement. The rocky boulders on the site of

1 Thus both Jacob and Esau took Jerahmeelite wives.

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Bethel must indeed inevitably have suggested the erection of a sacred pillar (see BETHEL, § 2), or indeed of stone circles, in primeval times. Both J and E express their own genuine piety in the description of Jacob's sacred experiences. Whether we should have been equally pleased with the original story may be doubted; the description of 28.11 suggests the idea that the stone which Jacob took for his 'pillow' was a sacred stone, so that *qipa* (as perhaps in Gen. 22.3) will have the sense of 'sanctuary.' If this view is correct, it is E who gives a harmless turn to the old story by converting the primeval sacred stone into a *maggebah* (cp IDOLATRY, § 4).

In Gen. 20.2-10 J and E describe Jacob's arrival at Haran (or rather Haurān), his meeting with Rachel and then with Laban, and his service of fourteen years for his two wives. Whether there was any Laban in the earlier form of the story we cannot tell. The Laban to whom we are introduced by J and E is certainly a worthy kinsman of Jacob. The narrators' object, however, is not to show that trickiness was a family characteristic, but to throw into relief the divine protection which Jacob constantly enjoyed, so that the only result of Laban's craft was Jacob's ever-increasing prosperity; indeed, as Jacob states, the advantages granted by Yahwe to Jacob were shared by Laban, so that Laban had absolutely no excuse for his attempts to overreach his nephew. This is described in Gen. 30.25-43, 31.7-12. It will be observed that the account in ch. 31, which is E's, differs from the former, which is almost entirely that of J. See LABAN.

We have an external but not independent reference to the same tradition in Hos. 12.12[13], where a later writer (see Nowack, Wellhausen) mentions a detail in the completed story of Jacob to show the trials which the ancestor of Israel had undergone of old, and the faithful guardianship of his God.

And Jacob fled to the uplands of Aram (שָׂרָה אָרָם; see § 3 on 'Paddan-Aram'), and Israel served for a woman, and kept sheep. (MT gives 'and for a woman he kept,' which is unintelligible, and in conjunction with v. 13[14] has suggested to Wellhausen the strange idea of a conflict between a good principle represented by a prophet and an evil principle represented by a woman. Read perhaps יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִבְרָאֵל [or יִבְרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל]; cp Gen. 30.32 ff.)

This is a specimen of the way in which Jewish piety nourished itself on the legends of the past. It has an interest as such; but it supplies no confirmation of the supposed facts of the story. It is with pure legend that we have to deal, and it is pure legend which asserts that Jacob had eleven sons (besides daughters) born to him in Haran (Haurān), who became the ancestors of as many Israelitish tribes. All this part of the legend is late; it can have arisen only when the union of the tribes had, under David, become an accomplished fact, and when Aramaean influence upon Israel was so strong that the Israelites themselves were ambitious of being thought to be related to the Aramaean race (cp Dt. 26.5, 'a lost Aramaean was my father'). One of the most interesting points in the narrative is that four of the sons—Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher—are said to have been the children of handmaids, the two former of Rachel's handmaid Bilhah, the two latter of Leah's handmaid Zilpah. The origin of the latter name at any rate is transparent; Zilpah = ZELOPHEAD = Salhad. When the Israelites conquered Salhad, they must have become fused with the Aramaean population.

There are, indeed, several clear indications that even such early writers as J and E were not unconscious of Jacob's representative character. The clearest are in 31.22-54 (note especially 'brethren'—fellow-clansmen, 31.23.54). It is not unworthy of notice, however, that in E's account of Jacob's second name (32.28[29]) it is said, 'for thou hast contended with a god and with men, and hast prevailed,' where it is impossible to put

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the struggle of wits in which Laban and Jacob were engaged on a par with the physical struggle related in 32.23[24] ff. No complete justification of the phrase can be given but on the hypothesis that tradition knew of a struggle between the Laban-clan and the Jacob-clan in which the latter represented itself as having been successful.

Here we see the influence of later historical circumstances, and still more in the remarkable narrative, 31.18[19]-32.2[3] (JE, but chiefly E), to understand which aright keen textual criticism has to be resorted to. The results are given under GILEAD, nor have we space to repeat them here, except so far as to remind the reader that it is there maintained that a later editor, through unfamiliarity with the early importance of Salhad, has converted it into Saharathah, Galeed, and Gilead, and has also seriously interfered with the geography of the next section (32.3-31[4-32]). On the peculiar type of marriage (the so-called 'beena') represented in this part of the legend, we must also refer elsewhere (KINSHIP, § 8); on the wrestling with Elohim see JABBOK.

Another clan—that of ESAU [q.v.]—now becomes dangerous to the Jacobites. Behold, Esau came

5. Danger from Esau.

(from Seir), and with him four hundred men' (Gen. 33.1; cp 32.6[7]; 'I fear him, lest he come and smite me, the mother with the children' (32.11[12]). It is at present superior in strength to the Jacob-clan,—thus shall ye speak to my lord Esau' (32.3[4]). Whether this narrative fits in perfectly with the preceding one may be doubted, even if we assume that J made Jacob cross not the Jabbok but the Jordan (see GILEAD). If, however, we may assume that according to the earlier tradition Jacob's sojourn was not in Haurān but at Hebron, we can understand the danger to which he was exposed from the Edomites.¹ It may be added that 'Succoth' is elsewhere (see SALECAH, SUCCOTH, PENUEL) identified with Salhad. Evidently there is some great confusion in this part of the record of tradition, and if the same confusion begins to be visible even earlier, we need not feel any surprise.

Here is another proof of the tribal reference of the name Jacob. Were he an individual, he would naturally return at once to his father, at Beersheba or Rehoboth (contrast 28.21). Instead of this he goes to Shechem and purchases

6. Shechem and Bethel.

a piece of land from the clan called bnē Hamōr (33.18[19], E; on 48.22 see SHECHEM). It is worth noticing that the words 'Shechem's father, for a hundred *kēsitahs*' are corrupt (see KESTATT). Still more clearly marked is the tribal character of Jacob in the strange narrative of Shechem's endeavour to obtain Dinah (Jacob's daughter) as his wife,² of the amalgamation of the Shechemite and the Jacobean communities proposed by Hamor, and of the vengeance taken by Simeon and Levi on the whole city for an act of shameless inpropriety (נָזַל; see FOOT.) committed by Shechem. Why does Jacob acquire rights of property in Shechem? and why are the bnē Yaakōb so strict in their requirement of purity of blood in the civic community? Because Shechem became the centre of the confederation of the northern Israelitish tribes.

It is remarkable, however, that the clan does not yet receive the name bnē Israel. According to E (see Dillmann) Jacob's name was changed to Israel³ when he crossed the Jabbok (32.27[28] f.). It is probable that J, as well as P, represented the change as taking place at Bethel, whither Jacob repaired after leaving

¹ It is very difficult to suppose with Winckler (*Gesch.* 2.55, n. 1) that E represented Esau as coming upon Jacob from a place in the N., somewhere near Dan, where Abraham and Isaac dwelt, and whence Jacob fled to Laban in Haran.

² It is strange that Dinah should be of marriageable age; but, of course, the story once circulated as an independent tradition.

³ The assignment to E is not undisputed.

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Shechem, because from this point in his narrative he, like R, uses the name Israel instead of Jacob (see 35.21 f. 37.13 43.68.11, etc.). How J explained the name 'Israel' we are not told. There is nothing to prevent us from supposing that he adopted some different explanation which did not please the redactor as well as E's. It is possible that, like the marriage of Abraham and SARAH [q.v.], the supposed change of Jacob's name really symbolises a fusion of two tribes, the tribes in this case being an Israel tribe from the N. and a Jacob (Abicabod) tribe from the S.

The origin of the ethnic name 'Israel' has been much discussed. *יִשְׂרָאֵל* occurs several times on the Moabite Stone, and the ethnic *יִשְׂרָאֵל* on the monolith of Shalmaneser II. (A.H. 1772). Sayce (*PSBA* 21.2) (1900) cites the name Isarlim (= Israel) as king of Khana (E. frontier of Babylonia) in the time of Hammurabi. At least as old as Jerome is the interpretation *rectus domini* (as if from *יָשָׁר*, cp JASHER, § 4; JESURUN). Jerome also gives *vir videns deum* (as if from *יָשָׁר* *יָרָא*; cp Gen. 33.10). More attractive philologically, and yet not plausible on other grounds, is a connection with Ass. *alru*, 'place', as if = 'place of El'. The favourite modern explanation is 'El rules' (from *יָשָׁר*; cp *יָשָׁר*, Is. 9.5.7); but to convey this idea we should rather have expected 'Mithiel'; nor is the root *יָשָׁר* as well established as one could wish. Gen. 32.28 (cp Hos. 12.3.14) suggests 'El strives', or, as Driver (in Hastings' *DB* 2.300), on grounds of Arabic usage, prefers 'El persists or perseveres (in contending)'. This view must be admitted to be ancient; but the sense is hardly satisfactory. Let us make a fresh start. It is perhaps unsafe to start from the traditional form *יִשְׂרָאֵל*, there being no early personal or local names in the genealogies or elsewhere which confirm it, with the single exception of *יִשְׂרָאֵל*, which has presumably the same origin (cp SARAH), and must therefore be provisionally set on one side. There are, however, names somewhat resembling 'Israhel', which may help us, viz. (1) *יִזְרְהֵל*, Jizre'el (JIZREEL), which is both a personal and a local name, and is found both in the centre and in the S. of Palestine; (2) *יִזְרְהֵל*, ASAREL, the name of a son of Jehallelel probably Jerahmeel; (3) *יִזְרְהֵל*, ZERAH, which is given as a Judahite, a Simeonite, and an Edomite name. Of these names (3) is the most helpful. Jizrah-el ('God shines forth') is a highly probable name, and might at an early date be corrupted popularly both into *יִזְרְהֵל*, Jizre'el, and into *יִזְרְהֵל*, Jizra'el. Turning now to the story of the change of Jacob's name to Israel (which has probably been altered), we notice the statement (Gen. 32.32.33), which in such a context cannot be merely picturesque, that 'as he (Jacob) passed by Peniel, the sun shone forth upon him' (*וַיִּשְׁרָאֵל עָלָיו*). A reference to our explanation of the story of the covenant between Jacob and Laban (GALEED, 1) will show that the place from which Jacob came was called, not Galed (Gilead), but Sallhad or SALECAH (q.v.). The prominence of this strong fortress in Israelitish legend and history has been too long overlooked. To the other illustrations of this fact we may now add that Sallhad (Salhar) not improbably derived its name from the clan, or confederation of clans, which, after leaving the Hauran, found its way to the 'land of the bñe Jerahmeel' (Gen. 29.1, a case of the confusion of legends, see above, § 3) in the far S. of Palestine. If the transformations of names that have elsewhere been assumed be held to be probable it will not be thought improbable that *יִזְרְהֵל* (Salehad) or *יִזְרְהֵל* (Salecah) has arisen, partly by transposition, and partly by corruption of letters, from *יִזְרְהֵל*, Jizrah-el. Cp the parallel corruption *יִזְרְהֵל* for *יִזְרְהֵל*, 2 S. 17.25 (see ITURA). It need hardly be said that there were in early times both northern (north-eastern) and southern Israelites. The southern Israelites appear to have joined the Jerahmeelites at Hebron (or rather Rehoboth). The above view is no more than a hypothesis; but it seems to be more in accordance with analogies than the rival theories, and what appears to be an obvious explanation of a primitive tribal name noun is very likely to be wrong.

Several details in chap. 35 deserve attention. Thus in 2.4 Jacob's household give up all their heathenish objects (cp 31.18.19.52.53) Josh. 24.2.14). In 2.8 Rachel's nurse Deborah receives the highest funeral honours; in reality, however, it is 'Dinah, Jacob's eldest daughter, who dies; the text needs criticism (see above, col. 1102, n. 1). This means perhaps that the Dinah-tribe had perished; hence the mourning of the parent-stem. In 2.16-19 Rachel dies on the way to Ephrath (but see below). Her child has two names—BENONI and BENJAMIN.

The extracts from J and E give us no very clear idea where Jacob or Israel settled after the death of Rachel; J tells us indeed (35.21) that Jacob encamped beyond Migdal Eder; but where was Migdal Eder? Probably it was not far from Beeroth, which name should probably be substituted for Ephrath in 2.16.19 and for 'Hebron' in 37.14 (see EPHRATH). P, however,

JAEEL

states (v. 27) that Jacob came to his father Isaac at Kirjath-arba (see REIMOTH, SOUTH).

The remainder of Jacob's life is inseparable from the story of Joseph; its events need not be recapitulated here. (See JOSEPH; ABEL-MIZRAIM.

7. Close of MACQUELAI. It is natural for modern readers, approaching the narrative from the point of view of psychological development, to find traces of a mellowing in Jacob's character. If there be anything in this supposition it must be due to the fact that the narrators have put more of themselves into the latter part of Jacob's life, where its threads intertwined with those of Joseph's, than they could venture to do in the former. It is, however, to the popular traditions that we must turn for the truest symbols of Israelitish character as it was in the days of the two great narrators J and E. The elaborate Blessing ascribed to Jacob cannot be treated as a part of the biography; it is, apart from later elements, a splendid monument of early Hebrew literature (see POETICAL LITERATURE), and historically too is of the utmost importance. Even though the text has suffered much corruption, in the special articles on the tribes frequent occasion has been found to utilize its details. See also ISRAEL.

Winckler's mythological explanation of Jacob as (originally) the moon in its relation to the year, corresponding to Abraham the moon in its relation to the month, is ingeniously and plausibly worked out (*Zeich.* 2.5 ff.). That there are somewhat pale mythological elements in some of the biblical narratives may be admitted; but to many minds Winckler's proof of his hypothesis will seem almost too laboured to be convincing. Cp also Winckler, *ib.* 82; and cp Stucken, *Astr.(mythen)* ('Jacob'), whose treatment of parallel mythic details is extremely clever.

See further Staerk, *Studien zur Religions- und Sprachgeschichte des AT* 1.77-83.21-3. T. K. C.

JACOB'S WELL. See SYCHAR.

JACUBUS (ΙΑΚΟΥΒΟΣ [A]). 1 Esd. 9.43 = Neh. 8.7. AKKUB (q.v., 3).

JADA (יָדָא; יַאֲדָא [BA]), a name in the Jerahmeelite genealogy; his mother was Marah and one of his sons was Jether; 1 Ch. 2.28.32 (v. 32. יַאֲדָא [B]. יַאֲדָא [A]. v. 28 om. v. 32 יַאֲדָא [L]).

JADAU (יָדָא; Kr. יָדָא). Ezra 10.43. RV 'Iddo, RV^{mg} Jaddai. See IDDO, ii. 2.

JADDUA (יָדָא; § 56; or according to Lag. *Ubers.* 113. יָדָא).

1. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i. § 7); Neh. 10.21 [22] (יַאֲדָא [BA] I. יַאֲדָא [A], om. B¹).

2. b. Jonathan, three generations below Eliashib, was the last of the high priests mentioned in the OT (Neh. 12.11.22; יַאֲדָא [BA] I. יַאֲדָא [A], and יַאֲדָא [M] in v. 22). According to Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 8.4 f.; יַאֲדָא), who adds much that is doubtful, he was in office at the time of Alexander's invasion of Judaea [332 B.C.]. See NEHEMIAH, § 1.

3. See BARZILLAI, 3.

JADDUS, AV Addus (יַאֲדָא [B] etc.). 1 Esd. 5.38 = Ezra 26.12. BARZILLAI, 3.

JADON (יָדָן; abbreviated form, cp NAMES, § 53; BNA om.; יַאֲדָן [L]), the Meronothite, in the list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 f., EZRA ii. §§ 16 [1]. 15 f.). Neh. 3.7.

JAEEL (יָעֵל; § 68; 'mountain-goat'; יַאֲהַל [BA]; Jos. יַאֲהַל; JAEEL). A Bedouin woman, of whom Sisera, when flying defeated from the field of battle, asked water, and by whom, as he stood drinking the refreshing soured milk (Ar. *laban*), he was beaten lifeless to the ground. Upon this deed a high encomium is pronounced by a contemporary Israelitish poet, Judg. 5.24-27 (יָעֵל [A]). And rightly, from his point of view,

JAGUR

If Jael was a Kenite (see below), for by this bold deed she recognised the sacred bond of friendship between the Israelites and the Kenites (cp. Judg. 1:6-11). Sisera was out of the pale of charity for an Israelite; therefore also for a Kenite. 'The act by which Jael gained such renown' was not the murder of a sleeping man, but the use of a daring stratagem which gave her a momentary chance to deliver a courageous blow' (WKS *OTC*⁽²⁾ 132). A liter writer, however, whose version of the story of Sisera appears on the whole to be independent of that in Deborah's Song, employed all the arts of a graceful style to represent Jael as having killed Sisera in his sleep (Judg. 4:18-21). Jael invites the tired fugitive into her tent, covers him up with the tent-rug, and then, when he is sleeping soundly, takes one of the tent-pegs, and strikes it with a hammer into his forehead. She thus violates the double saucy attaching to Sisera as a guest and (see DAVIES, § 1, col. 1023, n. 1) as a sleeper, and sends deserving of a curse (thoughts, *Arabia Deserta*, 156), rather than a blessing. The narrator, it is true, does not in express terms commend her; but a restrained enthusiasm is visible in his description (17: 21 f.).

Which tradition has the better claim to be regarded as historically? Obviously not the second. The retired leachery which this account assumes is inconceivable in a Bedouin, and the absurdity of transfixing a man's skull with a fanged pest, and great that one is compelled to conjecture that the passage in the song relative to Jael's deed (Judg. 6, 26) lay before the narrator in a corrupt form. Moore and Bubble have set forth the present position of textual criticism, and it is one of baffled perplexity. Yet the remedy is perhaps near at hand (see *Crit. Bib.*). The true text should most probably run thus:—

Her hand to the coffer she reaches,
Her right hand to a flint of the rock;
With the flint she strikes his head,
She smashes—she cleaves his temple.

The bowl in which Jael presented the soured milk was not 'a bowl of the mighty' (כֶּסֶף אֲדִירָה, 'a bowl of bronze', *Ass. urudu*; cp. *CONRICK*, § 2). The 'bail', or rather 'tent-peg' (קֶרֶן), should be the 'coffer' which, as Doughty says, every Bedawi housewife has, and which contained among other things flints for striking fire (רִיקוֹן or רִיקָה). The 'workmen's hammer' (מַסְכֵּה) — an impossible rendering — should be a 'flint of the rock' (חֲרִישׁ קֶלֶף). It only remains to remark, after Moore, that the words 'in the days of Jael' (*Judg.* 5c), and 'the wife of Heber the Kenite' (*5.24*) are glosses which overload the stich in which they occur. See *DEBORA*, I; *HEBER*, I; *JUDGES*, § 7; *SINERA*. T. N. C.

JAGUR (יָגוּר; אַגור [B], יאגור [A. J.], a Judahite city on the border of Edom (Josh. 15:21†). Cf. KARKIZEL.

JAHAṬH (יהאט), cp MAHAṬH, NAHAṬH, TAHAṬH ; יֶהוּ [BA], יֶהוּ [L]), a well-known Levitical name which has associations with Judah (see י, below) and Edom ; see GENEALOGIES, § 7 [v.].

1. b. Reaiah b. Shohal, a Judahite, 1 Ch. 4.2 (om. A*, *saab* [L]). A comparison with 1 Ch. 2.52 suggests a possible connection with Manahath (MT מנחש). In view of the vicissitudes of this name (see below) it is to be observed that Shohal is probably the parent of the forms Shebuel and SHUBAL [g.t.], and that a variant may plausibly be found (see Jastrow, *JBL* 19, 202 [1900]) in the familiar Shēmū'el (Samuel).

2. A Levitical name, 1 Ch. 6:20 [5] (יהויה [BH], 43:13 [HYA] [B], 28:2 [AH], 28:10 [תהא [L]], 24:22 [תהא] [BH], 34:34 [תהא] [B], 1:10 [L]).¹ In tracing back the *Levite* Samuel to Korah (the Kehathite), the Chronicler introduces the analogous names Mahath, Nahath, and Tahath (1 Ch. 6:23-25 [cp. r. 34], 35:37); cp. with these, the Kehathite Jahath (h. Shelomoth h. Shimei) in 1 Ch. 24:22. But Shelomoth (h. Shimei) is Gershonite in 28:6 (as also is Shebuel [cp. 1. above], r. 16), and in agreement with this we find an important Gershonite division, Jahath h. Shimei,² in r. 10. Further, Jahath the father of Shimei, and Jahath h. Libni reappear in the genealogies of the Geronimite Ethan, Ethni, and Asaph (1 Ch. 6:41-42), and Jeathar (= Ethni? r. 20:5) respectively. Finally, not only Jahath (2 Ch. 34:22), but also Libni and Shimei (1 Ch. 6:20), are used as Merarite names by which division even Ethan (see ETHAN, 2. 3) himself is finally ascribed.

¹ We may perhaps associate זָרַח with the name זָרַח (Zorah) which is brought into connection with Jahiath, 1, in 1 Ch. 2 52 f. 42 (for another view see GENEALOGIES, § 7 [v.], col. 1666).

² Considering the way in which genealogical lists are built up, it is possible that *חַתָּת בִּן עֵשָׂי* is the same as *חַתָּת בִּן עֵשָׂי* (1 Ch. 6:35 [20] 2 Ch. 29:12).

JAHLEEL.

JAHAZ, JAHAZAH, JAHZAH (יָהִז, Is. 15:4 Jer. 48:4 [Mesha's inscr. // 19 f.], יָהִזָּה or יָהִזָּה, Nu. 21:21 Dt. 2:22 Josh. 13:8 21:6 Judg. 11:20 Jer. 48:21 1 Ch. 6:61[73]).

It has *iašsa* [BW AFGL], but *iašsa* in Nu. [B], *bašsar* in Josh. 13 [H], *iašar* [?] in Josh. 21 p. [BAE]; cp. v. 39, *iašsa* [H], *iaš* [A] in Judg. 11 vs. *iašsa* [Qwe] in Is. 15.4, *pašar* [BAE], *pašar* [H¹], *pašar* [H²] in Jer. 48.21; for p. 34 see Swete).

Shihaz was the scene of the decisive battle between the Israelites and Sihon, king of the Amorites (Nu 21:24-25; De 2:23-24; Josh 13:15). It was assigned to Reuben (Josh 13:15) and to the Levites (Josh 21:9). Meshia, king of Moab, refers to it as taken by himself from the Israelites.

The site is uncertain. It was near Kedemoth (Josh 13:21-26) and 'the wilderness of Kedemoth' (Dt. 2:25, cp Nu 21:2), and it was N. of the Arnon. This point to the extreme SE. of Sihon's territory; Oliphant's suggested identification with Yajuz is therefore out of the question. Eusebius (*OS* 261-194) informs us that Jahaz (ιαζαα) still existed in his time, and that it was situated between Medeba and Dibon (διβων). There seems to be some mistake here; the position thus assigned to Jahaz appears too central. Possibly *Μαδαβα* is corrupt. At any rate we may plausibly hold that the important ruins of Umm er-Rasāḥ (cp *OS* 4 Jer 48:1) are on the site either of Jahaz or of Kedemoth. This spot is two hours and a half NE. of Dibon, towards the desert (see KEDMOTH). T. K. C.

JAHAZIAH, RV JAHZIAH (יהזיא: § 32; 'Yahwē see'). b. Tikkvah, one of Ezra's opponents (Kōsters, *Herdal*, 119 f.) in dealing with the mixed marriages. Ezra 10:15 (Λαζαία [B⁸*], -c [B⁸], Ιαζι- [A] Δζ-, [1, 1]) = 1 Esd. 9:14. EZRAIAS (RV EZRAAS, EZEIAIC [B], EZEKI- [A], Ιαζιαίος [B]). See ABASAT.

JAHAZIEL (יָהִיזִיאל, § 32; 'God sees,' cp יִהְיֶה and יִהְיֶה, *teziha* [AL.]; Pesh. nearly always יִהְיֶה).

1. One of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12.4, $\alpha\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha$ [HJ]).
2. A priest, temp. David (1 Ch. 16.6, om. N^* , $\alpha\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha$ [HJ: 4mg. A]).
3. I. Hebron, a Kehathite Levite, 1 Ch. 23.9 ($\alpha\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha$ [H], $\alpha\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha$ [AE]), 24.2; ($\alpha\alpha\varsigma\eta$ [H], $\alpha\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha$ [HJ]) for whose name we should possibly read $\zeta\alpha\zeta\eta$ (p. 7).
4. An Asaphite Levite, h. Zechariah, introduced in the story of the Ammonite invasion; son of Zechariah, who rose up temp. Jehoshaphat (1 Ch. 24.14 $\alpha\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha$ [HJ]). Cp. HAZEL, a Gershonite name, and on the relation of Asaph to Gershon see GENEALOGIES I, § 7 (4).
5. The father of Shechaniah of the line ZATTU (p. v.) (*Erra* 8.5, om. H, $\alpha\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha$ [M.]), so also *Iesh.* and *I. Esd.* 8.32 ($\zeta\epsilon\chi\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$; $\iota\epsilon\sigma\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ [H], $\iota\epsilon\sigma\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ [A], $\alpha\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha$ [H]), in place of MT's 'of the sons of Shechaniah, the son of Jahaziel'.

JAHDAI (יְהֵדַי [He.] or יְהֵי [Gi.], from יָהָה 'to lead', cp Sab. הָרָנָם) **וּמִסֵּוּ** [B], **וּמִסֵּוּ** [A], **וּמִסֵּוּ** [L-], the head of a family of six abruptly introduced into the genealogy of Caleb (1 Ch. 2:47). The context suggests that a 'concubine' of Caleb is intended. Perhaps we should read יְהֵדַי, 'Jehudijah' (cp 1 Ch. 4:18), the six 'sons' mentioned would then be half-Judahite.

JARDIEL (יֶרְדִּיֵּל, 'El is glad' or 'gladdens,' § 35, cp JEDEIAH; יֶהֱיֵהּ אֵל [B; λ and Δ confused], יֵהְיֵהּ [A.]), one of the chiefs of Manasseh-beyond-Jordan (1 Ch. 5:24f.).

JAHO (יָהוּ): cp JAHUËL; IOYPEI [B], IEΔΔAI [A], IEΔΔΩ [L], a Gadite (1 Ch. 5₁₄†).

JARLEEL (יֶרְלֵל, probably corrupt), a son, that is, family or clan, of Zebulun; Gen. 46:14, P (אֲדֹמָה [A], עֵיטָא [D], אֲדֵיטָא [L]); Nu. 26:26, P (אֲדֹמָה [A], עֵיטָא [L]); ethnic **Jahleelites**, יֶרְלֵלִי, אֲדֹמָה (עֵיטָא) [BAF^{vid} L]).

Perhaps, like JANZFEI, a corruption of ܝܢܨܝܐ, 'God delivers.'

T. K. C.

¹ In Syr. *g* is the preformative of the impf. Another similar formation is seen in *ܢܦܠܝܢ* for *ܢܦܠ*, 'Jephthah.'

JAHMAI

JAHMAI (יִחְמִי), *eiukan* [B], *icmuy* [A], *iamin* [L], *שמאי* [H], an Issacharite clan-name (1 Ch. 7:1).

Analogy suggests that יִחְמִי is an abbreviated theophorous name (cp WKS in *OTL* 291), perhaps for יְחִיָּהּ, cp *Nab. יחמאי* (אֵל and יְחִיָּהּ), i.e., 'God protects, or (since the *יְחִיָּהּ* does not appear to be used in Heb.) for יְחִיָּהּ, which has actually been found upon a Heb. seal. S. A. C.

JAHZAH (יִחְזָח), Jer. 48:1 RV. See **JAHIAZ**.

JAHZEEL (יִחְזֵעַל), 'God halves' ? § 38. *ac[ε]μα* [A/D/F/L], a son of Naphthali; Gen. 48:24 (*ισαβηλ* [L/D]; Nu. 26:44 (*ισαβηλ* [B], *ισαβηλ* [D/L]); 1 Ch. 7:13 has *Jahziel* [E/V] or rather *JAHZIEL* (יִחְזֵעַל); *isavah* [B], *isavah* [A], *isavah* [L/D]. Nu. 26:44 has the patronymic *Jahzeelites* (יִחְזֵעֵלִים; *isavah* [B], *isavah* [L/D]). Rather a corruption of יִחְזֵעַל; cp *JAHIEEL*. T. K. C.

JAHZELIAH (יִחְזֵעִיָּה), Ezra 10:13 RV, AV **JAHIAZIAH**.

JAHZERAH (יִחְזֵרָה), 1 Ch. 9:41. See **AHASAI**.

JAIR (יָרִי), 'He [God] enlightens,' § 53; *iaip* [B/A/L/D], 1. After the main body of the Israelites had settled down W. of Jordan various Manassite clans migrated to the E., and, having dispossessed the Amorites, founded settlements in Bashan and N. Gilead. Among them was (the *son* of) *Jair*; Nu. 32:41 (*iaip* [A], Dt. 3:14, 1 K. 4:11 [om. B.]) *iaip* [A]. In the above mentioned passages *Jair* is called the son of Manasseh; but in 1 Ch. 2:21-23 (1:22, *iaip* [A]; 2:23, *iaip* [B]; σ a dittograph), *iaip* [A]) he is made to be of mixed descent, namely from Hezron, a Judahite, on his father's side, and from Machir on his mother's side.² In Judg. 10:3-5, mention is made of *Jair*, a Gileadite (*iaip* [A in v. 5]), and it is very probable that *Jair* may have been placed by one tradition in the age of Moses and by another in the age of the Judges. He is said to have had thirty sons, who rode on thirty asses and had thirty cities called *Havoth-Jair* (q.v.). The notice of the thirty colts may be a gloss based on 12:1 and facilitated by the similarity of the words for cities and colts (the paronomasia in *קָרָן* [cities] and *קָרָן* [colts]) is retained also in *קָרָן* . . . and *קָרָן* (Judg. 10:5, and *Jair* died, and was buried in CAMON' (q.v.) leads one to suppose that the seat of the clan was at that place. JEPHTHAH, § 2 f.

2. The fact. Mordecai, Esth. 2:5 (6 τοῦ *iaipou* [B/L]), . . . *carpon* [A]. 1. the Apocrypha (Esth. 11:2) his name appears as *JAIRUS*.

JAIR (יָרִי), 'He (God) awakens,' so Kr. and Pesh.; Kr., however, *יָרִי*, Jer. 'filiius saltus,'—i.e., *יָרִי*, with *defect.*, the clan-name or the name of an ancestor of ELIHANAN (q.v.), 1 Ch. 20:5 (*iaip* [B.], *iaip* [A]). In the parallel passage (2 S. 21:19) we find the form *JAARE*-(OREGIME). See **ELIHANAN**, § 2.

JAIRITE (יָרִיִּים), 2 S. 20:26. See **IRA**, 3.

JAIRUS (ιαειρος [Ti. WH]; probably *not* = the *Jair* of OT), a ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter Jesus restored to life just after her death (Mk. 5:22 ff. Lk. 8:41 ff.). The narrative is specially important, because the restoration to life to which it refers is the best attested of the three marvels of this class related in the Gospels, being given in Mt. (9:18 ff.), Mk., and Lk., not, however, without differences.

Of these differences, which are outweighed by the points of agreement, one is the non-mention of the name of the 'ruler' (not 'ruler of the synagogue') in Mt.'s account. Indeed, the Codex Bezae (D) is without the name in Mk., and (originally) in Lk. also.

¹ Pesh. *יָרִי* is hardly a safe support in favour of the reading *יָרִי*, on which see **ELIHANAN**, 2.

² Cited in Ges. *Lex.* III.

³ This post-exilic representation probably means that there was a clan made up partly of the tribe of Judah and partly of that of Manasseh, which occupied the region where the 'Havoth-jair' were situated (cp Be. *Chron.*, *ad loc.*).

JAIRUS

That the narrative in some form belongs to the earliest stratum of the Gospel tradition is further supported (1) by the profound saying 'The daughter is not dead, but sleepeth,' which occupies a central position and is quite in the manner of Jesus, and (2) by the interweaving of another narrative which expresses one of the popular superstitions so forcibly that it must be as old as any in the Gospels.

The earliest form of the story of the ruler is that given in Mt. 9:18 ff. 21-26. As Weiss has pointed out, the earliest traditional narratives were not much concerned about details, but aimed at connecting the remembered sayings of Jesus with the facts which formed (or, it was thought, must have formed) their true setting. Whether Weiss is right in ascribing all the picturesque details in Mk. to a Petrine tradition, is at best doubtful; he is at any rate most probably quite wrong in adopting Mk.'s report of the ruler's appeal to Jesus—viz., 'My little daughter is at the point of death' (*εὐχάρις ἐστι*). For this evangelist represents the feeling of a later time that it was too much to believe that the ruler could at once have risen to the height of faith implied in Mt. 9:18; he assumes that the ruler must at first have been afraid of such a bold request as that Jesus would raise the dead. Mt.'s account, however, rightly understood, makes this assumption unnecessary. The ruler's faith, though great, is not heroic. He has the superstitious idea that the soul is still hovering about its former receptacle, and craves of Jesus that by a magic touch of his hand the scarcely parted soul and body may be organically reunited. Another point in which Mk.'s account is certainly inferior to Mt.'s is the injunction to secrecy (Mk. 5:41). This is in place in the story of the blind men which follows in Mt. (9:27-32), but not in the story of the ruler, according to which 'much people' had heard the unhappy father's appeal to the Master. Whether even the words *TALITHA CUMI* [q.v.] may be accepted from Mk. is doubtful. Certainly the name *Jairus* is the spontaneous invention of a pious and poetic imagination. Tradition (except in Mk.) does not record the names of persons in the crowd who were cured by Jesus, and the origin of the name is manifest, viz. not יָרִי 'he enlightens,' but (Nestle, Chajes) יָרִי 'he will awaken' (from the sleep of death).

Whether the raising of the dead maiden is historical is another question. That Yahweh was regarded even in the older period as the lord of life and death, and therefore as one who might on special occasions raise the dead, is undeniable. But how could any special occasion arise, now that the belief in the resurrection had become so general? For by this belief the conception of death was transformed; men could not 'sorrow as those who had no hope.' Nor did Jesus himself consider it to be within his ordinary province to raise the dead. It has indeed been said (e.g., by Weiss) that Mt. 11:5 (Lk. 7:22) proves that more instances of the raising of the dead occurred than are reported in the Gospels. But this implies a misinterpretation of the message to John the Baptist, which is certainly allegorical; the words, 'the dead are raised up,' are explained by the next clause, 'and the poor have the glad tidings brought to them.'² That Lk. misunderstood the words (Lk. 7:21; cp NATS) renders it not improbable that Mk. did so too, and that all three evangelists (whose idea of Jesus was marred by recollections of Elijah and Elisha)³ misunderstood that deep saying of Jesus, 'She is not dead, but sleepeth.'

¹ Even Mk.'s *Bartimæus* is perhaps not really a personal name; *Timæus* may very possibly be a Greek substitute for the Aram. *samyd*, 'blind.' 'Son of the blind' would mean one of the company of the blind—a numerous company in Palestine. Cp **BARTIMÆUS**. Mary Magdalene is of course altogether exceptional.

² See the forcible argument in **BARTIMÆUS**, § 1 (small type paragraph).

³ Just as the idea of St. Francis soon became blurred in the minds of his biographers.

JAKAN

They have at any rate preserved the saying for us, even if the setting which they have produced is not the right one.

See Keim, *Jesus von Nazareth*, 247-475; Weiss, *Das Leben Jesu*, 142-95; Réville, *Jesus de Nazareth*, 201; Plummer, *St. Luke* (International Comm.), 231 ff. None of these writers gives complete satisfaction; even Dr. Plummer thinks that 'we may be content, with Hase, to admit that certainty is unattainable as to whether the maiden was dead or in a trance.' On the originality of Mt. narrative, Badham, *St. Mark's Indebt-ness to St. Matthew* (57), 47-50, is excellent; but it is a mistake to admit that 'the name Jaius looks original.' See, further, GOSPELS.

T. K. C.

JAKAN (יָאָקָן), § 54, RV JAKKAN, a name in the Horite genealogy (1 Ch. 142).

In the list in Gen. 36:27 it appears as 'and AKAN' (וְאָקָן) for יָאָקָן, of which the reading (אָקָן) in 1 Ch. is a corruption. The combination of the readings (Gen. אָקָן וְאָקָן, 1 Ch. אָקָן וְאָקָן), the latter being perhaps the original form in both cases; see BERNARDI. The text is corrupt (Gen. אָקָן וְאָקָן [A] has אָקָן וְאָקָן [AE]; 1 Ch. אָקָן וְאָקָן [A]).

JAKEH (יָכֶה), some MSS יָכֶה, according to Delitzsch 'scrupulously pious'—i.e., אֱלֹהֵי יָכֶה, cp Ar. *Yaḥd*, viii.) father of AGUR (q.v.), Prov. 30:1.

The Midrash (*ad loc.* and elsewhere) does not, as we might have supposed, identify Jakeh with David, but takes ben-Jakeh to be a description of the poet called Agur (i.e., Solomon), as 'one who is free from all sin and iniquity.'

T. K. C.

JAKIM (יָכִים), §§ 86, 53; 'he [E] raises'; cp ELIAKIM, ALCIUS; IAKKIM [BAI].

1. The name of one of the twenty-four post-exilic priestly courses; 1 Ch. 24:12 (Araḥim) [A].

2. In Shimei (v. 1), Shimei in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 2, ii. B); 1 Ch. 8:19. See (1 Ch. 11:10), § 1.

3. In AVUG of Mt. 11:14 Jakim represents the *avagim* interpolated by some late Gk. and Syr. MSS (apparently also by Irenaeus and Epiphanius; see WH) between the names of Josiah and Jehoniah in the genealogy of Jesus. See GUNSA-BAUGH II, § 2 and cp JERONIMUS.

JALAM (יָלָם), Gen. 36:5 RV; AV JALAM.

JALON (יָלֹן), אַלְוֹן [B], יַלְוֹן [AL], b. Ezerah (cp EZER II, i), one of the line III R; 1 Ch. 47. GOSPEL suggests יָלֹן, ALJALON (q.v., i), and note readings there cited). This, however, seems too far N., and considering the positions of the other places mentioned, we should possibly read יָלֹן, Gilon=Jiloh (or the form cp Driver, *THS* 241).

JAMBRES (יַמְבְּרֵס), 2 Tim. 38. See JANNES.

JAMBRI (rather **JAMRI**), THE CHILDREN OF. An Arab clan or tribe, residing in MEDABA (q.v.), which attacked John the brother of Jonathan (the Maccabee) as he was on his way to the NABATÆANS, and carried him off with all that he had (1 Macc. 9:35 f.; cf. יְלֹדֵי יַמְבְּרֵס [A], . . . יַמְבְּרֵס [B], יַמְבְּרֵס [V]; 2:37 יְלֹדֵי יַמְבְּרֵס [A], יַמְבְּרֵס [B], יַמְבְּרֵס [C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, AG, AH, AI, AJ, AK, AL, AM, AN, AO, AP, AQ, AR, AS, AT, AU, AV, AW, AX, AY, AZ, BA, BB, BC, BD, BE, BF, BG, BH, BI, BJ, BK, BL, BM, BN, BO, BP, BQ, BR, BS, BT, BU, BV, BW, BX, BY, BZ, CA, CB, CC, CD, CE, CF, CG, CH, CI, CJ, CK, CL, CM, CN, CO, CP, CQ, CR, CS, CT, CU, CV, CW, CX, CY, CZ, DA, DB, DC, DD, DE, DF, DG, DH, DI, DJ, DK, DL, DM, DN, DO, DP, DQ, DR, DS, DT, DU, DV, DW, DX, DY, DZ, EA, EB, EC, ED, EE, EF, EG, EH, EI, EJ, EK, EL, EM, EN, EO, EP, EQ, ER, ES, ET, EU, EV, EW, EX, EY, EZ, FA, FB, FC, FD, FE, FF, FG, FH, FI, FJ, FK, FL, FM, FN, FO, FP, FQ, FR, FS, FT, FU, FV, FW, FX, FY, FZ, GA, GB, GC, GD, GE, GF, GG, GH, GI, GJ, GK, GL, GM, GN, GO, GP, GQ, GR, GS, GT, GU, GV, GW, GX, GY, GZ, HA, HB, HC, HD, HE, HF, HG, HH, HI, HJ, HK, HL, HM, HN, HO, HP, HQ, HR, HS, HT, HU, HV, HW, HX, HY, HZ, IA, IB, IC, ID, IE, IF, IG, IH, II, IJ, IK, IL, IM, IN, IO, IP, IQ, IR, IS, IT, IU, IV, IW, IX, IY, IZ, JA, JB, JC, JD, JE, JF, JG, JH, JI, JJ, JK, JL, JM, JN, JO, JP, JQ, JR, JS, JT, JU, JV, JW, JX, JY, JZ, KA, KB, KC, KD, KE, KF, KG, KH, KI, KJ, KK, KL, KM, KN, KO, KP, KQ, KR, KS, KT, KU, KV, KW, KX, KY, KZ, LA, LB, LC, LD, LE, LF, LG, LH, LI, LJ, LK, LL, LM, LN, LO, LP, LQ, LR, LS, LT, LU, LV, LW, LX, LY, LZ, MA, MB, MC, MD, ME, MF, MG, MH, MI, MJ, MK, ML, MM, MN, MO, MP, MQ, MR, MS, MT, MU, MV, MW, MX, MY, MZ, NA, NB, NC, ND, NE, NF, NG, NH, NI, NJ, NK, NL, NM, NN, NO, NP, NQ, NR, NS, NT, NU, NV, NW, NX, NY, NZ, OA, OB, OC, OD, OE, OF, OG, OH, OI, OJ, OK, OL, OM, ON, OO, OP, OQ, OR, OS, OT, OU, OV, OW, OX, OY, OZ, PA, PB, PC, PD, PE, PF, PG, PH, PI, PJ, PK, PL, PM, PN, PO, PP, PQ, PR, PS, PT, PU, PV, PW, PX, PY, PZ, QA, QB, QC, QD, QE, QF, QG, QH, QI, QJ, QK, QL, QM, QN, QO, QP, QQ, QR, QS, QT, QU, QV, QW, QX, QY, QZ, RA, RB, RC, RD, RE, RF, RG, RH, RI, RJ, RK, RL, RM, RN, RO, RP, RQ, RR, RS, RT, RU, RV, RW, RX, RY, RZ, SA, SB, SC, SD, SE, SF, SG, SH, SI, SJ, SK, SL, SM, SN, SO, SP, SQ, SR, SS, ST, SU, SV, SW, SX, SY, SZ, TA, TB, TC, TD, TE, TF, TG, TH, TI, TJ, TK, TL, TM, TN, TO, TP, TQ, TR, TS, TT, TU, TV, TW, TX, TY, TZ, UA, UB, UC, UD, UE, UF, UG, UH, UI, UJ, UK, UL, UM, UN, UO, UP, UQ, UR, US, UT, UU, UV, UW, UX, UY, UZ, VA, VB, VC, VD, VE, VF, VG, VH, VI, VJ, VK, VL, VM, VN, VO, VP, VQ, VR, VS, VT, VU, VV, VW, VX, VY, VZ, WA, WB, WC, WD, WE, WF, WG, WH, WI, WJ, WK, WL, WM, WN, WO, WP, WQ, WR, WS, WT, WU, WV, WW, WX, WY, WZ, XA, XB, XC, XD, XE, XF, XG, XH, XI, XJ, XK, XL, XM, XN, XO, XP, XQ, XR, XS, XT, XU, XV, XW, XX, XY, XZ, YA, YB, YC, YD, YE, YF, YG, YH, YI, YJ, YK, YL, YM, YN, YO, YP, YQ, YR, YS, YT, YU, YV, YW, YX, YY, YZ, ZA, ZB, ZC, ZD, ZE, ZF, ZG, ZH, ZI, ZJ, ZK, ZL, ZM, ZN, ZO, ZP, ZQ, ZR, ZS, ZT, ZU, ZV, ZW, ZX, ZY, ZZ).

T. K. C.

JAMES (יַאֲכֹב, *Jacobus*), the name of three persons prominently mentioned in the NT—James the son of Zebedee, James the son of Alphaeus, and James the brother of Jesus. The first two of these are included in the lists of the apostles given in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Mt.

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10:2 f. Mk 2:17 f. Lk 6:17 f. Acts 1:13). The former of this pair was a brother of John, then rather—a Galilean fisherman, probably a resident of Capernaum—is represented in the first two Gospels (Mt. 10:2 f. Mk 1:29) as having been present when his two sons were called by Jesus to be his disciples, although in the legendary account of this event in the third gospel the presence of Zebedee is not implied, their call being made incidental to that of Peter, who is said to have been a partner of theirs. It is a usual inference from Mt. 27:56 and Mk. 15:40 that Salome was their mother, although this cannot be proved. The call of James to be a disciple was followed some months afterwards by his appointment as one of the twelve apostles. His prominence in this bond is indicated by the fact that, in all the four lists referred to above, his name is mentioned among the first, along with Peter, Andrew, and John, who are distinguished, together with him, not only by the position which is accorded to them in the lists (cp APOSTLES, § 1, table), but also in the record of several important events (Mk. 5:37-131 Mt. 17:26-17, and parallels).

Mt. [very enigmatically] relates that the brothers, James and John, were designated by Jesus, *Boanerges*, which is explained 'sons of thunder.'

Had this name been bestowed upon them by Jesus prior to a manifestation of certain qualities of character as implausible as that it was given without a reason. Besides, the fact which tradition may have had in attributing to them the name and to Jesus the bestowal of it is undeterminable. We may conjecture that they carried the name, either from Jesus or from some other source, on account of a certain impetuosity, manifested, perhaps, in the incident related as mentioned in Lk., and in their rash answer to Jesus' question 'Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink or to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?' The request which called forth this solemn question may also be regarded as indicating qualities of character which might have given rise to the designation in question. [Further than this on the track marked out by the older criticism we cannot go. It is time, perhaps, to strike out a new path, calling in the aid of philology and textual criticism. Can *Boanerges* be right?]

The last appearance of James the son of Zebedee in the gospel-history is in Gethsemane at the agony of Jesus (Mt. 26:37 Mk. 14:33). He is mentioned in Acts (1:13 f.) among the apostles who, after the resurrection, remained in Jerusalem continuing 'steadfastly in prayer.' The cup which he had so impetuously professed himself able to drink was early prepared for him. At the passover of the year 44 he was distinguished as the first martyr among the apostles by Herod Agrippa I. who, acting, perhaps, in the interest of Pharisaic zealots, undertook a persecution of the Christians. In the language of the writer of Acts (12:2 f.), 'Herod the king put forth his hands to afflict certain of the church.' And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. The prominent position of James in the church is perhaps indicated by his selection for this baptism of blood.

The legend that he went as a missionary to Spain, where in 830 his wander-working bones were found, and where his apparition in luminous armour struck with terror the infidel hosts in the war with the Saracens, was reconciled with the history in Acts by the supposition that, returning from Spain to Jerusalem, he was slain by Herod, and his body carried back and buried by his Spanish travelling companions.

Of James the son of Alphaeus, called in Mk. 15:40 James the less (*ὁ μικρὸς*, minor, younger) little is recorded in the NT. According to the same

2a. Son of Alphaeus. passage, his mother was a certain Mary who is there mentioned as a witness of the crucifixion. The translation of 'Julias of James' (*Ἰουλιὰς Ἰακώβου*; Lk. 6:16 Acts 1:13) as 'Julias the brother of James' is of doubtful propriety. The apostle Judas was probably the son of a James otherwise unknown (see JUDAS, 7). The question whether James the son of Alphaeus was identical with James the

2b. Distinct from brother of Jesus.

[The name is evidently a compound, and as it stands cannot be explained with certainty (see BOANERGES). For a conjecture see GOSPELS.]

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brother of Jesus must be discussed before proceeding to the consideration of the latter.

Doubtless in early times, and perhaps latterly, a prepossession in favour of the perpetual virginity of Mary the mother of Jesus has had an influence in determining some scholars to maintain the affirmative of this question.

It is argued that from Mt. 27:58 Mk. 15:40 and Jn. 19:25 the inference may be drawn that Mary the mother of Jesus had a sister Mary who was the wife of Clopas, and that she was the mother of two sons, James the little (*ὁ μικρὸς*) and Joseph. Moreover, since James, Joseph (or Joseph), Judas, and Simon are mentioned in Mt. 13:55 and Mk. 6:3 as brothers of Jesus, and since in Lk. 6:15 and Acts 1:13 a James and a Jude are included among the apostles, it has been argued that these latter were identical with the James and Judas mentioned among the brothers of Jesus, yet that they were not his brothers, but his cousins. In support of this hypothesis it is maintained that the James called the brother of Jesus, mentioned explicitly by Paul in Gal. 1:19 as such, and frequently elsewhere as simply 'James,' and always indicated as holding a prominent place in the church at Jerusalem, was no other than James the son of Alphaeus who is identified by the hypothesis with the Clopas of Jn. 19:25. Thus he would be shown to have been a cousin of Jesus, being the son of a sister of Mary, Jesus's mother, and one of the original apostles.

This argumentation is, however, beset with insuperable difficulties. If the apostle Lebbeus (Mt. 10:3; but RV and WH Thaddaeus) who is called Thaddaeus in Mk. 3:18, and who by the hypothesis was identical with the 'Judas of James' of Lk. and Acts, was by the first evangelist known to have been a brother of James the son of Alphaeus, it is improbable that this writer would not have indicated this fact after the analogy of 'Simon and Andrew his brother' and 'James and John his brother.' It is no less improbable that, if Judas and Simon were sons of Alphaeus and the Mary in question, they would not have been mentioned along with Joseph in Mt. 27:56 and Mk. 15:40.

It is also evident from the attitude of Jesus's brothers toward him according to Mk. 3:21-34, that they could not have belonged to the friendly apostolic group. For they are here represented as 'standing without,' and were probably of the 'his friends' (*οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*) who 'went out to lay hold on him' because he was, they thought, beside himself. (Cp. Jn. 7:5.) In this connection the fact is important that wherever they are mentioned in the NT they are distinguished from the apostles (Mt. 12:46 Lk. 8:19 Jn. 7:3 Acts 1:14 1 Cor. 9:5; 'the other apostles [besides Paul] and the brothers of the Lord'). Besides, there is nowhere an intimation that any one of the apostles was either a brother or a cousin of Jesus. The attempt to show from Jn. 19:25 that Mary, the so-called 'wife' of Clopas (identified by the hypothesis with Alphaeus), was the sister of the mother of Jesus and that hence James the son of Alphaeus was his cousin is hazardous. For it is doubtful whether Clopas and Alphaeus are the Aramaic and Greek forms of the same name, since the Syriac version uniformly translates them differently (Cleopha and Halpai), and whether 'Mary of Clopas' (*Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπά*) is really in apposition with 'the sister of his mother' (*ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ*). The opinion that four women instead of three are mentioned here has the support of the Syriac version and of many of the highest authorities (see Meyer on the passage, and Wieseler in *St. Kr.*, 40, p. 650). Besides, the position is quite tenable that according to the prevailing *usua loquendi*, 'Mary of Clopas' (*Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπά*) means Mary the daughter of Clopas, in which case Clopas would be known only as the father of the Mary mentioned in Jn. 19:25 (see CLOPAS). Thus in any case the improbable supposition that in the same family there were two sisters of the same name is obviated. Still, even if it could be shown that James the son of Alphaeus was a cousin of Jesus it would not follow that another James was not his brother, since better reasons than those given by Lange and Meyrick are required to justify the abandonment of the natural meaning of ἀδελφός. Nor is it necessary to resort to the supposition of step-brothers; for, according to the obvious sense of 'first-born' (*πρωτοτόκος*; Lk. 27 Mt. 1:25, Sin. Syr.), Mary was the mother of other sons than Jesus.

It is questioned whether in Gal. 1:19, 'other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother' (*ἑτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου*), James is included among the apostles. The affirmation is thought to carry with it the identification of the apostle James the son of Alphaeus with the brother of Jesus. The passage, however, may be correctly rendered, 'Another of the apostles [save Peter] I did not see, but only James the brother of the Lord.'

εἰ μὴ ('save') finding its exception in the negative οὐκ εἶδον ('saw not') and ἑτερον τ. ἄ. ('other of the apostles') referring to

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Peter (v. 18). For a similar construction see Rom. 11:14 1 Cor. 8:4 Gal. 2:10 Mt. 12:24 26 Lk. 4:26 f. No interpret Fritzsche, Credner, Bleek, Winer, Holtmann, and others.

It is not necessary to suppose with Meyer and Lipsius (who object to such an exception to Paul's use of εἰ μὴ elsewhere) that James is here included among the apostles 'in the wider sense.' The conclusion is legitimate that whenever Paul refers to James he has in mind the one mentioned in this passage, not the son of Alphaeus. A James who is not called the brother of Jesus, and is not specifically designated, is conspicuous in Acts; but his identification must be controlled by the prominence given by Paul to the 'brother of the Lord' (*ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου*; Gal. 1:19, cp. 2:12). For want of space, discussion of the patristic and other early testimony on this point must be omitted. Suffice it to say that the view that there were three Jameses is supported by Hegesippus, the pseudo-Clementine literature (*Hom.* 11:35, *Recogn.* 4:35) and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (2:55 6:12 7:46 8:35), whilst Chrysostom, Jerome, and Theodoret are quoted for the opposite opinion.

James, surnamed the Just, although sharing with the brothers, of whom he was probably the oldest, in their

opposition to Jesus during his public ministry, appears to have been converted to his cause soon after the resurrection. According to 1 Cor. 15:7 he was a witness

to one of the manifestations of the risen Christ, indeed, to two, if he may be included in the 'all the apostles' (*τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντιν*).

An Ebionite ideal picture of 'James the brother of the Lord' is given by Hegesippus (*Eus. HE* 2:23) who, after saying that he received the government of the church with the apostles, continues thus: 'This apostle was consecrated from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor strong drink, and abstained from animal food. A razor never came upon his head, he never anointed with oil, and never used a bath. . . . He was in the habit of entering the temple alone, and was often found upon his bended knees, . . . so that his knees became as a camel's in consequence of his habitual supplication.' The position assigned to him in the church by Hegesippus accords with the statement in the pseudo-Clementine writings that he was the bishop of the holy church, the bishop of Jerusalem, *episcoporum princeps*, and *archiepiscopus*.

According to Gal. 1:18 29, Paul finds James (see CHRONOLOGY, § 73 f.) holding a prominent place in the Christian community in Jerusalem along with Peter and John, and with these three, 'reputed to be pillars,' he came to an arrangement respecting his mission to the Gentiles. So great was the influence or the authority of James that Peter was controlled by him at Antioch in the matter of eating with the Gentiles. For when 'certain from James came, he drew back and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision' (Gal. 2:12). From this fact and from Paul's statement that, yielding to the emissaries from James, 'the rest of the Jews dissembled,' and 'even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation,' the inference is obvious that this brother of Jesus was the acknowledged head of the Jewish-Christian party in the church of Jerusalem and a zealot for the strict observance of the Jewish law. Paul's vehement argument with Peter at Antioch reveals no less clearly the attitude of James and his faction, than the position of Paul himself. The question was that of the validity of the Jewish law for Christians, and Paul exposes the kernel of the matter when he says: 'I do not make void the grace of God: for if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought' (Gal. 2:21). This is the historical account of the affair. The writer of Acts, however, whose aim it was to present the original apostles and James in a favourable light with reference to Paulinism, records events which would render the occurrences at Antioch improbable (11:32 21:17-25; see, however, ACTS, § 3).

The testimony of antiquity leaves no doubt that James died a violent death at the hands of Jewish zealots about the year 63. For the dramatic account of his martyrdom given by Hegesippus see *Eus. HE* 2:23. Josephus relates that, during the interregnum between Festus

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and Albinus, Ananias the high priest (see ANNAS [end]) called the Sanhedrin together, and having summoned James, secured his condemnation to death by stoning—an act for which he suffered the censure of the influential Jews, and was deprived of his office by Albinus.

Important discussions of this subject may be found in Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*; Alford, *Greek Testament*, 4; Davidson, *Intr.*; Armand, *Recherches*, etc., 51; Lightfoot, *Essay on the Brethren of the Lord*; Lambly, art. 'James' in *EBib*; Hilgenfeldt, *Einh.*, 75; Meyer's *Commentary*, 15; Holtzmann, *ZWT*, 80, and *Bl.* 3; Wieseler, *St. Kr.*, 42; —in *Bl.* 1, art. 'Bruder Jesu', 69; Lange in *PREB*, 1; 'Jakobus', 56; Lünner in *NT Theol.* 282; and Credner, *Einh.* 571 f. (36).

JAMES (EPISTLE). The object of this writing, which is with doubtful propriety called an epistle (see, however, **EPISTOLARY LITERATURE**, § 9), is to emphasize the importance of practical Christianity and to encourage and strengthen its readers in their trials.

The writer exhorts his readers to receive trials with joy, letting patience have its perfect work, and asking in faith for wisdom of God who giveth liberally (1.2-8). External conditions are without real significance. The man is blessed who endures temptation; but temptations are from within, and God tempts no man (1.9-18). Every man should be swift to hear and slow to speak; but the doing of the word is of paramount importance (1.19-27). Distinctions between the rich and the poor shown in the churches to the disadvantage of the poor are censurable. Love of the neighbour as one's self according to 'the royal law' should be kept, and men should speak and act as they who are to 'be judged by a law of liberty' (2.1-13). Faith without works is 'dead' and can 'save' no one, and by the examples of Abraham and Rahab those are shown to be in error who argue to the contrary (2.14-26). Inquisitive conceit of wisdom, the unbridled tongue, jealousy, and faction, are severely rebuked, and 'the wisdom that is from above' is commended (3). The pleasures that war in the members' are condemned as the source of contention in the churches, together with adultery, worldliness, and envy (4.1-10). Calumny and censoriousness are rebuked, and the eager pursuit of gain is shown to be folly in view of the brevity and uncertainty of life, which should be lived in a constant sense of dependence upon God (4.11-17). The rich are threatened who have heaped up 'corrupted' riches, while the cry of the poor whom they have oppressed 'has entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth' (5.1-6). The brethren are exhorted to patience in view of the 'coming of the Lord' (*παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου*) which is 'at hand' (5.7-11). Swearing is forbidden, and prayer is recommended, which, if offered 'in faith,' will save the sick (5.12-16). Finally, he is felicitated who 'converts a sinner from the error of his way' (5.19 f.).

The different parts of the writing are without logical connection, and it has been well characterised as 'for the most part a loose joining of sayings which are not thought in this connection, but brought into it ready made' (Weizsäcker).

The address, 'to the twelve tribes who are of the dispersion' (cp 1 Pet. 1.1) may be at least regarded as in

2. Address. accord with the general Jewish-Christian character of the epistle, although its meaning and purpose are indeterminate. 'The twelve tribes' qualified by 'of the dispersion' (*ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ*) can literally mean only the Jews living outside Palestine; but that the writer had Christians, not Jews, in mind is evident (2.157). Some expositors have sought to resolve this incongruity between the address and the contents of the epistle by assuming that the persons addressed were Jewish Christians, since Jewish Christians are called Jews in Gal. 2.13 and Hebrews in the superscription of the Epistle to the Hebrews and in patristic literature, just as Paul (Rom. 11.1) designates the Gentile Christians as *ἔθνη*. Whilst, however, the Jewish-Christian tendency of the epistle is unmistakable, it is difficult to find in it decisive evidence that it was addressed especially to Jewish Christians.

There is no probability that there were churches composed wholly of Jewish converts to Christianity in 'the dispersion,' and nothing in the epistle indicates that it was addressed to a faction of the believers in general. The citation of examples from the OT and the mention of Abraham as 'our father' (2.21-25) proves nothing in view of Paul's usage (Rom. 4.12-16 Gal. 3.16-20; see also Clem. Rom. 31.4). The use of *συναγωγή* for a Christian assembly (2.2) was not confined to the Jewish Christians, who, according to Epiphanius (*Haer.* 30.12), employed it instead of *ἐκκλησία*. Here it may mean no more than *ἐπισυναγωγή* in Heb. 10.25 (see Harnack, *ZWT*, 76, p. 104 f.).

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It is very improbable, moreover, that a writer addressing Jewish Christians should not only ignore the Mosaic Law and ritual, but also give prominence to 'the perfect law of liberty,' evidently contrasting it with the former, and to the 'implanted word' (1.21-25 2.12), without any attempt to show the relation of these new conceptions to the ancient economy (see von Soden, *HC* iii. 216).

Another incongruity between the address and the contents appears in the fact that whilst the former is general, there is in the latter constant reference to local and special conditions, as if the writer really had in mind a particular Christian 'assembly' (*συναγωγή*) with whose errors and needs he was personally acquainted.

The circumstances which he depicts in detail cannot be supposed to have existed throughout an extended territory, such as is indicated in the address (1.2 ff. 13 ff. 2.1 ff. 3.1 ff. 13 ff. 4.1 ff. 13 ff. 5.1 ff. 14).

If, on account of these incongruities the address be not judged to be fictitious and without significance in relation to the contents, it must be regarded as including Christians in general as the 'true Israel,' as 'the new, greater people of God, who have taken the place of the old' (Gal. 6.16; cp Barn. 16.13-14 2 Clem. 2.2). The words 'of the dispersion' may be, as Fleiderer conjectures, an imitation of 1 Pet. 1.1 with the omission of the local limitation.

The relation of the epistle to the other NT writings and to early patristic literature is instructive with reference to the question of its date and authorship.

3. Relation to other writings.

a. The epistle contains many reminiscences of the sayings of Jesus, principally of those collected in the First Gospel, in the 'Sermon on the Mount.'

(1.17 Mt. 7.11; 1.20 Mt. 5.22; 1.22 ff. Mt. 7.21 f.; 2.8 Mk. 12.31; 2.14 Mt. 5.7; 4.12 Mt. 10.28; 5.12 Mt. 5.14).

The points of contact with the Synoptic Gospels do not indicate a literary dependence upon them or an accurate knowledge of the words of Jesus.

If the author was acquainted with our written Gospels, he cannot be said to have quoted from them, and he never refers to them or to Jesus as the source of the moral apophthegms in which his writing abounds. It is certainly a vague and limited knowledge of 'the evangelic tradition' that can be affirmed (with Holtzmann) on the ground of 1.6 compared with Mk. 11.22-24, and 3.14 compared with Mk. 6.13. The most that can be said in this relation is that the moral teachings contained in this tradition had made an indistinct impression upon the mind of the writer.

b. That the writer of James was acquainted with Rom., 1 Cor., and Gal., there is little reason to doubt, though he makes no mention of these writings, and does not directly quote from them.

Acquaintance with them is shown in faint reminiscences of their terminology and forms of expression and in declarations which are in apparently intentional opposition to teachings contained in them (1.2 f. Rom. 5.3 f.; 1.13 1 Cor. 10.13; 1.21 Rom. 13.12; 1.22 Rom. 2.13; 2.10 Gal. 5.13; 2.16 1 Cor. 8.4; 2.21 Gal. 3.6 Rom. 4.3; 2.24 Rom. 3.20 Gal. 2.15; 4.1 Rom. 6.11 7.23; 4.4 Rom. 8.7; 4.5 Gal. 5.17; 4.11 f. Rom. 2.13 14). The writer shows no comprehension of the leading doctrines of Paul, and it is probable that the subtleties of the apostle were so foreign to his thought, that he could not understand them. Of the Pauline conception of the Messiahship of Jesus, his atoning sacrifice, and his resurrection (in which was the hope of the resurrection of believers at the Parousia), and of the profound Pauline mysticism, there is no trace of even a reminiscence in the epistle. There is only a reference to the Parousia which shows a merely external apprehension of it (5.7 f.).

c. Acquaintance with the Epistle to the Hebrews is not improbable.

This may be argued on the ground of 2.17-20 compared with Heb. 6.19-14 (*καρπὸς* 'dead' applied in the one case to faith and in the other to works), of 3.18, compared with Heb. 12.11 (*καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης ἐν εἰρήνῃ* 'the fruit of righteousness . . . in peace' and *καρπὸς εἰρηνικῆς δικαιοσύνης* 'the peaceable fruit . . . of righteousness'), and of 2.25, the example of Rahab, compared with Heb. 11.31. Other points of contact with Heb. are found in 1.7 (cp Heb. 12.6), 3.1 (cp Heb. 5.12), 4.15 (cp Heb. 6.3), 5.16 (cp Heb. 13.7).

d. The relation of James to 1 Pet. necessitates the hypothesis of a literary dependence, and it is a disputed question to which the priority should be accorded.

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Cp 11 with 1 Pet. 11, 12 *f.* with 1 Pet. 16 *f.*, 110 with 1 Pet. 124, 118 with 1 Pet. 123, 121 with 1 Pet. 21 *f.*, 27 with 1 Pet. 414-16, 46-10 with 1 Pet. 55-9, 58 *f.* with 1 Pet. 47, 520 with 1 Pet. 48). Expositors have generally maintained the dependence of 1 Pet. upon James; but W. Brückner has shown with probability the priority of the former, by a careful study of the parallel passages (*ZNTW*, 74, p. 533 *f.*), and has been followed by Holtzmann, Pfeiderer, and von Soden. (See also Grimm, *St. A.*, 72, p. 692 *f.*)

e. Dependence on the Apocalypse is at least probable.

Cp 25 with Rev. 29, 112 with Rev. 210, 59 with Rev. 820. Pfeiderer decides for the priority of the portion of the Apocalypse (dating from the time of Hadrian) which contains these passages, and thinks that the writer of James in appealing to the divine promise (112) must have had Rev. 210 in mind (*Das Urchrist.* 867). Völter, however, reverses the relation (*Die Entsteh. d. Apok.* 183).

f. The contacts with 1 Clem. do not show 'incontestably' the use of James by the author of that epistle.

The two most important passages are found in 1 Pet. which may have been a common source for the writers of James and 1 Clem. (cp Clem. 802 with 1 Pet. 55 Jas. 46, Clem. 495 with 1 Pet. 48 Jas. 520); 1 Clem. 1020 (cp Jas. 223) is explicable from Rom. 43; and 885 and 171 *f.* do not necessarily presuppose an acquaintance of the writer with Jas. 223 and 510. If, however, the use of James in this case be conceded, the indeterminate date of 1 Clem. (probably 93-125) excludes any conclusion for the early composition of the former.

g. The points of agreement between the Shepherd of Hermas and James necessitate the conclusion that one of them is dependent upon the other; but it is not clear to which the priority should be assigned.

Pfeiderer is perhaps too positive that it probably belongs to Herm. (cp 47 with Herm. Mand. 125; 412 with Herm. Mand. 126 Sim. 923).

h. The author of James was acquainted with the LXX, but not with the Heb. text of the OT. Theile has shown him to have been familiar with Ecclus. and Wisdom, and probable points of contact with Philo have been pointed out.

The acquaintance of the author with some of the Pauline epistles, the particulars of which have already been given, must be regarded as uncontestedly established by the criticism

4. Doctrine of Justification.

of this writing, in regard to which so many disputed questions still remain unsettled. The most indisputable point of contact with Paulinism occurs in the short section in which the writer discusses the doctrine of justification (214-26). The twofold prepossession against admitting that the canon of the NT contains pseudonymous writings and contradictory teachings has led to the confusion of a problem which would otherwise have found an easy solution. For if the same critical method should be applied here that is employed in similar cases from the consideration of which such prepossessions are absent, there can be no doubt that a general agreement among scholars would result. The case in question is not a vague allusion to faith and works in general, which might be accounted for on the ground of Jewish ideas and terms known by the writer of the epistle without dependence upon Paul, but a pointed reference to a distinctly Pauline doctrine and the employment of the apostle's terminology and very words. Paul declares explicitly: 'We reckon therefore that a man is justified (*δικαιοῦνται*) by faith apart from the works of the law' (Rom. 328) and 'a man is not justified by the works of the law . . . even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law' (Gal. 216). He cites the case of Abraham, and affirms that this patriarch was justified not by works, but by faith (Rom. 41 Gal. 36). On the contrary, the writer of James declares that 'a man is justified (*δικαιοῦνται*) by works, and not by faith only' (224), and as if to reply to the advocates of Paulinism by employing the very example adduced by their master he affirms that Abraham was justified by works (221-23). He also turns to his purpose the case of Rahab employed in an opposite sense by the Pauline writer of Heb. In the declaration that a man is not justified by faith only (*μόνον*) is implied the doctrine of the co-operation of faith and works in justification, which is expressed in the words regarding Abraham: 'Faith wrought with

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his works, and by works was faith made perfect' (222). This is essentially a justification *ἐξ ἔργων* in opposition to the Pauline *χωρὶς ἔργων*, according to the declaration concluding this section: 'For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, even so faith apart from works (*χωρὶς ἔργων*, the Pauline terminology) is dead.' To Paul, however, the Gospel was 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth,' *i.e.*, faith in itself or *χωρὶς ἔργων* had a saving efficacy (Rom. 116)—an affirmation which is pointedly denied in James (*μὴ δύναται ἡ πίστις σώσαι αὐτόν*, 214). Paul could never, like our author, as Kern has pointed out, have made salvation depend upon faith and works, because faith in his sense included works—*i.e.*, a new life.

The difference of the two points of view has been well stated by Schwegler: 'With Paul faith because it justifies is the source of good works; with James faith because it is the source of good works and shows itself alive in them has a justifying efficacy. With Paul justification is conditional upon faith, or better, justification and faith are present at the same time within the man, and works proceed out of the justification in faith; with James justification proceeds from the works in which faith shows itself to be alive. With Paul justification comes between faith and works; with James works come between faith and justification' (*Nachap. Zeit.* 1429).

Nothing could have been further from Paul's thought than to depreciate good works; but he did not think that the justifying judgment of God was determined by them, for as Luther, rightly apprehending the Pauline thought, says, 'faith lies at the bottom of the heart, and God looks to the bottom of the heart.' (Cp W. Grimm, *ZNTW*, 70, p. 379.) However, the different views of faith and justification entertained by the two men are not of special importance for our purpose. (An admirable statement of them has been made by von Soden in *JPT*, '84.) Whether the author of James wrote for readers who, as he supposes, misunderstood Paul's teachings, or whether, as is more probable, he did not himself correctly apprehend them, the important fact is that he betrays unmistakably a dependence upon Rom. and Gal. Holtzmann is not too positive in saying that 'there is no more direct sort of polemics than the verbal citation of a formula (*δικαιοῦνται ἐκ πίστεως μόνον*, 224), supplied with a definite negation' (*Einl.* 509). If the expedient of Weiss, adopted from Neander, be allowed, that the writer of James was in this section combating a Jewish-Christian prejudice rather than a Pauline doctrine (the epistle being assumed to have been written before the time of Paul), the conflict of teaching would still remain. There is, however, scarcely a probability in favour of this supposition in view of the employment in James of the unique Pauline terminology.

The composition of the epistle in the apostolic age, and, as is generally supposed by those who assign it to this period, by James, the brother of

5. Date and authorship. Jesus, is rendered very improbable by several internal features, which have been repeatedly pointed out. The legalistic point of view of James, one of the 'pillars' of the church in Jerusalem, is not indicated. The question of the relation of Jews and Gentiles, which agitated the early church, is not referred to. 'The Judaistic controversy seems accordingly to have died out and the νόμος τέλειος ὁ τῆς ἐλευθερίας' ['perfect law of freedom'] (125) to have been actually identical with the new and transformed law of a Christianity already becoming Catholic. The lamentable condition of the churches which is depicted—too much teaching, the unbridled tongue, worldliness, deference to the rich and scorn of the poor, an eagerness for trade and gain, 'jealousy and faction,' 'wars and fightings,' and the absence of the wisdom that is from above—is not by any means that of primitive Christianity.

An indication of a late date is found in 513-15, where supernatural healing of the sick is effected through 'the elders,' that is, the official body of presbyters (1 Tim. 414).

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In the earlier church the power to effect 'healings' and 'the working of miracles' pertained to believers indiscriminately (1 Cor. 12.9f.). The embodiment of the function in an official class indicates a considerable development of ecclesiastical organisation. Cp. SPITTA, *GRITS*.

The writer was not, moreover, familiar with primitive Christianity on its doctrinal side. He mentions, indeed, as before remarked, the Parousia, and calls Christ 'the Lord of Glory' (2.1). The Christological question, however, included much more than this in the early Church—the life, the atoning death, the resurrection of Jesus, and the testimony of the OT to his Messiahship. That the 'brother of Jesus,' living at the time when these doctrines were taking form, should not have referred to them even in a hortatory epistle is scarcely probable. Moreover, the good Greek style of the epistle, despite Schleiermacher's strictures upon it, is hardly such as could be expected of the son of Joseph and Mary.

Spitta has recently undertaken to show that the epistle is not a Christian, but a Jewish, work (*Der Brief des Jakobus*, '96). The 'only specifically Christian' passages, *καὶ κυρίου ἡσίου χριστοῦ* ('and of the Lord Jesus Christ', 1.1), and *ἡμῶν ἡσίου χριστοῦ* ('our [Lord] Jesus Christ', 2.1), are regarded as interpolations, and the interpretation of the entire book is conducted with reference to parallels drawn from the Jewish literature. The hypothesis of interpolations, however, is somewhat arbitrary; the section on faith and works (2.14-26) presupposes the Pauline doctrine and an acquaintance with Paul's writings, as has been shown in the course of this article; and the relation of the epistle to the NT literature is adverse to the early date assigned to it by Spitta. Moreover, the terminology in reference to eschatology is unmistakably Christian. See *ἐως τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου* ('until the coming of the Lord', 5.7), and *ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἤγγικεν* ('the coming of the Lord is at hand', 5.8). The parallels referred to in Enoch do not contain this terminology. Spitta's hypothesis, though defended with great learning and acumen, can hardly be regarded as established.

Von Soden (in *HC*, '98), rejecting Spitta's hypothesis, presents a new one of his own. The two sections, complete in themselves, 3.1-18 and 4.11-5.6, show no sort of accord with Christian writings or ideas. The former might be regarded as an essay of an Alexandrian scribe, and the latter as a fragment from a Jewish apocalypse. Although they may have come from the same pen, they betray a different mind in style, language, and manner of apprehending things. Other parts of the epistle give the impression that sayings elsewhere formulated are grouped on the ground of a general relationship of their contents or of their reference to that with which the author was occupied. Whilst Christian tones are wanting in the sections referred to, in the others notes of accord with Paul and 1 Pet. are frequent (cp. 1.2-4, 12, 18, 21, 25; 3.14, 15, 18, 26; 4.1-6, 10). Of the forty words in James foreign to the NT there are outside 3.1-18 4.11-5.6 only six: *ἀνταρτία* and *ἐμφυτός* in 1.21; *χρυσόδακτυλος*, *προσωπολήμπτης*, *ἀνέλεος*, *ἐφήμερος* in chap. 2. It is probable, therefore, that in combating the improprieties in Christian circles known to him, the writer called to his aid reminiscences out of his Jewish period, while he contributed of his own only some thoughts chiefly found in chaps. 1 and 2, showing here, however, the influence of his Jewish materials in choice of words, tone, and style. Parallels to this procedure are found in the Didaché, the epistle of Barnabas, the reception of apocalyptic fragments in Rev., and the Pauline anthologies from the OT. From this point of view it is believed that justice will more easily be done to the epistle, the loose connection and the defective arrangement will be less censured, and the absence of specifically Christian expressions, as well as the retirement of the book as soon as Greek influence prevailed in Christendom, will be better understood.

The epistle is poor in doctrinal expressions. The author, indeed, does not conceal his repugnance to doctrinal disputations, and the judgment is well grounded which finds that the episode regarding faith and works was written not so much with a doctrinal purpose, as to enforce the fundamental practical object of the writing—to recommend the wisdom that is from above as more desirable than riches and earthly knowledge. If the Christianity which the author defends has, as Hilgenfeld maintains, an Essene colouring in such teachings as those regarding mercy (2.13), the oath (5.12), riches (1.10 f. 25), trade (4.13), and governing the tongue (1.19 3.3 f.), an Ebionite tendency is more certainly shown in his predilection for the poor and his opposition to the rich, and in his disinclination to teaching, worldly wisdom, and theories of faith. (See the Ebionite points of agreement with the Clem. Hom. in Immer, *NT Theol.* 428). Whether his points of contact with the Shepherd of Hermas prove his use of that writing or not, the similarities of the two works, which Pfeiderer

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has pointed out, give great weight to this scholar's opinion that 'certain it is that both writings presuppose like historical circumstances, and, from a similar point of view, direct their admonitions to their contemporaries, among whom a lax worldly-mindedness and unfruitful theological wrangling threatened to destroy the religious life' (*Das Urchrist*, 868). Holtzmann characterises this as 'the right visual angle' for the judgment of the epistle (*ZWT*, '92, p. 661). The latter scholar concludes that in his formulation both of the conception of the law and of that of Christology the writer's thought reaches in its objective points into Catholic Christianity.

It may be regarded as far more probable that the epistle is a product of the second century, perhaps later than 1 Peter, than that it was written in the apostolic age by the brother of Jesus. Perhaps in his polemic against faith the writer had in mind an 'ultra-Pauline Gnosis' which he may or may not have discriminated from genuine Paulinism.

The place from which the epistle was written is indeterminable; but the opinion that it originated in Rome has great probability in its favour on account of the contacts with Heb., Clem. Rom., and Herm.

The epistle did not fare well as to recognition in the early Church. The Canon of Muratori omits it. The earliest trace of an acquaintance with

6. Canonicity. it is found in Irenaeus, who refers to Abraham as 'the friend of God' (Jas. 2.23); but he does not mention the epistle. From Tertullian's silence regarding the epistle it must be concluded that he either was unacquainted with it, knowing it, regarded it as spurious. Eusebius, in writing of it as an historian, classifies it among the controverted books, and says that it is reckoned spurious, and that not many of the ancients have mentioned it. Yet in his commentary on the Psalms he quotes it as 'the holy apostle's.' Doubtful traces of its use by Clem. Alex. are found in his writings, although he is said by Eusebius to have written commentaries on all the Catholic epistles. Good reasons, however, for doubting his acquaintance with it are given by Salmon (*Introd. to NT* 449). Origen knew and quoted an epistle of which he spoke doubtfully as said to be James's (*ὑπομνήνη ἡ ἱακ. ἐπιστολή*). Jerome, while acknowledging its genuineness, remarks that it was said to have been published by another in the name of James, though it gradually acquired authority. It is contained in the Pesh., and Ephrem accepted it as the work of James, the brother of Jesus.

The most important commentaries on the epistle are those of Schneckenburger ('32), Theile ('33), Kern ('32), Ewald ('70), Erdmann ('81), v. Soden ('92), and Mayor

7. Literature. ('92). Special investigations are contained in the *Einl.* of Credner, De Wette, Holtzmann, Hilgenfeld, Zahn, and in the *Introductions* of Salmon and Davidson. Noteworthy articles on the epistle are those of Kern (*Füh. Z. f. Theol.*, 35, also printed separately), Grimm (*ZWT*, '70), Hilgenfeld (*ib.*, '73), W. Brückner (*ib.*, '74), Holtzmann (*ib.*, '82, '92), Klopfer (*ib.*, '85), von Soden (*NT*, '84), Haupt (*St. Kr.*, '83), Usteri (*ib.*, '86), Schwartz (*ib.*, '91), and W. C. van Manen, *Th. T.* 28 478-496 ('94), on the age of the epistle. O. C.

JAMIN (יָמִין): on name cp. BENJAMIN; only in P and post-exilic writings; יָמִין [ע] [BA] [P].

1. b. Ram, a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2.27, יִשְׂרָאֵל [A]). See JERAHMEITE, § 2.

2. b. SIMON (Gen. 46.10 Ex. 6.15, יִמְיָם [L], Nu. 26.15 1 Ch. 4.24); **Jaminites**, Nu. 26.12, יְמִינִי; יְמִינִי [BA] [L].

3. A Levite (?) present at the reading of the law under Ezra, Neh. 8.7 (cm. BBA) = 1 Esd. 9.43, ADINUS [L.]; יִמְיָם [BA], יִמְיָם [L].

JAMLECH (יָמֵלֶךְ), '[God] gives dominion,' § 53, but cp. JERAHMEITE, § 4 f), a Simeonite chieftain, temp.

1. *QAL* finds a place-name 'Jamin' in Josh. 17.7 (יָמִין [L]) where MT has יְמִינִי (יָמִין), and inserts it as a proper-name between Abner and Abiel in 1 S. 14.31 (יָמִין [L]). Cp. also the question arising out of Saul's genealogy in 1 S. 14.31. Cp. also the reading for יְמִינִי in Gen. 36.24 (see ANAN, 3).

JAMNIA

Hezekiah (1 Ch. 4:34: ΙΕΜΟΛΟΧ [B], ΔΑΔΑΛΗΚ [A], ΕΒΑΔΙΛΕΥCΕΝ [L]).

JAMNIA (ΙΑΜΝ[Ε]ΙΑ [ANV]; 1 Mace. 4:15. ΙΑΝΝΕΙΑC [A], ΙΑΜΙΝΕΙΑC [N*]; 5:58 (ΔΑΜΝΕΙΑΝ [N*] precedes); 10:69, 15:40. 2 Mace. 12:84; Judith 2:8. ΙΕΜΝΑΔ [N*+], -N [B] [see JEMNAAN]; ΙΑΜΝΕΙΑ, Jos.; cp **Jamnites**, ΙΑΜΝΙΤΑΙ [AV], 2 Mace. 12:8 f.;¹ the Greek name of Jabneh, is derived from the form יבנה, found in the Jerusalem Talm. (Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Sept.* 104, 108). See JABNEEL, 1.

JANAI (ינאי), 1 Ch. 5:12 RV, AV JAANAI.

JANIM (ינים), Josh. 15:53 RV; AV, following Kt., JANUM.

JANNA, RV **JANNAI** (ΙΑΝΝΑΙ [Ti. WH]), an ancestor of Joseph, Mary's husband (Lk. 3:24). See GENEALOGIES II. § 3.

JANNÆUS, ALEXANDER (יאנאי); also ינאי, סלך.

and on bilingual coins יהונתן הסלך, showing that ינאי 'Jannai' is a contraction of יונתן 'Jonathan'.² The first Asmonæan king of Judæa recognised on the coins, third son of John Hyrcanus, and successor of Aristobulus I. (104-78 B.C.), Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 12-15, B/14. He has been supposed by some to be referred to in Pss. 2 and 110; but the general impression produced on the ancients by his character cannot surely have been very different from that which modern students receive from it. He was not a sovereign like Simon the Maccabæe or John Hyrcanus, either of whom might conceivably have received a religious poet's encomium. He was during his reign of twenty-six or twenty-seven years almost constantly involved in foreign or in civil wars, which for the most part were provoked by his own wilfulness, and resulted by no means invariably in his favour.³ It could only be with deep-seated resentment that pious Jews could look on and see a wild warrior like Alexander Jannæus discharging the duties of high priest in the holy place, certainly not with the conscientious and painstaking observance of the ordinances regarded by the Pharisees as divine.⁴

The bitter spirit of Is. 25:10 f. may seem to belong to an adherent of Alexander Jannæus; but here again Duhm's tendency to throw everything that he can into a very late period may lead him astray (cp Smend, *Z.A.W.*, '84, pp. 209, 212). Much more plausible is the view that there are veiled references to Jannæus in parts of the book of Ecclesiastes (see ECCLESIASTES, § 11). The king spoken of was at any rate not unlike Jannæus (who was called *Thracidas* 'for his extreme cruelty,' Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14a), and the difficulty of placing Ecclesiastes in the Persian period is becoming more generally felt.

JANNES AND JAMBRES (ΙΑΝΝΗC ΚΑΙ ΙΑΜΒΡΗC [Ti. WH; var. ΜΑΜΒΡΗC]). In 2 Tim. 3:8 two

1. Origin of the names. Egyptian magicians, who 'withstood Moses' (Ex. 7:8 f.) are named, though elsewhere the opponents of Moses are anonymous. The author of 2 Tim. may, as Theodoret held, have derived the names from oral tradition; but it is not improbable that there existed a small apocryphal narrative with a title corresponding to the 'Jannes et Mambres liber' mentioned by Origen (Mt. 27:9) and the 'Liber, qui appellatur Poenitentia Jannis et Mambre, apocryphus' cited in the Decree of Gelastus (cp Schürer, *OT* 3:302-303 f.; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. ept.* 1:7 1813-825 2 105-111).

It will be noted that the names given in these Latin titles differ from the accepted reading in 2 Tim. The Codices, however, sometimes offer the reading ΜΑΜΒΡΗΣ for the second name. Most modern authorities accept this reading and regard the name as equivalent to the Hebrew מַמְרֵי (see MAMRE); the B

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aids pronunciation as in the case of Ἀμύριμ (see AMIRI). So Buxtorff, *Lex. Chald. et Talm.* col. 945. 'Jannes' can be readily explained as Hebrew, for 'Jannes' or 'Jannēs' would correspond with Johanan (יחנן).¹ In the Hebrew sources, however, the names are not always so spelt. In Bab. Talm. *Menachoth*, 85a, we find the forms ינאי and ינאי; but in the Jer. Targ. the names are more similar to those in Timothy. There are several spellings even within the Targum itself. Ex. 1:15 ינאי and ינאי; Ex. 7:11, ינאי and ינאי; Nu. 22:22, ינאי and ינאי. (These spellings are cited from the editio princeps, Venice, 1695, and they are all confirmed by the valuable MS. Brit. Museum Add. 27031.) In other Jewish works the spelling of the names is even less uniform, so that we even find Joannes and Ambrosius (Shalheleth Hakkabbala), and also three names instead of two, Jonos, Juchne, and Mambre (see Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebr.* on 2 Tim. 3:8).

There is another tenable theory as to the origin of the names. Lauth (*Moses der Ägypter*, 77) held that they are Egyptian, Jannes meaning 'Scribe' and Mambres 'Gift of the Sun God (Heliodorus)'. J. Freudenthal (*Alexander Polyhistor*, 173) also regards the names as Grecised-Egyptian. Freudenthal indeed traces the whole story to a Hellenistic Egyptian source, though one of the names occurs (perhaps) in Pliny (*HN* xxx. 11),² and in Apuleius (*Apol.* c. 90, ed. Hildebrand).³ The fullest citation in a pagan source is from Numenius (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 98). Freudenthal considers it probable that Numenius derived his statement from Artapanos, a Hellenist who wrote in Alexandria in the second century B.C. (Schürer, however, contests this, but on inconclusive grounds). Ewald (*OT* 2:128, *ET* 289, n. 1) also treats the names as ancient, and well compares the Hebrew ינאי (see MAGIC, § 2) with Numenius's *ἱερογραμματεῖς*. Ewald would thus agree with Lauth in holding that the names are the Egyptian equivalents for 'Scribes' in general.

The explanation of the names, apart from their etymology, has given rise to many conjectures, some of

2. Explication. them quite worthless. Iselin, who agrees with Freudenthal as to the origin of the story with Artapanos, thinks that the names were due to a mistaken reading (ינאי and ינאי in Gen. 14:13 (see MAMRE)). He cites also 1 Mace. 9:36, οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰαμβρίν (Iambri [N*]), Ἀμύριμ [N*+], ἐκ Μηδαβῆ, Medeba being situate in the old land of the Amorites (Z.H.T., '94, p. 325). See JAMBRI. (Iselin gives a useful collection of the Syriac occurrences of the names.) Geiger (*Urschr.* 474), using the same passage in 1 Mace., regards the names as Maccabæan, 'Jambres' alluding to the 'sons of Jambri' (but the reading thus assumed is very doubtful), and Jannes the inhabitants of Jamnia. These national enemies gave the names to the opponents of Moses. Levy (*Chald. B.B.*, s.v. ינאי) suggests that John the Baptist and Jesus were meant. Kohut (*Aruch Completum*, s.v. ינאי and ינאי) compares the Persian demons, Janaya and Vyambura. Jastrow suggests Januarius and Janus. Such suggestions are mere guesses. Levy's theory that Mamre was chosen because of its meaning 'Apostate,' has, however, found considerable acceptance. So too, it is easy to connect ינאי with the Rabbinical ינאי, 'to vex or mislead.'

Of the Jewish statements about Jannes and Jambres, the only features that seem ancient are the bare names.

3. Jewish References. In the Talmud (*Menach.* 85a) Johanan and Mamre, thinking that Moses is a magician like themselves (so Koran 28), retort, 'Dost thou bring corn or straw to Afraim?' (evidently a city where corn abounded; perhaps a town in Samaria; Neub. *Gloss.* 155). The Jer. Targ. makes Jannes and Jambres sons of Balaam, who advised the prevention of the birth of Moses (Ex. 1:15), opposed

¹ On the other hand JANNÆUS (ינאי), ינאי, is a contraction of Jonathan.

² [est et alia magices factio a Mose et Janne et Lotape ac Judeis pendens.]

³ [Carinondas vel Damigeron, vel is Moses, vel Jannes, vel Apollonius vel ipse Pardonius, vel quicumque alius . . . inter magos celebratus est.]

⁴ [For a similar proverb cp FISH, § 7.]

¹ B has יאנאי for 'Persia' in Judith 17.

² Cp *Bab. mesit'a*, 85 b: *Midr. r.* on Eccles. 9:10.

³ Schür. *Hist.* 1295 f.

⁴ *Ibid.* 300.

JANOAH

him in Egypt (711), and accompanied Balaam on his journey to Balak (Nu. 22.22). These statements are not real traditions; they are built up from words in the text, after the manner of Midrash. According to some Midrashim, James and Jambres perished in the Red Sea (Mid. *Targum*), according to others they joined the Israelites among the 'mixed multitude' (*Tanchuma* to Ex. 32.1), and died in the tumult after the incident of the golden calf (*Yalkut Rinkenti*). The *Zohar* (13th cent.) has several references to James and Jambres, but they are of no antiquity. The fullest consecutive narrative is to be found in the *Sépher Hayashar* (11th or 12th cent.).

See I. Abrahams, 'The Rod of Moses,' in 'Papers of Jews' College Lit. Soc.,' 1887. For further Christian references, which, like the Jewish, add nothing authentic to Timothy, cp Schürer, *loc. cit.*

JANOAH (יָנוֹחַ), 'resting-place'?—but see below).

1. **AV Janohah.** A point on the eastern border of Ephraim (Josh. 16.6 f.; *אֲנוּחָא, מֵאֲנוּחָא* (?)—in Josh. 16.7 *אֲנוּחָא*—[B], *אֲנוּחָא* [A], *יָנוּחָא* [L]). According to the *Onomasticon* (267.59 133.20) it lay 12 R.m. E. of Neapolis, in AKRAHATINE; the definition is almost exact (E. should be SE.). It is mod. *K'h. Yānun* (see Guérin, *Sum.* 26 f.; Rob. *RR* 4.297). On a rocky hill to the SE. is the praying-place of *Abiy Nun*. It was not uncommon to give the ancient names of ruined towns to supposed Moslems; in the present instance, however, *Yānun* has become the prophet Nūn. Here, no doubt, was the chief high place of Janohah.

2. A town in N. Israel, depopulated by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 15.29, *אֲנוּחָא* [B], *אֲנוּחָא* [A]). It is mentioned between Abel-beth-maacah and Kedesh, and has been identified by Guérin (*Gal.* 2.371 f.) with Humin (famous for its old fortress and for its view), and with more plausibility by Conder with *Yanah*, a village 6 m. E. of Tyre (*PERM* 1.51.66). Apparently Janohah was a frontier city towards the Syrian territory. The present writer has conjectured (*Acad.*, July 6, '96) that it is the city of Yenu'am, which is mentioned in the Israel-inscription of Menneptah and elsewhere in the Egyptian records, and appears in one of the Amarna letters as Yinnanima (Wi. 1428). In the letter referred to some one reports to the king of Egypt that this city 'has fallen away and buried the gate behind him.' Yenu'am must have been a rich town, for Thothmes III. endowed the temple of Amun at Thebes with an annual sum to be paid by this and two other cities (Brugsch, *GA* 329). There is an Egyptian picture given by Rosellini and W. M. Müller which shows its position. It lay by a small lake, and was surrounded by forests in which the conquered enemies took refuge. It is difficult to think that such an important place-name as Yenu'am or Yinnanima has not (like other equally ancient names) survived.

According to the theory here adopted, Yenu'am is not a compound of *נָנוּחַ* (נָנוּחַ, Honimel; cp Yinnanima), but is equivalent to *נָנוּחַ*. In Kings this name was shortened into *ינוּחַ* (Janohah), just as *יֵפְתָה* (Jephthah) is shortened from *יֵפְתָה*. That *נ* before *י* is not reproduced in the Egyptian form Yenu'am need not surely surprise us; it would have been very troublesome to an Egyptian to pronounce the name accurately. The alternative explanation *נָנוּחַ* (E. Meyer, *Z. ITH* 6.7) is philologically less probable. Clermont-Ganneau's identification of Yenu'am with the southern town of Naamah of Josh. 15.41 (*Rec. Arch.* 29.127) is also linguistically improbable. Naville (*Rec. de travaux*, 20 [98]) seeks for the site near Gezer, and would even identify it with Jabneel; but this, too, seems unlikely.

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JANUM, RV *Janim* (יָנִים Kt., יָנִים Kr.; Josh. 15.41; *ΙΕΜΑΕΙΝ* [B], *ΙΑΝΟΥΜ* [A]), an unidentified locality in the hill-country of Judah, in the neighbourhood of BETH-TAPPUAH. Read perhaps יָנִים, 'Janin.'

JAPHETH (יָפֶֿתֿ); *ΙΑΦΕΘ* (BADEL), son of Noah

יָפֶֿתֿ, 'to dwell,' is doubtful. Hab. 2.5 and Ps. 68.13 [14] are corrupt.

JAPHIA

(Gen. 5.32, etc.—see HAM), and ancestor of the peoples N. and W. of Palestine (Gen. 10.2-5, P).

1. **References.** That he was generally regarded as Noah's youngest son is shown by the constant order of the three brothers, and is in harmony with 10.21, where *G* is not to be followed (see *SHOT*, and cp Bu. *Urgesch.* 304 f.). It is true that in 9.24 'his youngest son' means Ham, or rather Canaan (see HAM 1.), and that the narrative 9.20-27 belongs no doubt to an earlier stratum of narrative than the other passages; but the narrow sense in which Shem, Japheth, and Ham are used here was abandoned by later writers, who made Japheth the youngest son, and the ancestor of remote northern peoples. In the early narrative Japheth (if we suppose that he was really mentioned in it) may represent the Phœnicians (so Bu.), who are to be distinguished from the Canaanites, though they dwelt in the land of Canaan. Wellhausen (*CH* 15) less plausibly suggests the Philistines. It is very probable, however, that the mention of Japheth (v. 23) and the accompanying blessing (v. 27) are later insertions. The words 'he shall dwell in the tents of Shem' may conceivably allude to the conquests of the Greeks, 'Shem' being taken in the later enlarged sense (Duhm's suggestion, adopted by Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten*, 76 f., 198). The narrative gains considerably by the omission of Japheth. The division of the world into three parts caused the troublesome insertion.

In explaining the name it is well to follow the analogy of Shem, which was doubtless a personal name. Japheth (יָפֶֿתֿ) is usually explained in accordance with Gen. 9.27, 'Let God enlarge (יָפַת) Japheth.'

2. **Meaning of the name.** It seems unlikely, however, that a stem so unusual in this sense as *יָפַת* (*pathah*) would have been chosen. Since the names Shem, Canaan, Japheth, are doubtless older than the poetic oracles, and there are other cases in which we may hold that old names have become mutilated (cp SHEM, HAM, NOAH), it is not too bold to suppose that *יָפַת* is a fragmentary form of *יָפֶֿתֿ* (*yiphthah*), 'God opens' (cp the old name Japhthi-Addi in *Am. Tab.*). *יָפַת* (*pathah*) is a word well adapted for legendary heroes (see JEPHTHAH), and 'enlargement' is a blessing equally fit for the Phœnicians and for the father of so many races as Japheth, one of which was the conquering Javan. First's and Budde's explanation, 'beauty,' from *יָפֶֿתֿ* (*yiphthah*), accepted by D. S. Margoliouth (*Hastings' DB* 2.546), is not in accordance with analogy, and is rightly rejected by Mann.

Of quite another order is the theory of E. Meyer, who connects Japheth with the name Kaft, in hieroglyphic texts = Cilicia. *Idætoros* is a Cilician deity; see PHOENICIA, and cp CAPHTOR, §§ 3, 4.

Kaft and Asi—i.e., Cilicia and Cyprus—represented the western quarter of the world to the Egyptians. But the mutilation of Kaft into Yaft is improbable, and we expect a purely personal name. Sanskrit comparisons (Lenormant, *Origines*, ii. 191 f.) are nowadays discredited.

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JAPHIA (יָפִיָּה), a border city of Zebulun, mentioned between Daberath (*Daburiyeh*) and Gath-hepher (*el-Meshhed*); Josh. 19.12.

G's readings are *יָפִיָּה* [B], *יָפִיָּה* [A], *יָפִיָּה* [L]; Eus. (*chron.*) gives *יָפֶֿתֿ* with an appended *θ* as in *יָפֶֿתֿθ*; Jer. *Iafthie* (Vg. *Iaphie*).

The pretty village of *Yāfi*, 1½ m. SW. of Nazareth, is its representative; the phrase 'goeth up to Japhia' is sufficiently explained by the position of *Yāfi* on two connected ridges, to which a ravine leads up. The one historical association to which this city can lay claim is its siege and capture by the Romans. The name which Josephus gives it is *Japha* (יָפָא); he calls it 'a very great village, well secured with walls and full of people' (*J. 1.45*). He also says that he fortified it with a double wall, and for some time made it his headquarters.

That in one passage Josephus diminishes the distance between

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Japha (Japhia) and Jotapata¹ is as much or as little of an objection to Robinson's identification as his patent exaggeration of the number of the inhabitants of Japha (*Bf* iii. 731). Eusebius (*OS* 287.69; cp 138.32) appears to hesitate between the claims of an 'ascent (still) called Joppa' and those of Sycaminon (פפא = *Jaf/a*).² Perhaps the village of *Jaf/a* had almost disappeared in his day. It was in Robinson's time but a small village of about thirty houses (*BR* 3.200).

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JAPHIA (יָפִיָּה), § 64, 'tall of stature'; יִפְיָה [L].

1. King of Lachish, defeated by Joshua; Josh. 10.3 (יִפְיָה [B]). Cp the name of Japhia, prince of Gazer, *Am. Tab.* 204, 206; also that of Japhi-Addi (see JAPHETH, § 2), also in *Am. Tab.*

2. A son of David; 2 S. 5.15; 1 Ch. 3.7.146 (יִפְיָה, יִפְיָהוּ [B]), אִפְיָה [A in 2 S.]; L. יִפְיָה, יִפְיָה (1 S.), אִפְיָה (1 Ch. 3.7), יִפְיָה, יִפְיָה (ib. 14). See DAVID, § 11 (d).

JAPHLET (יָפִלֶת), § 53; '[God] delivers'; cp Pelatiah; יִפְלָח, אֶפְלָח, יִפְלָח [B], יִפְלָח [L]. A clan in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 7.32 f.; cp JAPHLETH.

JAPHLETH, RV The Japhletites (יָפִלֶתִּים; אֶפְלָתִים [B], יִפְלָתִים [L]), a clan whose district was on the S. border of Ephraim (Josh. 16.3). There is thus no geographical objection to connecting the name with that of Palti b. Raphu, the Benjamite. The Asherite clan called Japhlet was, of course, distinct.

JAPHO (יָפֹה), 2 Ch. 2.16 [15] EV^{ms}, EV JOPPA.

JAR (יָר), Jer. 13.12 48.12, RV^{ms}. See BOTTLE, § 2.

JARAH (יָרָה), 1 Ch. 9.42. See JHODADAH.

JAREB (יָרֵב; יִרְעִים [BAQ*], יִרְעִים [Q*]; *YAREB*, -*RA*), the name of an Assyrian (?) king mentioned twice in Hosea (5.13 10.6) as receiving tribute from Israel. Unfortunately there is no Assyrian king contemporary with Hosea whose name bears even a distant resemblance to Jareb. Hence most critics take Jareb to be a nickname = 'the contentious' (cp Aq. *δικασόμενος*, 5.13. Aq., Theod. *δικάζοντες*, Symm. *ἐπεμαχόμενοι*, 10.6). This would be plausible only if Jareb resembled some Assyrian name, so that its reference might at once be caught. Hence the present writer proposed³ to change יָרֵב into יָרֵךְ, 'the Great King' (cp Ps. 48.2 [3]), or יָרֵךְ, 'the High King' (cp *Q^{ms}*). But since it has been shown by Winckler that references to the N. Arabian land of Musri (see MIZRAIM, § 2d) underlie the traditional text of many passages in OT, and that יָרֵךְ has probably sometimes (by corruption) taken the place of יָרֵב, we cannot rest satisfied with this theory. Probably we should read in Hos. 5.13 and 10.6 respectively—When Ephraim saw his sickness [and Israel his wound, Then went Ephraim to Musri [and [Israel] sent to the Arabian king.

That too shall men bring to Musri [as a present to the Arabian king.

The substitution of 'Israel' for 'Judah' need not be justified here (cp HOS. 5.13). יָרֵךְ should probably be יָרֵב; יָרֵב in Palestine, like *mat Arbu* in Assyria, was coming into use as a term for N. Arabia (cp Schr. *KAT* 2, 414 = *COF* 2.136 f.). The treatment of 'Jareb' in *KAT* 2, 419 (= *COF* 2.136 f.) may also be consulted though it is necessarily incomplete. For quite recent views see note 3 below.

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JARED, or, as AV 1 Ch., JERED (יָרֵד), Gen. 5.15-29

1 Ch. 1.2 Lk. 3.37. See CAINITES, § 7; SETHITES.

On the meaning of the name, see Bu. *Urgesch.* 110. The readings are: יָרֵד [HAD], יָרֵד [Gen. 5.15 f. E, 18 AE; Lk. 3.37 Ti. WH]; *Jared*, cod. Am. *etc.*

¹ His words in *Bl* iii. 713 are *ἐνὶ τῇ τῶν τῆς Ἰσραήλ ἐστὶν πόλει, ἡ ἵαφα καλεῖται*. The order of the places in *Tit.* 37, *Bf* 206, is in closer accordance with geographical facts.

² So Reland, *Pal.* 226, followed by Ges. *Thes.* 2.15. ³ Che. *Expos.* 576, p. 164, and, virtually, McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. and Mon.* 1415 (1911). Independently W. Al. Müller gives the same view: he prefers, however, יָרֵךְ, the phrase being treated as a proper name (*ZATW* 334 ff. [1911]). Wi. (*Musri*, etc., 32 [1911]), with great ingenuity, proposes to read יָרֵךְ, 'to the King of Jathrib'—i.e., mod. Medina, which seems to have been on the southern border of Musri (cp Hommel, *AHT* 271). An alternative is to read יָרֵךְ, 'Nimrod'; see *SBOT* 'Isa.' (Heb.) 195.

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JARESIAS, RV Jareshiah (יָרֵשִׁיָּה), § 39; meaning obscure; יִרְעִיָּה and יִרְעִיָּה [B], יִרְעִיָּה K. *CAAPIA* [A], *EPICIA* [L], b. Jeroham in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8.27 f.

JARHA (יָרְחָה, יִרְחָה [B]), יִרְעִיָּה [L], יִרְעִיָּה [Ald.], and 8 MSS. in II. P., יִרְחָה [Pesh.], *IB. 114* [Vg.]), the servant of SHESHAN (*q.v.*), a Jerahmeelite, who afterwards became his master's son-in-law and the head of a long genealogical line (1 Ch. 2.34 f.); see JERAHMEEL, § 3. He is generally regarded as an Egyptian (EV)—the Rabbins, indeed, represent him as a proselyte. This view is of course legitimate, but considering the probable early seat of the clan Jerahmeel, it is perhaps more natural to treat יָרְחָה as meaning rather an inhabitant of the N. Arabian Musri or Musur (see MIZRAIM, § 2d).²

We cannot retain the present spelling of the name יָרְחָה. It would be plausible to read יָרְחָה or יָרְחָה (the latter a Palmyrene name), or, better still, יָרְחָה (after *Q^{ms}* *YARHA*). A connection with moon-worship need not be insisted upon; perhaps the name was considered to be identical with Jerahmeel (as an abbreviated form). This would account for the presence of the ancestral list, 1 Ch. 2.34-41, in the genealogy of Jerahmeel, since it is probable that Sheshan himself was not originally Jerahmeelite. His inclusion in *q.v.* 31 (the details of which do not agree with *q.v.* 34a) may be later. The union of the Musrite Jarha (Jerahmeel) and Sheshan (cp the Hebronite Sheshai) is suggestive. See HEBRON, § 1 f.; JERAHMEEL, § 2 f.; SHESHAN, S. A. C.

JARIB (יָרִיב), § 53; 'he [God] contends'; cp Jehoiarib, Jolarib; יָרִיב [B] [AL.]).

1. A son of Simeon, elsewhere called JACRIN (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 4.24 (יָרִיב [B], יָרִיב [L]).

2. Head of family temp. Ezra (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1 d]); Ezra 8.16 (יָרִיב [B]) = 1 Esd. 8.44 JORIBUS (יָרִיב [BA om. L]). Perhaps = no. 3.

3. A priest in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end); Ezra 10.18 (יָרִיב [B], יָרִיב [R]) = 1 Esd. 9.19 JORIBUS (יָרִיב [BA]).

4. (יָרִיב [ARV]), 1 Macc. 14.29, RV JOARIB. See JHODARIB.

JARIMOTH (יָרִימוֹת [BAL]), 1 Esd. 9.28 = Ezra 10.27, JEREMOTH, 11.

JARMUTH (יָרְמוֹת; cp JEREMOTH, יִרְמֹת [AFL], יִרְעִיָּה [B]), 1. A Canaanite city, in the Shephelah of Judah (Josh. 12.11 *יִרְמוֹת* [A] 15.35; cp Neh. 11.29, where BSA om., *יִרְמוֹת* [N. a. m. inf.]), whose king joined the coalition under ADONI-ZEDEK, and was defeated by Joshua (Josh. 10.3 5.23 12.11). It is represented by the modern *Khirbet el Yarmuk*, which is 16 m. W. by S. of Jerusalem, and about 8 m. N. of Beit-Jibrin. The distance from Eleutheropolis, which the *Onomasticon* (*OS* 2, 132.31 266.38) assigns to *יִרְמוֹת* or *Yarmukha* (10 R.m. NE.), being so nearly that of Yarmuk from Beit-Jibrin, we are justified in identifying the places. It is remarkable that the closing letter of the modern name should agree with that of the name in the *Onomasticon*. Such a form, however, as Jarmuk cannot well be ancient; Micah already (it may be) attests the final -th (see MAROTH). The same prophet, too, in Mi. 1.12, if we may read יִרְמוֹת for יִרְמוֹת (see MAROTH), indicates that Jarmuth was in the neighbourhood of Maresah, or, at any rate, the assumption that a city called Jarmuth stood there enables us to attain a better text for the passage than we can secure in any other way. We have certainly no reason to suppose that the Jarmuth of the OT narratives was the Varimuta of the Amarna Tablets (55.16, and often), the position of which is disputed (see Niebuhr, *MIG* 4.32 ff. [1906]). Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, 169 f.). In Josh. 15.35 Jarmuth is mentioned with Adullam, and the other notices accord with this. There were possibly several Jarmuths. Can we thus account for the discrepant notice

¹ WMM (*OLZ*, Feb. 1900, col. 51 n. 4) takes the name to be correct Egyptian; *Yarmuth*, 'great.'

² The same view has been proposed also by Wi. *MVG* 46 [1908].

JAROA

of *Iaβeis* (?) = Jarmuth in OS 266: 132: 16? Cp BITHIAH, MERED, PIRAM.

2. See RAMOTH III.

JAROA (יָרֹא), § 53 = יָרֹא, 'He enlarges' (?); יָרֹא [B], ΔΔ. [A], ΔΡΟΥΕ [L], in a genealogy of GAD (Gilead) (1 Ch. 5: 14).

JASAE RV *Jasaelus* (ΔΑΗΛΟΣ [BA]). 1 Esd. 9: 30 = Ezra 10: 29, SITHAL.

JASHEN (יָשֵׁן). In 2 S. 23: 32, in the list of David's thirty heroes we read (RV), 'Eliahba the Shualbonite, the sons of Jashen, Jonathan' (אֶסָן [BA], יֶסָסִים וְיֹנָתָן [L], βασαι δ γωνι [243, in Field]); in the parallel text (1 Ch. 11: 33 f.), '... the sons of Hashem the Gizonite' (יֶסָסִים וְיֹנָתָן; אֶסָסִים δ γωνι [cp G¹ of 2 S.], אֶסָסִים δ γωνι). יָשֵׁן (MIT, יָשֵׁן, 'sons of') is obviously wrong. It is simply dittographed from the preceding word (so Driver and most), or should יָשֵׁן be viewed as a corruption of a proper name (so H. P. Smith)? In the former case we might read, '... Jashen (or Hashem) the GUNITE' (see GUN); in the latter יָשֵׁן would be a plausible restoration. Jonathan is generally taken as a separate hero, and connected with Shammah (v. 33) by יָשֵׁן (inserted from Ch.); but, as H. P. Smith points out, יָשֵׁן may be the corruption of a gentilic. Cp HAHSEM. T. K. C.

JASHER RV *Jashar*. Book of (יֶשֶׁר הַיָּשָׁר, 'book of the upright'; cp EY¹), the title of an ancient song-book twice quoted in the OT (Josh. 10: 13; B¹ om., B² B³ B⁴ B⁵ B⁶ B⁷ B⁸ B⁹ B¹⁰ B¹¹ B¹² B¹³ B¹⁴ B¹⁵ B¹⁶ B¹⁷ B¹⁸ B¹⁹ B²⁰ B²¹ B²² B²³ B²⁴ B²⁵ B²⁶ B²⁷ B²⁸ B²⁹ B³⁰ B³¹ B³² B³³ B³⁴ B³⁵ B³⁶ B³⁷ B³⁸ B³⁹ B⁴⁰ B⁴¹ B⁴² B⁴³ B⁴⁴ B⁴⁵ B⁴⁶ B⁴⁷ B⁴⁸ B⁴⁹ B⁵⁰ B⁵¹ B⁵² B⁵³ B⁵⁴ B⁵⁵ B⁵⁶ B⁵⁷ B⁵⁸ B⁵⁹ B⁶⁰ B⁶¹ B⁶² B⁶³ B⁶⁴ B⁶⁵ B⁶⁶ B⁶⁷ B⁶⁸ B⁶⁹ B⁷⁰ B⁷¹ B⁷² B⁷³ B⁷⁴ B⁷⁵ B⁷⁶ B⁷⁷ B⁷⁸ B⁷⁹ B⁸⁰ B⁸¹ B⁸² B⁸³ B⁸⁴ B⁸⁵ B⁸⁶ B⁸⁷ B⁸⁸ B⁸⁹ B⁹⁰ B⁹¹ B⁹² B⁹³ B⁹⁴ B⁹⁵ B⁹⁶ B⁹⁷ B⁹⁸ B⁹⁹ B¹⁰⁰ B¹⁰¹ B¹⁰² B¹⁰³ B¹⁰⁴ B¹⁰⁵ B¹⁰⁶ B¹⁰⁷ B¹⁰⁸ B¹⁰⁹ B¹¹⁰ B¹¹¹ B¹¹² B¹¹³ B¹¹⁴ B¹¹⁵ B¹¹⁶ B¹¹⁷ B¹¹⁸ B¹¹⁹ B¹²⁰ B¹²¹ B¹²² B¹²³ B¹²⁴ B¹²⁵ B¹²⁶ B¹²⁷ B¹²⁸ B¹²⁹ B¹³⁰ B¹³¹ B¹³² B¹³³ B¹³⁴ B¹³⁵ B¹³⁶ B¹³⁷ B¹³⁸ B¹³⁹ B¹⁴⁰ B¹⁴¹ B¹⁴² B¹⁴³ B¹⁴⁴ B¹⁴⁵ B¹⁴⁶ B¹⁴⁷ B¹⁴⁸ B¹⁴⁹ B¹⁵⁰ B¹⁵¹ B¹⁵² B¹⁵³ B¹⁵⁴ B¹⁵⁵ B¹⁵⁶ B¹⁵⁷ B¹⁵⁸ B¹⁵⁹ B¹⁶⁰ B¹⁶¹ B¹⁶² B¹⁶³ B¹⁶⁴ B¹⁶⁵ B¹⁶⁶ B¹⁶⁷ B¹⁶⁸ B¹⁶⁹ B¹⁷⁰ B¹⁷¹ B¹⁷² B¹⁷³ B¹⁷⁴ B¹⁷⁵ B¹⁷⁶ B¹⁷⁷ B¹⁷⁸ B¹⁷⁹ B¹⁸⁰ B¹⁸¹ B¹⁸² B¹⁸³ B¹⁸⁴ B¹⁸⁵ B¹⁸⁶ B¹⁸⁷ B¹⁸⁸ B¹⁸⁹ B¹⁹⁰ B¹⁹¹ B¹⁹² B¹⁹³ B¹⁹⁴ 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JASHOBEAM

lack of religious feeling), partly religious (1 K. 8 12 f.); it refers, e.g., to the battle at Gibeon and the prowess of Saul and Jonathan, but also to the temple. Indeed, we may presume that the third of the extant passages belonged to a hymn to Yhwh. Nor could we venture to say that the Book of Jashar contained no pre-Davidic songs. Not improbably it was similar in the width of its range to the Arabian collections of *El Isfahny* or the *Hamasa*. Probably the songs of which it was composed had short historical introductions, so that altogether it may have almost served as an *Iliad* of the Israelites. Can we form a reasonable conjecture as to its other contents? Surely such a collection must have contained David's (?) Lament over Abner (2 S. 333 f.), and among earlier passages, the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5), the Song of the Well (Nu. 21 17 f., see BEER), and the Song of Triumph over Sihon (ib. 17, 27 f.; but see WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF). One might even perhaps add the songs of the primitive history, such as we find in Gen. 423 f. 925 27-29 39 f. etc.). Franke (who ascribes the book to the time of Hezekiah¹) includes also Ex. 151-18 and Hab. 3; but see EXODUS II, § 6; MOSES, HABAKKUK, § 8 f.

In later Christian times 'the Book of Jashar' is the title of a ritualistic treatise by Jacob b. Meir (died 1171), and of one or two forgeries which are only remarkable for the undeserved success they obtained; for a more detailed account of them see KILTO, *Rib. Cycl.*, xiv. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2; and POETICAL LITERATURE, § 2 (i).

S. A. C. §§ 1, 3, 4; T. K. C., § 2.

JASHOBEAM (יִשְׁבֶּעַם). 1 The name, not indeed in itself impossible but certainly corrupt, borne by one of David's chief warriors in 1 Ch. II 11 (where he is called 'ben Hachmoni'; see HACHMONITE) and 272 f. (where he is styled 'ben Zabdiel'). The former passage occurs again with variations in 2 S. 238, where the name of the warrior is represented in the Hebrew text by the letters יִשְׁבֶּעַם—i.e., ISHBŠ; the appended letters בֶּם probably represent בִּי, which should be connected with the following word חַכְמֹנִי (corrupt; RV 'a Talichemonite').

For the JOSH-BASSHERETH of RV (= AV 'that sat in the seat'), derived from the pointed text, nothing can be said, except that it justifies the warning in RVmg. that 'the verse is probably corrupt.'

ISHBŠ seems to be incompletely written for ISHBŠT; originally there may have been a mark of abbreviation after the Š. This may be read either Jashibosheth ('Bosheth brings back'), or, better, if the second B be regarded as an error, Ishbosheth ('man of Bosheth'), where Bosheth ('shame') is the well-known substitute for Baal. The final ש in יִשְׁבֶּעַם is either a corruption from ש (which is paleographically possible), or, as Marquart (*Fund.* 15, n. 1) supposes, an intentional alteration due to religious scruple (he compares יִרְבֶּעַם, altered perhaps from יִרְבֶּעַל; see JEROBOAM). See ISHBAAL, 2, and ep Gray, *HPV* 46, note 1.

Š's readings are: in 2 S. 238 יִשְׁבֶּעַם [B], יִשְׁבֶּעַם [A], יִשְׁבֶּעַם [L]; in 1 Ch. II 11 יִשְׁבֶּעַם [B], יִשְׁבֶּעַם [A], יִשְׁבֶּעַם [L]; in 1 Ch. II 272 יִשְׁבֶּעַם [B], יִשְׁבֶּעַם [A], יִשְׁבֶּעַם [L].

2. Another of David's warriors, a Korhite (1 Ch. 126), see ISHBAAL, 3, and David, § 11a (iii).

T. K. C.

JASHUB (יָשׁוּב), 'he returns,' § 54; cp SHEAR-

JASHUB; יָשׁוּב [BAFL].

1. One of the sons of Issachar (Nu. 2624 יָשׁוּב [F*]; but 1 Ch. 71 יָשׁוּב [B], called in Gen. 4613 (by omission of a letter) JON, RV JON [B]; יָשׁוּב [A], יָשׁוּב [DL]; see NAMES, § 4. Gentile Jashubites; Nu. 2624 (יָשׁוּב; יָשׁוּב [B]).

2. One of the blue Bani in the list of those with foreign wives (EZRA 1, § 5 end) EZRA 1020 (יָשׁוּב [B], יָשׁוּב [A]) = 1 Esd. 930 (JASUBS; יָשׁוּב [BA]).

JASHUBI-LEHEM (יָשׁוּבִי לֶחֶם), a name of anomalous formation which appears in 1 Ch. 422 among the descendants of the Judahite SHELAI [q.v.].

¹ Ueber Bedeutung, Inhalt, u. Alter des Sepher Hujaschar, Halle, '87.

JASON

Bertheau, Kautsch (doubtfully). Kittel read יִשְׁכָּן בֵּית לֶחֶם, 'and they returned to Bethlehem'; but the whole passage is as obscure as the 'records' themselves are said to be 'ancient.' Provisionally we might read at the beginning of the verse יָשׁוּבִי לֶחֶם . . . מִן הַיָּם (for יָשׁוּבִי לֶחֶם). Ⓢ has καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς [BA], καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θάλασσας [L]; and Jerome translates 'et qui reversi sunt in Iahem [Bethlehem], taking the words as applying to those named in the preceding clause.' S. A. C.

JASIEL (יָסִיֵּאל), 1 Ch. II 47, RV JAASIEL.

JASON ([ε]ἰσαῶν [ANY], JASON, a name of Grecian origin in frequent use among the Jews, by whom it was regarded as equivalent to Joshua, Jeshua, Jesus; cp the parallel Alcimus from Ethikim, Menelaus from Menahem, Simon from Simeon, and see NAMES, § 86).

1. Of Tyrene, a Hellenistic Jew, author of a history of the times of the Maccabees down to the victory over Nicanor (175-164). Our so-called second book of Maccabees is an ἐπιτομή of this larger work, which is said to have consisted of five books (2 Macc. 23, cp 26). The writer probably lived in the second half of the second century B.C. See further MACCABEES, SECOND, §§ 2, 6; and cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 18.

2. Second son of Simon II., and brother of Onias III., the high priest, whose original name was, as Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 51) relates, Jesus. He represented the Hellenizing section, and was opposed to the policy of an alliance with Rome. By means of a bribe (helped also doubtless by the sons of Tobias) he managed in 175 B.C. to obtain the high-priesthood in place of his brother from Antiochus Epiphanes (see ANTIOCHUS, 2);¹ and proceeded to introduce various practices which were an 'abomination' to the Pharisaism of the time.² Another bribe procured him permission to set up a gymnasium and *ephebeum* below the Acropolis and hard by Mt. Zion, the consequence of which was the adoption of Greek games (see DISCUS), Greek caps (see CAP), etc. The priests themselves betook themselves eagerly to the *palestra*, and being ashamed of their Jewish singularity did all they could to conceal it (1 Macc. 115, cp Schür. *GT* 1151, n. 24, and see CIRCUMCISION, § 8). At the same time, Jason obtained permission to register (ἀναγράφειν) the inhabitants of Jerusalem among the citizens of Antioch³ (2 Macc. 49), and sent a contribution to Tyre on the occasion of the festival to HERCULES [q.v.]. This, however, was so repugnant to the bearers that they used the money for the equipment of the triremes (2 Macc. 418-20). An obscure account of a visit of Antiochus to Jerusalem (ib. 21 f.) is all that is told us for the next three years, at the expiration of which time Jason was suddenly supplanted in the priesthood by MENELAUS [q.v.] and forced to flee. Menelaus, however, failed to win popularity, and the appearance of certain dread portents⁴ as well as a baseless rumour of the death of Antiochus encouraged Jason to emerge from his asylum in Ammanitis (cp 426). Helped by the populace, he captured the city (ca. 170 B.C.). Menelaus was compelled to take refuge in the citadel. But his success was of short duration; he missed his great object—the priesthood—and, having alienated his supporters by his vindictiveness, was forced to flee before Antiochus. From the Ammonites, he passed to Aretas, and then to Egypt; finally he crossed over to the Lacedaemonians, relying, we are told, on the kinship between them and the Jews (see SPARTA). An effective rhetorical period (59 f.) closes his story.

3. Son of Eleazar (cp ¹ Jesus, son of Sirach *Eleazar*; Eccles. 5027), sent by Judas to Rome (1 Macc. 817). He is probably

¹ According to Jos. (*Ant.* xii. 51) he was the natural successor, Onias having died, and left only an infant son.

² He is probably referred to in Dan. 920 1122, where see Revan *ant. loc.* and cp We. *JG* 245, n. 1.

³ Cp the similar case of Ptolemais (Akko), and see Schür. *op. cit.* 218. Other explanations of this verse have been offered; see Bertheau, *Stellung d. Isr. u. Jud.* 208.

⁴ Warlike troops were seen in the sky (2 Macc. 52); cp 2 K. 617, Jos. *BJ* vi. 52 and Tac. *Hist.* 513.

JASPER

the Jason who is mentioned as the father of ANTIPATER (q.v.) (1 Macc. 12.16.14.22).

4. Jason of Thessalonica, who, for his hospitality to Paul and Silas, was attacked by the Jewish mob, brought before the magistrates, and bound over to be loyal (Acts 17.1-9). For a less probable view of the object of the demand of the 'security' (το ικανόν) see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 231. He may possibly be identified with the Jason of Rom. 16.21, one of Paul's 'kinsmen' (συγγενεῖς)—i.e., a fellow-Jew; cp ROMANS, 16.4, 10. The tradition in pseudo-Dorotheus makes Jason bishop of Tarsus.

JASPER (ΙΑΣΠΙΣ, borrowed from Ass. *asû, yašû* = *yasû* or *yasû*). In Rev. 21.11 (cp 13.4) the New Jerusalem is said to be irradiated by a luminary 'like a stone most precious, as if a jasper-stone, clear as crystal' (λίθῳ ἱάσπιδι κρυστάλλινῳ).
The description is suggested by B's rendering of Is. 54.12 (see below). I will make thy basements Jasper (ιασπίς), and thy gates stones of crystal (ἀποὺς κρυστάλλου), and thy rampart choice stones (ἀπὸ ἐλεκτῶν), where the writer of Rev. seems to have supposed that both the phrases 'stones of crystal' and 'choice stones' were synonymous with and explanatory of 'jasper' (see, however, TOLAN).

In Ex. 28.20.39.13, *yasû, yašû* (= *iaspis*) is apparently rendered in B by *onyxion* (but see below); but the onyx, not being a clear stone, cannot be meant in Rev. 21.11. Nor can our jasper be intended, as it is not sparkling nor translucent, but 'an opaque, close-grained variety of quartz, variously tinted, but generally either red or brown.' It is probable, however, that the jasper of the ancients included the opal, which, by its brilliance and play of colour, has always been one of the most attractive of precious stones, and in its choicest variety (see Phil. IZV 37.1 f.) deserves in the highest degree the description in Rev. 21.11.

This is the view of O. Fraas, who states that the modern conception of the jasper first became general in the seventeenth century, and that in the *Alte Weltgeschichte* the jasper is represented as clear, and as greener than glass.

The choice opal is said to occur frequently in ancient Egyptian tombs; in particular, a splendid statuette of Isis, made of opal, is referred to.¹ This view is also favoured by the description of the divine king on his throne in Rev. 4.3 as 'like a jasper stone and a sardius,' and by the combination of 'jasper' with 'pure gold' and 'clear glass' in Rev. 21.18. (With the reference to 'jasper' as garnishing the foundation in 2.19, cp Sargon's description (*Ahors*, 150) of the foundation of his palace on gold, silver, and *asû* stones, etc.) See PRECIOUS STONES.

The Heb. *yasû* (= *iaspis*) occurs in Ex. 28.20.39.13, Ezek. 28.13. It is not impossible that the order of the precious stones in B's text was different, and that *onyxion* was intended as the equivalent of *yasû, yašû*, and *iaspis* of *yasû*. Thus B's rendering will become consistent. In Is. 54.12 B's *iaspis* (Symm. *καρυφδόνιον*) seems to be a version of *kasû, kasû* (so Ag., Ezek. 27.16),² but it may be merely a guess, for elsewhere (Ezek. 27.16) B does not recognise this word (see CUALCERNY, 1, end).

T. K. C.

JASUBUS (ΙΑΟΥΒΟC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9.30 = Ezra 10.29. JASHUB, 2.

JATAL (ΑΤΑΡ [A]), 1 Esd. 5.23. AV = Ezra 2.42. ATER, 2.

JATHAN (ΙΑΘΑΝ [BA]) Tob. 5.13 RV. See JONATHAN.

JATHIEL (ΙΑΝΙΗΛ; cp NATHANAEL; ΙΕΝΟΥΗΛ [B.A.], ΝΑΘΑΝΑΗΛ [L]), a Korahite doorkeeper (1 Ch. 26.27).

JATTIR (יַתִּיר; [ε]ιεθερ [B.A.L]), a town in the hill-country of Judah, assigned in P and Ch. to the Levites (Josh. 15.48. *ietep* [L.], 21.14. *aitawu* [B.], 1 Ch. 6.42 [57 in G. 7.43] *ietep* [B.], *ietep* [A.], om. L?), and historically connected in 1 S. 30.27 with the period of David's outlawry (*ietep* [B.]); cp IRA, 3; ITHRITES, JARIZ.

¹ See Kiehm, *HHB* 335b; Calver *Bib.-lex.* 153 a.

² But see Field, *ad loc.*

³ The *ietep* in 1 S. 30.27 appears to be a duplicate of this corruption (cp HEMTAH, SIRMOTH).

JAVAN

It is plain that Jattir must be the modern *Attir* (Rob. BR 2194), which is situated on two knolls 'in an amphitheatre of brown rocky hills, studded with natural caves' (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 388), and is 13 m. S. by W. from Hebron. The change of *y* into *p* in the name is not incapable of explanation; many first have passed into *y*, and then *y* into *p* (Kampffmeyer, ZDPV 16.45). No doubt this is the place intended (OS 119.27.133.134.24.255.73.266.43.268.87) by the 'very large village Jethira, 20 R. m. SE. of Eleuthropolis, in the interior of the Daroma hard by Malatha' (see MOLADANI). In two passages (OS 119.27.255.73) it is assigned to Simeon, perhaps by a confusion with ETHER (q.v.).

JAVAN (יָוָן)—i.e., the Ionians, or the Greeks.

(a) In the Table of Peoples Javan appears as one of the sons of Japheth, and father of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanini or Rodanini, Gen. 10.2-4 (Ch. 1.5.7. *יוון* [BA19E], *יוון* Gen., *יוון* Ch. [L.]). This statement comes from P; it is therefore not pre-exilic. There is in fact no pre-exilic reference to the Greeks, though see on the other side McCurdy (*Hist. Proph.*, III. 1416), who refers to Zech. 9.13, Joel 3.4.16, and even, for a 'not obscure allusion,' to Hos. 11.6. The text of Hos. 11.6, however, is not quite in order; instead of the obscure *יָוָן*, 'from the sea,' we should probably read *יָוָן*, 'from Aram' (cp c).

(b) In Joel 3.4.16 'the sons of the Javanites' (EV Grecians, *τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων* [HRAQ]) are spoken of as purchasing Jewish captives from the Phoenicians and Philistines, but the Persian date of Joel (q.v.) is not often disputed.

(c) In Zech. 9.13 Judah and Ephraim are represented as the instrument of Yahwe's vengeance against the 'sons of Javan' (*בְּנֵי יָוָן*), who are contrasted with 'thy sons, O Zion'.

It is hard, however, to believe that the author of the prophetic composition to which Zech. 9.13 belongs (which, apart from its references to Hadrach, Hamath, etc., would at once appear to be post-exilic) would have mentioned the Greeks; this view seems hardly consistent with the archaizing references. Clearly the writer wishes to produce the illusion of antiquity, and the name 'Javan' would at any rate not be conducive to this. The textual phenomena suggest that *y* is either a corrupt or a mutilated name, or both; the author can scarcely have written *יוון* and then, just after, *יוון*. The scribe who wrote the latter group of letters must have made a slip of the pen, and the true reading probably is *יוון*, 'the sons of Aram' (cp v. 1, and see HADRACH).

(d) In Ezek. 27.13 ('*EMAs* [B. Q.]; Symm. *Ἰωνία*) Javan is described (as in Joel) as engaged in slave-traffic in the market of Tyre; the name stands between Tarshish and Tukul, the latter in Gen. 10.2 Javan's next brother, the former in Gen. 10.4 his second son.

(e) In Is. 66.19 'Javan' ('*EMAs* [B. AQ]) occurs in a gloss enumerating the 'far-off countries' which will hear of Yahwe's future glorious manifestation.

(f) In Dan. 8.21.10.20.11.2 we hear of the 'king,' the 'prince,' and the 'kingdom' of Javan ('*EMAs* [Theod. 87]); the reference is to the Graeco-Macedonian empire—an expansion of the original conception, which identified Javan with the important Ionian colonies in Asia Minor.

(g) The only remaining reference (not counting the imaginary one in Ps. 123.4) is in Ezek. 27.18 (*καὶ οἶνον* [BAQ; Q also has *αιων*, whilst Ag. has *αιων*]), where Javan, with Dan [AV] or Vedan [RV], appears a second time among Tyre's traffickers. 'Dan' and 'Javan,' however, are both corrupt. For *יוון* Cornill ingeniously reads *יוון*, and the passage becomes, 'wine of HELBON [q.v.], and Simin, and Arnaban, they furnished for thy traffic.' But more probably we should read, not 'and Simin and Arnaban,' but 'and wool of Hauran' (see WOOL).

The scantiness of the extant pre-exilic literature does not permit us to deny that the Israelites may have heard of the Ionians from the Phoenicians or the Syrians in pre-exilic times. We may even admit this

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to be probable. The fact, however—if it is a fact—possesses very little significance, unless indeed McCurdy's statement (*Hist. Proph. Mon.* 2418) can be proved, that 'Grecian immigrants had settled in Philistia' in the time of Sargon,¹ and 'formed an influential class in Ashdod.' All, however, that can safely be said is, that the adventurer called Yamani or Yattui, who displaced the king of Ashdod appointed by Sargon, came from Cyprus (see ASHDOD). The real origin of the Assyrian name for Cyprus is obscure; it seems to have been popularly explained as 'the Ionian island.' Whether the upstart who provoked Sargon's wrath was an Ionian or a Phoenician by race, we cannot tell. Still less can we assert that immigrants of the same race as Yamani had settled in Philistia. An original and ingenious view of Flinders Petrie² also deserves mention. This explorer is of opinion that between 607 and 587 B.C. there was a constant intercourse between the men of Judah and the Greek frontier garrison at Tahpanhes (Daphnae). They would thus obtain a far more vivid conception of Ionians than had formerly been possible. The view is not unpalatable, even if we cannot admit that it justifies an early date for Dan. 3.

The Ionians are only once expressly referred to in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions: Sargon calls them 'the Javanites who are in the middle of the sea' (cp 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵), and says that he 'drew them out like fishes' (COT 163; KB 241; Del. Par. 248). It is in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius that we find the next mention of Javan; Darius certainly means by this, not Greece proper, but the Ionian colonies of Asia Minor. The contact of Egypt with the Ionians (Yevan, Yevanu, etc.) began much earlier. The Ionians are referred to by name in the epic of Rameses II. among the allies of the Hittites.

See WMM *As. u. Eur.* 169 ff., and, on the biblical passages, Stade, *Das Volk Javan* (80), reprinted in *Akad. Keilen u. Abhandl.*, 90, pp. 123-142.

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JAVELIN. 1. RV has improved several interesting passages by substituting 'javelin' for AV's 'spear' (e.g., Josh. 8:18-26; Jos. 41:29 [21]). The 𐤐𐤕𐤍, *kidon*, was shorter than the 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *hānith*. In Ecclus. 46:2 RV keeps 'sword' (ῥομφαία); but a version based where possible on the Hebrew text would give 'javelin' (𐤐𐤕𐤍). We now know that Ben Sira quotes accurately from Josh. 8:18. Inconsistently RV gives 'spear' in Jer. 50:42; see Jer. 6:23 (and cp DAGUER, 2). Most lexicographers would support RV's statement that Goliath had 'a javelin of brass between his shoulders' (1 S. 17:6; AV 'shield'). This is really very doubtful (see 5). In Job 39:23, however, 'javelin' rightly takes the place of 'shield' (it is coupled with 'spear').

2. AV also renders 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *hānith* (1 S. 18:10 f. 20:33), and 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *rōmah* (Nu. 25:7), 'javelin'; but RV rightly prefers 'spear.' In Ezek. 39:9 AV reads 'javelins' for 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *makēl*, 'staff,' or rather 'stick' (see STAFF).

3. In Job 41:21 [29] AV's 'darts' (קוצים) is better than RV's 'clubs' (σφυρά). Read 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *tartāh*, 'javelin' = Ass. *tartāhu*, 'leichter Wurfspieß' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 630a). 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *tartāhim*, should also be read in Ps. 55:22 [21] and Mic. 5:16, for 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *ḥānith*, and 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *ḥānith*, as the name of a star (Antares?) in Job 38:36.

4. In Ps. 35:3, 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *āsēp*, 'and stop the way' (EV) should most probably be 𐤕𐤕𐤍, *āsēp*, 'and javelin' (cp RVmg 'battle-axe'). Before giving up a passage like this as hopeless, or venturing on a mere makeshift, it is a duty to refer to the Assyrian vocabulary. Here we find *šukdu*, a synonym of *tartāhu* (Del. *op. cit.* 630 b, 656 n). For a less plausible view see Hal. *Rev. Sem.* 347.

5. In 1 S. 17:6 Klostmann deserves credit for showing that the brazen piece of armour (MT, 𐤕𐤕𐤍, 𐤕𐤕𐤍) between

¹ It is interesting in this connection to note that 𐤕𐤕𐤍 substitutes 𐤕𐤕𐤍 for 'Philistines' in 1 S. 9:12 [11].

² *Nebeshah and Defenck* (Eg. Expl. Fund), 49 f.

³ Aquila renders 𐤕𐤕𐤍 *donis* in Job 41:29 [21] Jer. 6:23; Symmachus in Josh. 8:18 Jer. 6:23.

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Goliath's shoulders, which AV renders 'target' and RV 'javelin,' must have been for defence, not for attack. Exegetical fairness requires us either to endeavour to emend 𐤐𐤕𐤍, or at least to recognise the corruption of the text by putting asterisks instead of a rendering. But 𐤐𐤕𐤍 (Kla.) can hardly mean an oval, concave, metal plate. Possibly 𐤐𐤕𐤍 should be 𐤐𐤕𐤍, and rendered 'protection' (Ass. *kadānu*, 'protection'; see Del. *Ass. HWB* 318 a; Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Del.* 373 a)!

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JAWBONE, 𐤐𐤕𐤍. One of the exploits of Samson is connected in legend with an ass's jawbone, an extemporised weapon. Judg. 15:15 is rendered thus in RV:

And he found a new jawbone of an ass, and put forth his hand, and took it, and smote a thousand men therewith.

An old jawbone would have been too light and brittle for the purpose. Of the punning poetical speech which is attached, the following is a plausible rendering:

With the jawbone of the red one (i.e., an ass) I have reddened them;

With the jawbone of the red one I have smitten a thousand men.

Hence the legend explained the origin of the name Leli. Criticism, however, has to go behind the legend and investigate its origin. Both LELI (q.v.) and Onagathus seem to presuppose a myth which was common to the Danites and the Phoenicians. This myth was probably derived from Babylonian. The mythic weapon of Mirduk (a kind of spear or javelin—i.e., lightning) is described in Creation Tablet, 430 (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 280 f.) as *kakku ti mahra*, 'peerless weapon.' The myth containing this phrase was probably preserved at the sanctuary of Samiān (Beth-shemesh); the popular speech would easily convert it into *lēlī hāmār*. Steinthal has already noted the stress laid on *smiting* the jawbone (cp Ps. 18:14 [15]) in Judg. 15:17.

In 𐤐𐤕𐤍 read 𐤕𐤕𐤍 𐤕𐤕𐤍 (so Moore; cp 𐤕𐤕𐤍). Doorninck and Budde connect the verb 𐤕𐤕𐤍 with Ar. *hamara*, in the sense of 'shave, flay.' But *hamara* also means 'to be red,' and this sense is supported by 𐤕𐤕𐤍 II. (Job 16:16). So Zenger, *Zt. f. Kath. Theol.*, 83, p. 257, comparing Arabic poetical passages in We. *Sitzber.* 1445 and 18813 (84). Moore, however, comparing 𐤕𐤕𐤍, 'heap,' renders 'I have piled them in heaps,' or (SOT) 'I assailed my assailants.'

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JAZER (𐤐𐤕𐤍, 𐤐𐤕𐤍 [1 Ch.], 𐤐𐤕𐤍, or Jazzer (Nu.

21:32 32:35 AV; in 1 Macc. 5:3 𐤐𐤕𐤍 [A] *Jazar*), a place 'of the Jordan, occupied by the Gadites (Nu. 32:35 Josh. 13:25 1 Ch. 6:81 [66], 𐤐𐤕𐤍 [B], 𐤐𐤕𐤍 [A], 𐤐𐤕𐤍 [L]), but previously by the Amorites (Nu. 21:32). It lay on the border towards the land of the Ammonites in a fertile region of pastures and vineyards called 'the land of Jazer,' and had dependent villages (Nu. 21:32 [66] 32:1 is 108 Jer. 48:32), which, like itself, were taken by Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5:7 f., cp Jos. Ant. xii. 81). P idealistically reckons it among the Levitical cities (Josh. 21:9 [37]), and the Chronicler tells of David (1 Ch. 26:31 𐤐𐤕𐤍 [B]; cp 2 S. 24:5 𐤐𐤕𐤍 [B], 𐤐𐤕𐤍 [A], 𐤐𐤕𐤍 [L]).

Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*²) describe it as 10 R. m. W. from Philadelphia, 15 from Heshbon, and as situated at the source of a large stream (μείγιστος ποταμός) which falls into the Jordan. Elsewhere (*OS*² 212:27) Eusebius calls the city Azar, and makes it 8 R. m. W. from Philadelphia. A place with ruins bearing the name of Sār or Sār, which Seetzen discovered in 1808,⁴ is now usually connected with Jazer (so, e.g., Baed. 173. Ges. *Lex. Bib.*, s.v. 𐤐𐤕𐤍; Merrill, in Hastings' *Dict.* 2:558; cp Porter, in Kitto's *Bib. Cycl.*). It is on the S. of the Wādy Šir, on the road leading westward

¹ On the subject of 3:5 see Clie. *JCR* 10:580 f.; *Exp.*, Aug. 98, p. 83 ff.; *Exp.* T 10:522 (Aug. 99).

² Reading 𐤐𐤕𐤍, 'Jazer,' for 𐤕𐤕𐤍 (which does not mean 'fortified'), with 𐤕𐤕𐤍.

³ 'Sea' has intruded into MT before 𐤐𐤕𐤍, 'Jazer,' from the preceding clause. Seetzen need not have looked about for a 'sea of Jazer.'

⁴ See references in Ritter, *Erkunde*², 15:1047.

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from 'Anmân. In spite of Merrill's enthusiastic description, however, the identification is to be rejected, (1) because the syllabants of Sar and Jazer do not correspond, and above all, (2) because there is no large stream, such as the statement of Eusebius requires. Hence we are led to suppose that Eusebius has confounded the Jordan with the Jabbok. Oliphant (*Land of Gilead*, 235 ff.) points out the ruins of a populous Roman city (which no doubt succeeded earlier cities) in the Wâdy Zorbi, which falls into the Wâdy Zerkâ (Jabbok). The place would be 8-10 R. m. N. of Philadelphia. It is called Yâjûz, and is a little to the W. of el-Julehât, the ancient JOGAKKAT [q.v.]. That these two places were near together is evident from Nu 32:15. In the centre of the Wâdy Zorbi is a copious fountain (the 'Am el-Ghazâl), soon after passing which the stream becomes large enough for irrigation, and so compares very favourably with the Wâdy Sir. Indeed, between this point and the Zerkâ the country in spring is 'an expanse of waving crops,' and the wâdy is well adapted for vine culture (Oliphant, 233-236). The rival combination (*E. Pal. Survey*, 119) with Beit Zera', not far to the NE. of Heshbon and a little beyond el-'Âl (ELEALKH), is opposed, not only to the statement of Eusebius, but also to Nu. 32:35; nor is it really favoured by Is. 16:8, for 'as far as Jazer,' implies that Heshbon and Jazer are rather far apart.¹ Against Oliphant's alternative theory—that Yâjûz may be Jahaz—see JAHAZ. T. K. C.

JAZIZ (יָזִיז), a 'Hagrite,' David's chief flock-master (1 Ch. 27:31: יָזִיז בֶּן יֶזְבָּבֶדֶת [B], יֶזְבָּבֶדֶת בֶּן יָזִיז [A], יֶזְבָּבֶדֶת בֶּן יָזִיז [L]). See JAHAZ, § 2.

JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF. In cases of suspected guilt which were involved in uncertainty or were of extreme gravity, means were very generally taken in antiquity to obtain a direct decision of the deity. In Europe, down to beyond the limits of the Middle Ages the custom is found to have prevailed, and even at the present day the same thing is seen in the less civilized parts of the world. In the OT we have frequent references to one means which the Hebrews adopted for this purpose, viz., the sacred lot (see URIM AND THUMMIM); but we have only one clear record that they also adopted another widely-spread custom—the ordeal. The common element in all ordeals is one of risk—e.g., of being burnt by walking over hot stones or ploughshares, or by thrusting the arms into molten lead or of receiving injury from noxious potions—and the common belief that underlies them is that the deity will preserve the innocent from the injurious effects which will befall the guilty.

The one case in which extant Hebrew law provides for a resort to the ordeal is that of a woman suspected of unfaithfulness to her husband. This procedure is described in Nu. 5:11-31 [P]. In spite of the uniqueness of the law and of the fact that the Hebrew narratives record no instance of its adoption, there are indications that (at least) in earlier times, ordeals were more frequent among the Hebrews. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*, 181) accounts for the origin of the names 'Ei-Mishpāt = 'well of judgment,' and Me-Merikah = 'waters of controversy,' by the supposition that the well at Kadesh was regularly used for purposes of the ordeal; Stade (*ZATW* 15:178 [95]) adduces reasons for concluding that the case of suspected marital infidelity was not the only one in which 'the memorial meal offering bringing guilt to remembrance' (Nu 5:15) was offered. It has been supposed that Ps. 109:18 contains a reference to the water of ordeal; possibly also Prov. 6:27-29 refers to other forms of ordeal (note 72:1 in v. 29 and cp Nu. 5:19). Cp also Nu. 16:16 ff.

The points to be considered are (1) the conditions of the ordeal, (2) the accompanying offering, (3) the character of the ordeal itself.

¹ The distance between Yâjûz and Eleich is about 15 m. (Oliphant).

JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF

1. The ordeal is to be resorted to when a man is jealous of his wife, but is unable to produce either the witnesses required for an ordinary process at law (Dt. 19:15 Nu. 35:30) or other evidence of her guilt (cp Ex. 22:1 [12] Dt. 22:15 = *Ex. 22:14*).

2. When the man brings his wife to the priest (v. 13) or before Yahweh (v. 14-15), to the door of the tabernacle (in the case of Herod's temple, according to *Sota* 15, to the Nikanor door) he has to bring with him an offering which is described as 'her offering for her' (מִנְחָתָהּ לַיהוָה, v. 15). This has been understood to mean that the woman makes an offering (of the nature of a trespass-offering) of material provided by her husband.

This, however, is unlikely, for the offering is made before the question of the woman's guilt or innocence is decided. More probably it is the man who offers (in accordance with the general law that no one must seek Yahwe's face 'empty'—i.e., without an offering), and the above phrase means 'the offering which concerns her, is on her account.' To symbolise, however, the connection of the offering with the woman, it is placed in her hands—v. 15 (cp Lev. 8:29). The material of the offering is noticeable: it consists of one-tenth ephah of barley meal—the commoner and cheaper flour (2 K. 7:1 Rev. 6:6)—and is not to be mingled with either oil or frankincense (v. 15). The latter provision applies likewise to the poor man's sin-offering which also consists of the same small quantity (Lev. 5:11), but even in that case, as in the case of every other offering in P, barley meal is expressly excluded by the insistence on the more expensive 'fine meal.' Probably this is merely an isolated survival (which is capable of obvious explanation) in the late law-books of an earlier freedom (cp Judg. 6:19 1 S. 1:24) to use in all cases any kind of meal.

At any rate we must discard the explanation, practically endorsed by many moderns (e.g., Balz, Keil, Winer), attributed in the Mishna to R. Gamaliel—that her acts had been bestial, so her offering consisted of the food of beasts' (*Sota*, 21).

One other element in the ritual has been taken, and with more reason, to symbolise the woman's shame—viz., the loosening of the hair (v. 18). We may then compare the case cited by

3. Other ceremonies. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.* 181) from the *Kitâb al-'Aḥkâm*, i. 156a ff., where a suspected wife is carried to Mecca, to take oaths of purgation, seated on a camel between two bags of dung. According to *Sôḥa* 15 the upper part of the woman's body was also stripped—a proceeding which could have had only one significance. On the other hand, the mere loosening of the hair (together with the wearing of black garments) was, at least somewhat later, customary on the part of persons accused before the Sanhedrin of any crime (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 49; cp Zech. 3:3).

4. The actual ordeal consisted of drinking a specially prepared potion (v. 17-24); if the woman be innocent, the potion is harmless, and thus proves

her innocence; if she be guilty, the potion causes injury to her thigh and belly—the members instrumental to her act of sin (v. 27 f.). This potion consists of 'holy water'—i.e., water hallowed from having been standing in the sacred laver (Mishna, 'Targ'), rather than 'running water' (ם) from the temple spring—with which is mingled dust from the floor of the tabernacle, and into which are washed the written words of the curse. For the risk of coming into contact with 'holy water' or receiving it into one's system, we have many parallels in the Semitic domain as well as elsewhere (WRS *loc. cit.*); for the use of the dust, fewer; but this also being taken from the sanctuary must be regarded as holy, and the fusion of it with the water as a means of increasing the sanctity and, consequently, the efficacy of the potion. Reference is often made in this connection to Gen. 3:14 Is. 49:23 Mic. 7:17 Ps. 72:9; but the parallels are not obviously to the point. Probably the combined use of water and dust has arisen from

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the fusion of two originally distinct rites; and the use of the dust originated in necromantic purposes. The explanation of the washing of the ear into the water must be sought in the belief in the efficacy of the bath and the independent existence of the words of it (cp OARU, and Goldziher, *Alt. u. Arab. Phil.* 20-41); the connection with outlets of purgation (Ex 22:10 [2] /) is also close. The potion has to be mixed in an earthenware vessel (v. 17), which probably had to be destroyed immediately after use (cp Lev 6:28 [21] 11:33 15:12); cp CLEAN, § 2.

One point that is not clearly stated in the OT narrative is the time within which the potion takes effect; probably the effect was expected to be immediate—in any case, within a much shorter time than the two or even three years which the Mishna allows (*Sofi*, 34).

The text of the section (Nu 5:11-11) presents difficulties which Stade (*ZfNH* 15:106-175 [95]) has attributed to literary fusion of distinct rituals; but his analysis is unconvincing. The only question of serious importance here is the relation of v. 24 to vv. 26-27.

The only natural view of v. 24 ff. is that the woman drinks *before* the offering is made (v. 26); but 26b distinctly states that she drinks *afterwards*. Since the assumption that she drinks twice is unnatural, our only alternatives are to follow Stade or to regard v. 24 as textually intrusive.

In their note on Nu 5:11-11, seen since the foregoing was written, Carpenter and Harford-Battersby (*Heb.* 2:191 f.) adopt Stade's analysis with some modifications. According to them the section, in which 'it will be seen by the frequency of the harmonist's phrases that the fusion has been fairly complete', results from the fusion of (a) a condemnation (vv. 11-12, 14-15, 18-21, 23-24, 27b-28, 31) and (b) an ordeal (vv. 29-31, 34-36, 37, 39, 42, 45, 48, 50, 52, 55). In the case of the condemnation, the woman's 'guilt needs no demonstration, but only draws down on her the priestly doom.' But (1) according to the analysis (a) (see 125-126) as well as (b) presupposes an offence unprovable by ordinary process of law, that is to say, presupposes circumstances such as those under which ordeals are generally resorted to; the crime is one which has been committed without the knowledge of the husband or any other witness. (2) The proceedings with the waters of bitterness correspond to proceedings in the case of ordeal, but have no analogy in the Hebrew law with regard to clearly proved cases of adultery, for which an entirely different punishment was provided (MARRIAGE, § 4). Into the linguistic distinctions, admirably presented by Carpenter and Harford-Battersby in their note, it is impossible to enter here; but literary analysis in the present instance, even if justifiable, appears too uncertain to be of material importance for the subject of this article.

Of the OT archeologies see especially Nowak, 2249-251; of the Commentaries (on Nu 5:11 ff.), Dillmann and *Internat. Crit. Com.* On the text, etc., see Stade's article cited above. For etimic parallels cp Taylor's article 'Ordeal' in *EB* 1901; Burchell, *Babylonia and Assyria*, 1:121 f.

JEARIM, MOUNT (הַר יָרִים), Josh. 15:10; ΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΑΡΕΙΝ [B]. Π. ΙΑΡΕΙΝ [AL], a ridge on the N. border of Judah, identified elsewhere (CHESALON). The name, however plausible, is scarcely correct.

Either Jearim has grown out of יָרִים Jarib (see KIRJATH-JEARIM), or it is a corruption of עֶפְרוֹן Ephron (v. 11), 'Mount Ephron' being probably not a mere mountain, but a long ridge. Cp PIRATHON.

JEATERAI, RV *Jeathorai* (יְאֶתְרַי), 1 Ch. 6:21 [4] = 1 Ch. 6:41 [26]. ETIHI.

JEBERECHIAH (יְבֶרֶחְיָה), § 28), the father of Zechariah [L. 27] (Is. 8:2, ΒΑΡΑΧΙΟΥ [BNAI]). The name is usually abbreviated to BERECIAH [L. 27].

JEBUS (יְבוּס), § 28), Judg. 19:10 f.; *Jebusite* (הַיְבוּסִי), § 28), Gen. 10:16, etc., but once *Jebusi*, Josh. 18:16 AV. See JERUSALEM, § 13.

JECAMIAH (יְכַמְיָה), 1 Ch. 3:13, RV JECAMIAH.

JECHILIAH (יְכִילְיָה), § 35), 2 Ch. 26:3 Kt. RV, AV JECOLIAH.

JECHOLIAH (יְכִילְיָה), § 35), 2 K 15:2 AV, RV JECOLIAH.

JEDIDIAH

JECHONIAH (יְחֹנָיָה [Tt. Wt]), Mt. 1:11 RV, AV JECONIAS. See JEROIAH.

JECOLIAH (יְכִילְיָה), § 35; pointing doubtful; יְכִילְיָה [AL], queen mother of Azariah, king of Judah (2 K. 15:2, AV JECOLIAH; γαλειά [B], יְכִילְיָה [V], 2 Ch. 26:3; יְכִילְיָה [Kt], יְכִילְיָה [Kt], RV JECOLIAH, γαליά [B], γαλειά [V]).

JECONIAH (יְחֹנָיָה), 1 Ch. 3:16 f. See JEROIAH.

JECONIAS (יְחֹנָיָה [BA]), 1 Esl. 1:9 = 2 Ch. 35:9, CONANIAS, 2.

JEDAI (יְדַי), Kr. יְדַי, 2 Ch. 9:29 RVm, EV IUDO (in 1).

JEDAIAH (יְדַיָּה), Yed'ayah, 'Yahwe knows,' § 32). 1. A priestly family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA 8:1-2, § 9). Mention is made of the 'line Jedai'ah of the house of JESHAIAH' (v. 2, n. 6), Ezra 2:36 (יְדַיָּה [B], יְדַיָּה [AL]) = Neh. 7:30 (יְדַיָּה [BNA], יְדַיָּה [L]) = 1 Esl. 5:24, *Jeddu* (יְדַיָּה [B], יְדַיָּה [A]), יְדַיָּה [L].

There would seem to have been two families of the name of Jedai'ah, for two men bear this name, Neh. 12:6 (om. BNA, יְדַיָּה [B] + mg. sup. L.), 15, 7 (om. BNA, יְדַיָּה [B] + mg. sup. L.), and two 'father's houses' are referred to in Neh. 12:1, 21 (om. BNA, יְדַיָּה [B], יְדַיָּה [L], 21 [B] + mg. inf.). In Neh. 11:10, 'Jedai'ah, son of Josiah' (יְדַיָּה [B], יְדַיָּה [L], יְדַיָּה [A], 11 [L]), one should omit 'son of'; cp 1 Ch. 9:10 (יְדַיָּה [BNA], יְדַיָּה [L]), Jedai'ah was the head of the second course, 1 Ch. 24:7 (יְדַיָּה [B], יְדַיָּה [L]).

2. One of the Babylonian Jewish delegates, temp. ZERUBBABEL, Zech. 6:10-14 (יְדַיָּה do not recognise a proper name: cf. *ἐπερωτοῦντες αὐτὸν* [αὐτὸν A in v. 10], *Αἰ. ἰδεα*).

JEDAIAH (יְדַיָּה), Yed'ayah, § 32). 1. Ancestor of Ziza, a Simeonite, 1 Ch. 4:37 (יְדַיָּה [B], יְדַיָּה [L]).

2. h. HARUMAPHI (v. 1), Neh. 3:10 (יְדַיָּה [BNA], יְדַיָּה [L]).

JEDUUS (יְדַיָּה [BA]), 1 Esl. 9:30 = Ezra 10:29, ADAMAI, 5.

JEDIAEL (יְדִיֵּאל), 'known of God,' cp ELIADA and Palm. יְדִיֵּאל = יְדִיֵּאל + מְלֹאכֶּה; יְדִיֵּאל [AL].

1. A chief division of BENJAMIN according to the list in 1 Ch. 7:6 ff., but not mentioned in the other lists (cp JEMIEL, Simeon, the Gileonite (1 Ch. 7:6, יְדִיֵּאל [B], 7:10 f., אֶרְכָּה [B], יְדִיֵּאל [A] + mg. sup. AV); יְדִיֵּאל [L], *thrice*). See JEMIEL, 2.

2. b. Shunri, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch. 11:45 (יְדִיֵּאל + mg. sup. AV); vid. Sweet [BNA], יְדִיֵּאל [AL]. See DAVID, § 11a [B].

3. A Manassite, one of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12:20 (יְדִיֵּאל [BNA], יְדִיֵּאל [A]). See DAVID, § 11a [B].

4. A Korathite door-keeper, 1 Ch. 26:2 (יְדִיֵּאל [B]).

JEDIDAH (יְדִידָה), 'beloved,' cp JEDIDIAH, queen-mother of Josiah, king of Israel (2 K. 22:1; יְדִידָה [B], יְדִידָה [A], יְדִידָה [L]). See ADAMAI, 1.

JEDIDIAH (יְדִידָה), 'beloved of Yahweh,' §§ 10, 27, so *amabilis Domino* [Vg.], ἀγαπητὸν κυρίου [Sym.], cp IUDO; יְדִידָה [B], יְדִידָה [L], יְדִידָה [A] + mg. sup. AV. Theod.], as the text stands, is the name given by David to Solomon after a visit of the prophet Nathan (2 S. 12:25). It has been remarked elsewhere, however (see BATHSHEBA, col. 503, top; DAVID, col. 1032, foot), that the narrative in 2 S. 11:1-12:25 has passed through an amplifying process in the interests of edification; originally Solomon was not represented as the son of a penitent reconciled by Nathan's instrumentality to his offended God.

In the earlier form of the story 2 S. 12:15 must have followed 11:27 (so Schwally). The original form of v. 24 f., however, is still undetermined (see We. Dr., Kt., Ki., Bn., Lühr, H. P. Smith). Wellhausen (cp Lühr and Bn.) thinks it enough to read יְדִידָה, 'and he entrusted him to the care of the prophet Nathan, and he (David) called him Jedidiah'; while Gratz and H. P. Smith prefer to connect the last two words of v. 24 with v. 25, 'And Yahweh loved him, and sent by the hand of the prophet Nathan,' etc. These expedients,

1 Possibly, however, Adai'ah (cp Neh. 11:12) should be read for one of these. See ADAMAI, 4.

2 So first Thienius; cp Vg., misitque cum in manu.

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however, are both palliations of the evil, which it needs a more radical cure. The truth seems to be that 1177a was originally followed by the naming of the son born to Bath-sheba after David's death. We may suppose with S. A. Cook, that 1124ab (and he called שִׁמְעוֹן כִּי וַיִּקְרָא כִּי) his name Solomon once followed immediately upon 1127a, so that Jechiahah, the name given by Nathan (:) to the child Solomon, was the synchretical expression of the reconciliation between David and his God. It is equally possible, however, that the words relative to the naming of the child spoken of, which originally stood in 1177, were :— and he called his name Jechiahah. The words וַיִּקְרָא כִּי, which have puzzled critics not a little, seem to be a first miswritten and then manipulated form of the words וַיִּקְרָא שִׁמְעוֹן (again mis-written at the end of v. 24, as וַיִּקְרָא שִׁמְעוֹן). When the words :— 'And he called his name Jechiahah, were transposed to v. 25, they received the awkward but necessary prefix :— 'And :— sent by Nathan the prophet already here conveyed and :— and a second prefix, וַיִּקְרָא כִּי, the editor seems to suppose a second and more pleasing visit of Nathan.

If the last of the theories mentioned above be accepted, the narrative originally ran thus:—

And when the mourning was past, David sent and fetched her to his house, and she became his wife, and bare him a son, and he called his name Iedihah. But the thing that David had done displeased Yahweh, and Yahweh struck the child that Huih's wife had borne to David, and it was very sick. . . . And David comforted his wife Bath-sheba, . . . and she bore a son, and he called his name Shillume¹ (שִׁלְמִי, *i.e.*, his compensation), because of Iedihah.

Now all becomes clear, the corruptions of the text are healed and accounted for, and an intelligible narrative is produced. Solomon remains Bathsheba's second son. He lacks the religious interest attaching to the son of a penitent sinner, but he gains the human interest attaching to the child of a deeply afflicted father. "He called his name "his compensation," with reference to the lost Judahah." See SOLOMON,

In 2 S. 12:25b **BT** and Theod. read **בִּקְרֵי יוֹם** instead of **בְּקִרְבֵּי יוֹם** which **Klo.** and **HTS^m**, following Cappel (*Crit. Sac.*, 264), adopt. The harder reading, however, should be the nearer to the original.

JEDO ידעו Kr), a Ch. 929 RV^{mg}, EV Iddo (m. 1)

JEDUTHUN (יְהוֹדָן, יְהוֹדָן, Kt., Ps. 39¹)
(title) 77; (title), Neh. II 17 + Ch. 10 38. יְהוֹדָן יְהוֹדָן
-וֹדָן [BAXAR I], & generally יְהוֹדָן יְהוֹדָן; + Ch. 9
וֹדָן וֹדָן [B]. In + Est. I 15 (= 2 Ch. 35 15) RV
Foliuses, יְהוֹדָן יְהוֹדָן [BA].

The Vss. as a general rule support the form מִי־יָדָי . They offer as the vowel of the second syllable ִי [I] or ֵי [A], but ִי (ֵי) occurs 2 (Ch. 35:1), ִי־יָדָי (1 Ch. 16:3), ֵי־יָדָי occurs only in ֵי־יָדָי [A], ִי־יָדָי [I] (1 Ch. 9:10). The renderings for the last syllable vary between -וֹר , -וֹרִי , and -וֹרָא , rarely -וֹרָא . Possibly וֹרִי־יָדָי should be restored for the surprising וֹרִי־יָדָי in the heading of Ps. 45. That the heading also refers the psalm to the Korahites is no objection (see Psalms).

The father of Obed-edom (1 Ch 16:38), and the founder of a company of door-keepers (1 Ch 16:42).

1. References.

2. *Yeduthun*. II 17 om. $100^{\circ}A = 1$ Ch. 9), 2 Ch. 29 14 1 Ch. 25 1; and the phrase 'the sons of Jeduthun' should possibly take the place of the odd reference to the 'sons of Judith' in 2 S. I 18 (see JASTER, BOOK OF, § 2). Jeduthun is no doubt the favourite form of ME, but the versions, as a general rule favour 'Jeduthun,' which may be correct (see below). It is the name of one of the great guilds of temple singers; its supposed founder is mentioned with ASAPH (3), and HEMAN in 1 Ch. 25 6 2 Ch. 35 15 35 15 (where Jeduthun is called the 'king's seer'), and with the latter alone in 1 Ch. 16 41. It is remarkable that, so regarded, he takes the place of ETHAN (2.75). Jeduthun (Jedithun) is mentioned

¹ See *A/S/L*, 1990, p. 150 f.

² Schwally *loc. cit.* has already noticed that *re. 25a* is not by the writer of 12 i *ff.* ('Nathan the prophet'). It is arbitrary to insert 'the prophet' in 12 i (as Bu. does).

³ A slight distortion of the name שָׁלֻם (cp Shallum). The above theory arose independently of H. P. Smith's remark (p. 326 top) that the narrative suggests 'recompense' as the meaning of שָׁלֻם.

JEHIEL

about twice as often as I than — and it is noteworthy that although the t-trisyllable numbers him among the Levites (1 Ch. 26) he does not give his levitical descent.

2. **Explanation.** π_{12} in 39 and 77 is the form

2. Explanation

of the name. The presupposition of the musical position "2" led to the supposition that a peculiar musical mode was created by Leibnitz. Robertson Smith, too, regards the name as not a truly sense personal but a musical term, which by a strange transformation became the name of a chief singer (O'Brien 1933 where the odd names given in 1 Th 254 are adduced as parallels).

It is natural to suspect a connection with *piyyes* (cp. Neh. 12a, and see *Thore*, § 2), but not easy to suggest a plausible etymological theory. One might take *Jeduthun* to be an abbreviation of *Jehudithun*, an artificial term suggesting the devotion of the guild of *Jeduthun* to a specially Jewish type of music (cp. *Gray's* theory of *Leuthi*, and see *Johnson*).

Lagarde's view, however, is more plausible than any of these hypotheses: according to this, the name is a corruption of *l'ethan*, produced through the combination of the 'hands of' with the personal name *l'ethan* (*Codex Vat.*).

Now, 'Jedithun' will be the correct form, and JEDITHUN the right preposition in the musical directions, JEDITHUN will be a contracted form of JEDITHUN to be performed (or, preserved) through (or by) the guild of Ethun. That the editor of *Chronicles*, in the form in which we have it, regarded Jedithun as a synonym of Ethun may be admitted; in the words, he did not understand the name.

JEELI (JEHALI [A]), 1 Esd. 5:33 = Ezra 2:56 JALALU, Neh. 7:58 JALAL.

JEELUS (ιεηλου [B]) t Eisd. *Sgd* = Ezra 10:2,
[JEIHEL, (n. 1)].

JEEZER, JEEZERITE (יֵזֶר, יֵזֶרִי), Nu. 26:†
AV. See ABUEZER.

JEGAR SAHADUTHA (יֵגַר שְׁחָדוּתָא), Gen. 31⁴⁷.
See GALLUD, I. — and cp. *Isidore*.

JEHALLELEL (יהלללל), as if 'God praises,' or 'he praises God,' § 34; but יהלללל, 'JEHALMEEL' [g.r.] is surely the right reading. See 1 Ch. 242, where Ziph is the son of Meshi, son of Gilei, brother of Jerahmeel, and 1b. 111 [28] ff. 24 v, where Kishi, or Kishi, the Metarie, is connected with M. n. t. [g.r.] and (242) with Jerahmeel. For an analogous corruption, see MAHALAL LIL.

1. AV. Ἰουδαίη γενεή, in the genealogies of Judah, is father of Ziph, Ziphah, etc. (2 Ch. 23.16; καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ γασσηλ [B], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἰαλλεληλ [A], ἡμ [A⁹vel], καὶ υἱοὶ ἀλλεληλ [1]).

2. AV. Ἰουδαίη γενεή, a female (2 Ch. 23.12; τοῦ ἐλλή [C], τοῦ ἰαλλεληλ [A], τοῦ ἰαληλ [1]).

T. K. C.

JEHDEIAH (יהדיה', 'Yahwe is glad' or 'gladdens',
cp. JAMUEL).

2. A Meremothite, entrusted with King David's asses, 1 Ch. 27:30 (αἰθιας [B.A], αἰθιας [A], 9800 [Pesh.]).

JEHEZEKEL (יְהִזְקִיָּאל, §§ 9, 53; ΕΖΕΚΗΛ [ΒΑ], ΕΖΕΚΗΛΛ[Ε]; *Jehzekel*: KV **Jehzekel**). The name in Hebrew is precisely the same as that known to us as **EZEKIEL**. In 1 Ch. 24.6 it is borne by one of the twenty-four courses into which the priests were divided in post-exilic times.²

JEHIAH (יְהִיָּה, 'Yahweh lives'; cp JEHIJAH, a door-keeper (with Obed-edom) for the ark, temp. David, 1 Ch. 15:24† (יְהִיָּה [BN¹], יְהִיָּה [S⁸], יְהִיָּה [V], יְהִיָּה [L]).

JEHIEL (יְהִיֵּל, § 35 'God lives'; cp Palm. יְהִיֵּל, and perhaps Sin. יְהִיֵּל [ε]ιρηλ [BSAL.]).

1. A Levite musician, temp. David; cCh. 15 i (אֶלְיָהוּ [L]); 15 20
 (עִלְיָהוּ [BK], אֶלְיָהוּ [A]); 16 V j + 1 i; אֶלְיָהוּ [A], אֶלְיָהוּ [I]
 2. Head of a family of Ger. son of Levites, temp. David; cCh.
 23 v (אֶלְיָהוּ [H]); 23 i (בְּרַשְׁמֵאל [B]). Cp j 111 f i and see LADAN, z.
 3. Son of Hachmoni, who was with David's sons; cCh. 27 32
 (עֲלִיָּה [B], עֲלִיָּה [A], עֲלִיָּה [L]). See HACHMONI.

¹ See Küberle, *Die Tempelsänger im Alten Test.* (99), 66, 155 f.

∴ In **B** he appears as the nineteenth; in **B^{at}** as the twentieth.

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4. Son of king Jehoshaphat: 2 Ch. 21:2 (עִיֶּל [B]).
5. RV JEHEIEL (Kt. שִׁיֶּיֶל), a Hemanite Levite, temp. Hezekiah: 2 Ch. 20:14; see JAHIEL.
6. A Levitical (or priestly) overseer of the temple, temp. Hezekiah: 2 Ch. 31:13 (עִיֶּל [B]).
7. 'Ruler of the house of God', temp. Josiah: 2 Ch. 35:8. In 1 Esd. 1:4 ἡσυχῆλος [H], AV SILENT, RV SILENT.
8. Father of Obadiah in a post-exilic list of fathers' houses: Ezra 9:1 (עִיֶּל [H], עִיֶּל [A]) = 1 Esd. 8:15 JEZIELUS (εὐζέλιος [B]).
9. Father of Shecaniah: Ezra 10:2 (עִיֶּל [H], עִיֶּל [A]).
10. A priest, son of Harin: Ezra 10:21 (עִיֶּל [H]) = 1 Esd. 9:21 (עִיֶּל [H], EV HIERIEL).
11. A layman, son of Elam: Ezra 10:26 (עִיֶּל [H], עִיֶּל [A]), also in 1 Esd. 9:27, AV HIERIELUS, RV JEZIELUS (εὐζέλιος [B]).

JEHIEL (יֶהִיֶּל), better 'Jēiel,' as generally in RV.

1. One of the sons of Elam: Ezra 10:2 (עִיֶּל [H], עִיֶּל [A], עִיֶּל [L]) = 1 Esd. 9:27 (עִיֶּל [H], עִיֶּל [A], עִיֶּל [L], JEELUS).
2. 1 Ch. 9:35 AV, RV JEEL, 2.
3. 1 Ch. 11:44 AV, RV JEEL, 3.

JEHIEL (יֶהִיֶּל), § 35; cp Jehiel.

The line Jehiel, a family of Gershonite Levites, were 'over the treasures of the house of the Lord, temp. David: 1 Ch. 26:21 f. (עִיֶּל [H], 1 Ch. 22:27 [A]; om. L). Cp JEHIEL (i. 2), and see LADAN, 2.

JEHIZKIAH (יֶהִיֶּזְכִּיָּה), § 29; the pointing is strange, see HEZEKIAH; EZEKIAS [BAL.], b. Shallum, an Ephraimite leader (2 Ch. 28:12).

JEHOADAH (יְהוֹאָדָה), perhaps corrupted from Jehoiaha [see Pesh., cp § 35; Gray, *HPV* 283], RV, following MT, **Jehoaddah** in 1 Ch. 8:36, but in 19:42 יְהוֹדָה, EV JAHAD, a corruption of יְהוֹדָה (אֵל וְיָדָה, אֵל וְיָדָה [B]). יְהוֹדָה [A]; so Pesh., אֵל וְיָדָה [L], a descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (2 S. 1:1, ii. 10). 1 Ch. 8:36 = 9:42 (אֵל וְיָדָה [H], אֵל וְיָדָה [L]).

JEHOADDAN, RV **Jehoaddin** (יְהוֹאָדָן), §§ 38-57; but יְהוֹדָן, Kt. in Kings; יְהוֹדָן [A]; 'Yahwē gives pleasure'; Hommel, *MT*, 121, '... is pleased'; in 2 K. 14:2 ♀ favours the alternative form יְהוֹדָן, with which cp יְהוֹדָן, ADIN; ♀ BAL in 2 Ch. 29:12, however, supports JEHOADDAN; see EDEN (i. 1); 'JOADANUS' in 1 Esd. 9:19 seems to be due to corruption; the queen-mother of Joash, king of Israel (2 K. 11:2; יְהוֹדָה [H], 2 Ch. 25:1; יְהוֹדָה [H], יְהוֹדָה [A]).

JEHOAHAZ (יְהוֹאָחָז), 'Yahwē holds fast,' §§ 20

- 50; cp Ahaz, Ahaziah; יְהוֹאָחָז [B], ♀ [A.] generally.
1. Father of Joah the recorder, 2 Ch. 31:8 (יְהוֹאָחָז [B]).
2. Son of Jehu, succeeded his father on the throne of Israel in 814 B.C. and reigned seventeen years (814-797 B.C.). 2 K. 13:1-9 (יְהוֹאָחָז [A], 2:7-25 (יְהוֹאָחָז [A], 2:254), 14:1 (יְהוֹאָחָז [A]) = 2 Ch. 25:17 (om. B), 2:25 (יְהוֹאָחָז [B]). The Syrian oppression brought Israel's power very low in his time; it was left for JEROBOAM II. to repair the mischief. We may assume, however, that the success of Rammān-nirari III. against Mari, king of Damascus, was not without some good result for Israel. Whitehouse (*Schr. OT* 2:124), M'Curdy (*Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1:300), and Winckler even think that Rammān-nirari III. is the 'saviour' spoken of in 2 K. 13:5. See, however, JEROBOAM, 2.

3. JOAHIAZ or JECHONIAS, 1 Esd. 1:34, εὐχονίας [B], יְהוֹאָחָז [A]; ZARAKES, 1 Esd. 1:38 ζαρκίος [B], ζαρκίος [A.]. Jehoahaz, son of Josiah, succeeded his father on the throne of Judah in 608 B.C. and reigned for three months, 2 K. 23:31-33 2 Ch. 36:1-3 (יְהוֹאָחָז [A] in 2 K. 23:31). ♀ [BAL in 2 Ch. 36]. In Jer. 22:11 he is called Shallum. This was probably his birth-name, which he exchanged for the name 'Jehoahaz' when he was anointed. It is much less natural to suppose that 'Shallum' is used ironically (like 'Zimri' in 2 K. 9:11), as if Jehoahaz were called 'the second Shallum,' one whose reign was almost as short as that of Shallum (2 K. 15:13). This conclusion, however, will not justify us in following the MT of 1 Ch. 3:15, where four sons are given to Josiah, one of whom is an otherwise unknown Johanan, and another is Shallum. The Chronicler who calls Jehoahaz's successor Jehoiachim (not Ehiakim) would certainly have called Jehoahaz by his crown-name, not by his (supposed) birth-name. Shallum, therefore, in

¹ So Graf

JEHOIADA

1 Ch. 3:15 is derived from Jer. 22:11; the Chronicler failed to see that Shallum and Jehoahaz were the same person. Johanan in 1 Ch. 3:15 is miswritten for 'Jehoahaz' (cp ♀ and see JOHANAN, 10) or else an editor has altered 'Joahaz' into 'Johanan' to cover over the Chronicler's mistake. At RIBLAI on the Orontes Jehoahaz was put in chains by Necho, and sent to Egypt. See Jer. 22:10-12 Ezek. 19:3 f., and cp JEHOIAKIM.

4. King of Judah (2 Ch. 21:17, οὐδὲς [BAL.], 25:23 [BAL.], οὐδὲς [L]). See ABASIAH, 2. T. K. I.

JEHOASH (יְהוֹאָשָׁ), 2 K. 11:21 [12], etc. See JOASH I, 1.

JEHOHANAN (יְהוֹחָנָן), 1 Ch. 26:3, etc. See JOHANAN, 5.

JEHOIACHIN (יְהוֹיָכִין), once יְהוֹיָכִין, Ezek. 1:2, 'Yahwē establishes,' § 31, cp ἰσχυροποιῶν ἀνθρώπων, Ezek. 1:2; ἰσχυροποιῶν [BAL.], 2 K. 1:1, εὐχονίας [BAL. in 2 Ch.], by contraction JECONIAH (יְהוֹיָכִין; Jer. 27:20, יְהוֹיָכִין; Jer. 24:1-28:24 2 Ch. 3:16 f., εὐχονίας [BAL.]) and CONIAH (יְהוֹיָכִין; Jer. 22:24 28:37 1, εὐχονίας [BAL.], ἰσχυροποιῶν [A] in 22:24; cp CHENANIAH, CONANIAH).

The nineteenth king of Judah. He succeeded his father Jehoiachim in 597 B.C. at the age of eighteen (2 K. 24:18 1 Esd. 1:4, JOACHIM, RV JOACHIM, ἰσχυροποιῶν [BAL.]), and after a brief reign of three months ('and ten days,' 1 Esd. 1:4) surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar, by whom he was carried captive to Babylon, with his mother, his generals, and his troops, together with the artificers and other inhabitants of Jerusalem, to the number of 10,000. He remained in confinement there as long as Nebuchadnezzar lived; but the next king, Evil-merodach, not only released him, but gave him an honourable seat at his own table, with precedence over all his royal companions in misfortune, and 'a continual provision' (2 K. 25:27-30 Jer. 52:10-14). The writer of the pathetic passage at the close of Kings evidently regards Jehoiachim as the legitimate king even in his exile; so too does Ezekiel, who dates his great vision with reference to Jehoiachim's captivity (Ezek. 1:2), and writes in moving terms of this event (Ezek. 19:9). Cp Meyer, *Enth.* 78.

See also Esh. 24 (H.M. om.); also Mt. 1:11, where JECHONIAS (εὐχονίας [L. WH]) is called the 'son of Josias,' his grandfather.

JEHOIADA (יְהוֹיָדָה), 'Yahwē knows'; see JOIADA, and cp Jedaiah, Jediel, etc.; יְהוֹיָדָה [BAL.], יְהוֹיָדָה [A].

1. The chief priest² who (temp. Athaliah) by his promptness and energy rescued Judah from becoming a mere appendage of the northern Israelitish kingdom, directed by the dynasty of Omri, 2 K. 11:4 (יְהוֹיָדָה [A]) and in 12:7 12:2 [1] f. 2 Ch. 23:3 f. (in 24:1 ἰσχυροποιῶν [B]) by confusion with the preceding name in the same verse). Both our historical accounts (see JOASH i. 1) represent Jehoiaha as the soul of the revolution, and we can well understand that he was virtually ruler during the minority of Joash. The king did not, however, remain the tool of his tutor; in the twenty-third year of the reign of Joash we find the king administering a rebuke to Jehoiaha and the priests (2 K. 12:7 [B], cp 2 Ch. 24:6). According to the Chronicler, Jehoiaha married two wives, one of whom was JEHOIABABATH, daughter of king Jehoram, grandfather of Joash (2 Ch. 22:11 יְהוֹיָדָה [A], 24:1).

In a letter ascribed to a prophet named Shemaiah we find (Jer. 29:25) Zephaniah and the other priests at Jerusalem (temp. Zedekiah) represented as occupying the place of 'Jehoiaha the priest,' so far as related to the supervision of persons who claimed to be prophets. The phrase reminds us of Mt. 23:2 ('the scribes... sit in Moses' seat'); 'Jehoiaha' represents the principle of sacerdotal superiority to prophecy.

¹ On the singular statement of MT of 2 Ch. 36:2 cp 1 Esd. 1:41 f.; but BAL has ὁ δὲ καὶ δὲ καὶ δὲ in Ch.; but δὲ καὶ δὲ καὶ δὲ [A], ὁ δὲ καὶ δὲ καὶ δὲ [L] in 1 Esd. 1:41 f. See Barnes's note in *Cambr. Bible*.

² In 2 K. 12:10 [11] Jehoiaha is called 'high priest,' but this is contrary to usage. The original document must have been altered (so also 2 K. 22:8). See Kittel and Beninger.

JEHORAM

suppose the king to have been Ahab.¹ Such a mistake would have been impossible in the royal annals, but was not so in a tradition told and retold often before it was committed to writing.

We now return to Jehoram's expedition against Moab. The narrative which describes it is not taken from the annals; like that of the siege of Samaria, it proceeds from popular tradition. It is possible enough that

3. Expedition against Moab. of Samaria, it proceeds from popular tradition. It is possible enough that Elisha was consulted on the occasion; but some of the details present a suspicious resemblance to those of the departure of Ahab for Ramoth-gilead (cp 2 K. 311 f. with 1 K. 227-9), though at the same time there is a difference, for Elisha receives from Jehoram much more respect than Micaiah receives from Ahab. There is also one clearly inaccurate historical statement. There can have been no king of Edom at this period to accompany Jehoram and Jehoshaphat (see 1 K. 22[47]48 f., and cp 2 K. 8 20; see also EDOM, § 7). That the Israelites really adopted the means of getting water described in 2 K. 316 f. 20, it would be rash to deny; their leaders were doubtless as well acquainted with the ground as modern travellers (see OTIC² 147, and cp ELISHA, § 5).

The account of the havoc wrought by the invaders is trustworthy (see KIR-HARESETI). Nor is it clear why Winckler (*GI 12-5*) should doubt the historicity of Mesha's sacrifice of his firstborn (2 K. 3 27). The plague or some other

physical calamity which befell Israel at the close of the expedition would perpetuate the memory of the awful sacrifice which preceded it. The original tradition appears to have stated that this calamity was caused by the wrath of the god of Moab at the invasion.² Israel's courage ebbed away, while Mesha's desperate act inspired the besieged with religious enthusiasm. They sallied from the fortress and drove the Israelites away. The honour of Moab and of Mesha was saved.

The cloud which hovered over Syria at this time was favourable to another warlike project of Jehoram—the recovery of the Gileadite cities for which

5. Gilead. Ahab had so bravely, but so vainly, fought. So the king of Israel summons his kinsman Ahaziah of Judah to attend him, as Jehoshaphat had attended him before, on the field of battle. Jehoram is wounded, and returns home to Jezreel, and Ahaziah goes to visit him. Thus Jehu ben Nimsi is left alone in command of the troops. How he is encouraged to seize the crown, is told elsewhere (Jehu, § 1). Pierced by Jehu's arrow Jehoram falls.

2. Son of Jehoshaphat by Athaliah, and king of Judah (851-843 B.C.), 2 K. 8 16-24. A fragment of the

1 There is apparently a confusion between Elijah and Elisha, as in 2 K. 8 13 21-22. See ELISHA, § 5.

2 The text in its present form simply states that there was a great outbreak of divine wrath (עַל יְהוָה 582) against Israel. The sense of this is clear, for except in Eccles. 5 17 16 (if the text be correct) and Esch. 1 18 582 is always used of divine anger; but which god is referred to? We must clearly distinguish between the original tradition and the narrative in its present form. The contemporary Jews may possibly enough (cp 1 S. 26 10) have said that Chemosh, the god of Moab, had hitherto been wroth with his people (cp inscription of Mesha, *I. 3*), but that now he turned his indignation against the invaders of his land. The author of the narrative in its present form, however, certainly thought that the God of Israel had the supreme power even in the land of Moab (see 2 K. 3 16-17). His natural impulse was to attribute to Yahwe the calamity which marred the success of the Israelites, and yet how could Yahwe have turned suddenly against Israel? He therefore says vaguely that divine wrath fell upon Israel, without mentioning the name of Yahwe. The original tradition may have said עַל יְהוָה 582, 'wrath from the presence of Chemosh.' That the wrath of Chemosh is meant is admitted by Bertheau, *Bib. ler.* (Schenkel), 4 231 f., Stade, *GI 12-5* 330; H. Schultz, *AT Theol.* 4, 174; Smend, *AT Rel. gesch.* 111. Wellhausen cautiously (*Proleg.* 23 f.) describes this view as 'possible,' which points in the direction of such a theory as is adopted here. The language of the text is vague, this vagueness has to be accounted for. Klostermann's view (*Samm. u. Anm.* 4 207) is at once too complicated and too arbitrary to be discussed here. The best conservative treatment of the question is in Koh. *Bibl. Gesch.* 3 335, n. 5.

JEHOSHAPHAT

royal annals tells us that in his reign the Edomites revolted from Judah, and chose themselves a king. Jehoram, however, seems to have had even less success against Edom than his Israelitish namesake had against Moab. Until the close of the campaign the N. Israelites appear to have had the advantage over Mesha; but of the southern Jehoram we are told (so far as the text can be understood) that he had the greatest difficulty in cutting his way by night through the Edomites who had surrounded him, and saving his life with a faithful few. The greater part of his army ('the people,' as 2 S. 18 1-8) had fled. Libnah, probably a Canaanitish city annexed to Judah, revolted at the same time.

Whether any grains of historical fact can be gleaned from the narrative of the Chronicler (2 Ch. 21) is more than doubtful. The temptation to enrich an empty reign with didactic details was especially strong in the present instance, Jehoram being the representative in Judah of the dangerous innovating religious policy of Ahab (2 K. 8 18). A writer who was capable of inventing (or even of accepting without criticism) a letter from Elijah to Jehoram simply to enhance the king's guilt, cannot safely be followed even in such comparative trifles as the illness which, he says, preceded Jehoram's death. To accuse Jehoram of opening his reign with a massacre (cp ATHALIAH, 1), and to burden the history with something like a repetition of the supposed invasion of Zerah (so Smith, *DB 2*; Koh. *Bibl. Gesch.* 3 330-344; Klost. *GI 12-5*) is therefore scarcely to be called critical. See Kue. *Find.* § 11, n. 3, and Bennett, *Chronicles*, 353-352.

3. A priest, temp. Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. 17 8 (supra [11]). T. K. C.

JEHOSHABEATH (יְהוֹשָׁבָבֶת), 2 Ch. 22 11. See JESHABEBA.

JEHOSHAPHAT (יְהוֹשָׁפָט), § 36, 'Yahwe judges,' cp יְהוֹשָׁפָט, etc., and see JOSHAPHAT, also DAN 1. § 1; cp יְהוֹשָׁפָט or יְהוֹשָׁפָט [BAV.]; in 2 Ch. always -AT).

1. King of Judah (1 K. 15 24 22 2 f. 2 K. 3 1 f. 2 Ch. 17 1 f.). Probably his accession is to be placed in the eleventh year of Omri, not in the sixth year of Ahab.¹ Of the latter king he was in all probability a vassal (see AHAH, § 7, n. 3). Repeatedly (1 K. 22 2 K. 3 7) he takes the field with the king of Israel; his visit to Ahab in Samaria (1 K. 22 2) is no doubt a compulsory one, connected with the campaign against the Arameans in the N. of Gilead. The marriage of his heir Jehoram with Ahab's daughter ATHALIAH (q.v.), was also a political necessity; as a vassal, Jehoshaphat took this means of lightening his burden. Nor can he protest when Ahab puts him in a false position by disguising himself as a common soldier while Jehoshaphat retains his royal insignia (1 K. 22 30). The compiler of Kings gives him a good character for piety. His piety, however, whatever it was, did not blind him to the necessity for national progress in national things. His attempt to open direct communication with the gold-country OPHIR (q.v.) is thus described in 1 K. 22 47-49. (The passage is not so obscure as it has been thought, but needs emendation; it is an old coin needing to be purified from its rust.)

And he had mariners in Nesib-edom, those that wield the oar (in) ships of Tarshish, and they undertook to go to Ophir for gold, but they went not, for the ships were wrecked in Nesib-edom. Then Ahaziah b. Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, 'Let my servants go to sea with thy servants.' But Jehoshaphat consented not.²

How the Chronicler represents these facts is told elsewhere (CHRONICLES, § 8 a). The same writer omits to mention the war against Moab in which Jehoshaphat did vassal's service to Jehoram (2 K. 3; see JEHORAM, 1), and substitutes the strange narrative

1 The account in 1 K. 22 41-50 is given by Sht. between 1 K. 16 28 and 29 with some omissions and with a different chronological statement (viz. that adopted above). Sht. (then n. 9) also renders the full Hebrew text of 1 K. 22 41-45 (but not 47-50, which Sht. however, gives).

2 The received text is supposed to state that although it (Edom) had a king, yet he was merely a nominee of the king of Judah. This cannot be right. The text has, 'There was no king in Edom—a prefect king—Jehoshaphat.' Following him, of Sht. and Kt. read thus, 'In Edom there was (then) no king, (but) the prefect (or, officer) of king Jehoshaphat (bath), etc. This is not at all natural. The key is furnished by Ezech. 27 20; עֹלָם 27 21, Nesib-edom, 'Column of (the god) Edom.' we must hold to be the true name of the mis-called Ezion-geber.

JEHOSHAPHAT, THE VALLEY OF

(2 Ch. 20; see CHRONICLES, § 84) of the pious king's deliverance from Moab, Edom, and Ammon, which is a romantic version (but with much geographical precision; see NEGEN) of the tradition recorded in 2 K. 3, and only valuable (1) from its geographical details, and (2) as an illustration of levitical religion in the third century B.C. On the reputed tribute of the Philistines and Arabians (2 Ch. 17 c) see ARABIA, § 3, PHILISTINES; see also below, JEHOSEPHAT, VALLEY OF.
2. b. Abital or rather Ahimelech (see ABILU), David's vizier (רִבְשֵׁהָ; 2 S. 8.16 (ωσαφ [A], 20.24, σαφαν [L], 1 K. 4.3; 1 Ch. 18.15). See RECORDER.
3. b. Paruah, Solomon's prefect in ISSACHAR (§ 4) (1 K. 4.17 [BL om.; replaced after v. 19, where ωσαφαν [L]).
4. b. Nimshi, father of JEHU, 1. (2 K. 9.21.4). Cp ISSACHAR, § 4.
T. K. C.

JEHOSEPHAT, THE VALLEY OF (יְהוֹשָׁפָט), or rather **The Valley (called) 'Jehoshaphat'**, the name of the place of judgment for all nations (Joel 3 [1] 2.12). If correctly read, it is the coinage of the prophetic writer himself; it means 'Yahwē judges,' 'for there will I sit to judge all the nations round about' (v. 12; similarly v. 2 in the Hebrew). Had the writer any definite geographical site in view? Some have thought of the valley of BETHACHAH (בֵּית חָחָה, 2 Ch. 20.26), where Jehoshaphat is said to have gained a victory; but surely Jerusalem, not Tekoa, is to witness the judgment. Others prefer the valley of KIDRON (q.v., § 2), where there appears to have been a common graveyard in pre-exilic times (2 K. 23.6), and where both Jews and Moslems still bury their dead in anticipation of the judgment. The tradition, however, connecting this valley with Joel's prophecy can be traced no earlier than the fourth century A.D. (see Eus. and Jer. OS 273.9; 113.13), and has no authority; besides, the Kidron valley is called נַחַל, *nahal*, not יַעַק, *Ya'eq*. In v. 14 Joel gives another descriptive name—עֵקֶב דִּחְיָוָה, EV 'valley of decision.' It might seem that he was thinking of Is. 28.1 f., where destruction is threatened to 'the whole earth' (or, land) in terms reminding us of Joel's second phrase, and it is said that Yahwē will arise for judgment 'as on Mt. Perazim,' and 'as in the valley (בֵּית חָחָה) by Gilboa.' Isaiah obviously refers here to the valley (עֵקֶב) of REPHIDIM (q.v.), SW. of Jerusalem, which was for him the typical valley of judgment. It is not impossible that Joel refers to the same site (but cp Zech. 14.4). Elsewhere, however (*Crit. Bib.*), it is argued that the same corruption has occurred in both passages, and that the obscure phrases 'valley of Jehoshaphat' and 'valley of decision (?)' (or, 'of threshing,' Geneva English Bible, AV¹⁸, Calv., Credner) should be read 'valley of judgment' (עֵקֶב דִּחְיָוָה) and 'valley of judicial righteousness.'

For 'valley of Jehoshaphat' ΘΗΡΑΩ gives ἡν κοιλίαν ἰωσαφάτ, Theod. ἡν χώραν τῆς κρίσεως; Tg. כִּסֵּר פִּינוּ דִּינָא. Thus Theod. and Tg. favour עֵקֶב דִּחְיָוָה. For 'valley of decision (?)' Θ has τῆ κοιλίαν (-λη κ') τῆς δικῆς—i.e., δικῆς, but Theod. repeats τῆς κρίσεως.

A learned (unpublished) Index of Passages bearing on the topography of Jerusalem by A. R. M'Grip (r. 96) summarises the traditional statements on the valley of Jehoshaphat. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 A.D.) believed that this valley was 'to the left of those going from Jerusalem to the gate which is against the E., that they may ascend Mt. Olivet.' Antoninus Martyr uses the term 'valley of Gethsemane' as synonymous with 'valley of Jehoshaphat.' Willibald says that it was near Jerusalem on the eastern side. Adamnan also knows of a 'tower of Jehoshaphat' in the same valley, not far from the Church of St. Mary. Against all this, and much more of the same kind, we may put the statement of Mishnah Tiltim, 'A valley called Jehoshaphat does not exist' (Neub. *Gloss.* 51).
T. K. C.

JEHOSHEBA (יְהוֹשֶׁבֶת), probably for יְהוֹשֻׁבָּה, Jehoshua; cp ELISHEBA; but cp § 33; ἰωσαβέε [B¹ AL]. ἰωσαβέθ [B¹ b (θ superscr.)] or JEHOSEBATH (יְהוֹשֶׁבֶת), ἰωσαβέε [BL]. ἰωσαβέθ [A], apparently an error produced by the following בַּת (so also Gray *HPN* 285; cp Ex. 6.23, where the same error

JEHOZABAB

appears, and ELISABETH, daughter of Jeram, sister of Ahaziah, and wife of Jehoram, who saved the life of her royal nephew Joash (2 K. 11; 2 Ch. 22.11). See ATHALIAH, JOASH.
T. K. C.

JEHOSHUA (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), Nu. 13.16, and **Jehoshuah**, 1 Ch. 7.27, RV JOSHUA [7.27].

JEHOVAH (יְהוָה), Gen. 24, etc. See NAMES, § 109 ff.

JEHOVAH-JIREH (יְהוָה יִרְאֵה), κυριος [ε]λεεν [ADL], or rather Yahwe-yir'e, the name given by Abraham to the place on which he had offered up a ram instead of his son (Gen. 22.14). In view of v. 8, it should mean 'Yahwe selects'; but the next words are, according to the traditional text, 'Hence it is even yet said, In the mountain where Yahwe appears,' as if this were a popular saying (cp 10.9). We are thus face to face with an inconsistency. Probably the editor of JE, who (see ISAAC, § 2) interfered with the original story of the Elohist, vocalised differently, so as to read Yahwē-yir'e, 'Yahwe appears' (on this spot). This object is manifest from 2 Ch. 3.1, where the site of Solomon's temple is said to have been 'on Mt. Moriah (בֶּרֶךְ מֹרְיָה), where [Yahwe] appeared (נִצָּח) unto David his father.' The Elohist, however, must have written El-yir'e, and have explained the name as 'the place (which) God selects,' or generally, 'God selects (place, victim, etc., as it pleases him).' Cp MORIAH.

What the Elohist has given us cannot, however, be the original story. Using the reinterpreted story of Beer-lahai-toi as a key (see ISAAC, § 2), we see that it is the same sacred spot, called properly Beer-Jerahmeel (or Jerahmeel), which is here referred to. To suit the new Hebrew story of the divine prohibition of human sacrifice, the name Jerahmeel was altered into El-jireh ('God provides'). In v. 14 we should probably read, for בֶּרֶךְ, 'in the mountain,' 'well'—i.e., 'according as it is still the custom to say Beer-jireh-el. The latter name was an edifying alteration of Jerahmeel. בֶּרֶךְ יִרְאֵה, the first time κυριος ελεεν, the second (ἐν τῷ ὄρει) κυριος ὠθεῖ. Pesh., Vet. Lat., and (after it) Vg., represent the ḥal both times, and agree in presupposing בֶּרֶךְ.]
T. K. C.

JEHOVAH-NISSI (יְהוָה נִסִּי), κυριος καταφυγη μου, *Dominus exaltatio mea*, the name given to the altar built after the defeat of Amalek at Rephidim, Ex. 17.15. EV renders 'the Lord (is) my banner,' which is in fact the usual explanation. Most compare Ps. 206.5, and paraphrase, 'We fight in reliance on Yahwē.' The paraphrase, however, is not natural, and Ps. 205.6 is corrupt (see ENSIGNS, § 14, col. 1209).

Vg. imagines a derivation from נִסָּי; Θ apparently reads נִסִּי. Probably Θ is right; the Patek before (P) may indicate that the text is doubtful. Verse 16 is equally uncertain (on EV see HANU, 6). An inspection of the Hebrew letters suggests that both נִסִּי and נִסִּי are probably miswritten for נִסִּי. When the second נִסִּי had become corrupted into נִסִּי, the first נִסִּי had to be inserted to make sense. נִסִּי (an unusual phrase) should probably be נִסִּי, and נִסִּי should be נִסִּי.

The whole passage should probably run thus:—'And Moses built an altar, and called the name of it 'Yahwē is my refuge'; he said, 'Yahwē has put Amalek to flight in Rephidim' (בִּי נִסִּי אֶתְמִינִי בְרִפְדִּים). On the name 'Amalek' see JERAMEEL, § 4.
T. K. C.

JEHOVAH-SHALOM (יְהוָה שָׁלוֹם), εἰρημη κυριος [BA], κυρ. εἰρ. [L]; *Domini pax*, the name of Gideon's altar at Ophrah, Judg. 6.24. The name probably commemorated the traditional victory of Gideon, though the narrative as it stands seems to connect it with a phrase ascribed to Yahwē—'Peace to thee' (= 'It is well with thee'). Cp, however, Moore, *Judges*, 189.
T. K. C.

JEHOZABAB (יְהוֹזָבָב), 'Yahwē gives,' § 27; ἰωζαβὰδ [BA], See JOZABAB.

1. b. Shomer, one of the murderers of Joash, 2 K. 12.21 [22] (αὐτοκτονῶν [BA]); in 2 Ch. 24.20 f. ἰωζαβὰδ [BL], ἰωζαβὰδ [A], αὐθ [L], where the text is otherwise corrupt (cp especially 19).

JEHOZADAK

he is called b. Shimrith a Moabitess (MT, **St.**) or Moabite (**St.**).

3. b. Obed-edom, 1 Ch. 26 4 (1052800 {B}).

JEHOZADAK (יהוזאדק), §§ 36, 57 [but ייז in Ezra-Neh.], 'God is righteous,' cp זדקיהו; יוֹזָאדָק [יוֹזָאדָק]. EV JOZADAK in Ezra-Neh.; AV JOSEDECH in Hagg., Zech. The father of JESHUA (ג. v. ii., 5) the high priest (Hag. 1, etc., Zech. 6: 11; Ezra 3: 2, 5; 10: 18; Neh. 12: 26, cp 1 Esd 5: 48, 50; 8: 2, 9; 10; and Ecclus. 49: 12 [JOSEDECH, RV JOSEDECH]). In 1 Ch. 6: 14 f. [5: 50 f. יוֹזָאדָק, B] he is the son of Seraiab b. Azariah (see GENEALOGIES I., § 7 [iv.]); cp 1 Esd. 5: 5, and see SERAIAH, 7.

JEHU (יהוא), § 38, perhaps for יהודה, 'Yahwé is he,' unless we read יהוה; cp קון, קון, קון [cp Kön. *Lehrj.* 2a 489]; in Ass. *ia-u-a*, [ε]ιου [Bl.], [ε]ιου or [ε]ιου [A]).

1. ben Jehoshaphat ben Nimshi, a king of Israel.
2 K. 9 f. Hos. 14 1018a [B.A.Q.], 2 Ch. 228 (841-815 B.C.);

1. Accession. ^{see CHRONOLOGY, §§ 28-34 f., and}
^{(*tab. v.*).} Originally a member of Ahab's
bodyguard,¹ he rose to the position of general under
Jehoram, and was entrusted by him with the protection
of the border city of RAMOTH-GILEAD (or rather,
perhaps, Ramath-Salbad), menaced by the Aramean
army. Jehoram was at the time away in Jezreel,
invalided, and Jehu seized the opportunity of placing
himself on the throne.

How the conspiracy was described by the historian we cannot tell; the editor has substituted an account derived from a cycle of narratives shaped by disciples of Elisha. It is, of course, not improbable that Elisha² [gr., 8] favoured a change of dynasty; the editor may have justly preferred the dramatic scene in the Elisha narrative to the briefer account of the historian. The consequence of this editorial operation is that we do not know for whom Jehu's speech in 2 K. 10.16 is intended. Probably, however, he addresses his chief supporters in the army, whose existence is implied by the word *ἡμεῖς*, 'he bound himself (with others)' in v. 14a.³

The story of the slaughter of king Jehoram and his royal kinsman and vassal Ahaziah need not be related at length. Jehu poses as the champion of true Israelitic manners, and justifies his treatment of Jehoram as an act of vengeance for the judicial murder of Naboth, contemplated by the *š-m'm* declaration of Elijah. Ahaziah's race for life is referred to elsewhere (see HETHAGGAN; GUR). The murder of JEZEBEL [q.v.] was justified on similar grounds. That of the sons of Ahab, or rather (see 2 K. 10:2 f.) of Jehoram,⁴ however, is simply the measure constantly taken by Oriental usurpers for their own security.

The opening words of 2 K. 10.1, and also 'seventy persons' in 7. 68 are incorrect glosses; the number seventy in 7. 7 is made up by including all the 'sons of the king'—i.e., all the members of the royal family, as well as the young children of Joram. 'Seventy', however, is not to be taken literally; a similar massacre of seventy relatives of the king is mentioned in a north Syrian inscription.⁵

Two further acts of butchery are recorded. In the first, the victims are forty-two kinsmen of King Ahaziah who are on their way to visit the Israelite princes in Samaria (cp 10 12). The passage is, however, evidently in a wrong connection;⁶ the contents belong to the revolution period which is just over. The princes must have encountered Jehu to the S. of Samaria, whereas Jehu, according to 10 12, should be on his way from Jezreel in the N. to Samaria. It is not impossible that the murder may

2. Acts of cruelty.

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¹ On the question of Jehu's origin, see ISSACHAR, § 4.

* Another cycle of stories represented Elijah as the prophet who favoured Jehu's insurrection (1 K. 19 16, 1909 [AD]).

³ This form occurs elsewhere only in 2 Ch. 24 25 f., of the parties to a conspiracy.

⁴ See *Sta. Z. d. Pfl.*, '85, p. 275. The 'rulers of Jezreel' (r. 1) must also be wrong. B¹ and Vg. presuppose the reading

לְהַגִּיד לְרִשְׁתָּם וְלְכָל־עַמּוּתָא, 'to the officials of the city, and to' (Keil, Bähr, Klo., Benz., Ki.). Cp. v. 5.

⁶ *Sia. Z. I. W.*, '85, p. 276.

JEHU

have been committed within the border of Judah, and stand in connection with an attempt on the part of Jehu to incorporate Judah, which in Ahab's time had already been reduced to vassalage, in a great Israelitish kingdom, the centre of which would be in Samaria.¹ This idea is confirmed by the co-operation which Jehu appears to have received on religious grounds from JONADAB the Rechabite; the seats of the Rechabites were surely not in the N. but in the S. of Judah.

It is not much help to say that 'the story of Jonah is in this connection improbable' (Deutz).² But if the account of Jehu's meeting with Jonahiah in 2 K. 10 15, 16 is complete, no one would assert; and the implied view of the editor, that Jonahiah rode with Jehu in his chariot into Samaria with a $\frac{1}{2}$ of a witness-
ing Jehu's destruction of the devotees of Baal in the highest degree: improbable. Such a course would have put all the adherents of Baal worship on their guard, and nullified Jehu's reputation for 'subtlety'.³ But we cannot get rid of Rechabite co-operation altogether.

The second massacre is on a vaster scale; it is nothing less than the extermination of the prophets, priests, and devotees of Baal, and the 'subtlety' of Jehu consists in this—that he makes the priests and prophets the instruments of the ruin of their religion. The persons who 'sanctified a solemn assembly for Baal' (2 K. 10.20 RV), were not the courtiers of Jehu but Baal's prophets and priests (v. 19, where 'all his worshippers' is an interpolation).³ So all the Baal worshippers in the land were collected in the courts, or perhaps in the *lithak* or hall⁴ of the temple (presumably a large one) which Ahab had built in Samaria (1 K. 16.32). How the stern warriors of Jehu slew the robed devotees, hurled the sacred objects to the ground, pressed into the sanctuary itself, took thence the sacred pillar of Baal and broke it in pieces, pulled down the altar⁵ (cp 1 K. 16.32 *ff.*), and finally the temple itself, is graphically told in 2 K. 10.18-27. How far it is really historical we can hardly say. The fact at any rate is certain that in the narrator's time Ahab's temple lay in ruins, and that tradition connected this with the name of the cruel king Jehu. It also appears likely enough that Jehu was not originally known as a *strict* worshipper of Yahweh; the hypocritical words, 'Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much,' would have had no effect if Jehu had been a person like Jonadab the Rechabite. It is perfectly conceivable that a leading prophet like Elisha may have selected Jehu as the substitute for the religiously worthless Jezebel,⁶ simply on the ground of his usefulness, not for any good moral qualities which he supposed Jehu to possess (cp 1 K. 19.17). Jehu, on his side, accepted the support of Elisha, and adopted the prophetic programme,

¹ *Wi. Ges. h.* 185; cp 165, 177.

² The words 'and Jehonadab ben Rechab' in v. 23 are, of course, a late insertion.

³ So Klostermann, Benzinger, Kittel.

⁴ The correction of 'vestry' into 'hall' (see VESTRY) is a great gain to the sense.

8 The critical emendations of the text are nearly all due to Klostermann. Thus, for 'to the city of the House of Baal' we should read, 'even to the sanctuary' (שְׁרָרֵינוּ, *šr'w* *šr'w* *šr'w*); for 'and the guard and the captains cast (them) out' 'hurled to the ground the Ašerim' (אֲשֵׁרִים אֲשֶׁר הָרְגוּ); for 'pillars' (עֲמֻדֹת), 'pillar' (עֲמֻדָּה); so אֲשֵׁרִים; omit אֲשֵׁרִים; for 'pillar' (ע. 27), 'altar' (מִזְבֵּחַ), so Benz. To these add אֲשֵׁרִים, 'and they broke it in pieces' (ע. 26) for אֲשֵׁרִים, 'and they burned it' (Che.). Ewald (*GI* 73 572, n. 2) seeks to defend מִזְבֵּחַ הַבַּיִת, 'the city of the House of Baal', but admits that the 'Holy of Holies' is what is meant. The 'Holy of Holies' should be מִזְבֵּחַ; it fell out owing to the preceding ה. Benz. and Ki also link מִזְבֵּחַ attractive, but make no objection to הַבַּיִת (ע. 27, EV 'a draught house'). If, however, the emendations of similar readings elsewhere (cp Hove's DUNG) are in the highest degree probable, such conservatism is injudicious. The present writer has proposed הַבַּיִת (Ezek. 20 12). Perhaps the true reading was deliberately altered.

⁶ It is true that, according to 2 K. 2 (R¹⁹), Jehoram 'put away the pillar (EBL, Klo. "pillars") of Baal that his father had made.' But in 7: 13 Elisha expresses the utmost contempt for that king.

JEHUBBAH

simply because it was convenient so to do. The great prophet Hosea saw through him, and implies that many of his contemporaries passed the same moral condemnation on 'the bloodshed of Jezreel' (Hos. 14). Unhappily 2 K. 10.30 (R_u) expresses a very different judgment.

The view adopted above, that Jehu's main political object was to subjugate Judah, is supported by a consideration of his relation to Syria (Damascus). He was fighting against the Arameans when the chance was offered him of seizing the crown, and the history of the reign of Ahab warned him of his constant danger from Damascus. The one sure date in his reign is his payment of tribute to Shalmaneser II. in 842 B.C., which we may probably place immediately after the deeds related in 2 K. 9. In this year Shalmaneser once more attacked Syria, whose king, Hazael, he ultimately besieged in Damascus; Tyre and Sidon, and Yaua (Jehu) of Bit-Humri purchased the favour of the monarch by rich gifts¹ (see Ball, *Light from the East*, 166 f.).

The relief thus gained by Jehu was, however, only temporary. Damascus was not taken by the Assyrians, and after 839 B.C. Syria had a long period of rest. It immediately resumed the offensive against Israel. 'In those days,' says an extract from the annals, 'Yanwe began to loathe² Israel, and Hazael smote them in all Israel's borders, from Aroer which is by the valley of the Arnon to Gilead and Bashan' (2 K. 10.32). It was, not improbably, at this troublous period that Jericho was fortified as a protection for the Jordan valley. Jehu, not an unknown HIEI, is probably the name of the builder of the fortifications, and, somewhat as Mesha, king of Moab, sacrificed his first-born son to Chemosh when in danger from the Israelites, he sacrificed (in a peculiar way) his eldest son when he laid the foundations, and his youngest when he set up the gates. This is no doubt only a conjecture, but no other adequate explanation of 1 K. 16.34 appears to have been offered. Jehu's religion is elsewhere represented by the historian as of a rather low type (2 K. 10.31). See HIEI, where C. Niebuhr's suggestion is adopted—that 1 K. 16.34 originally stood after 2 K. 10.33.

2. b. Hanani, a prophet, temp. Baasha and Jehoshaphat, who, according to the Chronicler, wrote a history of his time (1 K. 16.17; 2 Ch. 9.29; 2 Ch. 20.34; 2 Ch. 24.26).
3. b. Obad, a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2.48; 2 Ch. 24.26).
4. b. Joshiabiah, a Simeonite (1 Ch. 4.35; 2 Ch. 24.26).
5. An Anathothite, one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12.3; 2 Ch. 24.26).

JEHUBBAH (יהובב). Kt.—i.e., Yabba, § 53; 'he [God] hides,' cp ELIAHBA, HANABAH; יבב Kt.—i.e., 'and HUBBAH,' cp ARUBUS, a name in a genealogy of ASHER (g.r., § 4 ii., and note), 1 Ch. 7.34 (כאי ופבא [B], i.e., Hobab); כאי ופבא [A], כאי ופבא [L].

JEHUCAL (יהועל). § 35. 'Yahweh is mighty' (?); Gray, *HPV* 152, n. 1, regards יועל as a derivative from יבב, Güdemann, *Der Ahnen-cultus*, 188, n. 2, maintains the composition with יבב; יועל [BAQ] or, shortened, as in ch. 38, יועל (יבב), one of Zedekiah's courtiers (Jer. 37.3; יועל [B], יועל [BAQ]; 38.1; יועל [B], יועל [BAQ]).

JEHUD (יהודה). אבא [B], יוהא [A], -יבא [L], a city of Dan mentioned before BENE BERAK (Josh. 19.45).

¹ In the legend on the Black Obelisk Jehu is called 'son of Humri'—an inaccuracy which need not surprise us; cp, however, ISSACHAR, § 4.

² For יבב, יבב, RV 'to cut short,' read probably יבב (Vg. *tedere*), with K_u, Gr_u, Tg., however, יבב (so Hitz., Then., Kan., Benz., Kt.).

³ A later scribe has prefixed a second specification—'from the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, the Reubenites, and the Manassites.' Gilead as a designation of the whole of the trans-Jordanic territory is late (Benz.).

⁴ The readings יועל[r], -ov, are probably corruptions in the Greek for יועל.

JEKUTHIEL

Doubtless the modern *Yahudiyyeh*, about three miles E. of Ibn Ibrak, in the district of Lydda, about eight miles E. from Jaffa.

JEHUDI (יהודי). § 76; 'Jew'; יוהדי [e]in [BSAQ], cp JUDITH.

An officer in close relation to the 'princes' who took Jeremiah's roll into consideration before it was read (by the same Jehudi) to Jehoiakim (Jer. 36.14; יוהדי [A], BM om.; v. 23, יוהדי [A]; Vg. *Jud*). His great-grandfather was named CUSHI [g.r.]; perhaps Jehudi had lately been admitted as a naturalised 'Jew' on the principle of Dt. 23.2 (Hitzig).

JEHUDIAH, or rather, as in RV, 'the Jewess' (יהודיה), apparently one of the wives of MERED (g.r.) (1 Ch. 4.13; אדיה [B], אדיה [A], יוהדיה [L]). The passage relating to Mered and his wives (?) is disfigured by several corruptions. Possibly Ha-jehudiah (so RV^{ms}) is a faulty reading for Hodiah (cp BITHIAH, JAHDAI). The children of 'the Jewess' are connected with the places Gedor, Socoh, and Zimoth (see JERED, JEKUTHIEL, SOC OH).

JEHUEL (יהואל). Kt. יואל Kt.; יואל [BAL]; JAHIEL; so RV, but AV JEIHEL. A Levite of the guild of Henan (2 Ch. 29.14). The name reminds us of יואל (see MEIR (A)), but though we might read Jehu-el—i.e., 'God (El) giveth life,' the name is more probably a corruption of Jerahmeel (cp JEHAIELEI).

Apart from the indications of Jerahmeelite connections in these genealogies we might compare the Phœnician name Jehu-mek, 'Melek giveth life' (CZ 1.10, 1.15), and parallel Assyrian and Babylonian names, such as Asur-uballit ('Asur giveth life'), Bal-uballit, Samas-uballit, Sin-uballit (R¹ 2.206, 4.112 f.; Winkler, *GBA* 50). T. K. C.

JEHUSH (ישוע). 1 Ch. 8.39, RV JEUSH (g.r., 3).

JEIEL (יזאל). Kt. יזאל in Nos. 2, 3, 6, and 7; יזאל [BSA], cp JEIEL.

1. A Reubenite, 1 Ch. 5.7 (יזאל [BAL]). See REUBEN.
2. AV JEIHEL, father of Gilead: 1 Ch. 9.35 (יזאל [B], יזאל [A]). The name seems to be corrupt. It will not do to read יזאל, though Abiel in 1 S. 9.11 is the father of Kish (who might seem to suit v. 10), for 'Becher' would have a prior claim, and Gilead (not Gileon) was the home of the Horites (see GIBEA, § 1). Read perhaps יזאל, Jeriel, and supply the same name in 1 Ch. 8.20 (RV Jeiel). JEIAEL [g.r.] was the brother of Becher. See GIBEA, § 1. (Jeriel=Jerahmeel).
3. AV JEIHEL, one of David's heroes: 1 Ch. 11.44 (יזאל [B], יזאל [A], יזאל [L]).
4. A doorkeeper for the ark: 1 Ch. 15.14 (יזאל [B]).
5. Ancestor of Jahaziel, an Asaphite Levite: 2 Ch. 20.14 (יזאל [B], יזאל [A]).
6. One of Uziah's scribes (יזאל); 2 Ch. 26.11.
7. RV JEIEL, a Levite of the family of Elzaphan, temp. Hezekiah: 2 Ch. 29.14 (יזאל [B]).
8. A chief of the Levites, temp. Uziah: 2 Ch. 35.9 (יזאל [B], יזאל [A]). In 1 Esd. 9.9 יזאל [BA?] יזאל [A?], AV JEIEL, RV JEIEL.
9. RV JEIEL, head of a father's house in a post-exilic list: Ezra 8.13 (יזאל [B], יזאל [A]). In 1 Esd. 8.39 JEIEL AV and RV (יזאל [B], יזאל [A]).
10. A layman who joined in the league against alien marriages: Ezra 10.43 (יזאל [B], יזאל [A], יזאל [L]). T. K. C.

JEKABZEEL (יזכבזעל). Neh. 11.25. See KATZEL.

JEKAMEAM (יזכמאם). 'the [divine] kinsman avenges'; see JOKMEAM, and § 11. The vowels are untrustworthy. In another form יזכמאם takes the place of יזכמאם; see § 8, and JEKAMIAH, a Levite, 'son' of Helphai (1 Ch. 23.19; יזכמאם [BA]; 24.21, יזכמאם [B], יזכמאם [A]; both places, יזכמאם [L]). See GENEALOGIES I, § 7 [v].

JEKAMIAH (יזכמאם). See JEKAMEAM.

1. b. Shallum, a descendant of JARUA (g.r.), 1 Ch. 2.41 (יזכמאם [B], יזכמאם [A], יזכמאם [L]).
2. AV JEKAMIAH, one of the sons of king Jeconiah (1 Ch. 3.18, יזכמאם [BA], יזכמאם [A], and see Be. *ad loc.*).

JEKUTHIEL (יזכתיאל). יזכתיאל [B], יזכתיאל [A] (see SW). יזכתיאל [L], the name given to the father,

¹ With regard to nos. 4, 5, 7 it may be observed that both Elzaphan and the doorkeepers were ascribed to Kehath, the latter through K'arah; and that Asaph himself, who appears as a Gershonite, seems to have been at one time a Korahite; see further GENEALOGIES I, § 7.

ЖЕРИТНАН

Г. К. С.

Learning has not succeeded in accounting for this name. ⁸ (*guspa*) and Vg. (*lira*) suggest derivation from *gr*, 'day', out of which the rendering *Diana* has even blossomed; moderns, but not Schullens, identify with Ar. *yammat* 'dove', or (Del.) with *yammat*, diminutive of *yammat* 'yammat'. No theory is free from objection. When we remember, however, the frequency of certain textual corruptions, and the popularity of the Song of Songs, we cannot hesitate to read *ḥadad*, 'the spotless' (cp. *ḥḏḏ*, Cant. 5:20). Observe that *ḥadad*, 'the

T K C.

When the author of *Judith* wrote, *Jamnia* was still altogether a heathen city (cp 86a); this is a fact of importance with reference to the theory of Volkmar, who regarded the Book of *Judith* as a reflection of the campaign of Trajan, A.D. 118. The book must be older than *Johanan ben Zakai*, who transferred the *Simhethin* to *Jamnia*; older too than *Philo*, who would not have described *Jamnia* as a heathen city (see *JAMNIA*; and cp *JUDITH*, BOOK OF).

ЈЕРУША (יְרֻשָּׁה, '[God] opens [the womb].'
54, 61; ср. **ЈЕРУШАН**, **ЈЕРУШАН-ЕЛ**, **РЕШАУАН**).

The prevalent critical opinion is that the story comes from a single traditional narrative, but that a great interpolation has been made (11.12-28 [or 29]), compiled from JE's narrative in Nu. 20 f. According to Wellhausen (*CHP*, 228 f.), this leaves nothing definite to be told of Jephthah except the anecdote of his sacrifice of his daughter; this critic also regards 12.1-6 as a late appendix, based on a part of the story of Gideon (8.1-19). Moore (*Judges*, 283), also a believer in one source (cp *JUDGES*, § 10), disputes the necessity of this unfavourable inference; he finds more substance in Jephthah than does the great German critic. Holzinger

and Bidde have struck out a new path for themselves, which still more decidedly than Moore's encourages the belief in a historical Jephthah. According to them, the existing Jephthah-story is derived from two independent sources (cp GUDRÖN). One of these (F) stated that the hero resided in Mizpah, made war on a foreign people which had done him some grievous injury, and gained the victory over them, but at the cost of his dearest possession—his own flesh and blood: the other (J), that, though a Gileadite, he had become a freebooter on a foreign soil, and was commissioned by the Gileadites to avenge *their* wrongs on their oppressors, which he accomplished, though denied the help of the tribes W. of the Jordan (cp 12:2 and 11:29). 12:6 also belongs to this source. In the strange mixture of references to Moab and Ammon in 11:27-28 these critics also find evidence that there were two traditions respecting

Our course, however, in dealing with the existing story of Jephthah, must be somewhat different. Budde, with whom we may couple Frankenberg, **2. New theory.** (*Comp. d. alt. Bichterk. 23 f.*) is of the

Not improbably, we suggest, it is to JAIR (q. 7.1), as not only victorious over his foes, but the conqueror of the Havvoth-jair, that the first story was originally devoted. In Judg. 10:3.5 the account of this *šiphē* is tantalisingly brief; he is, what Willhausen calls Jephthah, not a form but a shadow. The second story brings ns face to face with the true Jephthah.

time, in the land of Tubihi (see TOR), a valiant man, a Gileadite, Jair by name.² For some forgotten cause he had been banished from his country, and had become renowned, like David afterwards, as the leader of a band of freebooters. So the elders of Salhad³ (the border city of Gilead), in their despair, went to this outlaw at Tubihi, and besought him to lead them against the men of Haurân, and, when he asked for his reward, a solemn promise was made to him before Yahwê at Mizpah (the sanctuary of Salhad, see MIZPAH) that if he came back victorious he should be the 'head' of all the inhabitants of Gilead. Then Jair sent messengers to the king of Haurân, who said to him, Why hast thou come into the land of Israel? [Did not Laban, son of Haurân, make a solemn covenant with Israel, son of Isaac, not to pass beyond the border cities Salhad and Mizpah?] Let Yahwê judge this day between the sons of Israel and the sons of Haurân (1127b)! But the king of Haurân hearkened not unto the words of Jair. And Yahwê delivered the men of Haurân into the hand of Jair, and he fell upon city after city, from Edrei as far as the approach to Salhad, and as far as the district of Maachah—twenty cities.⁶ So the sons of Haurân became subject to the sons of [Gilead].⁷ But the men of Ephraim were angry because

¹ For *qay* (early error) read *qay*, and for *qay* (editorial alteration) read *qay*.

³ For $\eta\eta\eta$ (editorial alteration) read $\eta\mu$.

³ For גלעך (early error) read צלחך (see FILEAD).

⁴ See Gen. 31:44-54, and *cf.* GULEAD, § 4; LABAN.

^b Read **עֵשָׂא בֶן אֱשָׂו** with **Hu**

[illegible]

⁷ Something like v. 33, but with $\eta\eta\eta$ for $\eta\eta\eta$, must have

JEPHTHAH

Gilead had set up an independent sovereignty. In defence of the old tribal constitution they came to Mizpah¹ (12:1) and fought with Jair. But the battle went against them; many of them fell, others fled to the fords of Jordan. But when the fugitives sought to pass over, their speech betrayed that they were of Ephraim, and their brethren the men of Gilead had no mercy on them. [And the cities which Jair took from the men of Hauran were called Havvoth-jair.² Afterwards they came into the possession of Geshur and Aram.³] And Jair died and was buried in Mahanaim⁴ (10:5).

11. *Story of Jephthah.*—Now the men of Hauran greatly oppressed the men of Gilead, [and when Jephthah, a valiant Gileadite of Mizpah, with his clan, resisted them, they slew Jephthah's own brethren and many others also].

In the bitterness of his heart, and with settled purpose, Jephthah went to the sanctuary. There he vowed to Yahwe that whoever came out of the door of his house to meet him, when he returned safely from the sons of Hauran, should be Yahwe's, and that he would offer him up as a burnt offering. And Yahwe gave Jephthah the victory, and he returned home. But behold, he saw coming out to meet him, at the head of her maidens, with music and dancing, his own, his only child. He rent his garments and spoke, and the maiden answered as became a maiden of Israel. 'To the father it was a stunning blow; but his daughter would not add to it by reproaches or complaints. For such a victory over the foes of her house she was content to yield up her life. But she asked and obtained a respite of two months that she might go upon the mountains⁵ with her companions and bewail her maidenhood. After this Jephthah did to her what he had vowed to do; she died a virgin. And it became the custom in Israel for women to devote four days in the year to bewailing⁶ Jephthah's daughter. And Jephthah died, and was buried in his city, Salhad (12:7).

The first of these stories (J), like those of Gideon and Jerubbaal, has suffered much transformation, owing partly to corruption of the text, partly to the editor's want of comprehension of Hebrew antiquity. Whoever misread גִּלְעָד, 'Gilead,' for גִּלְחָד, 'Salhad,' must have been unaware of the great part played by this border city in early Israelitish history, or he would surely have felt that a Gilead-story with no reference to Salhad could hardly be right. The alteration of 'Jair' into 'Jephthah' was deliberate; it is perhaps a sign of the editor's deep interest in the fascinating story of Jephthah's daughter. He wanted to tell more about Jephthah, and robbed Jair to fill out the meagre tradition of Jephthah. At the same time he filled up gaps in the partly illegible narrative which lay before him. Thus to account for Jephthah's (Jair's) outlawry he made him a bastard driven from his home by his brothers, and in lieu of the illegible account of Jephthah's (Jair's) message to the king of Ammon (for

stood in the original story, to express the full result of the great victory. גִּלְחָד, of course stands in connection with the late and incorrect insertion in v. 20. Jephthah (rather, Jair) made no attempt to get a levy of Manassites or (12:2) of Ephraimites.

¹ For גִּלְעָד read גִּלְחָד. Cp Mez, *Bibel des Jov.* 17.

² Possibly the uncertainty whether the HAVVOTH-JAIR (2:1) were in Gilead or in Bashan arose from the corruption of Salhad into Gilead. The cities referred to became by conquest cities of Salhad, and Salhad was on the border of Bashan and Gilead. See next note.

³ See 1 Ch. 22:1-2, which originally stood with 7:14-19, where originally, it is probable, much was said of Salhad (ZEPHETHAD).
⁴ In 10:5 read probably מַחֲנַיִם for מַחֲנַיִם. A Mahanaim not far to the SW. of Salhad seems to be meant (cp Gen. 32:2). CAMON (2:1) is unknown. Probably there was no such place.

⁵ Buddle (after van Dommick) conjectures that גִּלְעָד is a misplaced gloss. Certainly EV's 'that I may depart and go down upon the mountains' is impossible. The remedy is not difficult, when we remember the practice of the writers. גִּלְעָד is a corruption of גִּלְעָד (end of verse), written too soon, and left uncorrected.

⁶ For גִּלְעָד (11:40) read probably גִּלְעָד (Gen.).

JERAH

so he misreads גִּלְעָד he inserts a tedious historico-legal argument referring entirely to Moab, and therefore most inappropriate for a discussion with the king of Ammon. He also interpolates the central part of the touching story of Jephthah's daughter, so that the transition from Jephthah's, or rather Jair's, conquest of the twenty cities and the Ephraimite invasion is obscured.¹ Cp JAIR.

How much of the two stories is historical? The border warfare between the Hauranites and the Gileadites. The temporary subjection of cities in Hauran to the Gileadites. The importance of Salhad and the citadel and sanctuary of Mizpah or Peniel (? see MIZPAH). The invasion of Gilead by the Ephraimites, which was an assertion of the rights of the tribal federation (see W. G. 151, n. 1). The offering up of a maiden as a sacrifice for Yahwe under great stress—perhaps for the last time. On the Shibolet incident no great stress can be laid. It is plausible in the extreme (see SHIBOLETH); but a clever narrator might easily imagine it.

We must not, however, pass over the annual mourning of the Israelitish women referred to in 11:40. There is no occasion to doubt that a great

6. *Jephthah's daughter.* There are good parallels to Yahwe's. There are good parallels for this, not only in OT passages (see SACRIFICE), but especially in an Arabian tradition mentioned by Lyaal (*Arabian Poetry*, introd., p. xxxviii). 'Al-Mundhir had made a vow that on a certain day in each year he would sacrifice the first person he saw; 'Abd [a poet] came in sight on the unlucky day, and was accordingly killed, and the altar smeared with his blood.' The sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, however, seems to have been connected, at any rate, in later times, at Mizpah and probably elsewhere, with a ceremony which consisted originally in mourning for the death of a virgin goddess. Such a ceremony (which is analogous to the well-known mourning for TAMMUZ [2:1]) is attested by Porphyry and Pausanias as still performed in their time at Laodicea on the Phoenician coast, and as connected with the sacrifice of a stag (cp ISAAC, § 4) which was a substitute for the more ancient sacrifice of a maiden.² The fact that the name of Jephthah's daughter was associated with such a celebration is of itself enough to refute the idea that she was not really sacrificed but only dedicated to perpetual virginity. This notion first appears, according to Moore, in the Kimchis (end of 12th cent. A.D.); the older Jewish and Christian interpreters all take the words of 11:36a in their natural sense. It may be noticed that Jephthah's daughter is not referred to in the NT; Jephthah himself, however, is a hero of faith (Heb. 11:32).

See, besides W. G. 151, and the commentaries of Moore and Budde, St. A. 151; Kittel, *Hist.* 289-91; Frankenberg, *Die Composition des deuteronom. Richterbuches*, 35-38 (95); C. Niebuhr, *Studien*, i. 222 f. (24) (his writer transfers the Shibolet section to the story of Jerubbaal); Köhler, *Bibl. Gesch.* 22 31, n. 1 (on the mythical theories of Goldziher and Gril).
T. K. C.

JEPHUNNEH, once AV Jephunne (גִּלְחָד), '[God] is brought back,' § 54; cp Palm. גִּלְחָד: ἀφουνη [BAFL].

1. The father of CALED (Nu. 13:6 [P] Dt. 1:35 [D] Josh 14:6 [E] and 15:1, 1 Ch. 4:15 [4:6] L. clus. 467, AV JEPHUNNE).
2. h. Jether or Ithra of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. 7:38; φηρα [B], φηρα [A]).

JERAH (גִּרָה), a son of Joktan, mentioned after Hazarmaveth (Gen. 10:26; גִּרָה [A], גִּרָה [E], גִּרָה [L]; 1 Ch. 1:20 om. BA, γαρε [L]). Possibly, like some other Arabian tribes, named after the 'moon' (גִּרָה = moon in Heb., Ph., Eth.; Sab. גִּרָה = month); cp the

¹ Moore's attempt (*Judges*, 306) to explain 12:1-6 in connection with the story of Jephthah's daughter had to be made that all possible devices might be tried, but is hardly successful.

² Here we differ from Goldziher, *Hebrew Mythology*, 96 f.

³ See WRS *Rel. Sem.* 419 466.

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Palmyrene name ܝܪܗܡܝܠ. Glaser (*Skizze*, 2423) identifies with Mahra and S. Qmān. For other suggested identifications see Ball, Smith's *DBI*, s.v.

JERAHMEEL (יֵרַחְמֵאל, 'God pities' ['loves' or 'is friendly'; cp Ass. *rimu* and ܪܝܡܐ in Nab. and Palm. inscr.], §§ 28, 53; cp perh. ܐܣܪܝܐ, 'Assur pities' (?), *CIS* 2, no. 43 A; ܐܪܡܐܝܐ [BAL], also ܐܪܡܐ, ܐܪܡܐ [BA], ܐܪܡܐ, [A], ܐܪܡܐ, [L]).¹

1. The name of a clan, located in the Negeb of Judah, which had friendly relations with David during his residence at Ziklag (1 S. 27.10-30.2).

1. History. Jerahmeelite, יֵרַחְמֵאֵלִי, ܝܪܗܡܝܠܐ, ܝܪܗܡܝܠ [B], ܝܪܗܡܝܠܐ, ܝܪܗܡܝܠܐ [A], ܐܪܡܐܝܐ ܝܪܗܡܝܠ [L]). Jerahmeel and Caleb are genealogically spoken of as brothers (1 Ch. 29.42), a relation which probably began at an early date and continued until both were finally reckoned to Israel as part of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. 2).² We must not, however, infer from the wording of 1 S. 27.10-12 that already in David's time the clans formed part of Saul's kingdom.³

To supplement the scanty references to Jerahmeel in the MT (but see below, § 4) it would be reasonable to assume that the clan shared throughout the course of its existence the same fortunes as CALEB: viz., that in post-exilic times it was pushed to the N. of Judah by the advancing Edomites (cp CALEB, § 4), that previous to its occupation of the Negeb it had come from the distant S. of Palestine (*ib.* § 2), and that together with Caleb it had joined in the wanderings from Kadesh (in the N. Arabian Musri) to Hebron (see EXODUS i. § 4 f.; HEBRON, § 1; KADESH i. § 3). A critical inspection of the Jerahmeelite genealogical lists may perhaps be found to lend interesting support to these assumptions (which also receive independent confirmation from the inquiries summed up in NEGER, § 2).

Turning to the genealogies in 1 Ch. 2 we find that the names in general betray an affinity with **2. Genealogies.** South Palestine).

The older divisions of the tribe (v. 23) are Ram (of whose offshoots Jamin is elsewhere the name of a Simeonite clan whilst Eker reminds us of Ekron), Bunah (? *DB* Baraca, see Ki. 5.8(7)),⁴ Oren (cp Edomite ARAN, and OZEM (Davidic)).⁵ The mention of 'another wife' (v. 26) might suggest that the clan, like Caleb, moved to a new seat (see ATARAH), in which case Atarah's son Onam (*ib.*) might remind us of the Benjamite BEN-ON [v. 1]. Onam, moreover, has Edomite associations, and, looking more closely at the names of the 'sons,' we observe; (a) Shammai (v. 28), also a Calebite division (v. 45); (b) Abishur and Abihail (v. 29), names with distinctly S. Arabian affinities; (c) Zaza (v. 33), perhaps the same as the Simeonite ZIZA; and finally (d) Issi (v. 31), with Simeonite and Judean affinities.

The genealogy includes Molit and Jether (v. 29.32). One is tempted to connect these with the two place-names, MOLADAH and JATHUR, and to locate the Jerahmeelites in the district of 'Attir and Tell el-Mith, to the NW. and S. of Arad respectively. This seems to be supported by Shishak's list (EGYPT, § 63), where *yu-ra-hu-ma* [el?] (no. 112) follows almost immediately upon *ha-k-ru-ma* 'a-ru-d-ā ru-bi-t (nos. 107-110) — 'the dis-

¹ For the late Jewish legends connected with this name see 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' (ed. Gaster, 1900).

² In view of the analogy between Jerahmeel and the tribal names Ishmael, Israel, etc. (some of which may be geographical), it is unnecessary to treat Jerahmeel as a compound of יֵרַח and מֵאל with the addition of ܡܝܠܐ in ARAMEAN, nor could we find support for this in the name JARHA (for which see in 1 Ch. 2.14 suggests the form 'Jarhel'), since, in common with JEROMEAN, it is probably nothing more than a popular abbreviation. Sayce (who cites Jerahmeel as preserving a trace of 'mimination') points out that Varhamu (Jerahmeel) has been found in contract-tablets dated in the reign of Šamš-šilana, and supposes the name to be the origin of Ovid's Orphamus (*PSB*, I 21.21 [1900]).

³ Cp Meyer, *Entst.* 116 ff.

⁴ Cp CALEB, § 2. Probably 1 S. 27.9.11 do not belong to the original narrative (the tenses are frequentative). The passage refers to one expedition (not to David's custom), and the sequel is related in 1 S. 30.

⁵ The name reminds us of BENAMIAH (1) of KADESH (q.v.), one of David's officers.

⁶ EX's Ahijah should be 'his brother(s)'; see AHIAH, 6.

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tricts (see FIELD) of Great Arad.¹ (For other indications of the seats of this clan, see NEGER, § 2.)

For the earlier history of Jerahmeel the unique genealogy of JARHA [v. 2] in 1 Ch. 2 is highly suggestive.²

3. Musrite Origin? The fragment (v. 34-41) gives the descendants of Yarha 'the Musrite servant' (יָרַח כַּסְרִי) and the daughter of Sheshan to the thirteenth generation. Jarha (as also the lad in 1 S. 30.13) was most probably a native of the near-lying country of Musri (see MIZRAIM, § 26), and the obscure name Sheshan reminds us both of the Hebronite Sheshan and of the Egyptian designation *Isu* (strictly *ssu*) 'bedouin,' with which SHESHAI [v. 2], has been connected.³

It is worth noticing that v. 34-41 are independent of the preceding verses, and that the introduction of Sheshan in v. 34 is probably secondary (contrast the details with v. 34a). It is not certain therefore that he was a Jerahmeelite. The name of the Musrite servant, on the other hand, seems to be an eponym of the clan Jerahmeel itself. Possibly the genealogy is to be interpreted to mean that Jerahmeel moved N. from Musri and settled in the vicinity of Hebron (compare Sheshan with Sheshai).

It has been suggested elsewhere that the oldest features of Korah's revolt (Nu. 16) belong to the tradition of a journey from the Musrite Kadesh to Judah (see EXODUS i. § 6).⁴ Now Korah, even in the earlier strands of P, is not a Levite; it is possible that he was originally a Calebite (cp KORAH i. 2). It is tempting, therefore, to associate Peleth the father of On (or Onan [CAF], cp Onam above) with the same name in the genealogy of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 2.33),⁵ and to regard the clan as participating in the revolt. (The significance of the clan-name Peleth and the traces of the northward migration or extension of the Jerahmeelites are considered elsewhere. See NEGER, § 2.)

Among other features of interest in the genealogy of Jarha⁶ are the two names Nathan and Zabai (v. 36) who, it has sometimes been suggested, are no other than the prophet and officer (see ZABUD, 1) of the days of David and Solomon. When we consider the influence of the far S. of Palestine upon the worship of Yahwe this view cannot be pronounced altogether arbitrary. If, as has been indicated elsewhere (see GENEALOGIES, § 7 [v.]), there is evidence to show that the names of Yahwe's Levites are largely derived from the far S., surely Nathan (although not a Levite) may well have been of Jerahmeelite or even Musrite origin.⁷

Another well-known figure may perhaps have had a similar origin. Marquart (*Fund.* 12) has already observed that Samuel's genealogy in 1 S. 1.1 is two-fold, and that he is traced back to Jerahmeel (see JEROMEAN, 1), and Tabath (Tohu, etc.) respectively. We might conjecture, therefore, that Samuel was a Jerahmeelite, but at a later date was represented as an Ephraimite (see TABATH). But as an alternative suggestion it is no less possible that the Jerahmeelite notices should belong (as a marginal note) to the name of Eli who is introduced suddenly without word of

¹ WMM *Ar. u. Eur.* 168. 1, no. 11, *Ar-ha-ta*, the Jerahmeelite Nadab (1 Ch. 2.26)?

² On the list cp Gray (*HPN* 234 f.): 'the character of the thirteen names presents nothing inconsistent with the genealogy being genuine.'

³ Cp the Hebronite and Geshurite TALMAI. May we further identify the Jerahmeelite name Ahban (see ABHAN) with the Hebronite Ahiman (יְחִימָן)?

⁴ The tradition is provisionally called 'Calebite': the clan Caleb seems to have overshadowed all other petty S. Judean populations (cp CALEB, § 3). A better designation would probably be 'Levitical': cp the relation between the 'Levites' (see GENEALOGIES, § 7 [esp. v.]) and the S. of Judah. See also KADESH i. § 2.

⁵ See further *AJS* 16.177 n.

⁶ See ELISHAMA, 1.4, SHALLEMI, 3, SISAMAI, and note that Helez (v. 36) is elsewhere the name of a warrior from the South Judean Beth-pelet (but see PAITHE).

⁷ Not the prophet only; perhaps also his king (but see JUDAH). One observes how persistently tradition sends David to the S. of Judah, to wander in the wilderness of Paran, 1 S. 2.1 (on the text see H. P. Smith), or to fight against the inhabitants of the land bordering on Mizraim (Musri), *ib.* 27.8; see the present writer's note in *AJS*, 16.

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comment in 3. This view, moreover, perhaps gains in probability when we notice (1) the un-Hebraic character of the names of Eli's descendants, which find their analogy only in Egyptian (see PUTNAM) or South Arabian (cp ELLI, HOPHNI), and (2) the presence of a tradition (a late one, it is true, see SAMUEL II, § 4) which would seem to connect Eli's house with Moses in Egypt, or perhaps, originally, in Egypt (1 S. 2:27).²

If the suggestions made in this and certain other articles with regard to suspected corruptions of text in

MT and in S are accepted, the Jerahmeelites were a much more important tribe, or perhaps collection of tribes,

than we have imagined. Under all sorts of disguises, it has been suspected, the name meets us again and again, both in narratives and in genealogies. Some of the clans or tribes of Jerahmeel evidently suffered the fate described in 1 S. 15, 1 Ch. 4:41-43; others were absorbed by Judah or even by more northern Israelite tribes. The following is a list, probably incomplete, of OT names which may have been corrupted from 'Jerahmeel'.

(a) Addar and Hakkarka, Josh. 15:3. Note that Heron, Addar, and Hakkarka are mentioned together; Hakkarka is a dittograph of 'Jerahmeel'. In Gen. 46:12 and parallels Heron, son of Perez, is a brother of Hamul (cp 7). This is geographically important. See HAZAR-ADDAR, KARKAA, NEGER.

(b) Amalek. The name is unintelligible; the centre of the Amalekites must have been close to the Jerahmeelites. To admit the identity of Amalek and Jerahmeel is in accordance with many similar necessary identifications, and throws a bright light on many passages. Of course, it was only a section of the Amalekites that Saul came, and only with a section that David fought. See (b), and on 'mount of the Amalekites' (Judg. 12:15), see PIRATHON.

(c) Gen. 46:14 BEN-JERAHMEEL (between Kadesh and Bered) should be 'Heer-Jerahmeel'—i.e., 'Well of the Jerahmeelites'. The name 'Jerahmeel' is derived from יְרָמְיָהוּ: 'she called the name of Yalwe El-haramim'; for she had said, Will God indeed have compassion?' (1 S. 15, יְרָמְיָהוּ דָּרַם). Cp ISAAC.

(d) Job 32:2, יְרָמְיָהוּ, like Ram (cp 2), is a fragment of יְרָמְיָהוּ. See Job, Book IV, § 6.

(e) Probably Josiah (1 K. 22:20) as well as Jerahmeel (Jer. 36:20, see 3 below) was of Jerahmeelite extraction. 'Jerahmeel ben-hannelech' is surely absurd; 'ben-hannelech' itself comes from 'ben-jerahmeel'.

(f) The 'Carmel' of Josh. 15:55, also called hak-Karmel (1 S. 15:12, etc.), is (see NEGER) and historically. HAM (7:7, 1, end) is quite impossible. (g) Hamul b. Judah (Gen. 46:12, etc.). Cp (a) and see HAMUL, MANOT. (h) Jamlech, a Simeonite (1 Ch. 4:34). (i) 1 Ch. 2:14 f. See JARHA, and cp above. (j) 1 Ch. 4:19, 2 Ch. 29:12. Note that 'Jehaleel' was the 'father' of Ziph; he is co-ordinated with Caleb. (m) 1 S. 11. See JERHAM, and cp above, § 3. (n) Josh. 15:59, 1 Ch. 2:44, see JORDAN, JORDAN. (o) 2 K. 14:7; see (n).

(p) Kennel, Gen. 22:21. Read 'Uz his first-born, and Abihuz, and Jerahmeel, and Abiram,' and note that Abihuz (see AII, 1) and Michael (1 Ch. 5:11 f.) are brought into connection respectively with Salewah (unwritten Mikah in Gen. 22:21), and with 'Gilead in Basleu' in 1 Ch. 5:11-16. See ZELMUT-HAD.

(q) 1 K. 4:31 (5:11). See MANOT. (r) Michael, 1 Ch. 5:13 f. See (p).

(s) Ram (see d) was brother of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 2:9); on Job 32:2, see Job, Book IV, § 6, and note that Bar and Arah (= Ram = Jerahmeel) are brothers (Gen. 22:21).

(t) Raham, 1 Ch. 2:44. Cp (a). (u) Rekem, 1 Ch. 2:43 f. In this connection note that the Targumic name for KADOSH (קָדֹשׁ) must be a corruption of 'Jerahmeel', and that קָדֹשׁ in Judg. 6:13 f. 12 S. 10 (7), also in 1 K. 15:10 and Job 1:1 should most probably be קָדֹשׁ, i.e., בְּנֵי יְרָמְיָהוּ, 'sons of Jerahmeel'.

(v) Salt, city and valley of (1 Ch. 5:11 f. hamul(13)), Josh. 15:62; 2 K. 14:7. Kittel well points out the improbability that Jokheel in the קָדֹשׁ is Petra. It is 'Jerahmeel' in 'the valley of Jerahmeel'. See SALT, CITY OF.

(w) On the singular corruptions in the two similar passages, Nu. 21:1, Jude, 1:10 see NIKH, § 2.

(x) Last of all we mention a hypothesis which in the light of (c) is so probable that it deserves more space than we can give to it. Abraham is not a dialectic form of Abram or ABRAHAM (2:2, 1), nor yet 'the beloved father' (HARKASY), but comes from

¹ See also FETTERED.

² Yalwe's appearance to Moses, and the separation of the Levites here referred to, were probably located at Kadesh; cp KADESH I, § 3; LEVITES.

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יְרָמְיָהוּ 'the Father loves or has pity' (cp ASS. *yāmu*, 'to love'). Perhaps there was a second legend to account for the name of the Jerahmeelite Well (see c) by connecting it with the name Abraham.

See further KURJAH-ARRA, MAMKE, MERTHOSIOT-TH, PHINHAS, PUTHEI, RACHIEL, RAMATHAINZODINI, REKEM, SALT SPA, SAUL (§ 1-6), SHALISHA [LAND OF], SHUBI, SODOM, TEKOA, and TERAH.

2. A Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 24:29, see 23:21); see 1 above, and cp GENEALOGIES I, § 7 IV.

3. b. Hammelech (RV 'the king's son'); see HAMMELECH, and cp above, § 4 c), who was ordered by Jehoiakim to imprison Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. 36 [38] 43) 26; יְרָמְיָהוּ [B]). See above, § 1 (c). S. A. T., §§ 1-3; T. K. C., § 4.

JERECHUS (ΙΕΡΕΧΟΥ [B*]). 1 Esd. 5:22; RV JERECHU. See JERICHO.

JERED. 1. 1 Ch. 12 EV, etc.; see JAKED. 2. (יָרֵד); for etymology, cp Ar. *yārid*, 'a troop of people, or cattle, coming to a watering-place'; יָרֵד [BAL.], one of the sons of EZER (7:7, n. 1) by 'his wife the Jewess,' called 'the father of Gedior,' 1 Ch. 4:13 (in v. 4 Penuel bears the same title).

Many springs in Palestine now bear the name of *yeredh* (Conder, *PEAQ*, 72, p. 22), which is understood by the peasantry in the sense suggested above for this Jered. Cp Koran 19:2, 'We will drive the sinners to hell as herds going to water.' T. K. C.

JEREMAI (יֵרֵמִי, § 52; abbrev. from JEREMIAH), of the b'ne Hashum, a layman in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA I, § 5 end), Ezra 10:31 (יֵרֵמִי [B]). מ. [B]. יֵרֵמִי [AL.]. The name appears among the sons of Bani in 1 Esd. 9:34 (JEREMIAS, יֵרֵמִיָּא [BAL.]). S, however, gives the name again in v. 33.

JEREMIAH (יֵרֵמְיָהוּ), and in nos. 4, 5, 6, and 8, יֵרֵמְיָהוּ, on the meaning see below, § 1; NAMES, §§ 35, 41, 52, 84, and cp JEREMIEL; יֵרֵמִיָּא [BAL.]. 1. The prophet called, in AV, also Jeremias (Ecclus. 19:6 Mt. 16:14) and Jeremy (Mt. 2:17 27:9). MT has יֵרֵמְיָהוּ, but in Jer. 27:1 28:5 f. 29:1 in the

1. Name and family. יֵרֵמְיָהוּ. In Ecclus. 49:6 it is still written יֵרֵמְיָהוּ.

As to its meaning, Wellhausen (*TBS*) connected it with יָרֵד, 'to found,' cp 'Jeruel', so too Ball. More probably, however, we should explain it יֵרֵמְיָהוּ, 'Yalwe huris' (so Seb. Schmidt); cp יֵרֵמְיָהוּ, 1 Ch. 9:8, יֵרֵמְיָהוּ, 1 Ch. 8:25. The understood object may be variously supplied.

According to 1 Jeremia was the son of Hilkiah and belonged to a priestly family dwelling at Anathoth. Many since Clement of Alexandria and Jerome have maintained the identity of his father with the Hilkiah of 2 K. 22 f., but on no sufficient grounds. Whether the editor thought of Jeremia's father as the high priest, may be doubtful; probably he drew his statement from the biographical work (see next article, § 17). According to chap. 32 Jeremia had an uncle named Shallum and a cousin named Hanamel; from 16:1 it is to be inferred that Jeremia was never married.

The primary sources of information respecting the prophet are his own oracles. The biographical sketches

2. Life. in the book that bears his name come from a work written a long time after his death. There is no testimony outside of the book of Jeremia that has any independent value. The earliest references to him (2 Ch. 35:25 36:20 f. Ecclus. 49:7) come from the second century B.C. Even after criticism has done its full work, however, it remains possible with some degree of certainty to trace the general course of his career.

Jeremia was born, it would seem, at ANATHOTH (7:1); perhaps about 650, for we know that he first came forward in 625. At what time of life a man might enter the priesthood in the days before D and P, is not known. The event which gave him a prophetic impulse may have been a Seytho-Challean invasion of Syria in

¹ The transliteration *Ieremias* [B* once, A often, S & A thrice] should also be noted. The Latin versions give *Hieremias*, *Jeremias*.

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the first year of Nabopolassar (13 ff.). Probably the impulse was accelerated by a vision, though the story in chap. 1 reflects not only his own later experiences, but also the estimate of his work in a subsequent age, based on oracles not proceeding from him. It is probable that the reform movement five years later enlisted his efforts (Duhm, Cheyne) and that he proclaimed the new law in Anathoth (11 ff.), though it is not likely that he knew how it originated or was equally interested in all its injunctions. Whether there was a local cult at Anathoth causing opposition on the part of his townsmen and such persecution as to call forth from him fierce imprecations (11:21-23) must be left in doubt. He probably took up his abode at Jerusalem after 620.

Before the end of Josiah's reign Jeremiah seems to have recognised the futility of a reform carried out by the strong arm of the state (23). Hence he watched the rising Chaldean power, not as Habakkuk in the hope of deliverance from Assyrian supremacy, but as an instrument in Yahwé's hand to bring Judah to repentance or to ruin. The relative weakness of Egypt he perceived now as in the days of Zedekiah, just as Isaiah had seen that of Damascus as against Assyria. This explains the absence of any encouraging oracle before the battle of Megiddo and any lamentation after that event, a lack felt in later times and made good by ascribing to him an anonymous lament over Josiah (2 Ch. 35:25). The fall of Nineveh in 606 and Nebuchadnezzar's march upon Syria in 605 may have led Jeremiah to utter some such definite prophecy as is mentioned in 38:29, predicting the conquest of Judea by the king of Babylon. Concerning the story found in that chapter, cp the next article (§ 17). Possibly at a time when the defeat of Necho's arms had driven the people with renewed zeal to the Yahwé-cult in the temple, Jeremiah appeared with the oracle reported in 7 ff. and 26. It may have been in the years when Nebuchadnezzar was unable to follow up his victory and bring Judah to subjection that Jehoiakim was guilty of undertaking great building enterprises without paying the labourers engaged (22:13 ff.; on the text see JEHOIAKIM). Jeremiah probably concealed himself during this reign, and there seems to be no evidence that he suffered any persecution. Even though his predictions concerning Jehoiakim failed, and the king apparently died in peace and was 'joined to his fathers,' Jeremiah still looked for a Chaldean army and threatened Jehoiachin and his mother with exile (22:24-27 29. 28 is a gloss). The idea that at this time Jeremiah undertook two journeys to the Euphrates (13:1 ff.) cannot be seriously entertained (see EUPHRATES ii.). The word indeed denotes the Euphrates (cp Gen. 2:14), not Ephratha, or Para; but the account is probably a dramatization of a mere simile, and not historical in any sense.

At some time in the reign of Zedekiah, when the condition of affairs before the deportation of 597, for which the exiled nobility had once been held responsible, had sufficiently receded from view to appear good in comparison with present conditions, Jeremiah seems to have had a vision of two baskets of figs in front of the temple, and explained that Zedekiah and his princes and subjects were like bad figs, while Jehoiachin and the exiles were like good figs (24). A later writer, who is even familiar with an Egyptian *gôlah* (CAPTIVITY) (v. 8), has apparently carried the comparison beyond the point intended. Chap. 28, which probably contains a historical nucleus, is more likely to show the real attitude of the prophet at this time. HANANIAH (q.v.) prophesies that Jehoiachin and the exiles shall return with the sacred vessels in two years. Jeremiah would be glad to have Jehoiachin back; but he does not believe in a return. It is not merely the short term set by Hananiah that he objects to. He recognises as a mark of the true prophets of the past that they only announced coming judgment, and he takes his place with them. Hence he makes absolutely no suggestion of a future

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return of exiles, but affirms uncompromisingly the inevitable subjection of all lands to Nebuchadnezzar. Whether he actually threatened Hananiah with death within a year, may perhaps be questioned. The doctrine of the infallibility of prophecy sufficiently explains the account of Hananiah's death. The alleged epistles of Jeremiah to Babylonian Jews (in chap. 29) cannot be used as historical material, nor the story of his sending bands and yokes to various nations in chap. 27, but 23:9 ff. shows that the conspiracy in which Zedekiah became involved led Jeremiah into sharp conflicts with prophets whose convictions were different from his own. In 587, when Nebuchadnezzar temporarily raised the siege of Jerusalem, Zedekiah sent a request to Jeremiah to consult Yahwé as to the prospect, and received pressing advice to surrender (21:1-10 37:1-10). At this time Jeremiah's indignation was aroused by the reduction to slavery of freedmen solemnly emancipated at the approach of Nebuchadnezzar (34). It was only natural, after his advice just mentioned, that he should be arrested when he attempted to withdraw to Anathoth, probably with the intention of securing for himself a piece of property there (37:11-16). This land he may actually have had an opportunity of purchasing later (32). What became of the prophet when the city was taken is not known, since the special concern for his welfare on the part of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabuzardan probably is as apocryphal as the general's pious address, 39:11 ff. 40:2-6. But a political prisoner is likely to have fared better than a rebel.

Concerning the end of the prophet's life there are many legends.

According to 2 Macc. 2:4 ff. Jeremiah carried away in safety the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense, and concealed them in a hollow cave in the mountain where Moses died in Moab. It is possible that this legend found its supplement in a story of the prophet's translation in so appropriate a spot. This would account for his appearance in splendour to Judas the Maccabae (2 Macc. 15:12 ff.), his living with translated heroes like Enoch and Elijah (Justin-Siennensis quoted by Neumann), his expected return as a precursor of the Messiah (Mt. 16:14; Jn. 1:21 7:42) or in the last time as one of the two witnesses of Rev. 11:4 (Victorinus *ad loc.*). Another legend, which still found a place in an appendix to the book of Jeremiah, brought him with 'the whole remnant of Judah' to Taphne, there to prophesy the utter destruction of the Egyptian *colah*, 42:44¹. When this addition was made to the book of Jeremiah, the story of his being stoned to death at Taphne (Jerome, Tert., Epiphanius) by his own people or by the Egyptians had apparently not developed. Of still later origin are other stories. Jeremiah's prediction of a saviour before whom the Egyptian idols would fall to the ground (leading to the worship of the virgin and the child: 11 *Aron Pauch*, in Fabricius), the burial of the prophet *by rôme* *vis auctoris* *4240* (which seems to denote a pyramid) because he saved the Egyptians from crocodiles and snakes (Epiphanius, *de vitis prophetarum*), the visit of Alexander to the tomb of the prophet who had predicted his victories over the nations and the removal of the ashes to Alexandria (*Aron Pauch*), and the influence on Greek philosophers visiting Egypt of the esoteric wisdom he had taught there (Ambrosius, Augustine, Gênelard). According to a legend preserved in *Seder Olam rabba*, 26:7, Jeremiah was carried to Babylon with Baruch by Nebuchadnezzar after his conquest of Egypt, while Rashi seems to imply only that Jeremiah and Baruch returned to Palestine (*ad Jer.* 44:14). Whether in this mass of late legends there is anywhere a grain of historic fact, cannot readily be ascertained.

The prophetic utterances of Jeremiah derive their character from his conviction that he was inspired by

3. Message. Yahwé's nature, purposes and demands. Like Amos and Isaiah, he seems to have been impelled to prophesy by a series of visions. In a trance he hears Yahwé's voice bidding him speak as a prophet, and feels Yahwé's hand touching his lips consecrating them to the proclamation of Yahwé's oracles. On two subsequent occasions, when in the same condition, he saw a rod of an almond tree and a seething cauldron coming from the N. The former vision he interpreted as an assurance that Yahwé would 'watch over' (יִשְׁמַר; see ALMOND) his word, consequently as a pledge that the oracles would be fulfilled; the latter he understood as signifying

¹ Many scholars consider this story as a work of Baruch and accord to it historical value. But see next article, §§ 6, 7, 8.

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that nations from the N. would invade Palestine. These ecstatic experiences were doubtless preceded by eager observation of the signs of the times and stifled impulses to sooth. Jeremiah had in waking hours seen the movements in history of that mysterious hand which in the vision brought the canliron from the N. and dedicated him as a prophet. A similar experience may have come to Zedekiah's reign when, hearing the murmurs of the approaching storm, and reflecting upon the degeneracy of the present generation, he had his vision of the figs (21). That Yahwe had actually revealed himself to him, he never seems to have questioned; not that the word of judgment he announced was actually Yahwe's word. The events justified his faith. Whether the Scythian invasion passed so harmlessly by the territory over which Josiah reigned as is generally supposed, cannot, with our scanty information, be determined. There is no intimation of a disenchantment like that of Ezekiel in regard to Tyre. The capture of Jerusalem in 597 and the deportation of Jehoiachin must have been understood by Jeremiah as a vindication of Yahwe's word.

Another source of assurance was the character of the oracles he felt divinely impelled to utter. He was impressed by their similarity to the oracles of true prophets in the past. Like them he prophesied, not smooth things, but coming judgment. Like Gers, his oracles were immediate, spontaneous utterances. He contrasted them with the oracles also delivered in the name of Yahwe by the prophets opposed to him, and was struck by the difference in tone, the cheerful tenor, the failure to go to the root of the evil, the lack of originality (219 ff.). He noticed their use of popular phrases, and accused them of stealing oracles one from another (v. 30), while his own communion with Yahwe brought him ever fresh supplies of thought and speech, and prevented him from copying even the words of the earlier prophets that had come down to him. He watched their easy acceptance of the pleasures of life, while his own moral earnestness and sense of impending catastrophe enjoined upon him absolute celibacy and bade him keep aloof even from the ordinary expressions of sympathy, and he accused them of immoral conduct. His spiritual isolation in such an environment became to him an evidence of the genuineness of his experience. If he was right, his opponents were wrong; if he was inspired, they put forth false claims, proclaiming in the name of Yahwe oracles that they had themselves thought out. He even forbade the use of the word 'oracle,' *נְבִיאָה* (23:6; see PROPHETCY). While all prophethood, even that of Jeremiah's less radical colleagues, must ultimately rest on a sense of personal communion with a divine being, this sense seems to have been specially keen in his case. The stretches of poetry, elegies, psalms, dialogues, frequently adduced to show that in this respect Jeremiah anticipated the type of poetry that meets us in the Psalter, may indeed be later additions to the book; but the individualistic character of his religious life is abundantly evident.

This prophetic consciousness is influenced by, and in turn reacts upon, his conception of Yahwe. Yahwe is Israel's god. He is Israel's father to whom the nation owes its existence, and therefore its allegiance. Like Hosea, Jeremiah also conceives of Israel as Yahwe's wife. But while Yahwe has remained faithful, the nation has broken its marriage vows. By its adultery with strangers—i.e., its worship of the gods of other nations—it has forfeited its rights. Unlike Hosea, Jeremiah deems it impossible that the adulterous wife should be taken back again (31 ff.). The noble vine has become a degenerate plant (24). This abandonment of Yahwe is all the more amazing, as other nations remain faithful to their gods (21). *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* [21:2] has the appearance of a later gloss, though these are lost broken cisterns as compared with a fountain of living

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waters (21). However numerous these gods may be, they can give no aid in times of trouble (228). They are as impotent as their sacred symbols, the *asherah* and the *massabah*, to which the worshippers address such endearing terms as 'my father' and 'my begetter' (227). Whether Jeremiah actually identified the gods of the nations with stocks and stones, may be doubted. But it is possible that his words paved the way for the positive and distinct utterances of a Isaiah (cp. IDOLATRY).

Yahwe determines what shall befall his people. He has absolute power over its destiny (186). He sends the northern border into Palestine; he subdues the nations to Nebuchadnezzar. Yahwe is not a 'numen' limited to the neighbourhood of his shrine, but a god who can betake himself to distant places, whether in heaven or on earth, so that no man can escape from him (23:24 ff.). He is just in all his dealings with the nations, treating them according to their merits (187 ff.).

Yahwe's purposes are in harmony with his nature. He reveals them to his servants. 'What is Yahwe about to do?' is the question that bids the prophet's eyes pierce the darkness of the future, and makes him a soothsayer. Jeremiah's predictions were not based on shrewd political observations, but on his impressions, present with him, whether he was waking or sleeping, of what such a god as he conceived Yahwe to be would necessarily have in mind to do, when historical circumstances showed that he was ready to act. That it was Yahwe's purpose to put Judah, as well as the surrounding nations, into the hand of the growing Chaldean power, was the burden of Jeremiah's message during a period of almost forty years. But the ulterior divine motive was to him the moral reformation of the people.

Only through foreign oppression could that rebellious disposition (*שִׁנְיָהוּ*, 7:24) which showed itself in idolatry and unrighteousness be overcome. This oppression must last until the reformation has taken place. Hence Jeremiah indulges in no vain speculations as to the length of the Chaldean supremacy; hence he is absolutely convinced of the impossibility of resistance and exhorts Zedekiah and his people to willing submission; hence he lays down as a criterion of true prophethood the preaching of judgment to come with its tendency to lead men away from their evil doings (288 22:22). Beyond this he seems to have had no eschatology. If the nation should repent, Yahwe would also change his treatment of the people (187 ff.). But there being as yet no evidence of repentance, the Chaldean yoke must continue and should be quietly carried rather than aggravated by rebellion. Those who by the preaching of repentance worked for the reformation of character, proved themselves in the midst of their labours to belong to the true prophetic order (286). Like his predecessors, Jeremiah believed in the power of Yahwe's judgments to touch the springs of action and lead to a change of conduct. In this he differed widely from the great writer, who might be designated a Second Jeremiah (Jer. 30 ff.), who believed that the grace of Yahwe, shown in the restoration of national independence and prosperity, could alone accomplish that thorough reformation which foreign oppression and prophetic preaching had failed to effect.

Yahwe's supreme demand is purity within, a circumcision of ear and heart, a removal of the carnal disposition preventing Yahwe's voice from being heard and his will from being understood and accepted (44 14 6:10). The outward forms of the cult have not been ordained by Yahwe. 'I spake not unto your fathers nor commanded them when I brought them up from the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices' (7:22). This is the prophet's declaration of independence. The law promulgated in 620 commanded in Yahwe's name numerous burnt-offerings and sacrifices. However favourably Jeremiah may have been impressed at the outset by the moral tone of the Deuteronomic law, its

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De bibl., 646 ff.). In the Ethiopic Bible the book comprises also the Paralipomena Jeremiae (Dillmann, *Christ. Arch.* 1-15, Cernam, *Monumenta*, 19-13) and the fragment containing the passage quoted in Mt. 27. These works, having attached themselves to Jeremiah somewhat after the fashion of the additions to Daniel and Esther, were gradually provided with separate headings and severed from the volume.

The same is possibly the case in the seven following instances:—

(1) In 2 Ch. 35 is an elegy on the death of Josiah as ascribed to Jeremiah. It seems to have had a place at one time among the threnoi of Lamentations (שִׁירֵי בְּרָכָה, read with שִׁירֵי and with שִׁירֵי בְּרָכָה). See LAMENTATIONS, and cp. Schmidt, *Introduct. to Jer.*

(2) In 2 Ch. 36:22 ff. and Ezra 1:1-3, Is. 44:28 is distinctly quoted as a word of Jeremiah. The most natural explanation is that Is. 40 ff., being anonymous, and revealing a marked kinship to Jer. 30-33, found a temporary home in our volume before it was finally attached to Isaiah, where it may have been already established by 180 B.C. (cp. Eccles. 48:4 f.).

(3) In 2 Macc. 2:1 ff., certain statements are made on the authority of a work entitled 'Jeremiah, the Prophet.' Two views are possible. (a) It may be simply reminiscent of Jer. 40:6, and (b) may originally have been a haggadic annotation to Jer. 41:6, intended to explain and to soften the effect of that passage, but afterwards removed from the text; or (c) the author may have had before him the biographical work probably known by the same title. That he designates his source as 'scripture' (γραφή), would be natural on either hypothesis. It is less likely that the Paralipomena Jeremiae, though essentially of Jewish origin, already existed when 2 Macc. was written.

(4) Mt. 27:9 is quoted from 'Jeremiah the Prophet,' the term being the same as that used in Mt. 2:17. This passage is not found in our present text. Did the author of Mt. read it in his copy of Jeremiah, or in an Apocryphon Jeremiae? (cp. JUDAS ISCARIOT, § 8.)

(5) Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 72, charges the Jews with having erased from Jer. a passage probably of Christian origin.

(6) Whether Eph. 5:14 found its way into the apocryphon from the margin of Jeremiah, or belonged to the Apocalypse of Elijah, cannot yet be determined.

(7) Lactantius (18) found in his text the words 'beatus qui erat antequam nasceretur' in Jer. 1:5. How old this gloss was is unknown. In regard to Justin's accusation against the Jews that they had erased Jer. 11:9, it is altogether probable that there was a basis of fact for the statement. Certain MSS known to Justin lacked the passage. But this may have been due in part to its (possible) absence in a copy older than that used by him, and only in part to its clumsy yet uncomfortable apologetic use by Christians. Its occurrence in all extant MSS simply shows that it finally maintained itself.

On the other hand, MT contains many elements that have been added even after the book assumed substantially its present form (see below).

It has been maintained that Josephus (*Ant.* x 5:1,

4. Division. § 79) divided the book into two volumes, either Jeremiah and Lamentations (Venema, Meulenbelt) or Jer. 1-24 and 25-52 (Eichhorn, Bertholdt).

Ordinarily the words 'who was the first that wrote and left behind him in writing two books concerning these things' (ὁ πρῶτος περὶ τούτων δύο βιβλίων γράψας κατέλιπε) are understood as referring to Ezekiel. But Eccl. 1:39 and 40:48 cannot be meant (Stephen Huet, Bertholdt), as 40:48 contains no prophecy of the exile. Rather is it probable that those passages quoted from Ezekiel by Clement, Tertullian, and others (cp. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* 1117 ff.) had at the time of our glossator

[For the MSS which seem to present the Lucianic recension of Jeremiah, see below, § 21.]

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been severed from the canonical Ezekiel and constituted an independent volume. That the words quoted are a later gloss, seems probable; for it is lacking in many MSS, and Josephus himself could scarcely have considered Ezekiel as earlier than Jeremiah.

The following are the chief schemes that have been proposed for dividing the book:—

Chalampadius: (1) 1-31, (2) 32-39, (3) 40-52.
Heidegger: (1) 1-6, (2) 7-14, (3) 15, (4) 16-51, (5) 52.
H. Alting, Böttlinger, Venema, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Payne Smith, Streane: (1) 1-39, (2) 40-51, (3) 46-51, (4) 52.

Alpius: (1) 1-29, (2) 30-39, (3) 40-42.
J. Alting: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 52.

Eichhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, app. 52.
Bertholdt: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 25-45, app. 52.

Schubert, with (1) and (2) united, also Havemann, Keil: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, (5) 34-39, (6) 40-45, (7) 46-51, app. 52.

Movers: (1) 1-20, 26-49, (2) 30/33, (3) 50/51, (4) 23-22-24, (5) 21-34-37-32-38-11, (6) 20-33, (7) 34-39, (8) 40-45, (9) 46-51, (10) 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Neumann: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Ewald: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Hitzig: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Heidegger: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Alpius: (1) 1-29, (2) 30-39, (3) 40-42.

Chalampadius: (1) 1-31, (2) 32-39, (3) 40-52.

Heidegger: (1) 1-6, (2) 7-14, (3) 15, (4) 16-51, (5) 52.

H. Alting, Böttlinger, Venema, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Payne Smith, Streane: (1) 1-39, (2) 40-51, (3) 46-51, (4) 52.

Alpius: (1) 1-29, (2) 30-39, (3) 40-42.

J. Alting: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 52.

Eichhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, app. 52.

Bertholdt: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 25-45, app. 52.

Schubert, with (1) and (2) united, also Havemann, Keil: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Movers: (1) 1-20, 26-49, (2) 30/33, (3) 50/51, (4) 23-22-24, (5) 21-34-37-32-38-11, (6) 20-33, (7) 34-39, (8) 40-45, (9) 46-51, (10) 52.

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Neumann: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Ewald: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Hitzig: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Heidegger: (1) 1-6, (2) 7-14, (3) 15, (4) 16-51, (5) 52.

H. Alting, Böttlinger, Venema, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Payne Smith, Streane: (1) 1-39, (2) 40-51, (3) 46-51, (4) 52.

Alpius: (1) 1-29, (2) 30-39, (3) 40-42.

J. Alting: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 52.

Eichhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, app. 52.

Bertholdt: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 25-45, app. 52.

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Neumann: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Ewald: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Hitzig: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

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Alpius: (1) 1-29, (2) 30-39, (3) 40-42.

J. Alting: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 52.

Eichhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, app. 52.

Bertholdt: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 25-45, app. 52.

Schubert, with (1) and (2) united, also Havemann, Keil: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

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Ewald: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Hitzig: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

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J. Alting: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 52.

Eichhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, app. 52.

Bertholdt: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 25-45, app. 52.

Schubert, with (1) and (2) united, also Havemann, Keil: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

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Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Neumann: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Ewald: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Hitzig: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Heidegger: (1) 1-6, (2) 7-14, (3) 15, (4) 16-51, (5) 52.

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J. Alting: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 52.

Eichhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, app. 52.

Bertholdt: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 25-45, app. 52.

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Neumann: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Ewald: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

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Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

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Eichhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, app. 52.

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Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Neumann: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Ewald: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Hitzig: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Heidegger: (1) 1-6, (2) 7-14, (3) 15, (4) 16-51, (5) 52.

H. Alting, Böttlinger, Venema, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Payne Smith, Streane: (1) 1-39, (2) 40-51, (3) 46-51, (4) 52.

Alpius: (1) 1-29, (2) 30-39, (3) 40-42.

J. Alting: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 52.

Eichhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, app. 52.

Bertholdt: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 25-45, app. 52.

Schubert, with (1) and (2) united, also Havemann, Keil: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Movers: (1) 1-20, 26-49, (2) 30/33, (3) 50/51, (4) 23-22-24, (5) 21-34-37-32-38-11, (6) 20-33, (7) 34-39, (8) 40-45, (9) 46-51, (10) 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Neumann: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Ewald: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Hitzig: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Heidegger: (1) 1-6, (2) 7-14, (3) 15, (4) 16-51, (5) 52.

H. Alting, Böttlinger, Venema, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Payne Smith, Streane: (1) 1-39, (2) 40-51, (3) 46-51, (4) 52.

Alpius: (1) 1-29, (2) 30-39, (3) 40-42.

J. Alting: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 52.

Eichhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, app. 52.

Bertholdt: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51, (3) 25-45, app. 52.

Schubert, with (1) and (2) united, also Havemann, Keil: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Movers: (1) 1-20, 26-49, (2) 30/33, (3) 50/51, (4) 23-22-24, (5) 21-34-37-32-38-11, (6) 20-33, (7) 34-39, (8) 40-45, (9) 46-51, (10) 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Neumann: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Ewald: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Hitzig: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Schubert: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-24, (3) 25-29, (4) 30-33, app. 52.

Heidegger: (1) 1-6, (2) 7-14, (3) 15, (4) 16-51, (5)

to which 'concerning the land of the Chaldeans' was added as a gloss. In the somewhat abbreviated form 'which Yahwē spoke by Jeremiah' (אשר דבר יהוה ביד ירמיהו) this meets us again in 46:13 (G). A later editor, however, changed this into 'the word that Jeremiah the prophet spoke,' in harmony with the then prevailing view of Jeremiah as 'the prophet' נביא. The same heading is found in 45:1, both in MT and G. The name of the people referred to was deemed sufficient in the case of certain anonymous prophecies against foreign nations, or the term *masāḥ* (מסח) was used as in the Book of Isaiah. When grouped together, the mention of Nebuchadnezzar in one of them would naturally suggest Jeremiah as the author of all; but a general superscription to this effect was thought enough and 'of Egypt' (למצרים) 46:2, 'concerning the Philistines' (לפיליטיים) 47:1 (G), 'of the children of Ammon' (לבני עמון) 49:1, 'of Edom' (לעדם) 49:7, 'of Damascus' (לדמשק) 49:23, 'of Kedar' (לקדר) 49:28, 'concerning Elam' (לעילם) 49:34 remained, the *masāḥ*, if once there, disappearing in deference to the prophet's views on this subject, 23:33 ff.

The most remarkable title in the book is אשר דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו. It occurs 14:1, 46:1, 47:1, 49:34 and probably 1:2 as the original heading. In 11:1 בצלמך (pronounce *ḥayyā* Pesh., Targ., Mich., *Suppl.* 200, *apocrypha*, *shetras*), is an Aramism, and the chapter is not an oracle; in 46:1 נביא has been added; in 45:1 אל פישתם is unnatural following אל ירמיהו, as is also אל פישתם in 49:14. But more suspicious still is the phrase itself. There is no parallel for it in Hebrew. Ezek. 12:25 is corrupt (cp. Cornill), and Am. 5:1, also quoted by Ewald, is quite regular. When the Greek version was made, 11:1 read אשר דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו, 46:1 was still lacking, 47:1 read אשר דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו, 49:34 read אשר דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו, the last words of 25:11 having been cut loose from the *nomen regens* and made a title of this prophecy. This was subsequently altered into אשר דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו, given as a superscription to 46:1 and 47:1, and substituted for the phrase used in 11:1. It was also employed as a title by the collector of the first book.

Chap. 12 probably read אשר דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו ביום יסדו יאסרו בן אמן כלך יהוה בשנה ששה ללכסו. The words אשר דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו may have been abbreviated אשר אל ירמיהו, and the former misread אשר. The date was suggested by 36, the year was probably taken from the biographical work. A more elaborate heading would in course of time be demanded, giving information concerning the prophet. It read אשר דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו בן חלקי בן דנאם אשר בעמנו. Cp. G. The omission of בן דנאם scarcely with Giesebrecht be regarded as an infallible sign of pre-exilic authorship. It is evident that the book while it had only this heading could not have contained any oracle considered by the editor to be later than the thirteenth year of Josiah. The addition of collections bearing later dates led to the penning of *re. 3*. Even then there was nothing in the book that was regarded as later than the fall of Jerusalem.

The time indications are numerous, but are of uncertain value.

They are found in 1:2 (3rd Jos.), 3:4 (Jos.), 14:1 (the drought), 21:1 (Zed.), 24:1 (after Jeconiah), 25:1 (4th Jeh.), 26:1 (beg. Jeh.), 27:1 (beg. Jeh.), 28:1 (4th Zed.), 29:1 (after Jec.), 32:1 (both Zed.), 34:1 (Zed.), 34:4 (Zed.), 35:1 (Jeh.), 39:1 (Zed.), 37:1 (Zed.), 39:1 (Zed.), 39:1 f. (4th and 5th Zed.), 40:1 (after Jer.'s release by Nabuzardan), 41:1 (5th month, 42nd after to days), 45:1 (4th Jeh.), 46:2 (4th Jeh.), 47:1 (defeat of Gaza by Pharaoh), 49:34 (beg. Zed.), 51:59 (4th Zed.).

The text is not always certain.

In 27:1 G has no superscription. One editor, living later than G, assigned the prophecy to Jehoiakim's reign. So MT. He could not have done this if in the very first sentence he had read 'unto king Zedekiah' (ואל כלך זדקיהו). 27:1 is therefore probably a later gloss. Another editor, noticing Zedekiah in *re. 12*, wrote his name in the heading. So Pesh., Ambrosianus, Ar., Oxon., Kenn. 224.

Some statements are too vague to be of much value. We do not know the date of the particular drought mentioned in 11:1, nor when Pharaoh smote Gaza (47:1). Some are demonstrably wrong, ascribing to certain occasions in the life of Jeremiah oracles not proceeding from him. Thus 25:1, 46:2, 47:1, 49:34, 51:59 are manifestly nothing but conjectures of late editors. Others are drawn from popular story books, and cannot be ac-

corded more probability than the stories themselves, as 49:1, 14:1, 45:1, probably also 32:1 and 34:1.

The entire book 1:20 is evidently assigned by 1:1 f. to the reign of Josiah. This was clearly a mistake. The editor of 26 is probably right in assigning the speech of which 7 f. gives a more extended report to the time of Jehoiakim. Editors who in some instances found niches in the life of Jeremiah for prophecies written centuries later than his time, as easily as the same service was performed by hymn collectors for David, may occasionally have displayed an admirable critical instinct; but their opinions can have no binding force.

Various introductory formulas are used which often mark off smaller independent oracles. Of these the most important are 'and the word of Yahwē came unto Jeremiah' (והיה דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו), and 'and the word of Yahwē came unto me' (והיה דבר יהוה אלי).

The former is peculiar to 25:14 (29), 32:2, 33:1, 39:23, 51:12, 37:2. The latter is peculiar to 1:24 (14), 13:21, 13:14, 15:1, 16:1 (18), 24:4. Here again the text is frequently uncertain. In 1:24 MT read אשר, and אשר ירמיהו may have been the original, though abbreviated. In 2:1 G has only *was comes*. In 10:1 G probably read והיה דבר יהוה אלי. In 24:4 Am. read *apocrypha*. In 35:12 G read אשר, *apocrypha* (in 32:2 this was the reading in Qm), while MT has ירמיהו, and likewise 36:1. This proves beyond doubt that ירמיהו was often abbreviated to or simply י. This being the case, there is no unmistakable indication anywhere whether יהוה אל ירמיהו was originally written. However, phrases like ויהי דבר יהוה אלי, 13:1, 17:19, and *re. 24*, show that the first person was sometimes used. From the use of the first person no conclusion can of course be drawn as to the Jeremiah origin of a given oracle. Any prophet might use the same formula.

Nevertheless if these superscriptions, as the work of editors living at different periods subsequent to the time

of Jeremiah, based on conjecture or doubtful tradition, neither indicate unity of composition or redaction, nor possess any intrinsic authority, they have considerable value as aids in recovering earlier collections, and in exhibiting the successive stages of redaction.

Chap. 13 furnishes positive evidence that the book at one time contained no prophecy indicated as having been spoken by Jeremiah after the fifth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah. Consequently, 40:44-52 at any rate formed no part of the collection. There is ground for supposing that the three booklets, 25:46-51, 27:29 and 30-33, had as yet no place in the centre of this volume. Chap. 12 supplies equally convincing proof that the book once contained no section indicated as being later than the thirteenth year of Josiah. This title excludes 21:21 and 26:34-39; but it may have served as sufficient heading for 1:20 since no later king or date is mentioned in these chapters. No collector or copyist may have been familiar with the other version of 7 f. in 26 and the date there given, or have noticed that 11 points to a time later than the discovery of the Law in the eighteenth year of Josiah, or observed that in 19 f. the relations between Jeremiah and the rulers are more strained than in 7 f.

By the aid of the superscriptions the following collections may be recovered. 1. 1-20; 2. 21-21, 3. 25-46-51; 4. 26-29; 5. 30-33; 6. 34-39; 7. 40-41. Whilst 13 clearly shows that 40-41 once circulated separately, and the character of the narrative confirms this observation, the same cannot be affirmed concerning 34-39. In the work whence these chapters were taken 34-37-39 on the one hand, and (26) 35 f. (13) on the other, would seem to have belonged together (Cornill). Not only by sub-headings and solemn introductory formulas, but even more by the editorial custom of prefacing an oracle with appropriate words, or of adding at the end words mostly of a consolatory nature, it is to a certain extent possible to discover the smaller collections used in making these books.

Chaps. 1-20. In Bk. 1 the two oracles, 14-19 (1-19) (2), evidently form an independent section; 21-33 (3) is shown by the introduction and the heading

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36 to be a separate discourse; the title, the non-Jeremianic preface, 36-12, and the new superscription 71 indicate that 36-635 (c) once formed a booklet; 7-10 (d) by its title and its long appendix, 922-1025, is similarly marked off; 11 (f) is likewise distinguished by heading and appendix, 1113-1217; 13 (f) is clearly an independent fragment, 15-17 and 20-27 being probably later additions; 14-17 (g) is shown to be a collection by title, by prefaced non-Jeremianic passages, 142-6 7-9, and by numerous interpolations and the appendix 1719-27; 18-20 (h) is separated from what precedes by a special title, and from what follows by the appended curse in imitation of Job 32 ff. and the heading of 21.

Among these groups *c* and *d* make the strongest impression of being direct reports of oracles. A characteristic especially of *g*, but also of *a*, *e*, *f*, and *h*, is the use of the first person. Listening disciples may have written down from memory what the prophet related in this form. The ease, however, with which a figure of speech is transformed into a narrative of actual occurrence in 13, and the manifest later colouring in 15 and 18, warn against assuming greater accuracy in these sections on account of the form. The editor of Book 1 found these pericopes without any indication of date except in 36. It is difficult to suppose that the first book was compiled before the third century. The editor of *g* may indeed have been a contemporary of Nehemiah (385-373 B.C.), and the prophet's biography used to some extent in *e*, *f*, *g*, and *h* may have been written in the Persian period; but the Book of Job almost certainly belongs to the time of Ptolemaic sovereignty over Palestine, and the language of the title, 12, points to a comparatively late date.

2. Chaps. 21-21. In Bk. 2 chaps. 22-238 (*a*) form a collection of oracles against the reigning princes, distinguished by introduction, contents, and consolatory non-Jeremianic additions, 231-4 5 f. 7 f.; 239-40 (*b*) is separated by its heading; 24 (*c*) is of a totally different character—reminding us of 1 and 13. Stade has shown convincingly (*Z. f. d. l. u. 12* 277 ff.) that 21-11 is an excerpt from a passage in the biography from which another excerpt, necessary to supplement it, was made in 374-10, and also that 21-11-14 is editorial work. Phrases drawn from 488 suggest that 21-11-14 may have been written late in the second century. But there is nothing to prevent 21-11 from having been prefaced and the collection made already in the previous century.

3. Chaps. 25 46-51. That the prophecies against foreign nations in Bk. 3 once circulated as a separate collection is evident from the different places they occupy in MT and G. While in G these oracles occupy a central position in the volume, like the similar prophecies in Isaiah and Ezekiel, they are in MT relegated to the end. Their place in G more exactly is between 25-11 and 15-18 of the Hebrew text. The most natural way of accounting for this is by assuming that 25-11 once formed the introduction to a smaller collection of oracles against nations likely to be affected by the northern invasion, that the additional introduction, 25-11-18, was demanded by the accession of oracles against other nations, that G's copy still lacked this expansion, and that it was subsequently done into Greek, and on account of its length appended rather than inserted in the margin. This would explain how the corpus could be removed in MT and yet leave the entire chap. 25 behind in its old place, and also how 25-11-18, which naturally should precede the corpus, is found after it in G. On this hypothesis the similarity between the order in MT and that of the list, 25-11-18, likewise finds its explanation. The additional names are probably later insertions, or possibly represent oracles removed to other collections, or lost. How extensive the first collection may have been is not easily determined. The prophecies against Elam and Babylon are certainly to be eliminated, and probably also those concerning

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Moab, Ammon, Damascus, and Kedar. It is possible, however, that in addition to Egypt, Philistia, and Edom, Tyre and Sidon had a place in that collection. If so, the first booklet may have been produced in the third century. But such late prophecies as those against Babylon and Moab cannot well have been written before the second half of the second century; and the apocalyptic language of the editor who wrote 25-11-18 points to the same epoch for the final redaction of Bk. 3. See also below, § 11.

4. Chaps. 26-29. In Bk. 4 it is evident that 27-29 once circulated as a separate collection. This is shown by the abbreviated form of names like מִצְרַיִם, מִצְרַיִם, מִצְרַיִם, the spelling מִצְרַיִם for מִצְרַיִם, the addition of מִצְרַיִם, and the many glosses later than G made by the same editor. As a copyist of the entire volume would not be likely to select these chapters as a special field for exhibiting all his peculiarities, it is most natural to suppose that G translated an earlier text of 27-29 than that incorporated in MT, that in G's text 27 was contiguous with the end of the prophecy against Elam, 49-50 (Movers, Hitzig), and that 26 subsequently found its way into G in the train of 25-11-18. The character of 27 accounts for its being joined to the prophecies against foreign nations in Bk. 3. A later scribe probably copied from the biographical work chap. 26 as an introduction to show the wickedness of the pseudo-propheets and the divine protection enjoyed by Jeremiah, and justify his denunciation. It is reasonably certain that this book cannot have received its present form until the second half of the second century.

5. Chaps. 30-31. Bk. 5 consists of (a) 30 f., (b) 32-15, (c) 32-16-44, (d) 33-1-11, (e) 33-14-26. Only *a* once circulated as a separate book; *b* may have been drawn from the biography; *c* is apparently an interpolation *in situ*; *d* was probably written by the editor of Bk. 5, who may have lived in the latter part of the second century; and *e* is an appendix later than G.

6. Chaps. 34-39. With the comforting outlook into the future presented by Bk. 5 the volume once closed. But the same increased interest in the prophet's life that caused the addition of chaps. 36-39 to the Book of Isaiah also led to the appending of biographical material to Jeremiah. Bk. 6 never had any separate existence, its present disorder is best explained by the different stories having been drawn directly from the biography. It is probable that this story-book followed a certain chronological order. The seeming neglect of this in Chronicles and Daniel cannot be alleged against the supposition. The Chronicler knows well the order of Jewish kings, and that of the Persian monarchs was probably better known to him than has been supposed, while the composition of Daniel may explain the lack of chronological arrangement in that book (cp. Barton, *IBL* 1762). It is not unlikely that in the biography 26 35-36 and possibly 45 were followed by 34 21 f. 374-6 21 3-10 37 11-38 28 a 39 1-11 14-18, though some other sections must have intervened. From 392 the general editor of 1-39 dated his list late, 13. The interpolation, 394 15, is later than G; but the incorporation of the chapters enumerated in the volume may have followed soon upon that of Bk. 5.

7. Chaps. 40-44. Bk. 7 was not known to the editor who wrote 13. This raises the serious question whether Bk. 7 or any section of it formed a part of the biographical work. After the awkward introduction, 401-6, an account follows, 407-11 12, which can scarcely have been drawn from that source.

Not only does Jeremiah play *no rôle* in the stirring events here narrated (it is Jehoiach who appears as God's ally), but neither he nor Baruch is mentioned among those who escaped the massacre. This strange silence concerning the prophet renders it probable that 407-41 18 is a Midrash to the Book of Kings, brought over to prepare the way for 42 ff. One is tempted to suppose that this section has taken the place of an oracle to Nabuzardan by Jeremiah. It is difficult to imagine that an editor should have deliberately introduced a narrative in which no oracle of Jeremiah occurs, and, in fact, the prophet

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does not figure at all in 'the word which came to Jeremiah from Yahweh'.

In 42-44 the failure to carry the story down to the prophet's death is noticeable. It has been supposed that the veil was drawn over his tragic end by a desire not to publish the nation's shame. But there is no trace of such delicacy elsewhere in the volume. The murder of Uriah (26:23) and other prophets is freely recorded, and the tendency of this particular book to present the prophet as faithful even to the end and the people as apostates capable of any wickedness is very marked. Besides, it is far from certain that Jeremiah met with a violent death, or, if so, at the hands of his countrymen (see JEREMIAH, the Prophet, § 2). It is more likely that when this book was made it was not yet known what had become of the prophet. The biographical work naturally grew in the same way as our volume. When Bk. 6 was added to chaps. 1-33 this biography apparently lost sight of the prophet at the fall of Jerusalem. A much later hand probably led him with 'all the remnant of the people,' not without violence, into Egypt to prophesy against that kingdom and to predict the utter extinction of the Egyptian diaspora. From Nehemiah's memoirs we learn that in his time (385-373 B.C.) the Jews in Palestine were still regarded as people that had been left in the province when the exiles were carried away (cp. EZRA-NEH. VIII). The idea, diametrically opposed to this, that no Judeans were left behind in the land, does not appear until the Chronicler, who, however, knows nothing yet of a remnant escaping to Egypt (2 Ch. 36:20). The exuberant genealogical interest would naturally lead the Egyptian Jews to trace their pedigrees back to the exile, and the difficulty of accomplishing this feat may readily have suggested as an explanation a prophetic oracle sealing the doom of the entire remnant. In course of time the prophet would inevitably receive the martyr's crown. But whether an account of this yet found a place in the biography is doubtful. The counter-currents of interest connecting him with the Babylonian diaspora, where he would have ended his life in peace, or with Judea, may have prevented tradition from becoming fixed on this point. Nabuzaradan's speech reminds one of utterances of pagan rulers in Daniel. The historic substitute may have been introduced at the end of the second century by the editor who appended 52.

As chap. 45 presents Baruch in a different rôle from that imputed to him in 43, it is possible that this paragraph was taken from an earlier section of the biography and put at the end of the volume to show Jeremiah's prophetic insight and generosity, even as 39:15-18 was appended to Bk. 6.

In regard to the biography itself, it is not improbable that it bore the title 'Jeremiah the Prophet' and that it long had a separate existence. If it was actually used by the authors of 2 Macc. and Mt., it may even have been translated into Greek. The disappearance of such a work involves no difficulty. Nor is it impossible that the original was still in existence in the days of Jerome. Until the Hebrew book shown to him shall have been found, there will be nothing to force the conclusion that it was a recent forgery or to prevent the assumption that it was the old biography from which so many abstracts had been made, though naturally not untouched by many hands that would have dealt more scrupulously with a canonical book.

Ch. 52 seems to have been drawn from 2 K. 25—a very late appendix to K. Verses 28-30, not found in K., were added later than 6, but probably from a good old source, as they contradict the conception current at the time of the translation. When that time was cannot be accurately determined. The preface to Eccles. only shows that in 132 B.C. prophetic writings had been translated, but does not indicate the extent and character of these writings. The year 114 in the epilogue to the Greek Esther is so far from fixing the lower limit of 6 that it cannot even be relied upon for determining the date of the translation of that particular book (cp. Jacob, Z. F. H., 1890, p. 274 f.). Nor is it

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likely that all parts were translated at the same time.

There appears to be nothing, however, to prevent the view that the volume had substantially assumed its present form in the reign of Alexander Jannæus (102-76 B.C.).

According to the *biraita* preserved in *Bibb bathra*, 14b, Jeremiah was the author of the book. The super-

7. Super- scriptions in all parts of the volume (except 52) would naturally lead to this conclusion. This was no doubt the generally accepted view in the time of the Tannaim (Mishnic doctors). Whilst there is only one direct quotation in NT bearing on this point—viz. Mt. 2:13 (the other, 27:9, being probably from the biography)—this shows that 30 f. was regarded as a Jeremican production, and other NT authors, notably those of Hebrews and Revelation, are likely to have regarded Jeremiah as the author on the strength of the headings. Strictly speaking, these titles, with a single exception, do not affirm that Jeremiah was the writer of the respective sections. They only state that these oracles came to Jeremiah, and it is implied that they were uttered by him, but not necessarily that he wrote them.

In 25:13 the editor's meaning is perhaps doubtful; in 20:1 the editor possibly meant to intimate that Jeremiah wrote the letter as well as sent it; in 30:2 the editor distinctly represents Yahweh as ordering the prophet to write, leaving the inference that he did so. It is significant that in all three cases the contents of the 'books' render it extremely difficult to believe that they have come, either directly or indirectly, from the hand of Jeremiah. As in 36:4 the divine command given to Jeremiah (36:2) to write in a book is carried out by dictation to Baruch, the writer of 30:2 may have thought of the same method.

Only in 51:60 is it distinctly stated that Jeremiah wrote the words against Babylon; but 50:1-51:58 is clearly un-Jeremican. Even through the mists of tradition the fact can be discerned that there never were any Jeremican autographs. This prophet was not a holy penman, but a preacher of righteousness (cp. ISAIAH I.).

But if Jeremiah was not himself a writer, he may be the real author of many an oracle preserved in this book. That would be eminently true, could it be proved that some of them were actually dictated by him.

8. Jeremican oracles.

But even though a closer examination should render it probable that we possess only free reproductions of discourses that lived in the memory of disciples, that would still put within our reach sentiments, thoughts, and forms of expression of which he was the author. If these should be seen to reflect historic circumstances unknown in later times, religious ideas out of harmony with those prevailing after the exile, and a unique personality not to be explained as a fictitious character, that would tend to enhance the trustworthiness. It would not be strange, in view of methods in vogue elsewhere, if such genuine sayings should be found chiefly in Bks. 1 and 2, if Bks. 3 and 5 should prove to be altogether un-Jeremican, and if the biographical sections, with all their long speeches, should furnish but scanty material.

Since Spinoza it has generally been assumed, on the basis of the narrative in 36, that the roll which Baruch wrote at the dictation of Jeremiah on the fifth year of Jehoiakim (603 B.C.) has been preserved in some parts of our present volume. Spinoza regarded the 14 sections,—i.e. chiefly 1-20,—and the prophetic oracles against foreign nations, 46-51, as giving the content of the roll. This view has met with wide approval. Even Stade thinks it 'the first duty of criticism to restore from the book this original roll.' He, indeed, rejects 16-51 with its introduction 25, removes all genuine sayings that are later than 603, and eliminates the many un-Jeremican interpolations. But the remainder represents to him the famous roll. We have no guarantee, however, that the remnant ever had a place in Baruch's scroll. In fact, there are considerations that indicate

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seriously against this supposition. The words directly quoted from the roll (36:29) are not to be found in these sections; there are no prophecies against foreign nations among them, as is demanded by v. 2; the prophecies selected do not make any such clear allusion to the Chaldeans as would scar the king or vex him, and they certainly do not make the impression of being either 'all the words that Yahweh had spoken to him' in twenty years or an intelligently arranged summary for a special purpose. The difficulty of the assumption has been felt by Vratz¹ (1874) and Cheyne (art. 'Jeremiah,' in *EB*⁹, '81; *Comm.* '85), who have therefore thought of chap. 25 of course when purified from the most obvious interpolations as the roll. But since chap. 25 is the introduction to chaps. 46-51, and all these chapters are almost certainly not Jeremic in any sense, the attempt to find Baruch's roll must be given up. As Dahler suggested, the 'book' had clearly a special purpose. Whether it was subsequently lost, or any part of it drifted into our volume, is not a matter of serious moment. Concerning no portion of our present work is it affirmed, or even intimated, that it was dictated to Baruch. The use of the first person, if original, may be a reminiscence of the actual language of the prophet, or a literary device.

It is safe to assume that among those who listened to the prophet there were no reporters taking down his words, pen in hand. Chap. 36 gives us valuable evidence of what was deemed sufficient accuracy in such matters. All the words spoken by Yahweh through his prophet in twenty years are put to writing under a sudden impulse, and this picture of past prophecy is a year later, under fresh provocation, retouched with 'many like words.' This is no doubt the story of much reporting. Freely from memory, speeches were written down that they might not be forgotten, still preserving, in spite of many like words added, somewhat of the original flavour.

It is this breath of a mighty spirit, felt particularly in the earlier parts of the volume, that forbids the theory of Havel and Vernes according to which our book is wholly pseudographic and Jeremiah a fictitious character.

It is natural to ascribe such knowledge as we possess of Jeremiah's words and life to the pen of Baruch. The book itself suggests his importance.

9. Baruch's part.

According to chap. 36 Baruch was the writer of the book produced in 604; he was the prophet's representative in the book; he was as much in danger as Jeremiah and had as powerful friends among the princes; according to 43:1 he was accused by the Jews of unduly influencing the prophet; according to 45:5 he was censured by Jeremiah himself for having cherished lofty plans contrary to the prophet's ideas. Such a man might write, not only of the dictation of the prophet, but also in his name, and furnish much information concerning his life, by virtue of intimate acquaintance. The idea of a close partnership involving independent work on Baruch's part is seen unmistakably in the addition of Bar. 1-5 to Jer. without a separate title and in the appending of the Epistle of Jeremy to Bar. 1 and in Baruch's biographical activity in *Paralipomena Jer.* To the direct Baruch seems to have been more than a mere amanuensis.

When, in modern times, differences of style began to be observed, the frequent changes from the first to the third person were ascribed to Baruch; his hand was discovered in the later oracles; the biographical sections were assigned to him as author. The theory of two recensions had a tendency to increase his labours as an editor; he was charged with the care of the second improved edition as well as with the *editio princeps*.

It is an old and generally prevalent error that Jeremiah caused to be written down an entire collection of prophetic discourses, and that Jehoiakim destroyed this. It is to be shown here that Jehoiakim only burned that roll in which was contained the prophecy of the calamity threatening Judah (and the neighbouring peoples) from the Babylonian invasion (see 36:29). Chaps. 36 and 25 belong together as much as chaps. 7 and 25. Grätz, 'Das Datum der Schlacht bei Kalkemisch u. der Hingung des Königs Sennacherib,' *Monatsschrift* 31, Jan. 1877, 27-29. The so-called 'error' still holds its ground in commentaries and introductions.]

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Even after the abandonment of the two-recensions theory, the idea that large portions of our book have come from the pen of Baruch is still cherished by eminent scholars. But there is not the slightest evidence that any part of the volume was ever written by him. It does not contain a single line that even claims to have been penned by him; and the many works that purport to come from him are too palpably spurious to be used as touchstones. It remains a bare possibility that, at one time or another, Baruch wrote down abstracts of oracles delivered by Jeremiah. Among these there may have been reports of utterances made before 604 B.C., as well as after that date. But it is not likely that such memoranda were used in preparing the 'book' read to Jehoiakim. The late origin of many sections claimed for Baruch, and the manifest lack of order among the genuine fragments of Jeremic oracles, seem to preclude the supposition that he was in any sense the editor of the book.

Note on Jer. 36:1.—The sense of $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha$ in this passage (read? $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha$) is uncertain. In 7:14 $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha$ has clearly the sense of 'read,' as frequently elsewhere, e.g. 23:18, 24:17, 25:10. The use of earlier collections is not in itself improbable, as Dahler has shown. But the natural impression of the text certainly is that the prophet reproduces from memory and dictates to his scribe all the words that Yahweh has spoken to him. We are not justified in minimising either the assumed extent of the *Memoria* or the miraculous power ascribed to the prophet. We may question the historical accuracy of the narrative.

The book appears to be the product of writers unknown to us by name. They may be divided into the following classes:—(a) reporters and collectors of oracles, (b) prophets, (c) historians, (d) poets, (e) editors and annotators.

(a) When sayings of the prophet were first put into writing we do not know. Tradition found it unnecessary to ascend higher than the year 604 B.C.; a lapse of twenty-two years was not regarded as too long for correct reproduction. It is probable, however, that the discourses referring to the Chaldeo-Babylonian invasion were drawn from reports made at an earlier date. To such reports may be assigned 1:1, 1:12-13, 28:11, 31:17-19, 36:1-10 and possibly 11:1-6, 12:1-13, 17:1-18, 20:1-13, 21:1-10, 22:1-5, 23:1-8, 24:1-17, 25:1-10, 26:1-10, 27:1-10, 28:1-17, 29:1-14, 30:1-17, 31:1-19, 32:1-15, 33:1-13, 34:1-17, 35:1-10, 36:1-10, 37:1-10, 38:1-13, 39:1-10, 40:1-10, 41:1-10, 42:1-10, 43:1-10, 44:1-10, 45:1-10, 46:1-10, 47:1-10, 48:1-10, 49:1-10, 50:1-10, 51:1-10. Similar memoranda in Jehoiakim's reign may have contained 2:1-13, 20:1-13, 31:1-19, 32:1-15, 33:1-13, 34:1-17, 35:1-10, 36:1-10, 37:1-10, 38:1-13, 39:1-10, 40:1-10, 41:1-10, 42:1-10, 43:1-10, 44:1-10, 45:1-10, 46:1-10, 47:1-10, 48:1-10, 49:1-10, 50:1-10, 51:1-10. In the little book, 14:1-17, the genuine Jeremic fragments 14:1-16, 15:1-4, 16:1-13, may have been written from memory in the prophet's lifetime by some friendly listener who preserved Jeremiah's use of the first person. The essence of 1 may have come down in the same manner, while 13 is likely to be a late translation of a parable into a narrative. 18:1-17, 19:1-13, 20:1-13, may still be accounted for in this way, and possibly also the indictments of the kings, 22, and the prophets, 23:1-7, and the nucleus of 24.

Many words, no doubt, were gathered from the lips of the people, by means of a collector, during the Chaldean period. But as such sayings pass from man to man, they grow. In course of time the collector would naturally find it difficult to determine whether an oracle was genuine or not. The 'color Jeremic' produced by unconscious or conscious imitation would not likely deserve even where a definite ascription did not silence every doubt. On the other hand, the collection would furnish material for the enrichment of the stories concerning the prophet's life.

(b) In addition to the writers who have given us more or less correct reports of the oracles of Jeremiah, the book introduces us to a number of original prophetic authors living in later times.

Chief among these are the writers whose productions fill Bks. 3 and 4.

Eichhorn appears to have been the first to perceive clearly the un-Jeremic character of 14:1-17.

Already in 1777 (*Kriegsdenkmal*, 1:49) he stated that 'he'—the collection of 14:1-17, which he called the 'book written to Baruch at Jeremiah's dictation,' according to Jer. 36, see *Introduct. to the Book of Jeremiah*, by the present writer.

who finds in the prophecies against foreign nations the language of Jeremiah must either have no acquaintance with Jeremiah's style or no capacity for distinguishing different modes of expression. His theory then was that the works of earlier prophets had been used by Jeremiah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, in somewhat similar procedure to that often ascribed to Isaiah in the case of chap. 15 f. In his *Einführung* (24), Eichhorn's assumed that the chapters were of later origin and not edited by Jeremiah. As regards 50 f., of whose spurious character Eichhorn was most fully persuaded, practical unanimity has been reached.

The attempt of Movers, Hitzig, Schrader, Stahelin to find a Jeremic nucleus enlarged in the exile was effectively disposed of by Rudde in his excellent monograph.

Graf and Orelli still defended the authenticity, largely on the ground of numerous Jeremic expressions. To explain these it is not necessary to think, with Rudde, of pseudonymity, which apparently is precluded by the fact that the prophecy was not originally assigned to Jeremiah (cp. 25); extensive use of writings ascribed to Jeremiah and a very small measure of originality suffice. Unmistakable dependence on Ezekiel, Is. 13 40-57 34 f., an attitude of satisfaction with Israel and of fierce hatred of Babylon, and an utter lack of sympathy with Jeremiah's point of view, and of intelligent appreciation of the very phrases borrowed from him, have convinced critics of widely different schools that these chapters are not the work of Jeremiah. Eichhorn's doubts concerning 46-49 led Blau (*ZDMG* 1884) to seek a later occasion in Israel's history for these chapters. A story in Mas'udi of the Benu Hadr caused Eichhorn to assign the authorship to Berachia b. Zerubabel. Many acute observations were made; but the legend is too late to be used for historical purposes.

It is, however, the merit of Schwally to have been the first to examine with critical thoroughness these prophecies (chaps. 46-51).

12. Schwally's criticism. Schwally pointed out the close relation of 48 to Is. 15 f. and 24, and of 49 7 ff. to Obadiah, the dependence on parts of Jer. that are probably secondary, the absence of the call to repentance so characteristic of pre-exilic prophecy, and the character of Yahwe as a god of vengeance pouring his fury upon the heathen. He also directed attention to the probable identification of Elam with Persia, and he indicated the true character of 25 as an introduction to the book of oracles. His apparent contention that a pre-exilic prophet must have preached repentance and cannot have conceived of Yahwe as a god taking vengeance on the heathen nations for their treatment of Israel is not quite convincing. Hatakkukel and Nahum show much of the vindictive spirit, and other prophets may have excelled them. Yet so far as Jeremiah is concerned the contrast is very marked, and the oracles certainly breathe a spirit most familiar to us from extant writings of post-exilic times.

Bleeker has undertaken to do for chaps. 46-51 what Movers and Hitzig did for 50 f.

He eliminates the most objectionable features, partly on the basis of 2, partly by conjecture, attempts to show the necessity of assuming a Jeremic authorship on other grounds.

13. Bleeker's criticism. To justify the references to Jeremiah as a prophet called to denounce judgment on many nations, minimises the objections drawn by Schwally from the theology of the oracles, and seeks to picture a suitable historical background in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. Even Bleeker, however, is forced to surrender the prophecy against Elam (49 12 ff.) as extremely doubtful about the oracle against Kedar (49 23 ff.) as obliged to cut so deeply into the prophecy against Moab (48) as to leave but a few verses, removes from the prophecy against Edom (49 7-22) the embarrassing ver. 49 12 in which the destruction of Jerusalem is clearly mentioned, and then bases an argument for Jeremic authorship on the absence of any reference to this event.

Yet even after the most radical excision these oracles remain in irreconcilable conflict with the views and sentiments that the earlier sections of the book allow us to ascribe to Jeremiah.

In 2 to f. Jeremiah looks beyond the boundaries of Judah, but only to point out the loyalty of other nations to their gods, in contrast with the faithlessness of Yahwe's people. If in 18-20 he has in mind any other people and kingdom than Judah, he holds out repentance and restitution. That is the sentiment of the unsparingly acknowledged later additions 48 2 48 12 49 1-6. In 49 7-22, not of the prophecies, themselves, but of chap. 1 has been a touch of view of the later exile, of the fall of the temple, and that 27, drawn from the geographical work, is chronological, seems extremely probable. Yet even 1, and 12, and 22, suggest any specific oracles against nations loved and the terrible announcement of 49 7 ff. of the obliteration of people after people by the Chaldean power, and 22, in 22, tinged with sympathy and concern for the nation lest they should stray by their prophet from the

path of safety. All references to Nebuchadnezzar and his time are editorial, since neither 46 20 (wanting in 2) nor 49 30 is original and there is nothing in the text to sustain these editorial conjectures.

Whilst rightly insisting upon the necessity of examining each oracle by itself, though unnecessarily justifying this by a reference to 30 2, in which

14. Giesebrecht's. Giesebrecht appreciates more fully than Bleeker the force of Schwally's arguments.

Giesebrecht perceives the impossibility of ascribing the oracles against Egypt (46 3-12 and 13-26) to Jeremiah, and correctly indicates the source of that perplexing confusion, which leaves it uncertain whether a past or a future defeat is depicted, in the dependence on literary models. If he still clings to a possible, though indefinable, Jeremic nucleus it is because of the knowledge on the part of the editor of a battlefield of Canaanish not known to Herodotus. Rather should suspicion render this piece of editorial wisdom suspicious. Giesebrecht also recognises the dependence of 48 on Is. 15 f. and its post-exilic character, and the secondary character of all the prophecies in 49 except that against Edom. Here a failure to perceive that all parts of Obadiah are post-exilic leads him to assume a genuine nucleus.

The only oracle which Giesebrecht would decidedly claim for Jeremiah is that against the Philistines (47). With Hitzig, Kuenen, and others he sees the impossibility of saving the heading, but finds a good historical background for the oracle in the time of Jehoiakim. It is difficult, however, to conceive of Jeremiah selecting Philistia, either in 604 or in 625 (which might also be considered), as the object of Yahwe's fury, without indicating any sin committed, and with such terrible emphasis. Close examination only tends to confirm the view of Schwally, also maintained by Stade, Wellhausen, Smend, Duhm, and Rudde. As for the two introductions, Cornill sees a weighty argument in favour of the authenticity of 25 15-29 in the fact that 'the cup of the fury of Yahwe' suddenly becomes a popular expression after Jeremiah's time, as in Ezek. 23 34 Lam. 4 21 Is. 51 17 Hab. 2 16 Ps. 75 9 [8], and therefore must have been coined by Jeremiah. But these passages written in different periods do not prove a sudden popularity of the phrase, nor is it apparent why Jeremiah rather than Ezekiel should have given it this form. On the contrary, it is probable that the editor who wrote 25 15 had before him 49 12, and the thought there suggested of Israel's drinking out of Yahwe's cup of anger, expressed in Ezek. 23 32, is likely to be earlier, if it originated at all with a prophet.

In the book of consolation, chaps. 30 f., Movers, De Wette, and Hitzig noticed the close affinity to Is. 40 f. R. Williams regarded these chaps. as a 'song of encouragement' by some Baruch or later Isaiah far on in the exile. Stade recognized the pseudonymity. It was Smend, however, who first clearly set forth the internal evidence against the Jeremic authorship of both chapters. He recognised that the author lived after the exile and also after the disenchantment that had followed the rebuilding of the temple. As the author missed a prophecy of Judah's return, he assumed that there had already been a return of exiles. But the return under Cyrus is scarcely historical.

This would give added weight to Giesebrecht's objection that a promise to Israel alone would not be likely to a late writer, and a certain plausibility to his view that 31 2-6 15-22 formed a genuine nucleus afterwards enlarged by 70, were it not that the terms 'Judah' and 'Israel' seem to have acquired a wider sense since 2 Isaiah, on whom the writer so clearly depends, and that the many of the book, rightly emphasised by Graf, cannot well be questioned. The hope of political independence pervades the book. This is also expressed in 31 22 (where 2 gives only satisfactory sense), which should probably be rendered 'נָחֵם נָחֵם בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ' (we are comforted) being a later gloss (preserved in 2) to נָחֵם נָחֵם (the same), six in this, that men shall walk about in a land that is not their own. This likewise removes every obstacle to 31 15-22, the enlargement of the capital and the exiles.

¹ On the historical situation of Hatakkuk see Harnack, *op. cit.* 88-90, *Ann. d. Bibl.* 23, p. 583.

¹ For 22 in the sense of 'purchase the freedom of' 'ransom' deliver, cp. Ex. 15 16 Dt. 28 26 Is. 44 15 P. 74 2 Neh. 5 4.

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the kingdom by the return of exiles are the signs that Yahweh has forgiven his people, and the love thus shown will be more effective than the preaching of prophetic teachers in bringing about a willing obedience to the law. The author of the Songs of Zion, added in Palestine to 2 Isaiah, still has confidence in the missionary activity of the Yahweh-disciples; this writer despairs of all human teaching and expects return to come as a consequence of Yahweh's deed of deliverance.

In chap. 32, not only 17-21, but the whole section 19-44 is clearly a late production, the author occasionally falling out of his role, as in 37.41, 5-15 may have been taken from the biography. Chap. 33.14-26, not yet found by G, is quite generally rejected. But neither is 33.1-13 likely to be genuine. The dependence on 2 Is. in 7.2, the extraordinary exhortation in 11.3, the juxtaposition of the captivity of Judah and of Israel (17.7), the feeling of the heathen concerning restored Jerusalem (23.9), the actual desolation of the city (39.10), the late psalm-fragment and the praise offering (33.11) and the dependence on 17.26 and 31.24 in 27.12 and 13, are sufficiently convincing.

The speeches in Bks. 1, 6, and 7 must be considered in connection with the biography (see § 17).

In Bks. 1 and 2 there are, in addition to poetical and liturgical compositions and brief annotations, a series of more important insertions of late origin.

16. Insertions of late origin. 21.10 breaks the natural connection, presupposes evil treatment of the Jews by the people of Thibes and Ephraim, breathes the spirit of 2 Isaiah's concern about the servant of Yahweh, and rebukes immigration to Egypt and Syria. That 30-42 is out of place is generally seen. Stade doubts the genuineness of 31.7. Gesebrecht rejects 31.4-18; Cornill 31.7 f. 41.7 f. Kraetzschmar, 31.4-42. The whole section is doubtful. The looseness of construction may be explained by literary dependence on Ezek. 16, Jer. 31, and other passages. An invitation to Israel to return, even in the form of 27.12 f., either in 625 when the Scytho-Chaldean invasion was imminent, or after the futility of Josiah's reform had become apparent (cp 7.10) and the Chaldeans again threatened the land, is difficult to understand. It is not likely that two minds independently conceived the idea of Israel's justification through Judah's greater sinfulness. The author sees both Judah and Israel coming back together to Zion (7.18), and uses the term 'house of Israel' in a manner to suggest the whole Yahweh-worshipping people (27.10 f.). 9.24 f., though brief, is important as showing the sentiments of later centuries. It probably read originally 'Behold days come, when I will punish all who are circumcised in their foreskin (i.e.), have the sign in their body though they fail to unite with Israel as proselytes)—viz. Egyptians, Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites and all the dwellers in the desert who poll their hair, a kindred custom.

10.1-16 is almost universally rejected. G presents the pericope in an earlier form than MT. But even G has the late Aramaic addition, 11.11 (itself the work of two hands), and other expansions. Language and thought preclude Jeremiaic origin. 12.14-17, like the elegy preceding it, is evidently un-Jeremiaic. The neighbouring nations have settled in Israel's land, they will be plucked up; but they will be accepted as proselytes, if they learn to swear by Yahweh. The affinity with Is. 56.6-12 57.1-14 is marked. 16.14-18 is clearly a later prophecy presupposing the exile and promising a return, dependent in its phraseology somewhat on 2 Isaiah. For עמם ('their iniquity') read עמם ('their dwelling') in 17.17, a copyist having misunderstood the tenor of the verse. 23.7 f. is later than 16.14 f. Stade and many others rightly regard 17.19-27 as a work of a later prophet. The concern here expressed for sabbath-keeping and sacrifices, making prosperity dependent upon such exercises, is contrary to Jeremiah's spirit (cp 7) and belongs to another age. Gieger (*Überlieferung*, 83) in 1857 expressed his conviction that 23.5-8 was written in the

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Hasmonean period. Gesebrecht (*Beitr. z. Jesaiakritik*, 40), though maintaining the Jeremiaic authorship, finely indicated that even 27.14 presupposes the exile. The entire pericope, 23.1-27, is in all probability a product of a later age.

(1) Contemplation of a prophet's words naturally suggests an interest in the historic occasions that gave rise to his utterances and the circumstances of his life. Stories concerning the remarkable epoch when Jeremiah lived and his own strange career no doubt passed from mouth to mouth for a long time before an attempt was made to fix them in writing. Adversity, repentance, reflection on Israel's sufferings such as the Servant of Yahweh songs reveal, would tend to bring out of obscurity and disgrace the figure of the prophet who foresaw the ruin of the state, but also to shape this figure according to the ideal. Words would suggest situations, situations words. Finally the demand for a connected biography would arise. This work would follow the prophet's career so far as the material at hand permitted. As the interest increased, the desire for more complete knowledge would grow and find its gratification. It is possible that the biography in its latest form contained some story of the prophet's death, though contradictory accounts, or other reasons, determined the final editors of the canonical book not to introduce it.

There are in our present volume historical sections that cannot have come from the biography. Already Grotius recognised that 52 is an appendix drawn from 2 K. 25, with the exception of 17-20. That is now universally conceded. It has not yet been observed, but appears equally certain, that 40.7-41.6 must have been taken from another source than the biography (cp § 16). The likelihood of this story is much praised, and it is generally used as an authentic account by modern historians. Literary critics are still apt to be deceived by vividness of description, local colour, names and dates, and charmed into forgetfulness of the most glaring inconsistencies and historical impossibilities. Such inconsistencies and impossibilities are not wanting in this story. A confused memory of the first Chaldean governor and of an abortive attempt by a side branch of the Davidic family to overthrow the new government, and local legends clustering about the cistern of Asa and the pool of Gibeon, may lie at its foundation, but in its present form it cannot well be earlier than the second century.

A. R. Davidson has recognised that the passage 42.7-22, 'on account of its rather belated style and its other peculiarities, is probably a free construction from the historian's hand'. But 43.1-7 presupposes this 'free construction'; 42.6 is its necessary introduction, the same 'depraved style' and other peculiarities of reprobative prophecy characterise 44, which further betrays its late origin by its assumption of a complete depopulation of Judah and the existence of Jewish communities in all parts of Egypt. 43.2-4 seems to have come from the pen of a man who regarded Nebuchadnezzar as Yahweh's servant in punishing the Egyptians for their idolatry, and may have had some knowledge of his expedition against Egypt in 568. Rowland Williams, with keen insight, hinted at a later date for the 'moralising view of the conqueror as Yahweh's servant.' The address of Nabuzaradan, 40.2 ff., in which he speaks as if he were a disciple of Jeremiah, is, of course, a late production. The Egyptian sojourn of Jeremiah is subject to grave doubts (cp JEREMIAH, § 2). Whether Bk. 7 was in part drawn from late additions to the biography, or was altogether a free construction, the editor who wrote 1.1 knew nothing about Jeremiah's subsequent fate save that he survived the fall of the city.

The stories preserved in Bks. 1-6, and in all probability taken from the biography, reveal the workmanship of many writers, and vary greatly in the degree of credibility attaching to them. Bks. 3 and 5 have

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each one such story. Ewald suggested and Gieseler has convincingly shown that 51:59-64 (cp. SERAIAH) is a piece of haggadic fiction.

The historicity of 52:1-15 (cp. HANANIEL) has been questioned by Pierson, who finds it improbable that a prisoner should be surrounded by people, have a secretary, and be able to make purchases. Stadel, Cornill, and Gieseler rightly reject 1-5. In behalf of 6-15 Gieseler urges certain points which apparently preclude a later date. He suggests that the story was told by Jeremiah after the fall of the city. There may be a nucleus of fact in the story. But if Jeremiah meant by this tale to keep his people quiet in the land under Chaldean sovereignty, rather than that they should emigrate, he would not have intimated (cp. 14 f.) that after a long time they would again have a chance of buying houses and fields. The miraculously bestowed foreknowledge of Hanani's coming, the outlook into a future beyond the long exile, the consequent purely symbolic character of the act, the amazement, common in apocalyptic literature, at the wonderful plan of future deliverance, and the vagueness of the narrative, only in part due to textual corruption, seem to indicate a later origin.

In Bk. 1, 13:1-14 may be an excerpt from the biography. The twofold journey to the Euphrates is clearly unhistorical. A saying like that of 17:17-18 has been dramatised. The editor of the book may also have drawn from the same source the genuine parts of 18 and 19 and the possibly authentic story 20:1-6.

In Bk. 2, 21:1-10 is from the biography (cp. above). The introductory chapter, 26, to Bk. 4 contains a briefer report of the speech given, 7 f., and an apparently trustworthy account of the consequences. In the booklet 27-29, the story of the bands and yokes (27), and that of the correspondence with Babylonians (28), are scarcely historical; while the narrative of the encounter between Jeremiah and Hananiah sounds plausible, though it may have been retouched. That Hananiah was scared to death is less probable than that 28:17 was added to round off the story.

In Bk. 6 there is no valid reason to question the substantial accuracy of 31, Chap. 35, on the other hand, is subject to grave doubts. That Jeremiah should have praised for their loyalty the RECOVERERS (31:1-10) whose very presence in Jerusalem constituted the severest infringement of the commandment enjoined upon them by their ancestor, is quite incredible, apart from the questionable method used to test their fidelity to one of the ancestral injunctions, and the scene of the trial. A justification was probably found in this story for the elevation into some position in the lower clergy (25:17-22) of those who had abandoned the nomadic life they were solemnly commanded to lead. Against the historical trustworthiness of chap. 36 Pierson adduced twenty-one arguments. Their summary rejection by Kuonen may have been influenced by a reluctance to surrender a narrative generally regarded as furnishing a trustworthy clue to the composition of the book. If this is seen to be illusive, it may more readily be admitted that, whilst some of these arguments are of little weight, taken as a whole they are not without a certain cumulative force. It is evidently the author's meaning that all the prophecies of Jeremiah, during a period of more than twenty years, were written by Baruch, the prophet dictating them from memory. He did not reflect on the curious effect of such a collection of miscellaneous addresses on different subjects and occasions, even if a reproduction of that kind were a possibility. That Jeremiah should send his servant with so important a mission instead of going himself is all the more strange as a long time elapses between the writing and the reading of the book. It does not seem possible to refer the explanation 'I am restrained to political detention since he is free to go and hide himself, nor to ceremonial uncleanness, since the command to Baruch precedes the public reading by mouth, nor to business, since the last day would take precedence. But can the author really have represented his hero as held back by cowardly concern for his own safety? The collusion of the princes with Baruch and Jeremiah contrasts with their eagerness to bring the book to the king's knowledge, and this weak their neglect to take with them the corpus *telut*. In 1:29 is assumed

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a personal interview with Jehoiakim that harmonises neither with Jeremiah's detention on the fast day nor with his subsequent concealment. A possible kernel of fact is all that can be admitted. Jeremiah's feeling concerning the expected Egyptian relief corps, 37:1-10 (21:1-10), his intended departure from Jerusalem, and his imprisonment (37:11 f.), may be historical. 38 is manifestly a late legend.

The king, like Daniel's Darius, has no power to prevent the enraged mob from slaying Jeremiah (21:5), yet in 21:10 f. he has absolute power to save the prophet. That Jeremiah agrees to tell a lie is clear; but why it should be told and how it could satisfy the princes, is not apparent. Not only 39:4-13, still wanting in B's copy, but also 1:1-14, and the oracle, 14:18, introduced as a supplement to the legend, 38:7-13, are manifestly unhistorical.

(d) In Bk. 1 copyists and editors have introduced a number of poetical passages, psalmic fragments and elegies, and gnomic poems. Some of them 18. Poets, show striking affinities to Lamentations, also ascribed to Jeremiah. It is the merit of Stade to have recognised the secondary character of many such poetical interpolations. Had his reasons been given, the correctness of his judgment would no doubt have been more generally seen. Other passages of the same nature should probably be added.

4:19-21 breaks the textual connection, laments a destruction that has been experienced, expresses national grief (cp. 'my tents,' 'my tent-covers') and shows a kinship to psalms in which the personified community speaks.

8:13-23 apparently presupposes not only the exile of the people, but also the successive disenchanted hopes for the restoration of the monarchy. Verse 13b is a quotation of Lam. 1:22; read, with Houbigant, 'my consolation is far from me' (לֹא-נִחַם-נִחַם). The aphorism, 9:23 f., was also found by G in 1 S. 2:10 as a part of Hannah's song. It was evidently a homeless fragment brought first into the song and then into the prophecy. It is in the style of the later psalms.

In 10:17-25, 19:21 and 23:23 are clearly the work of a poet who looks back upon the exile of the people, the cessation of the monarchy, and the partial occupation of the land by neighbouring nations as past facts, and desires the utter annihilation of the heathen, while pleading for gentler treatment for Judah. He speaks in the name of the community; cp. 'my tabernacle,' 'my tent,' 'my chorists,' 'my sons,' 'my destruction.' Verses 17 f. and 22 may be reminiscences from Jeremiah oracles introduced by an editor.

In 1:15-17 we have a poem in six double lines in which Zion seems to be exhorted to remove by prayers and sacrifices the adversity that so long followed the destruction of the Judean kingdom.

There is nothing in 12:1-6 that is suggestive of Jeremiah. The speaker is the nation disturbed by the continued disfavour of Yahwé as shown in the drought and the famine, and puzzled by the prosperity of false brethren (cp. Neh. 5). If this is the condition of things in times of comparative ease, what would it be if war should arise? Such seems to be the sense of the proverb, 2:5.

The elegy, 12:7-13, is clearly non-Jeremianic. Judah, the beloved, has been put into the hands of her enemies, birds of prey have come upon her, shepherds (foreign rulers) have destroyed the vineyard.

13:6-17 is a similar lamentation reminiscent in part of late psalms. The depraved style suggests to Scholz a late date for 17:20-27. He is probably right. Verses 18 f., also rejected by Scholz, may be genuine, though there is no necessity for thinking of a particular queen mentioned in Kings. There is nothing to remind us of Jeremiah's language style or thought in the exquisite elegiac strains of 14:2-6. The absence of any religious suggestion precludes a prophetic source.

14:7-9 is a psalm breathing the spirit of 2 Isaiah. The phrase 'because of this name,' the title 'hope of Israel,' the rebuke to Yahwé for leaving a place where he is not a stranger but at home, and the appeal to him on the ground that his name has been

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

1. Translate: 'Verily, I shall root thee out (שָׁרַף) verily, I shall cause the enemy to fall upon thee (שָׁרַף), cp. Is. 53:6) in an evil time. The iron will be broken (שָׁרַף), the brazen citadel (שָׁרַף) will be broken; thy wealth and treasures I will give for plunder . . . I will cause thee to serve' (שָׁרַף, Psal., and also 173:1). שָׁרַף may be a gloss to שָׁרַף misunderstood; שָׁרַף is another gloss.

While 46:2 puts Nebuchadnezzar's march against Syria in the fourth year of Jehoiakim—*i.e.*, 604 *b.c.*—28:1 makes the birth year of Jehoiakim the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. But according to Hérisson (*loc. cit.*, I: 11; *cf.* A.D. 115) the encounter with Necho took place in the reign of Nabopolassar, consequently not later than 605, who is the last year accorded to him by Ptolemy's canon.¹ If the editor of 46:51, who wrote 28:1-3, in this case was better informed than his predecessors,

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of 21 belongs to the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah. 16-17 may have been spoken before the siege; 21-22, and possibly the substance of 28 as well as the original similes transformed in 13-14, 12-14, may belong to the time of the revolt. Words of Jeremiah during the siege have probably been preserved in 21-22 (37-38), when the siege was raised; in 37-38, at the capture and imprisonment of Jeremiah; and in 34, on the occasion of the re-enslavement of solemnly emancipated bondmen; possibly also in 32-34, Chap. I in its original form may also have been spoken in this reign.

v. *Chaldean period* (586-539).—The earliest collections of Jeremiah prophecies were no doubt made in the Chaldean period; and many glosses may have been added. Some of the lamentations, like 4-10-21 10-19-21 23-25 17-19, may have originated in this period.

vi. *Persian period* (538-332).—Chaps. 30-31 were probably written on the eve of Xerxes' expedition against Greece. The gathering of tremendous armies from all lands for a decisive combat may well have struck terror into the hearts of Judahans.

The very magnitude of the preparations indicated the strength of the foe, and naturally aroused the hope that out of the turmoil there might come to Jacob independence and with it prosperity to win the exiles back. Such prosperity, however, would not be permanent unless the restored nation ordered its conduct according to Yahwe's will. The prophetic preaching to which Isaiah had given the impetus had signally failed to bring about a real reformation. That could be effected only by Yahwe's pardoning grace. But the evidences of forgiveness—viz., cessation of the Persian authority, restoration of the native monarchy, extension of the kingdom and growth of its capital whilst leading men to a glad obedience to the law, would unquestionably imply a new arrangement of Yahwe with his people, based, as exilic historians had so strongly emphasised, not on Israel's faithfulness, but on Yahwe's unrecited yet unchanging love (cp. COHEN, *ibid.*, § 6, v.).

This work (chaps. 30-31) falls between the prophecies collected in Is. 40-55 and those found in Is. 56-66. 33-34 may also belong to this period.

The oracle against Edom-Peraz, 49-54, was probably written at the approach of Alexander. Only the oppressions of Ochs can account for the hatred it breathes. The prophecy against the Philistines, Tyre and Sidon, 17, probably was composed at the same time, though the editor may have thought of the conquest of Gaza (defended by Demetrius) by Ptolemy in 312. It is possible that the two oracles against Egypt originated in the same epoch. The designation of the Egyptians as 'the enemies of Yahwe' is not unnatural in an age when law and liturgy alike caused the minds of men to dwell upon the oppression in Egypt and the wonderful deliverance, before the gentle rule of the Ptolemies had somewhat mollified their feelings. The conqueror described in 16-18 may be Alexander; another reference may be found in 50-56 (read *qar* 227, 'the sword of the Greek'), *ἡ μάχαρος Ἑλληνιστῆς*; 'the people of the north' is a suitable expression, though borrowed. Both oracles look for an Egyptian army marching into Syria to oppose the enemy, as so often in the past.¹ Literary dependence and final ascription to Jeremiah may be responsible for the confusion of tenses. The oracle against Edom, 49-54, later than Malachi (*ca.* 450) and Obadiah, which it quotes, may still have belonged to this time. Edom would be in the conqueror's way.

It is distinctly probable that the biographical work used in the historical sections was a product of the Persian period. Even 35, though scarcely historical, may have originated then, as the reorganisation of the clerus would raise many questions of eligibility. Whether 34 was already a part of the work is more doubtful.

To this period many interpolations may belong, such as 3-4 4-24-25 19-21-22 17-19-27, and the poetical fragments, 8-1-23 11-1-17 12-6-7-11 11-1-7 1-17-1 20-1-1.

¹ The nickname given to the Egyptian king, possibly some kinlet of the Delta, may originally have been *ἡ μάχαρος Ἑλληνιστῆς*. 'Warrior and Captive of the Greek'. A suspicion of gematria is near at hand.

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vii. *Period of the Diadochi and the Lagidae* (332-198 B.C.).—The oracle against Ammon may have been occasioned by the advance of the Nabateans, who in 312 were established in Idumaea and pushed their way into the trans-Jordan country. Although the prophecy against Kedar and the queen of Hazor (read in 49-50, with W.L., 'queen,' 227, cp. *ἡ βασίλισσα*) apparently did not yet have a place in the corpus found by the editorial writer of 25-15, it may owe its origin to the same spread of Nabatean power in northern Arabia. There is nothing to forbid the assumption that 20-1-18 was added at this time.

viii. *Period of the Seleucids* (198-143 B.C.).—The oracle against Hamath, Arpad, and Damascus, 19-23-27, is probably directed against Seleucia, the seat of the foreign oppressor of the time (cp. Zech. 9-13 and We. *K'l Proph.*, 190). It is likely to be later than the reign of Antiochus III. The prophecy against Babylon, 50-51-53, may have been written in the reign of Mithridates I., the sixth of the Arsacids (170-136). Having taken possession of Media and Elymais, this king attacked and finally captured Babylon (after 162). This approach of an enemy from the N. against what was still, in spite of Seleucia, one of the great centres of the empire, may have led the author, who lacks all originality, to draw upon the prophetic word for gruesome pictures of the impending destruction of the hated city. It is possible that the stories concerning an original Egyptian *golah* (CAPTIVITY) in the time of Jeremiah and his oracles regarding its future belong to this period, since the Chronicler as yet knows nothing about this emigration. A passage like 2-14-19 may have been written in the beginning of the period of the Seleucids.

ix. *Period of the Hasmoneans* (143-63 B.C.).—It is probable that the oracle against Moab, 48, was composed in the reign of John Hyrcanus (134-104). The author is clearly familiar with Is. 15-16, though his attitude towards Moab is different from that of the original writer of the Isaiah passage, approaching that of the editor, 16-17. This editor seems to have lived in the days of Alexander Jannæus (102-76); so Duhm, Marti. The enemy threatening Moab in Is. 15-16-17 is apparently the Nabatean Chrysæ and Marti still think of the Persian period; but the kingdom seems to have been re-established in Judah, and it may therefore be best, with Duhm, to refer the poem to the Hasmonean age.

In the time of John Hyrcanus territorial conquests smothered sympathy and revived ancient animosity. In this period the seven books received their final redaction, with many glosses and interpolations like 23-1-2, psalm-fragments in 17, the prayer 32-10-17, etc. In the reign of Alexander Jannæus the passages still wanting in 6 may have been added to the volume, though some of them may have been written earlier.

All known Hebrew MSS of Jeremiah exhibit substantially the same text. In its essential features this text may possibly be traced back to the end of the first century A.D. The differences between the Pesh. and MT may be explained partly by the peculiarities of the translator, partly by the unmistakable fact that his work was subsequently revised by one familiar with the Greek version then in use. Origen's *δ* *Σιγορ* seems to have been none else than the Pesh. That the Pesh. knew the Targ. is not likely. Rather is the reverse probable. In its differences from the Heb., the Targ. sometimes goes with the Pesh. sometimes with 6 where they differ. This may point to an acquaintance with either or with both. The slight differences between Jerome and the Heb. are accounted for by the influence of the Old Latin. Aquila adheres quite closely to the Heb. There are some indications that Theodotion was familiar with a Greek version more extensive than the LXX. The deviations of Symmachus where he does not depend on

¹ If Höldeke should be right in maintaining that Chronicles was not written before the middle of the second century (LXX, 19-20, p. 25, 26), this appendix to Jeremiah is probably still more recent.

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JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF

see LXX in Jer., 12; Grätz, *Emendationes*, 83; G. C. Workman, *The Text of Jer.*, 83; H. P. Smith, 'The text of Jer. in Hebrew', 87; 'Targum to Jer.', *ibid.*, 88; cp also *RL*, 90; E. Coste, *Die Weissagungen wider die fremden Völker*, 93; H. Cornill, in *Haupt's SBOT*, 95; A. W. Sireane, *The Double Text of Jer.*, 96. N. 8

JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF. An apocryphal composition, professing to have been written by Jeremiah to warn the Jews who were to be led captives to Babylonia against falling into idolatry. For this purpose the vanity of the idols of wood, silver, and gold is elaborately shown.

There is no logical arrangement; but we meet with something like a refrain in *rr*. 15 [17], 21 [24], 29 [30], 65 [66], and 69 [70], which verses serve at any rate as breaks; it may be added that another formula recurs in slightly varied forms at *rr*. 30 [31], 40 [41], 44, 45, 51 [52], 56.

The ideas are the commonplaces of the opponents of idolatry in post-exilic times (cp *Ps*. 115, 135; *Is*. 44, 46; *Jer*. 10, 13; *Wisd*. 13, 15-17). It is admitted, except by some Roman Catholic commentators, that the epistle was written in Greek; the few Hebraisms (e.g. *ἀποκαθάρσεις ἀποκαθάρσεις* [v. 4], and the use of the future for the present) are nothing uncommon in Hellenistic Greek. The imitation of Jeremiah is not very strenuous; the author has studied this book as most of the later writers have studied it, but in a very mechanical way. The statement in v. 2 [3] that the Babylonian exile is to last seven generations, altered in the Syriac into 'seventy years,' contradicts *Jer*. 29, 10. It is hardly possible to fix the date exactly, and unsafe even to say that the epistle was written before a Maccabees, the supposed reference to it in 2 Macc. 3, 1 ff. being disputed.

Ball (*Liter. Apoc.*, 200) suggests that seven generations (= 780) may seem to point to the removal of the Jews from Jerusalem to Alexandria by Ptolemy Soter (388-280 = 388).

The composition is not a mere scholastic exercise. It is, as Gifford truly says, 'an earnest appeal to persons actually living in the midst of heathenism, and needing to be warned and encouraged against temptations to apostasy.' In this respect it is parallel to *Is*. 44, 19 and the other didactic passages mentioned above. The author may, as Fritzsche supposes, have been a Jew of Alexandria (note the somewhat turgid style); it is no objection to this view that, like the author of *Is*. 44, 19, he places his work under the ægis of a writer of earlier date and established reputation. In fact, in *Jer*. 20 we actually hear of a letter, traditionally assigned to Jeremiah, which is addressed to those whom king Nebuchadnezzar had carried captives from Jerusalem to Babylon.

This 'epistle' (on the use of the term see EPISTOLARY LITERATURE) is included in the Greek canon, and is found in all Greek MSS of the OT except 75, 95, 129 (curious). In the Old Latin, the Old Syriac, and some editions of 2, it is given as Baruch 6; and this is followed in Luther's Bible and in V; but there is no plausible justification (see BARUCH, Book 6). In the Syro-Alex, the Epistle follows Lamentations.

E. H. Gifford in *Speaker's Apocrypha*, vol. ii.; Dissell in his *Apocrypha*; Fritzsche, *Handbuch zu den Apok.*, 51; Reusch, *Erklärung des B. Baruch*, 53; Herrfeld, *GTJ*.

Literature. 1, 116 (47); Nestle, *Marginalien*, 42 f.; Rothstein, in *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des A.T.*, edited by Kautsch, 1, 220-229.

JEREMIAH, LAMENTATIONS OF. See LAMENTATIONS.

JEREMIAS (Ἰερემίας [H.M.]), 1 Ed. 934, see JEREMAI.

(1) Mt. 10, 14 (Ἰερემίας [T.W.H.]), RV JEREMIAH [v. p.].

JEREMIEL (Ἰερემιήλ [Lat.], also *Jeremiel*, cp Bunsly, *ad loc.*; i.e., 'Jeremiel', cp JEREMIAH), 'the archangel,' 4 Ed. 4, 36 (AV¹⁸ RV), and hence to be kept distinct from Uriel (AV; so *FRANZ*, Lat. c.; cp also *Ar²*), who is regularly called 'angel.' According to Enoch 9 the four great archangels are Michael, Uriel, Gabriel, and Suriel or Raphael. See ANGEL, § 4.

JEREMOTH. See JEREMOTH.

JEREMY (Ἰερემυ [T.W.H.]), Mt. 2, 17, etc.; RV JEREMIAH [v. p.].

JERICOHO

JERIAH (יְרִיחַ), EV 1 Ch. 23, 19-24, 25. See JERIAH.

JERIBAI (יְרִיבַי), cp JERUBBAAL, and יְרִיבַי, *C/S* 270, a bilingual, where the parallel Ass. has *iriba*, a name in David's army-list 1 Ch. 11, 46; (אִרְיָבַי [H.], -בַּי [A.], אִרְיָבַי [M.], אִרְיָבַי [L.]). See RIBAI.

JERICOHO (יְרִיחוֹ), uniformly in Pent., also in 2 K. 25, 5 and [Gt.] 2 S. 10, 5 *Jer*. 50, 5 and [Gt., Ba.] Ezra, Neh., Ch.; יְרִיחוֹ in Josh. [uniformly, Gt.], also 2 K. 24 [Ba.] 5, 15, 18; יְרִיחוֹ Josh. 18, 21 [Ba., not Gt.], 2 S. 10, 5 [Ba.] *Jer*. 50, 5 [Ba.] *Jer*. 52, 8; יְרִיחוֹ, 2 K. 16, 34 [Gt., but Ba. יְרִיחוֹ]; (שִׁשְׁפֶּלֶשֶׁת, sometimes with fem. art., שִׁשְׁפֶּלֶשֶׁת, Josh. 21, 36 [H.]; NT, שִׁשְׁפֶּלֶשֶׁת and שִׁשְׁפֶּלֶשֶׁת in Lk. 19, 11 *cp* *cp*; Jos. *Antiquities* [gen. -וִירְחוֹ] or *Jerico* [gen. -וִירְחוֹ], whence *Jerico* [gen. -וִירְחוֹ]; Siralno, *Jerico*).

A city, assigned to Benjamin (Josh. 18, 21), remarkable alike from its history and its unique position. (a)

1. Meaning of Name. A plausible view explains the name as 'the fragrant' (יְרִיחוֹ; Ges. (*Thes.*), Wetstein (in Del. *Jesaja* 7, 303), etc.),

and many others have acquiesced in it. The allusion on this hypothesis will be to the fragrant balsams and rose trees of Jericho. It is evident, however, that 'the fragrant,' however suitable as a title, can hardly have been the primeval name of such an important place.

(b) Following older commentators, Siegf. Stade (*Lex.*) and Sayce (*Early Hist.*, 250) connect the name 'Jericho' with יָרֵיחַ, 'the moon'; it will then be a testimony to the early prevalence of moon-worship, as RETH-SHEMESH [v. p.] testifies to that of sun-worship. (Cp *Jer*. 48, 786, 'luna, sive odor ejus.')

(c) There is reason, however, to suspect that the true meaning of Jericho is neither 'fragrant city' nor 'moon city.' We shall see presently that the original tradition which underlies Josh. 2 related to the conquest of a different city from that commonly called Jericho, one that bore the name of which Jericho is a corruption (presumably a popular corruption), and that the true name of both places lies concealed under the incorrectly transmitted title יְרִיחוֹ (EV 'the city of palm trees'), and is יְרִיחוֹ, 'city of Jerahmeel.'

If this be admitted as probable—it would fall into line with other mutilated forms of the name Jerahmeel suggested elsewhere (see JERAHMEEL, § 4)—we must suppose that in primitive times a colony of Jerahmeelites settled in the rich plain of Jericho, and that, as elsewhere, the primitive name, in a shortened form, clung to the spot, even after another race had taken possession of it.

The title יְרִיחוֹ occurs in four passages, but the latest of these, 2 Ch. 28, 15, may safely be neglected.

2. City of Palm Trees. In Dt. 34, 3 (see JORDAN, § 1) it is appended to 'Jericho' in a definition of the extent of the geographical term 'the Circle (of Jordan).'

Judg. 1, 6 gives a statement (see HOBAB) to the effect that the Kenites joined the men of Judah in an invasion of a southern district of Palestine, their starting-point was יְרִיחוֹ. Although a reference to the historical Jericho would accord with the present context of Judg. 1, 6 f. (see Moore), yet a comparison of Nu. 21, 1-3 makes it very doubtful whether the original tradition did not mean rather a place to the S. of Judah.

It is natural to think of the Tamar of 1 K. 9, 13 (see TAMAR), and to suppose that the full name of this place was 'city of palm trees,' and that the title יְרִיחוֹ so appropriate to Jericho (see § 7), was inserted in Dt. 34, 3 after this place-name.

But is it really credible that palm trees anciently grew to the S. of Judah? Surely not (see NEGEV). We must therefore seek for some name or title which may have been corrupted into יְרִיחוֹ, and can be reasonably supposed to have been suitable both for 'Jericho' and for the city to the S. of Judah, of which we are in quest.

There is such a name or title—יְרִיחוֹ, 'city of Jerahmeel.'

[See Steuernagel on Dt. 34, 3.]

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11. *Ba*

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h., Ch. ;
5 15 18;
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But the neglected (1) it is a continuous term, a permanent structure of thought, although it is not with it, yet a place to it. Tamm the full of that (§ 7). But is to the must have a reasonably who and quest. Irah

pronounced on the man who should rebuild Jericho (see H1141). 'But the harlot Rahab and her family—even all that belonged to her—Joshua saved alive so that she dwells in the midst of Israel to this day' (Josh 2:21).

4. Criticism of the text. The elaboration of the details. Analytic criticism has been applied to the

results seem to require further revision in the light of a more searching criticism of MT. Steuernagel is right in assuming the relative originality of $\mathcal{A}$, but we can no more follow $\mathcal{A}$ implicitly as a canonical authority than MT. The text in all its forms must be subjected to a searching criticism. It will thus, for instance, become plain that Josh. 3:15-7, which the Oxford editors assign to P, is based on an earlier written source. We cannot, however, criticise the text of this most interesting and elaborate description of the stoppage of the waters of the Jordan without some guidance from outside.

1. Any one who approaches the story of Jacob with a fresh and open mind will be irresistibly led to suspect that the crossing of the Jordan by the Israelites under the Ephraimite Joshua was, in its original form, parallel to the migration of Jacob-Israel across the Jordan, which an early tradition placed at the point where it is met by the Jabbok.¹ 2. The twofold geographical relation of Gideon-Jerubbaal (see GIDEON) points in the same direction; it is not accidental that the name Zarethan occurs in Josh. 3.15 and a parallel form Zerethai (both forms are corrupt) in Judg. 7.22. 3. It is appropriately remarked on Dt. 27. by the Oxford editors, 'The phraseology suggests that the stones were to be erected on the actual day of the passage of the Jordan. . . . Is the distance from the Jordan to Shechem forgotten; does the writer, "looking back to a distant past" (Driver), fail to take account of the time that must have elapsed between the crossing of the river and the arrival at Elbal, or is there a vague reminiscence in his mind of the later incident when twelve stones are taken up out of the Jordan and placed upright in the Gilgal?' Is it not rather a reminiscence, not of the 'later incident,' but of the *original tradition* of the crossing of the Jordan at a more northerly point than the fords of Jericho? On Dt. 11.2*cf.* see especially GERUZIM. 4. If Judah started from Kadesh-Jerahmeel we may analogously assume that the Joseph tribes entered W. Palestine at a point on the Jordan nearer to their ultimate possessions than Jericho.

The considerations just stated lead to the following emendation of the text of Josh. 3:16: "(it came to pass) that the water stood still; that which came down from above stood as a heap some distance (cp. Gen. 21:16) from the ford of Admah which is opposite Beth-zur" (סוּרְתָּהּ מִן הַמֶּדִּינָה בֵּית צֻר הַיְּבֵשֶׁת). The "ford of Admah" is to be identified with the ford of Dāmūh, which is at the confluence of the Jabbeek and the Jordan, 16 m. in a direct line from the lords of Jericho. Beth-zur must be the name of the fortress which already stood on the summit of Karn Sartaleh, 2227 ft. above

¹ This is the spot assigned to the crossing by Stade (GLY, 13°), C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 13284, Steuermagel (*Dent.* 167). Against Stade, however, cp GASm. *Ilc.* 659-662.

² The *תְּבִילַת הַכִּי* of Ki. represents *תְּבִילַת הַכִּי*; *קִי* is a corruption of *קִי*; *קִי* (for *קִי*) arose from the proximity of *קִי*. *קִי* is certainly a corruption of *קִי* (see ZARETAN: *קִי* (*kapi*)). *קִי* indicates a reading *קִי*, which, though defended by W. E. Stevenson, *FAO*, '66, p. 82, is certainly wrong. Cp. Judg. 7:22 (emended: see ZARETAN). See also ADAM.

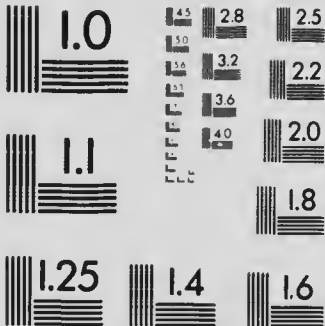
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the Jordan Valley¹. It is probable that at the end of v. 16 the original narrative had, instead of *בְּיָרֵיחוֹ* 'opposite Jericho,' *בְּיָרֵיחוֹ נֹכַח בֵּית־זֶרַח* 'opposite Beth-zur.' No one can reasonably doubt that this geographical definition, so inconsistent with the references to Jericho, comes from a relatively early source. In short, according to the earlier tradition, the crossing of the Jordan by the Ephraimite Joshua and his followers took place near the point where Jacob is also said to have crossed the Jordan—i.e., near the ford of Danieh. Nevertheless, the transference of the scene to Jericho is not purely arbitrary. There is evidence of a confusion of two traditions, one of which referred to the conquest by the Judahites of the city of Jerahmeel (probably Kadesh-Jerahmeel), and the other to the crossing of the Jordan near Danieh by the Ephraimites. The story of the spies² and of RAVITH [7.7.] belongs properly to the former tradition—'Rahab' (277), or rather Rechab (277), or—best of all—Heber (277), is certainly the representative of the Rechabites, or Heberites, a second name of the KENITES [7.7.], who, as we infer from Judg. 1.10, anciently dwelt in the 'city of Jerahmeel' (ME 'city of palm trees,' but see § 2), though not themselves Jerahmeelites (= Amalekites, cp 1 S. 15.16). These Rechabites³ or Kenites held the position of a protected tribe, or, putting this into symbolic phraseology, Rahab-Rechab was a 'harlot.'⁴ Now we can really profess to understand the statement in Josh. 2:1 that Joshua's two spies found lodging in the house of a harlot. The detail was not suggested by considerations of expediency,—'for strangers to turn into such a house would excite the least suspicion' (Steuernagel); it is an anticipation of the historical relation between Kain and Israel. As the narrator says, 'Rahab dwells in Israel unto this day' (Josh. 6.25), i.e., the Kenites still dwelt among the Judahites as a protected tribe in the narrator's times.

It is needless to ask what suggested the story of the falling down of the walls of Jericho. As Steuernagel

5. The phenomenon in Josh. 6.20.

truly says (151), the popular imagination clothed the conviction that all Israel's successes were due to Yahwe's help in the form of history. Among the instances of this he mentions the 'drying up of the Jordan' and the falling down of the walls of Jericho. For the first of these reputed wonders Steuernagel's explanation is hardly sufficient. The biblical writers show a certain economy in the distribution of wonders. It was necessary that the walls of Jericho should fall down. Only by supernatural means could the untrained host of Joshua capture a fortified city; G. A. Smith goes a little too far when he says (pp. 267 f.) that the statement in Josh. 6.25 is 'the soberest summary of all Jericho's history.' But it was not necessary that the current of the Jordan's waters should be stayed; a ford suited Jacob, and might as well have suited Joshua. There must have been some natural phenomenon—probably one which had occurred within the first narrator's knowledge—which suggested the story of the waters that stood up as a heap, and Clermont-Ganneau has brought from a Paris MS an Arabic historian's account of just such a historical phenomenon as we require for our purpose.

The statement of Nowairi is reported by Lt. Col. C. M. Watson in *PEFO*, 9.5, pp. 253 ff. It is that in 694 A.D. (c. 1060 A.D.) Bilbars L., then Sultan of Egypt, caused a bridge to be built across the Jordan for strategic purposes. 'The bridge is in the neighbourhood of Danieh, between it and Karāwā,⁵ and

¹ The Talmudic *בֵּית־זֶרַח* and the Biblical *בֵּית־זֶרַח* have the same origin—*בֵּית־זֶרַח*. See ZARETHAN.

² Cp the story of the spies in Nu. 13.

³ We postpone the question as to the right name of this tribe.

⁴ Ewald's suggestion (*GI* 2.42, n. 1) is most unjust to the people of Jericho, and finds no support in the narrative (see Josh. 3.9).

⁵ The diacritical points are wanting in the MS of Nowairi; Clermont-Ganneau reads the name Karāwā. Karāwā is almost

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there happened in connection with it a wonderful thing, the like of which was never heard of.' When the bridge was completed, part of the piers gave way, and in the night preceding the 8th Dec. 1207 'the waters of the river ceased to flow.' The phenomenon was investigated and it appeared 'that a lofty mound which overlooked the river on the west had fallen in, it and dammed it up. . . . The water was held up, and had spread itself over the valley above the dam.' It 'was arrested from midnight until the fourth hour of the day.' Then the water prevailed over the dam and broke it up. For Nowairi the occurrence was extraordinary indeed, but quite a natural phenomenon. The situation described can be sufficiently made out. Danieh is well known, and on the west bank, just opposite this name was given to a town which was in the centre of a district where sugarcane was cultivated. An examination of the ground confirms Clermont-Ganneau's view of the meaning, for a little above the ford, where the Wady Zerkā joins the Jordan, are the remains of an old bridge which is probably the very bridge erected in 1206 A.D. by command of Bilbars L.

The physical character of this phenomenon forcibly recalls that described in Joshua. Nowairi states that it occurred at a time when the Jordan was in full flood; the Hebrew narrator makes a similar statement. Nowairi, it is true, dates the event the 8th December; the Hebrew narrator specifies the time of harvest (March?); but on the essential point, as already noticed, they agree. The point where the landslip described by Nowairi took place, is one where minor landslips still occur, and a large one, such as the Arabian and the Hebrew narrators describe, might again dam up the Jordan, and let it run off into the Dead Sea, leaving the bed temporarily dry.

We have thus gained something for the traditional history of Kadesh-Jerahmeel and for that of the ford of Adamah; but we have lost our sole

6. Later biblical references.

authority for the early history of the city known as Jericho. Hence the first trustworthy historical notice of Jericho is in 2 S. 10.5, where Jericho appears as a city of the realm of David. We may assume, but we do not know, that it was fortified in his time. It was at any rate either fortified or refortified by HIRAI (7.7.), if we should not rather ascribe the act to Jehu, and regard it as a precaution against Aramaean invasion (1 K. 16.34; see JEHU, § 3). Judaea, as Prof. G. A. Smith remarks, could never keep Jericho. As a Benjamite town it fell to Northern Israel, while Northern Israel lasted. In later times it fell to Baechides and the Syrians; Baechides fortified it against Jonathan the Maccabee (1 Macc. 9.50). The cause of this will be plain later. Here we have to add that a company of prophets made Jericho their home in the days of Elijah and Elisha (2 K. 2.4 f.), and that Elisha was said to have healed the water of the chief fountain of the city (2 K. 2.19 f.; cp Jos. *BJ* iv. 8.1). The fountain meant is no doubt the *'Ain es-Sultan*, sometimes called Elisha's Fountain. In the great post-exilic list (Ezra 2.34 Neh. 7.36) the men of Jericho are reckoned at 345; Jericho was also represented among Nehemiah's builders at Jerusalem (Neh. 3.2). At the fortress of Deir, (*'Ain el-Duk*; see DOCTUS), near Jericho, that noble Maccabee, Simon, was murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy (1 Macc. 16.15).

See further GASM. *II* 6.267 f. Dean Stanley's expression 'the key of Palestine,' applied to Jericho, is hardly accurate.

Christian tradition fixed the site of the temptation of Christ at the hill Quarantana (*Sebel Karanteli*) to the W. of the *'Ain es-Sultan*; the reputed scene of the baptism was also near Jericho (see JORDAN, § 2 [7]). The Gospels, however, have something much better to tell us. At the close of Christ's ministry, as he was leaving Jericho on his way to Jerusalem, he healed a blind man called BARTIMAEUS [7.7.]. It was necessary, as Farrar rightly says, to rest at Jericho before entering on the rough and rocky gorge which led up towards Jerusalem.

certainly the *Kopāe* of Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3.1.52; *BJ* 6.14.8.1. See Güldenmeier, *ZDPV* 12.43 f. (21); Schürer, *Ruth*, and *Gratz* (*MGH* 7.31.14 ff. [22]) assent; G. A. Smith's reasons for doubting (*II* 353, n. 5) seem insufficient. The present writer would further identify this fertile spot with the Abel-meholah of the OT.

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but we cannot attach weight with him¹ to MacKnight's suggestion that the discrepancy between Mt. and Mk. on the one hand and Lk. on the other may be met by the supposition that the scene of the occurrence lay between the two Jerichos—i.e. that according to Lk. Jesus was approaching New Jericho, while according to Mt. and Mk. he was leaving Old Jericho. A reference to Old Jericho would have been meaningless, for it was then uninhabited, nor could 'Jericho' at this time mean anything but the city which was given by Antony to Cleopatra and redeemed by Herod the Great. The narrative is of the highest interest. It may be taken, by some to confirm the historicity of the Messianic entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem, for cures of bodily evils were doubtless considered to be characteristic acts of the Messiah, and the story of Bartimeus may suggest that the movement of which we have the climax in Mk. 11:10 gathered strength in Jericho. Keim (*Jesus von Naz.* 327 f.) has put the case for the historicity of the Bartimeus narrative in a very attractive way (cp BARTIMEUS, § 1); on the other hand, there are difficulties in admitting the 'triumphant entry' as a part of the most primitive tradition (see ROSANNA) which cannot but affect the historicity of the story of Bartimeus. The narrative, however, must at any rate be very early—so full is it of nature and verisimilitude, and it is 'by far the best attested of all the stories of the healing of the blind in the Gospels.' The story of Zaccheus is not less natural. Not a few 'publicans' must have been needed to secure the revenues accruing from the traffic in the famous balsam, and the murmuring of the multitude at the grace shown to a 'sinner' is easily intelligible. Still there are difficulties (see ZACCHAEUS) in the way of conceding more than an ideal truth to this delightful story, of which Lk. is the only narrator. Disciples full of the spirit of Jesus might surely be able to fill up the gaps in tradition by imagining such a scene as that of the 'conversion' of Zaccheus. Should we have lost anything if documentary evidence of this almost involuntary imaginative creation could be produced? Is the story (also only reported by Lk.) of the man who 'went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves' (Lk. 10:30 ff.) less effective or less prized because we know that it is only ideally true?

'No great man,' says Prof. G. A. Smith, 'was born in Jericho; no heroic deed was ever done in her.'² It is possible, indeed, that the most detested man in the history of Christianity was born there: the name Judas Iscariotes should perhaps be Judas Jerichotes—i.e. Judas of Jericho (unless indeed the title belongs primarily to his father; see JUDAS ISCARIOT). The chief historical name closely connected with Jericho is that of Herod, who beautified the city, and retired to it to die (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 65). The place is often mentioned in the later history. Both Pompey and Vespasian took the city and fortified it, rather perhaps as a source of supplies than as a base of operations.³ Its natural wealth, chiefly owing to the precious balsam, made it a coveted possession. Herod's Roman allies sacked it (Jos. *B./i.* 156), and Herod himself was glad to farm Jericho and its plain from Cleopatra, to whom Anthony had assigned them (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 42). Here as elsewhere he proved himself a great builder—palaces and public buildings sprang up as by magic (*Ant.* xvi. 52; *B./i.* 2145; cp HEROD). After his death Simon, a former slave of Herod, aspiring to be king, burned and plundered the palace (*Ant.* xvii. 106), which, however, was magnificently rebuilt by Archelaus. Most important of all, Archelaus diverted water from a village called Neara, to irrigate the plain, in which he had just planted palm trees (*Ant.* xvii. 131). In the time of Josephus Jericho was the seat of one of

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the eleven toparchies or administrative districts (*B./i.* iii. 35). On the approach of Vespasian the inhabitants fled to the mountains; unopposed, he erected a citadel, and placed a garrison in it (*B./i.* iv. 8294). To a great extent, says Josephus, the city had been destroyed before the coming of the Romans (*B./i.* iv. 829). But the damage must soon have been repaired. The notices of Pliny, subsequent to the Roman war, leave no doubt as to the prosperity of Jericho, caused by its fine plantations of palm trees and balsam trees. It is also mentioned by Ptolemy and by Galen in the second century A.D. and existed in the time of Caracalla, according to a statement of Origen preserved in Eusebius.¹ In the list of the principal cities of Judaea given by Ammianus Marcellinus (end of 4th cent.) it is conspicuous by its absence. We may presume that some calamity had happened to it, and Reinach² with much probability supposes that the famous passage of Solinus (ed. Mommsen, 256)—'Judaea caput fuit Hierosolyma, sed exarsit; successit Hierichus, et hanc desivit, Artaxerxis bello subacta'—refers to a destruction of Jericho (probably by the Romans) in connection with the invasion of Syria by Artabazus the founder of the Persian dynasty of the Sassanids, who assumed the venerated name of Artaxerxes (cp ISMAH ii. § 13, n. 2). If so, the date of the event must be placed about 230 A.D. It is probably to this event that Jerome refers in his treatise on the Site and Names of Hebrew Places; the phraseology points very strongly to this view.³

Jericho began to be resorted to by pilgrims in the fourth century, and the sacred sites sprang into view.

8. Christian traditions.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) saw the sycomore tree of Zaccheus, and the house of Rahab immediately above Elisha's Fountain. In the time of Theodosius, however (530 A.D.), the site of the latter had been shifted. Bishop Arculf (towards 700 A.D.) found the whole site of the city covered with cornfields and vineyards, without any habitations, but the walls of the 'house of Rahab' were still standing, though without a roof. Between the city and the Jordan were large groves of palm trees, interspersed with open spaces, in which were almost innumerable houses, inhabited by a diminutive sort of men of the race of Canaan. (There are still the marks of degradation in the Bedouins of Jericho.) Snæwulf (1102 A.D.) speaks of Jericho as 'the garden of Abraham'; it is in a land covered with trees, producing all kinds of palms and other fruits. In the fourteenth century Sir John Maundeville speaks again of the Garden of Abraham, but places it at the foot of the Quarantana. 'Upon that hill Abraham dwelt a long while; therefore it is called Abraham's Garden.'

The Jericho of the Bordeaux Pilgrim was at the base of the mountains; he places the more ancient city at

9. Modern identifications.

Elisha's Fountain. No doubt this view is correct. No other site would be at all probable. 'Three fine springs are found within but a small distance of one another, while the rest of the plain can show but one, and that far less considerable' (Conder). The chief of these is the 'Ain es-Sultān—a beautiful fountain of sweet, palatable water which bursts forth at the E. foot of a long tell or mound, over 1200 ft. in length from N. to S., and about 50 ft. in height. Superimposed are four other mounds (one of them a ridge) at the edges, the NW. or highest being some 90 ft. above the fountain,

¹ Eus. *HF* 611; an ancient Greek version of the OT, the vi. or vii. in the Hexapla, is said to have been found in Jerusalem in a cask in the time of Antoninus son of Severus; cp Field, *HF* 145.

² 'La deuxième ruine de Jéricho,' *Kohut Memorial Volume* (1872), 457 ff.

³ *CS* 1321. Sed et hinc eo tempore quo Jerusalem oppugnabatur a Romanis propter perfidiam civium capta atque destructa est. Pro qua terra edificata est civitas quae usque hodie permanet, et ostenduntur urbis vestigia usque in praesentem diem.

¹ *Life of Christ*, sig. n. 2; cp Plummer, *St. Luke*, 400 (against MacKnight).

² GASm. *HG* 268.

³ *Ibid.*

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but not more than 60 or 70 ft. above the ground at the W. Dr. Bliss¹ offers the opinion that the *tell* is a mass of debris caused by the ruin of several mud-brick towns over the first Jericho. For the remains of the second or Herodian city we must go to the S. bank of the Wady el-Kelt, nearly two miles W. of the modern village. Here there are abundant remains of an ancient city, and similar ruins N. of 'Ain es-Sultān suggest that the Herodian Jericho may have extended in this direction also, the interval between the sites being filled up with detached villas. According to Conder² the Byzantine Jericho is represented by the foundations and fragments of cornice and capital, over which the rider stumbles among the thorn-groves E. of the 'Ain es-Sultān'. The fourth Jericho—that of the Crusaders—was on the site of the present village. The square tower on the SE. of Eriha (so the village is called) is 'such a one as the Crusaders erected along their pilgrim roads,'³ though since the fifteenth century it has been said to occupy the site of the House of Zacchaeus.

The ancient road from Jerusalem to Jericho zigzags down the bare mountain side, close to the S. bank of the Wady el-Kelt. Few mountain gorges in Western lands can compare with it. It is one of the most stupendous

chasms in the 'ancient mountains,' so narrow that one can hardly measure twenty yards across at the bottom, so deep that one can only just see the slender torrent stream which winds along amidst canes and rank rushes to the Jordan. At last the prospect widens, and we get a complete view of the vast plain of Jericho. Half a mile from the foot of the pass we perceive an ancient reservoir, now dry, perhaps the remains of a pool constructed by Herod; for here no doubt is the site of the Herodian Jericho. Shortly afterwards we pass under a handsome aqueduct crossing the Kelt, and at this point we have our choice whether to seek out Elisha's Fountain or the squalid village of Eriha. The vegetation now becomes very luxuriant. Palm groves, balsam trees, and sugar-canes⁴ have disappeared (see BALSAM, PALM TREE), though in 1874 a solitary palm tree still grew close to the tower of Eriha, and another clump in the valley N. of Qasr el-Hajla.⁵ Yet the few fields of wheat and Indian corn, and the few orchards of figs and pomegranates, give some idea of what the soil would yield if properly irrigated and cultivated. Josephus's picture of Jericho (B/iv. 83) well deserves reading. The site is on all accounts profoundly interesting, and Tell es-Sultān will no doubt one day be excavated. Meantime the Christian traveller will delight himself with the unaltered fountain of ancient Jericho⁶ and will walk with interest on the S. bank of the Kelt where the feet of Jesus doubtless trod.⁷ Nor will the tiring excursion to the hermit's caverns on the Mountain of the Temptation be altogether unrewarded.

On the plants and birds, and on the physical circumstances of Jericho, see JORDAN; and on the site of Gilgal, see GILGAL. Cp also JOHN THE BAPTIST.

T. K. C.

JERIEL (יְרִיֵּאל), 'El sees,' § 31, in a genealogy of ISSACHAR (§ 7): 1 Ch. 72 (יְרִיֵּאל [B]). יְרִיֵּאל [A]. יְרִיֵּאל [L]. A corruption of 'Jerahmeel'; see REPHAIM.

JERIJAH (יְרִיָּה), 'Yahweh sees,' § 31: יְרִיָּה [AL], first of the 'sons of Hebron': 1 Ch. 23:19, 24:23 (EV JERIJAH) 23:19 (δουδ [on the form, see Kt. SBOI], τούδεας [B]), יְרִיָּה, יְרִיָּה (A), יְרִיָּה (L); see HEBRON II, 1.

JERIMOTH and **JEREMOTH** (יְרִיֵּמוֹת and יְרִיֵּמוֹת), see NAMES, § 75, and cp the place-name JARMUTH: אֶרְיִמוֹת [B]. יְרִיֵּמוֹת [AL].

¹ PEFQ, '94, p. 176 ff.; cp 'Jericho,' in Hastings' DB 2:581b.

² Tentwork, 27.

³ Tentwork, 27.

⁴ See Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, 396 f.

⁵ Conder, PEFQ, April '74, p. 39.

⁶ For a charming description see De Vogüé, Syrie, Palestine Athos (B7), 156.

⁷ Cp Tristram, Land of Israel, 220.

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1, 2, 3. Three Benjamites, 1 Ch. 77 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת EV Jerimoth, יְרִיֵּמוֹת [A], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [L], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [L]), and 1 Ch. 8:14 (EV Jerimoth, יְרִיֵּמוֹת, יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [A]). For the last cp JERONAM, 2.

4. One of David's heroes, also of Benjamin, 1 Ch. 12:11 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, EV Jerimoth, אֶרְיִמוֹת [B], אֶרְיִמוֹת [A], אֶרְיִמוֹת [L]).

5. b. Mushi, a Merarite Levite, 1 Ch. 23:23 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, EV Jerimoth, אֶרְיִמוֹת [A]); 1 Ch. 24:30 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, EV Jerimoth). The name should perhaps be read יְרִיֵּמוֹת (a mutilated form of Jerahmeel). Note the proximity of Mahli and Jerahmeel (Che.) see GENEALOGIES I, § 7 [v].

6. A son of Heiman, 1 Ch. 25:4 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, EV Jerimoth, יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [A], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [L], EV JERIMOTH, יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [L]). The name should perhaps be JERONAM (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, cp no. 3 above).

7. A levitical overseer, 2 Ch. 31:13 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, EV Jerimoth, יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B]).

8. b. Azriel, of Naphtali, 1 Ch. 27:10 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, AV Jerimoth, RV Jerimoth, יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [A], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [L]).

9. Father of Mahalath, Rehobam's wife, and son of David, 2 Ch. 11:18 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, EV Jerimoth, אֶרְיִמוֹת [A], אֶרְיִמוֹת [B]). Miswritten, according to Che., for ITHIRAM (q.v.).

Among those in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA I, § 5 end) are mentioned three of this name:—

10. One of the b'ne Elam, Ezra 10:6 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, EV Jerimoth, יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B], יְרִיֵּמוֹת [A], in 1 Esd. 9:27 JERIMOTH (יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B])).

11. One of the b'ne Zattu, Ezra 10:27 (יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B], אֶרְיִמוֹת [A], אֶרְיִמוֹת [L]), in 1 Esd. 9:28 JERIMOTH (אֶרְיִמוֹת [B])).

12. RV following Kt. in Ezra 10:29 reads JERIMOTH, one of the b'ne Bani; AV, however, has 'and Ramoth,' in accordance with the Kt. (יְרִיֵּמוֹת, and Ramoth [B], . . . רָמוֹת [A], רָמוֹת [L]); in 1 Esd. 9:30 Hieremoth (יְרִיֵּמוֹת [B]), אֶרְיִמוֹת [L]).

JERIOTH (יְרִיֵּוֹת), § 75: יְרִיֵּוֹת [AL]), one of the wives of CALEB (q.v.); perhaps originally a place-name, 1 Ch. 2:18 (יְרִיֵּוֹת [B]). See AZUBAH.

JEROBOAM (יְרִיֵּבוֹאָם, 'Amm fights' [see AMMI. NAMES WITH, § 3]). More probably a modification of יְרִיֵּבָאָל, JEREBBAAL [like יְרִיֵּבָאָל, JASHIOBEAM, from יְרִיֵּבָאָל = יְרִיֵּבָאָל; cp יְרִיֵּבָאָל, Hos. 10:14 [AQ]], where יְרִיֵּבָאָל has יְרִיֵּבָאָל; so Klost. [Gesch. 189] and Marq. [Fund. 15]; Gray, H.P.V. 59 ('96) and Kt. [Aon. '99] adhere to the usual Heb. sense of יְרִיֵּבָאָל, 'people'; Kt. 'the clan is numerous'; cp the doubt as to the meaning of Hammurabi (see HAM); a play on the name seems at any rate to be proved [see REHOBAM]; יְרִיֵּבָאָל [B.A.L.]).

1. Jeroboam I., the first king of N. Israel (circ. 930 B.C.). Dean Stanley's sketch of this king (Smith's DB, s.v.) was based on the separate account contained in 1 K. 12:25-39 (Lag.), or 11:43b-12:24a-f (Swete), which is Lucian's text of G (cp TEXT AND VERSIONS, § 52d). Recently the same line has been taken by some good critics. It conduces greatly to a genuine comprehension of Jeroboam, especially if the underlying text be first of all carefully purified from its errors. We thus arrive at the following view of the rise of Jeroboam. He was an Ephraimite of the clan of Nabat or Nabath (נַבְּתָר, נַבְּתָר; cp Naboth); but his mother came from the same N. Arabian land of Musri² to which the mother of Hadad III. of Edom belonged. This half-Arabian extraction is of importance not only with reference to his name [see above], but also as illustrating the second chapter of his history. It did not lessen his Israelitish sympathy; but it gave him a second home to flee to. His abilities soon marked him out as a leader of men; Solomon, we are told, made him superintendent (ἀρχοντα

¹ So Neubauer, Sayce, Hommel (ZDMG, '95, p. 526), Che (JQR 11 559 ['00]).

² See JQR, l.c. In 1 K. 11:26=12:23 I. אֶרְיִיבָאָל and אֶרְיִיבָאָל (BL τόπος) are all, most probably, corruptions of יְרִיֵּבָאָל. The true text is approached by G, δ Ερβαθι ἐκ τῆς Σαρεπα νῆος γυναικὸς χήρας (1 K. 11:26 BL), i.e. אֶרְיִיבָאָל בְּתוּלָה חֵרֶם הָאֶרְיִיבָאָל. For a similar critical conjecture, see HADAD, 3, and cp MIZRAIM.

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σαυταλης = 779 27, 1 K. 12:28 BL) of the corymbosus imposed on the Ephraimites (cp. DISTRICT). Jeroboam, no doubt, felt patriotic or tribal indignation at Solomon's despotism and also saw in the situation great possibilities for himself. He fortified his native city (not Zereda, but Tirzah, or rather Bethzur; see TIRZAH), nominally perhaps for Solomon (12:29 ^{BL}), but really for himself, and, like the equally ambitious Absalom (if in 2 S. 15:1 we render 'chariots'; see ^{BL}) procured chariots and horses, a sign of his pretensions to the throne, and of his readiness for warlike operations. (The Greek actually fixes the number of the chariots at 300.) Jeroboam had not sufficiently matured his plans, however, and he escaped the punishment which Solomon designed for him only by a hasty flight to the country of his mother. There he enjoyed the protection, not of course of Shishak,¹ but of Pir'u, king of Musri; the statement that he married an Egyptian princess implies a confusion of his story with that of Hadad (see HADAD, 3).

On the death of Solomon, Jeroboam returned to Tirzah² (Bethzur), strong in the consciousness of his unimpaired popularity. Though he doubtless knew the incapacity of the son of Solomon, he was too wise to commit any overt act of rebellion, and suffered Rehoboam to assume the crown. If Lucian's text can be trusted, it was during this period that his son Abijah fell sick and died; it is not very likely, however, that such was the meaning of the original tradition. Another statement of Lucian's text, which apparently relates to this period, is that he fortified—i.e., still further fortified—his native city (12:39 L, 12:24 f. B). One can hardly believe even this. Rehoboam would surely not have ventured to Shechem without a bodyguard³ if his father's old enemy had made himself so strong. At any rate, Jeroboam must have arranged the details of his plot when, as Lucian's text states, he 'went to Shechem which is in Mount Ephraim, and assembled there all the tribes of [northern?] Israel, and Rehoboam (a N. Israelite on his mother's side; see REHOBAM, son of Solomon, went up thither' (^{BL} 1 K. 13:14, ^{BL} 12:24 n. 1). The heads of the tribes laid their wishes before Rehoboam; they deprecated a continuance of the old despotic policy. Rehoboam acted as Jeroboam foresaw that he would. By his arrogant answer to the tribesmen he pronounced sentence on himself and his dynasty.

Of Jeroboam's subsequent history we have only fragmentary notices. Shishak's predatory invasion extended to N. Israel (see EGYPT, § 63, and SHISHAK); did the bold usurper make no attempt to oppose it? Had the fortification of Penuel, a place on the E. of the Jordan, any connection with this raid?⁴ That Shechem also was fortified, needs, of course, no explanation. There was the possible danger of an invasion from Judah. The narrative in 1 K. 12:21-24 may perhaps be believed when it states that the Judahites on one great occasion retreated, though in its present form it is unacceptable (see K1.); but there is no detailed statement of successes of Jeroboam, and we know that the war was handed on by Rehoboam to his successors.⁵ Jeroboam also directed his attention to religion. The redactor of Kings had before him a record of certain important changes effected by this king, who aimed, on political grounds, at severing the religious intercourse between Israel and Judah. A great yearly festival was appointed on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, 'like the festival in Judah,' and two golden or gilded images in the form of bulls were placed in the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan (see CALF, GOLDEN; IDOLATRY, § 6). These images were in the eyes of the redactor

¹ שישק in 1 K. 11:40 is an interpolation, or rather perhaps 1 K. 11:40 has taken the place of some fuller, as well as more accurate, statements.

² So L at 12:10 (Lag. = 12:24 f. B in Sw.), and originally MT of 11:40 (cp. 12:2 MT and 11:41 ^{BL}).

³ 1 K. 12:18 clearly implies this.

⁴ So Stade.

⁵ So Kittel.

JEROBOAM

'the sin of Jeroboam, which he made Israel to sin,'¹ and which ultimately ruined, not only the house of Jeroboam, but also the kingdom of Israel.

The three narratives in which prophets appear (1 K. 11:29-33, 11:31-32, and 13:1-2) cannot be treated as historical. The last of the three expresses a purely mechanical conception of prophecy. The other two are the expressions of a faith that God directs human affairs which is religiously valuable; they are none the less idealising constructions of history. It is possible, however, that Jeroboam had friendly relations with a prophet residing at Shiloh named Abijah (in 1 K. 11:29 for שִׁיחַ read שִׁיחַ, ^{BL} 'from Mizra (Mazra'). The northern prophets were of course on Jeroboam's side. Possibly too a son of Jeroboam, named Abijah, may have fallen sick and died, though the circumstance that ^{BL} makes Abijah the son of Jeroboam's Egyptian wife, may suggest suspicion as to Abijah's existence. The death of Abijah would naturally be interpreted as a sign of the divine displeasure, at any rate by those unfriendly to Jeroboam. On the criticism of the Jeroboam-narratives see Klostermann (especially on the text), Winkler (*AT Untersuch.* 1:15, G 2:273), Benz, and Ki. (comm.), and Cheyne (*JQR* 11:55 ff. 1899).

2. Jeroboam II, ben Joash, fourth king of the line of Jehu (782-743 B.C.). The fragmentary account in 2 K. 11:23-29 permits us to see that the compiler knew more about Jeroboam than he has cared to communicate. 'The rest of the matters of Jeroboam, and his martial prowess, and how he warred'—all this has no interest for the writer, who is absorbed in the thought of the approaching captivity of Israel, and regards Jeroboam's successes against foreign foes as only a breathing time granted to Israel in mercy (2 K. 13:23). Even what he communicates has not come down to us in a perfectly intelligible form.² We can understand the statement in 2 K. 14:25 that Jeroboam 'recovered the territory of Israel from the approach to Hamath (the old Solomonic northern limit) as far as the sea of the Arabah' (i.e., the Dead Sea), and we can realise that this must have involved victories over Aram. When we are told, however, that 'he recovered Damascus, and Hamath [which had belonged] to Judah, for Israel' (2:23 RV), we are perplexed. The Assyrian king Ramman-nirari (see ASSYRIA, § 32) would never have allowed Jeroboam to conquer Damascus,³ and, as for Hamath, it never did belong to Judah—the supposed Assyriological evidence (see UZZIAH) having proved to be illusory. The original text must simply have said that N. Israelish regions which had been conquered by Aram were recovered by Jeroboam, and we may perhaps discern underneath the present text the statement 'and how he recovered Manasseh and Ramoth-gilead from the hand of Benhadad son of Hazael.'⁴ Jeroboam II. was in fact the 'helper' or 'saviour' anticipated by the prophet JONAH [9:1]. Of his other warlike enterprises, no information has reached us. Probably he continued to exercise, or at least to claim, suzerainty over Judah; at any rate Azariah does not appear to have followed the bad example of Amaziah (2 K. 14:8-14). Many scholars (e.g., Ewald) infer from 2 K. 14:25 that Jeroboam conquered the land of Moab. Certainly the description does not absolutely forbid this view, which is recommended to one by the light which it may seem to throw on the 'oracle of Moab' in Is. 15-16 12.⁵

¹ The phrase occurs constantly in Kings, but nowhere in Chronicles. Ben-Sira has it once (*Lecl.* 4:23).

² Cp. ^{BL} 1 K. 11:43b. K1o. שִׁיחַ, 'from Egypt.'

³ See Ewald, *Hist.* 4:124, n. 3; and especially K1o, and Ben-Zinger, *ad loc.*

⁴ G1sm. is content with supposing that he 'occupied at least part of the territory of Damascus' (*Uzziah Prophets*, 1:32).

⁵ מְחַיֵּית מֵתִים וְנִצְחָת מֵתִים. Cp. 2 K. 10:33; also 1 K. 22:3, 2 K. 8:28. The latter part is from Klostermann, Winkler's suggestion (*Gesch.* 148) is too hazardous; Ew.'s (*G1* 7:3-5) and Schr.'s (*OT* 1:200) are quite inadequate.

⁶ In this case the announcement of the destruction of Moab in Am. 2:2 received a speedy fulfilment, and it is perhaps not an accident that the earliest OT mention of the important Moabite city Kerioth (see KERIOH), occurs in this eighth century prophet (Am. 2:2). On the other hand, when some critics use Am. 6:14 ('from the approach to Hamath as far as the Wady of the Arabah') to prove that Israel's territory extended over Moab, we must for various reasons decline to follow them. Cp. Wellhausen, *ad loc.*—F.B.

JEROHAM

On the other hand, it is very far from certain that Is. 15-16 is a pre-exilic work (see ISMAH II, § 9), and we may fairly suppose that if Jeroboam had really made such an important conquest, the predictor would have referred to it in distinct terms. Enough reason, however, remains for regarding Jeroboam II. as the most successful of the N. Israelish kings, and we may be sure that in more ideal aspects his long reign deserved to be remembered. It was probably in this period that the Elohistic (E) wrote, and the prophetic ministry of Amos and Hosea certainly fell in Jeroboam's time. The records of these prophets supplement to some extent the scanty fragments of contemporary history.

l. h. c.

JEROHAM (יִרְחָם, 'pitied [by God]'; \$ 53, יִרְחָאֻם [AL]; but in L, at all events, G reads 'perhaps rightly' [so Dr.] JERAHMEEL (יִרְמִיָּהּ; 1 S. 11 יִרְמִיָּהֻל [B], יִרְעִימֻהֻל [L], and 1 Ch. 6:27 [12] 34 [19], יִרְעִימֻהֻל [L]).

1. Samuel's grandfather (1 S. 11 : 1 Ch. 6 : 27-34 [12-19], *יִשְׁמָעֵאל* [i], *עֲרֹפָהבֶּן־יִשְׁמָעֵאל* [A]). The name is more probably a gentilic and should be read Jerahmeel (p above); it thus corresponds to the Ephraimite gentile Tohu (= Iahau, or Yahath). The seven ancestors appear then as a combination of two separate genealogies which trace his origin to the clans of Jerahmeel and Tohu (= Iahau) respectively (so Marg. *Ehuth*, 1 Ch. 7, 27, *יִשְׁמָעֵאל*, *תֹּחִי*). For the suggestion that 'Jerahmeel' refers really to his origin see JERAHMEEL, § 1. The names Iahau, Yahath, etc. are the origin one of the Judean Yahath descendant of Shobal (also Calebite), which is possibly the parent of the name 'Samuel' see JAHATH.

2. b. Hushim in a genealog. of BENJAMIN (6 : 9, ii, B); see JOKIM 11 : 33, § 1. 1 Ch. 27 : (צִמְחָא [i], *צִמְחָא* [1]). JERAHMEEL in Ex. 24 : 11 is probably a corruption of the name.

3. A Benjamite, father of Bineiah (1 Ch. 9: c, צבאי [B]).
 4. Father of Adiah, a priest of the b'ne Yehoi in a list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ezra ii. § 5[6], § 15 [14], 1 Ch. 9: 12 (צבאי [B], esp. [A]). Neh. 11: 12 (om. [B?], צבאי [B? + mg inf]).
 5. A Benjamite of Gedior, one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12: 7, צבאי [B]). See DAVIS, § 11, c, col. 1031.

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7. Father of Azariah (2 Ch. 23 1, *πατρις* [BA]).

JERUBBAAL (יְרֻבְבָּאֵל, Ἰερὺβαάλ [BAL]); but in Judg. 6:32 Ἰερὺβαάλ [B], ΔΙΚΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΛΑ [A]; 7:1 Ἰερὺβαάλ [B]; Ἰερὺβαάλ [V], 8:9 Ἰερὺβαάλ [B]; 1 S. 12:11 Ἰερὺβαάμ [B]; 2 S. 11:21, ἸΕΡΥΒΒΑΛΙΜ, ἸΕΡΥΒΒΑΛ [B], ἸΕΡΥΒΒΑΛ [L]; cp. 1 RUTHAM, a second name of Iddon, or perhaps the name of a second hero whose career has been fused by the narrator with that of Iddon (Judg. 6:32 7:1 etc.).

I explained in Judg. 6:32 as if 'Let Baal contend, though the narrative itself rather implies 'He who battles against Baal'. Wellhausen (*IFB*, iii) suggests Jerubbaal Jeruel Jirmejahu, i.e., 'he whom God has founded' (founder). But JERUBB (17.7) is very doubtful, and Jerubbaal may be Urubaal, i.e., 'rity of Baal', or may come from Jerahmeel. Archi, or rather Uriel, was a Gadite; so perhaps was Jerubbaal. See AR11, GIDEON, JERUBBESITHE. C. K. C.

F. K. C.

JERUBBESHETH (יִרְבֵּשֶׁת; for **G** see **JERUBBAAL**) the form assumed by the name Jerubbaal in MT of 2 S. 11.21. *Besheth* is usually supposed to be = *bosheth*, 'shame'; Jerubbesheth, for Jerubbaal would thus be || to Ishbosheth for Ishbaal. For Jastrow's divergent view (Besheth = Baśt, a Babylonian deity) see **ISU-BOSHETH**.

JERJEL (יֶרְיָל, יֶרִיחַ [BAL], *IRITTI* [Vg.], Pesh. reads differently) The wilderness of Jeruel was the place where Jehoshaphat was directed by JAHAZIEL, to look for the invading army. The enemy had mounted the ascent of Hazziz (see *HIZI*), and reached a *tebby* (טֶבִי, the upper part of which was 'before' ¹ this wilderness (2 Ch. 20:16).

'Jeruel' may in all probability be emended to *ḥayyān*—i.e., 'Jezreel' in Judah—the situation of which (near Cain, Carmel, and Maon) suits the description in 2 Ch. 20. No doubt the 'watch-tower in the wilderness' (v. 24) was a well-known landmark. See JEZREEL, 2. T. K. C.

T. K. C.

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PLAYS

1. Sketch of site (opposite page).

1. The name. The English spelling of the name 'Jerusalem'—which is common to many modern languages—was derived by the AV of 1611, through the Vulgate, from the Ἱεροσόλημ ,¹ and approximates to what was probably the earlier pronunciation in Hebrew, Yerushālem. Yet notice, below, the persistence with which, through Assyrian, Syriac, and Arabic, the initial syllable is given as *Ur*.

The pronunciation Yerushalāim (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, in pause יְרוּשָׁלַיִם) was adopted by the Massoretes in conformity with the fuller spelling Yerushalayim (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם) which appears in five passages of the OT (or, according to Baer, in three, Jer. 26:14 Esth. 2: 2 Ch. 32; in the other two, 1 Ch. 3:5 and 2 Ch. 23:1, Baer reads יְשׁ) as well as upon some Jewish coins, which belong either to the reign of Simon the Maccabee, 142-135 B.C., or to the revolution against Rome, 66-70 A.D. (Eckhel, *Doctr. Nummarum*, 346 ff., Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 66-71; cp Schür. *Hist.* 2: 379 ff.). The termination יִם, which was variously explained as a dual indicative of the double city, or as a local termination (Barth, *NB* § 104 c. n. 1). This fuller spelling, however, occurs only in later passages and inscriptions, and is probably due to the same attempt as was made to convert other geographical terms into a Hebrew form (cp Del. *Par.* 152). The earlier spelling of the consonants, the Greek translation, ἱερουσαλήμ, the Aramaic Yerushlem (יְרוּשְׁלֵם, Ezra 6:14 69; Nehem. 11:35

¹ The 1611 version has Ierusalem in the OT and Apoc., but Hierusalem in the NT.

² See Ges. *Thes.*, s.v.

2. Contours and walls of ancient Jerusalem, etc. (col. 2420).
 such : 420 24 51; cp 412 52 Dan. 52 f.) and the Hebrew contraction
 by : יִשְׂרָאֵל (Ps. 763 B *én eirpny*),² prove that the earlier Hebrew
 date, pronunciation was Yerushalem. Cp SALEM.

In the Tell el-Amarna letters, *circa* 1400 B.C., the name appears as U-ru (or Uru)-sa-lim (Berlin collection, Nos. 103, 106, 109; Winckler, *Thontafeln von Tell el-Am.*, 306, 312, 314; Sayce, *RP*^[2], 560 ff. 72 f.).

Compare the Syriac Urishlem, **ܐܘܪܝܫܠܝܡ**. On the Assyrian monuments the transliteration is Ur-sa-li-mu (Del. *Par.* 288, Schr. *COT* 234). [See further Haupt, *Isaiah*, *SBOT* (Heb.), appendix to note on **אֲרָם**, Is. 291.]

Various etymologies have been suggested both for the Hebrew and for the cuneiform forms of the name; but the original meaning still remains uncertain.

On the supposition that the name was originally Hebrew, several derivations (besides the Rabbinic fancies, 'light' or 'fear of peace') have been proposed: e.g., שְׁמִי שֵׁן, 'possession of

² Whether the narrator of Gen. 14:18 means Jerusalem by Salem, the city of Melchizedek, is still disputed, and the decision of the question is embarrassed by the uncertainty attaching to the date of his narrative. If the chapter is early, Salem can hardly mean Jerusalem; but many critics now assign to it a very late date (WRS). [CP MELCHIZEDEK.]

stem,
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date
hardly
late

The present account of the city is based on the results which have thus been obtained by actual exploration; but, although so much has been done during the last thirty years in clearing up disputed questions, much still remains to be accomplished.



¹ Yet see Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-97* PEF.L. Lond., 1902.

2. Name of Hadrian's city. even passed over into Arabic as *Hadra* (Yāqoṭ, 432b). One of the Arabic forms of the Hebrew name preserves the first vowel of the euneform transliteration, *Yurishadum* (Yāqoṭ 386); other forms are *Shadum*, *Shadlām* (Le Strange, *Palest. under Muslims*, 83). The Arabs, however, commonly designate Jerusalem by epithets expressive of its sanctity, *Beit el-Mukdīs*, *el-Mukdāṣ*, *el-Mukdāṣ* (Yāqoṭ 430; *Beit el-Aras* 421a), or in the modern vernacular, *d-Dikks esh-Sharif*, or more briefly *el-Kuds*, 'the sanctuary.' Compare the full designation on the Jewish coins cited above, *יהודה המלכות* and *ירושלם המלכות*, and the NT designation *ἡ ἀγία πόλις*, Mt. 15:25 f. Modern Jews, Levantines, and native Christians use the Arabic form *Yerushalm*.² (H. A. S.)

During 1872-75 some further explorations were carried on by Lieutenant (now Lieut.-Col.) Conder, R.E. (In 1874 Mr. Henry Mandslay examined the rock cuttings and scarps. W. of the Cœnaculum above W. er-Rababi. Later Herr Guthe made some excavations, discovering the continuation of the wall partly laid bare by Warren to the S. of the temple Area³⁴ while for many years a most valuable series of observations of the levels of the rock beneath the rubbish on which the modern city stands was carried out by Herr C. Schick, architect.³⁵ (In 1881 the 'Silom

Palestine, Jerusalem Volume, 1883, and for further contributions by Herr Baurath Schick to the exploration of Jerusalem see *PEFQ* for subsequent years to the present date; as well as various volumes of the *ZDPV*.

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flat open valley heads which form a junction about half a mile N. of the N.E. angle of the modern city.

n. Boundaries of Site.—(a) The valley thus formed becomes a deep ravine, with sides steep and in places precipitous, running immediately beneath and W. of Olivet for a distance of a mile and a half from the junction mentioned above (1.) to a well called *Bir Eyyub*, where the bed is 1979 feet above the Mediterranean and 430 feet below the termination of the Olivet chain. It is this valley, the 'brook' (*nahal*; see BROOK) Kidron, that bounds the site of Jerusalem on the E. (b) The western boundary is a second waterless valley (W. er-Rababi) which has its head in a shallow depression NW. of the city close to the watershed. Running first S. for about half a mile, and then—rapidly deepening and flanked by low precipices—trending E. for another half mile, it joins the Kidron in an open plot close to the Bir Eyyub mentioned above (a). The second valley thus flanking Jerusalem on the W. and S. encloses an area half a mile wide and roughly quadrangular,—the seat of the city itself, whether ancient or modern. The Bir Eyyub is probably ancient. It was rediscovered and opened by the Franks in 1184 A.D.

The site thus generally described, standing on spurs of hill surrounded on three sides by valleys 300 to 400 feet deep, is a natural fortress. Its weakness is its imperfect supply of water.

5. Geology. There is only one spring anywhere near the city, namely that in the Kidron valley, about seven hundred yards above the junction with the western ravine, now called the 'spring with steps' (*'Ain Umm el-Derej*), or the 'Virgin's spring' (cp § 12, end). The scarcity of springs (see below, § 11) is explained by the geological conformation.

The vicinity of Jerusalem consists of strata of the Eocene and Chalk formations, having a general dip down from the watershed of about 10° ESE.

The action of denudation has left patches of the various strata; but generally speaking the oldest are on the W. The upper part of the Olivet chain consists of a soft white limestone, known locally as *Kalbat*, with fossils and flint-bands belonging to the Upper Chalk; beneath this are—first, a hard silicious chalk, *Mezzeh*, with flint bands; secondly, a soft white limestone, *Meleki*, much used in the ancient buildings of the city; thirdly, a hard dolomitic limestone, often pink and white, and then known as *Sta. Croce marble*. [These beds account for the natural drainage of the city, the water sinking through the porous *Meleki*, and issuing in a spring only where the dolomitic limestone comes towards the surface in the Kidron valley.] The underlying beds, belonging to the period of the Greensand, are not visible, the lowest strata in the Kidron precipices belonging to the Lower Cbalk epoch.

The actual position of the city at various times has differed but little in comparison with other capitals.

6. Ancient levels. The outline of the small spurs concerning which so many famous controversies have arisen is now much obscured by the accumulation of rubbish, which has been increasing ever since the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 4[10]). There is an average depth of from 30 to 40 feet of this debris throughout the town, and the foundations of the modern houses often stand upon it. In the valleys there is a depth of 70 feet, and E. of the temple in one place shafts were sunk 120 feet before the rock was reached. The natural features of the ground, although unaltered and traceable to a practised eye, are thus less sharply accentuated than in the ancient period of the city's history. As, however, we have now several hundred actual observations of the rock levels in an area of 210 acres, there is no difficulty in recovering the general features of the ancient natural site of the town.

The quadrangle included between the two outer valleys described above (§ 4 ii.) is split up by a valley, the Tyropoeon of Josephus, into two main spurs,—that on the E. being the temple hill, that on the W. (divided in its turn into two summits) the seat of the upper city. The Tyropoeon is both shallower and broader than the boundary ravines noticed already (§ 4 ii.), its depth averaging only from 100 to 150 feet below the crests of the ridges. Its real

head is immediately outside the present Damascus gate and the N. wall of the modern city, where it runs with a curved course southwards to join the Kidron just above the junction with the western boundary valley (W. er-Rababi), a distance of about 1500 yards. There is, however, a second affluent or head of the central Tyropoeon valley on the W. side of its main course—a kind of dell or theatre-shaped depression extending westwards for more than 300 yards, and measuring not quite 200 yards N. and S.

Thus while the eastern Jerusalem ridge is unbroken, the western is divided into two summits, joined by a narrow saddle which separates the secondary head of the Tyropoeon valley just described from the upper part of the western boundary valley (the W. er-Rababi; § 4 ii.).

Of the two western hill tops, that towards the S. is the larger and more lofty.

It has a trapezoid shape, and terminates on all sides in steep slopes, sometimes precipitous, and its only connection with the watershed is by the saddle mentioned above, which is scarcely 50 yards in width. This high southern hill measures 2000 feet N. and S. by about 1300 feet E. and W. The highest part is towards the W., where the level of the flat broad summit is about 2520 feet above the Mediterranean. The smaller northern knoll or hill top, bounded on the E. by the great central (Tyropoeon) valley which separates it from the high southern hill, and on the W. by a small subsidiary depression running N. rises to a summit not more than 2400 feet in elevation, or 30 feet below the flat top of the larger southern hill.

The eastern ridge, on which the temple stood, has a height towards the N. of about 2500 feet; it then becomes narrower, and is artificially divided by a deep rock-cut trench running E. and W.

Its original form within the temple enclosure was that of a rounded top with a steep western slope and a more gentle gradient on the E., the level of the ridge falling from 2460 to 2300 feet in a length of about 500 yards. The S. end of this ridge is formed by a tongue of ground between the Kidron and the shallow central (Tyropoeon) valley, falling rapidly southwards in 400 yards to a level only 50 feet above the valley beds.

The identity of the present Haram (or sanctuary) with the ancient temple enclosure is undisputed, the

8. The Haram. only question which has arisen being whether the present boundary walls coincide with the outer ramparts of Herod's temple enclosure. The Haram is a quadrangle containing 35 acres, the interior surface roughly levelled, partly by filling up with earth the portions where the rock is lowest, partly by means of vaulted substructures of various ages.

The most important results of Sir Charles Warren's excavations were those connected with the exploration of the rampart walls, which measure 1601 ft. on the W., 922 on the S., 1532 on the E., and 1042 ft. on the N., the SW. angle being 90° and the SE. 92° 30'. The height of the wall varies from 30 to 170 ft. On the W., on the S., and on the E. for probably 1000 ft. from the SE. corner, the masonry is all of one style, the stones being of great size with a marginal draft,—the imperfect finish of the faces in some of the lower courses apparently showing that the foundation-stones were never visible above the surface. The N. part of the E. wall consists, however, of masonry differing somewhat from the rest, the finish being rougher and the stone of inferior quality. It was found that this wall is continued for some distance beyond the N.E. corner of the present area. The present N. wall is of masonry of quite a different kind, and appears to be much more recent, the substructures immediately inside being only as old as the twelfth Christian century. The NW. angle is formed by a projecting scarped block of rock measuring 330 ft. E. and W. and 50 ft. N. and S., the height above the interior court being about 30 ft. On this scarp stand the modern barracks, and a fosse 60 ft. deep and 165 ft. wide is still traceable outside the rock on the N. A valley bed 100 ft. below the level of the Haram court ran across the N.E. portion of the area into the Kidron; and S. of this the remains of a scarp running E. and W. have been discovered, but are not as yet completely explored. The prolongation of this scarp eastwards cuts the E. wall of the Haram at the point, 1000 ft. from the S. angle, at which the change in the character of the masonry described above probably occurs.

The evidence thus obtained seems to indicate that an area of about seven acres and a half has been added to the ancient enclosure on the N.E. to give it the present quadrangular form, and the rougher masonry on the E. appears to have belonged to the city wall constructed by Agrippa, not to the older wall of Herod's temple.

At the SW. angle of the Haram enclosure are the remains of an ancient arch (Robinson's arch), 44 feet span, belonging to a bridge across the Tyropoeon, the W. pier of which Sir Charles

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head is immediately outside the present Damascus gate and the N. wall of the modern city, where it runs with a curved course southwards to join the Kidron just above the junction with the western boundary valley (W. er-Rababi), a distance of about 1500 yards. There is, however, a second affluent or head of the central Tyropoeon valley on the W. side of its main course—a kind of dell or theatre-shaped depression extending westwards for more than 300 yards, and measuring not quite 200 yards N. and S.

Thus while the eastern Jerusalem ridge is unbroken, the western is divided into two summits, joined by a narrow saddle which separates the secondary head of the Tyropoeon valley just described from the upper part of the western boundary valley (the W. er-Rababi; § 4 ii.).

Of the two western hill tops, that towards the S. is the larger and more lofty.

It has a trapezoid shape, and terminates on all sides in steep slopes, sometimes precipitous, and its only connection with the watershed is by the saddle mentioned above, which is scarcely 50 yards in width. This high southern hill measures 2000 feet N. and S. by about 1300 feet E. and W. The highest part is towards the W., where the level of the flat broad summit is about 2520 feet above the Mediterranean. The smaller northern knoll or hill top, bounded on the E. by the great central (Tyropoeon) valley which separates it from the high southern hill, and on the W. by a small subsidiary depression running N. rises to a summit not more than 2400 feet in elevation, or 30 feet below the flat top of the larger southern hill.

The eastern ridge, on which the temple stood, has a height towards the N. of about 2500 feet; it then becomes narrower, and is artificially divided by a deep rock-cut trench running E. and W.

Its original form within the temple enclosure was that of a rounded top with a steep western slope and a more gentle gradient on the E., the level of the ridge falling from 2460 to 2300 feet in a length of about 500 yards. The S. end of this ridge is formed by a tongue of ground between the Kidron and the shallow central (Tyropoeon) valley, falling rapidly southwards in 400 yards to a level only 50 feet above the valley beds.

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Warren discovered, as well as the fallen voussoirs, lying on a pavement 45 ft. beneath the surface, whilst under the pavement 20 ft. lower was found the voussoir of a former bridge on the same site (p. Jos. *Ant.* 17.2).

At the SE. angle of the enclosure Sir Charles Warren found beneath the surface remains of an ancient wall of finely dressed masonry abutting on the E. rampart of the Haram, and here some unexplained marks in red paint and a few well-defined letters of a Semitic alphabet were discovered on the lower stones. The buried wall runs southward for 250 yards at a height of 70 ft., and is held to be part of the wall of Ophel (§ 1). The base of a great projecting tower also was laid bare, and identified by the discovery with the tower of Neh. 3.25. Another noticeable discovery was the fact that an ancient aqueduct is intersected by the W. Haram wall, which must consequently be more recent than the rock tunnel thus destroyed.

The facts thus ascertained allow of the identification of the great walls still standing with those that supported the outer cloisters of the temple enclosure when the edifice was reconstructed by Herod, who doubled the area of the temple enclosure of Solomon (*Ant.* 21.1).

Herod took away the ancient foundations and made a quadrangle extending from the fortress of Antonia (§ 25) to the royal cloister, to which a great bridge led from the upper city (*Ant.* vi. 6.2), whilst the eastern limit was formed by the Kidron ravine, the Ophel wall joining the plateau of the temple at the SE. angle (*Ant.* xv. 11.5; *Ant.* 17.4.2).

The scarped rock at the NW. angle of the Haram, with its outer fosse dividing the temple hill from Bezetha (§ 30), answers exactly to Josephus's description of the tower of Antonia (*Ant.* v. 5.6) and thus serves to identify the NW. angle of the ancient enclosure with the corresponding angle of the modern Haram. The correspondence of the SW. angle of the two areas is established by the discovery of the great tower (above, § 8), and that of the SE. angles of the same by the exploration of the Ophel wall. The northern boundary of Herod's temple probably coincided with the scarp already described (§ 8), 1090 ft. N. of the SE. angle.

The area of the temple enclosure was thus, roughly, a quadrangle of 1000 feet side, from which the citadel of Antonia, as described by Josephus, projected on the NW. (cp *Ant.* vi. 5.4).

Outside the temple area the lines, natural and artificial, of the various city walls can now be traced with some certainty.

i. Upon the N. this task is rendered difficult, partly by the facts that the distinctive natural features are few, and that the ground is largely covered by buildings.

(a) The first of the three walls described by Josephus (see below), followed in its northern portion a line W. from the Temple enclosure to the N. of the western hill now called Zion. Excavations for the foundations of houses have revealed here more cliffs and steep slopes. Its NW. angle was at the present citadel, where there is a large scarp; thence it ran S. along W. er-Rababi.

(b) Of the second wall nothing has been discovered—unless the masonry laid bare in 1883 on the rising ground to the W. of the Patriarch's Pool belonged to it (see, however, § 32).

(c) The line of the third wall coincided with certain scarps and rocks to the E. of the present Damascus gate. Robinson observed remains of it which have disappeared.

ii. We turn now to the walls recently discovered on the S. of the city.

(a) From the fosse by the tower base found just outside the English cemetery above W. er-Rababi, Bliss traced a line of wall SE. for 150 ft. to a corner tower and thence E. to the Jewish cemetery (see Plan). This line consists of a lower and an upper wall of two distinct periods (§§ 30, 33). The lower wall was recovered emerging from the E. side of the Jewish cemetery, and followed to a point S. of the Pool of Siloam where it forms an angle with a tower. Near this angle are the remains of a gateway, displaying proofs of three periods, with a drain that was subsequently traced below a paved street N. up the Tyropeon Valley. From the towered angle the wall—displaying like the gateway signs of three periods—was followed N. across the mouth of the Tyropeon, enclosing both the Old Pool and the Pool of Siloam, and up the ascent of Ophel; whence it seems to have been carried by Guthe's scarp to the wall traced by Warren from the SE. corner of the Temple area.

(b) SW. of the Old Pool another line of wall was observed branching NW. to the inside of the Old Pool and the Pool of Siloam.

(c) A third line of wall making use probably of Maudslay's scarp and running thence NE. was found, enclosing the top of the western hill. For other discoveries made, see above, § 3.

Bliss dates from Solomon's time Maudslay's scarp, and the earliest wall on the line round the top of the western hill. The lower wall on the long outer line from Maudslay's scarp to the angle at Siloam and

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thence to the SW. angle of the temple area he assigns to the later Jewish kingdom. In Herodian times he thinks this wall curved inside the Old Pool and the Pool of Siloam. At all later periods the S. wall of the city followed the line from Maudslay's scarp along the western hill—except in the time of Eudocia, who, he thinks, built the more recent wall on the longer line round by Siloam and up Ophel to the SW. corner of the Temple area (Bliss and Dick, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894-97. Pal. Expl. Fund. London, 1898).¹

The natural water-supply of Jerusalem is from the Virgin's Spring mentioned above (§§ 3, end; 5), which comes out from beneath the Ophel ridge in

11. Water-supply. a rocky cave (12 feet deep in the eastern face of the hill) reached by flights of twenty-eight steps. The water flows intermittently, rising from beneath the lowest steps, at intervals varying, according to the season and the rainfall, from a few hours to a day or even two days. This is due to a natural syphon which connects the spring with an underground basin.

From the Virgin's Spring an aqueduct² runs south in a rock-cut tunnel 1708 feet in length, through the Ophel ridge to the Pool of Siloam³ (now *Birket es-Saltan*). The Pool of Siloam is a rock-cut reservoir with masonry retaining-walls measuring 52 feet by 18 feet (see below), having a rock-cut channel leading from it southeastwards to a larger pool (the 'Old Pool') formed by damming up the flat valley-bed with a thick wall of masonry close to the junction of the Kidron and the Tyropeon. A rock-cut passage leads from the Virgin's Spring westwards to the foot of a shaft which reaches the surface of the ground 120 feet above and 180 feet west of the spring. The rock tunnel to Siloam mentioned before was known in the seventeenth century; but the shaft (which formed a secret entrance to the one spring of Jerusalem), was discovered by Sir Charles Warren (§ 19, last note). The water of Siloam was originally sweet; but it has been fouled and made bitter since the twelfth century. From the reservoir it runs southeastwards some 450 yards to the *Bir Eyyub*⁴ referred to already (§ 4, ii.), a well 125 feet deep. The original Pool of Siloam is now known to have been 52 feet square, and a channel led from it some 150 yards to Roman baths on the S. W. of the temple hill is an underground cave-well now called Hammām esh-Shefā, under the west Haram wall.

The remaining reservoirs of Jerusalem are fed by aqueducts and by the rains.

West of the city, at the head of W. er-Rababi, is the rock-cut Mamilla Pool. Lower down Hinnom, opposite the SW. corner of the present walls, is *Birket es-Saltan*, constructed in the twelfth century. Since the fourteenth century these two tanks have been erroneously named the Upper and Lower Pools of Gihon; with more probability some have identified the Mamilla with the Serpent Pool of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 3.2). Inside the city, near the west, is the Patriarch's Pool (the ancient Amygdalon or 'Tower Pool', *Ant.* v. 11.4).⁵ Immediately N. of the Haram are the Twin Pools made by roofing in part of the ancient fosse, and the *Birket 'Isrā'in*, measuring 360 by 130 ft., and apparently constructed after the great destruction of 70 A.D.

The Twin Pools just mentioned were identified in the fourth century with Bethesda; but since the twelfth that name has been given to the *Birket 'Isrā'in*. The site of Bethesda (sometimes even supposed to be Gihon) is still doubtful.

¹ Conder is of opinion that the remains of a wall discovered by Guthe on this line on the E. of Ophel are from Byzantine and crusading periods.

² In *PEFQ* *St.*, 85, p. 197; 189, pp. 35ff.; 190, p. 257, a second aqueduct is described. It is above ground, a channel cut in the rock of Ophel outside the eastern line of the ancient walls. But there is still doubt as to whether it was connected with the Virgin's Spring. Conder regards it as modern.

³ For a translation of the inscription found here in June 1880, see CONDUITS, § 5.

⁴ 'Job's' (but perhaps meant for Job's Well, or EN ROGEL).

⁵ בֵּרְתָּה מְיֻדָּה Hellenised by Josephus to Ἀμυγδαλον. The modern name is *Birket Hammām el-Rafā'ah*; a tradition without any grounds ascribes it to Hezekiah.]

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[A little to the N., outside the city wall is the *Birket Hamman Sitta Maryam*, probably of medieval construction.] Another fine reservoir has been found N. of *Birket es-Saidin* and W. of the Church of St. Anne. It was known in the twelfth century, when it was called the 'Fountain of David'.

There were three aqueducts to supply the many reservoirs.

One, constructed by Pilate (*Mat.* xiii. 3), led from the so-called pools of Solomon, * m. distant, to the temple, and still conveys water when in repair; its course appears on the map. The second, from the same locality, probably led the Birket Maimid, but is now lost. The third, from the N., collected surface drainage and led underground to the temple enclosure (a distance of 2000 feet). The great reservoirs in this enclosure, about thirty in number, were capable of holding a total supply of ten million gallons of water.

II. ANCIENT JERUSALEM

[The earliest historical notice of Jerusalem appears in the Amarna Letters, *circa* 1400 B.C. (ISRAEL, § 6).

12. Earliest times. Seven of these (Berlin Coll. 102-104, 174, 199; W. *Theophylactum Tell et Am.* 179-185) are from a certain *Abd-hiba* (so Winckler; -heba, Zimmern and W. Max Müller; *hiba* or *tob*, Sayce and others), the ruler of Jerusalem and vassal of the king of Egypt. The decipherments by various Assyriologists differ in details; but with Winckler we may take the following to be the substance of what the letters say regarding Jerusalem. *Abd-hiba* speaks of the 'land of Jerusalem,' which appears to have stretched S. and SW. through part of what was afterwards Judah.

Abd-hiba describes himself as owing his position 'to neither father nor mother', and the phrase has been interpreted as analogous to 'Mehmedek, King of Salem,' in Gen. 14.19. But as Abd-hiba calls also the territory of Jerusalem his paternal territory (Berl. G. 2, 2, 17), according to Winkler's translation), his reiterated claim that not father or mother, but the strong arm of the king of Egypt gave it to him is merely the protestation of his subjection to the latter and abjuring of all thoughts of independence.

Like other Syrian vassals of Egypt Abd-hiba had been slandered as disloyal. He protests that all he had said was that the king's power was certain to be overthrown, unless the king sent help to his vassals. Abd-hiba himself has sent tribute and begs for troops to withstand the Habiri. He was unable to assist the king's caravans that had been robbed in Aduan and is innocent in the case of certain Kasi or negro-troops of the king who have suffered. All this proves that by 1400 B.C. Jerusalem had already been for some time the fortified capital of a small territory under hereditary princes: it was possible by garrisoning it to hold that territory against invaders. It is to be noted that the garrison deemed necessary appears to be described as very small (Berl. Coll. 103, l. 4; cp WMM *Ass. u. Eur.* 275).

There are no grounds for supposing that at this time Jerusalem was famous for a shrine or oracle (see § 1; also below, footnote); it is not advantageously situated for trade, nor is the immediate neighbourhood at all fertile. In all these respects it must have been less important than its neighbours on either side,—Bethel and Bethlehem. Probably it was no more than a small mountain-fortress surrounded by a small village. These would naturally be on the E. hill, at the foot of which (see above, § 5) is found the only spring.

In the next 400 years, between Abd-hiba and the time of David, we have at the most one or two

13. Next 400 years. references to Jerusalem, and these are of doubtful historical value. The Yahwistic narrative, in Judg. 17, relates that after his defeat and wounding by Israel (on their invasion of Western Palestine), a chief, Abimelech or (Josh. 10) EADON-ZEDEK (*q.v.*) was brought to Jerusalem—presumably by his own people, for 17:27 (from the same source)

¹ Berl. Coll. 102, 7.2 Sayce renders 'prophecy of the mighty king' - i.e., the god Salihu. He therefore takes Abū-hila to have been a priest appointed by oracle. Both Zimmern and Winckler, however, read *am*; it is at least more natural to take 'mighty king' as the king of Egypt.

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adds that Jerusalem was not taken by Israel.¹ One of the older sections of the Elohistic narrative,² Judg. 19-21, describes the city as at that time in the hands of the Jebusites and called Jebus (J2.1).

the Yahwist (Josh. 10) describes the Jebusites as unable to dispossess the Jebusites who inhabited Jerusalem, the Jebusites live with the Jebusites in Jerusalem to this day.¹ In drawing the boundary between Judah and Benjamin, the priestly writers specify either the W or the E. Hill overlooking the wadi of the valley of Hinnom to have been the W or E. Ridge of the Tyropoeon valley, § 1.0, as 'the shoulder' or ridge of the Jebusite (Josh. 15:8-9), but assign Jerusalem to Benjamin, in conformity with which a scribe of Judg. 1.7 has substituted 'Benjamin's' for 'Judahites' in the parallel Josh. 15:9; see BENJAMIN, § 2.2. The Jebusites are likewise represented in the story of David (2 S. 5:6, p. 25, and 24:16-7; 'Araonah the Jebusite') as in possession of Jerusalem and some territory round about 'inhabitants of the land'.²

With David's capture of the city,³ when the Jebusites came into possession of Jerusalem we have no means of knowing. In all probability they were one of the Canaanite and therefore Semitic tribes of Palestine. They appear in line with the others in the list of Canaanite tribes (see CANAAN, and Dr. on Dt. 7:1; 11:1; 19:1; 20:1; 32:1; Ex. 3:17 (perhaps Deuteronomist); 33:2 (L. 34:1; Na. 3:10) where they are assigned with Hittites and Amorites to 'the mountains of the Canaanites dwelling by the sea and along Jordan'; Dt. Ex. 3:15-23; Dt. 7:1, 20:1; Josh. 3:10, 9:11, 14:24, 24:11; Judg. 3:1, 1 K. 9:26, 11:19, 12:19, 14:25, 15:25, 16:1, 18:1, 22:1, 24:1, 25:1, 26:1, 27:1, 28:1, 29:1, 30:1, 31:1, 32:1, 33:1, 34:1, 35:1, 36:1, 37:1, 38:1, 39:1, 40:1, 41:1, 42:1, 43:1, 44:1, 45:1, 46:1, 47:1, 48:1, 49:1, 50:1, 51:1, 52:1, 53:1, 54:1, 55:1, 56:1, 57:1, 58:1, 59:1, 60:1, 61:1, 62:1, 63:1, 64:1, 65:1, 66:1, 67:1, 68:1, 69:1, 70:1, 71:1, 72:1, 73:1, 74:1, 75:1, 76:1, 77:1, 78:1, 79:1, 80:1, 81:1, 82:1, 83:1, 84:1, 85:1, 86:1, 87:1, 88:1, 89:1, 90:1, 91:1, 92:1, 93:1, 94:1, 95:1, 96:1, 97:1, 98:1, 99:1, 100:1, 101:1, 102:1, 103:1, 104:1, 105:1, 106:1, 107:1, 108:1, 109:1, 110:1, 111:1, 112:1, 113:1, 114:1, 115:1, 116:1, 117:1, 118:1, 119:1, 120:1, 121:1, 122:1, 123:1, 124:1, 125:1, 126:1, 127:1, 128:1, 129:1, 130:1, 131:1, 132:1, 133:1, 134:1, 135:1, 136:1, 137:1, 138:1, 139:1, 140:1, 141:1, 142:1, 143:1, 144:1, 145:1, 146:1, 147:1, 148:1, 149:1, 150:1, 151:1, 152:1, 153:1, 154:1, 155:1, 156:1, 157:1, 158:1, 159:1, 160:1, 161:1, 162:1, 163:1, 164:1, 165:1, 166:1, 167:1, 168:1, 169:1, 170:1, 171:1, 172:1, 173:1, 174:1, 175:1, 176:1, 177:1, 178:1, 179:1, 180:1, 181:1, 182:1, 183:1, 184:1, 185:1, 186:1, 187:1, 188:1, 189:1, 190:1, 191:1, 192:1, 193:1, 194:1, 195:1, 196:1, 197:1, 198:1, 199:1, 200:1, 201:1, 202:1, 203:1, 204:1, 205:1, 206:1, 207:1, 208:1, 209:1, 210:1, 211:1, 212:1, 213:1, 214:1, 215:1, 216:1, 217:1, 218:1, 219:1, 220:1, 221:1, 222:1, 223:1, 224:1, 225:1, 226:1, 227:1, 228:1, 229:1, 230:1, 231:1, 232:1, 233:1, 234:1, 235:1, 236:1, 237:1, 238:1, 239:1, 240:1, 241:1, 242:1, 243:1, 244:1, 245:1, 246:1, 247:1, 248:1, 249:1, 250:1, 251:1, 252:1, 253:1, 254:1, 255:1, 256:1, 257:1, 258:1, 259:1, 260:1, 261:1, 262:1, 263:1, 264:1, 265:1, 266:1, 267:1, 268:1, 269:1, 270:1, 271:1, 272:1, 273:1, 274:1, 275:1, 276:1, 277:1, 278:1, 279:1, 280:1, 281:1, 282:1, 283:1, 284:1, 285:1, 286:1, 287:1, 288:1, 289:1, 290:1, 291:1, 292:1, 293:1, 294:1, 295:1, 296:1, 297:1, 298:1, 299:1, 300:1, 301:1, 302:1, 303:1, 304:1, 305:1, 306:1, 307:1, 308:1, 309:1, 310:1, 311:1, 312:1, 313:1, 314:1, 315:1, 316:1, 317:1, 318:1, 319:1, 320:1, 321:1, 322:1, 323:1, 324:1, 325:1, 326:1, 327:1, 328:1, 329:1, 330:1, 331:1, 332:1, 333:1, 334:1, 335:1, 336:1, 337:1, 338:1, 339:1, 340:1, 341:1, 342:1, 343:1, 344:1, 345:1, 346:1, 347:1, 348:1, 349:1, 350:1, 351:1, 352:1, 353:1, 354:1, 355:1, 356:1, 357:1, 358:1, 359:1, 360:1, 361:1, 362:1, 363:1, 364:1, 365:1, 366:1, 367:1, 368:1, 369:1, 370:1, 371:1, 372:1, 373:1, 374:1, 375:1, 376:1, 377:1, 378:1, 379:1, 380:1, 381:1, 382:1, 383:1, 384:1, 385:1, 386:1, 387:1, 388:1, 389:1, 390:1, 391:1, 392:1, 393:1, 394:1, 395:1, 396:1, 397:1, 398:1, 399:1, 400:1, 401:1, 402:1, 403:1, 404:1, 405:1, 406:1, 407:1, 408:1, 409:1, 410:1, 411:1, 412:1, 413:1, 414:1, 415:1, 416:1, 417:1, 418:1, 419:1, 420:1, 421:1, 422:1, 423:1, 424:1, 425:1, 426:1, 427:1, 428:1, 429:1, 430:1, 431:1, 432:1, 433:1, 434:1, 435:1, 436:1, 437:1, 438:1, 439:1, 440:1, 441:1, 442:1, 443:1, 444:1, 445:1, 446:1, 447:1, 448:1, 449:1, 450:1, 451:1, 452:1, 453:1, 454:1, 455:1, 456:1, 457:1, 458:1, 459:1, 460:1, 461:1, 462:1, 463:1, 464:1, 465:1, 466:1, 467:1, 468:1, 469:1, 470:1, 471:1, 472:1, 473:1, 474:1, 475:1, 476:1, 477:1, 478:1, 479:1, 480:1, 481:1, 482:1, 483:1, 484:1, 485:1, 486:1, 487:1, 488:1, 489:1, 490:1, 491:1, 492:1, 493:1, 494:1, 495:1, 496:1, 497:1, 498:1, 499:1, 500:1, 501:1, 502:1, 503:1, 504:1, 505:1, 506:1, 507:1, 508:1, 509:1, 510:1, 511:1, 512:1, 513:1, 514:1, 515:1, 516:1, 517:1, 518:1, 519:1, 520:1, 521:1, 522:1, 523:1, 524:1, 525:1, 526:1, 527:1, 528:1, 529:1, 530:1, 531:1, 532:1, 533:1, 534:1, 535:1, 536:1, 537:1, 538:1, 539:1, 540:

The exact condition of the Canaanite enclaves in the earliest centuries of Israel's occupation of the land is unknown; but probably the inhabitants lived in peaceful intercourse with their Hebrew neighbours. In any case the silence of history proves that Jerusalem remained small and unimportant.

Jerusalem lay on the highway which runs N. and S. along the backbone of the central range, but at some

14. Strategic value. distance from any of the roads crossing the range, in a comparatively unfruitful and badly-watered district, and without an important shrine. These reasons as we have seen (§ 12) account for its historical insignificance at a time when its neighbours Hebron, Bethlehem, Gilbeah, Bethel, and Jericho, each of which possessed one or other of the advantages it lacked, already played considerable parts in the history of the land. Probably also its insignificance was the reason of the willingness of the Israelites to leave it alone.

The one feature of political importance possessed by Jerusalem—besides its military strength—was that it lay a neutral spot on the border of two Hebrew tribes, Judah and Benjamin, destined shortly to be rivals. The keen eye of David caught this feature, and to his choice of a position so indispensable to him in the political exigencies which ensued upon his call to the kingdom of all Israel (2 S. 5, 3) (and not to those fictitious virtues of position with which some scholars have invested the site), Jerusalem owes that sovereign rôle which it has played in the history of Israel and Christendom.

David's previous capital Hebron lay too far south to be a centre for all Israel. The choice of one of the historical sites in Benjamin or among the northern tribes

¹ Verse 8 which contradicts 7: 21 (cp Josh. 15:63 J) is a post-exilic addition to the narrative.

² So Moore, *SBOT* 'Judges,' but it may be J. See, however, BENJAMIN, 8 c.

³ [On the tribal character of the population of old Jerusalem cp note on text of 2 S. 568 in *Crit. Bib.*]

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trade among the Hebrews Jerusalem had not the natural conditions for the growth of a great city. In the first instance the town doubtless consisted mainly of the court and its dependants, with the Jebusite population, who must have been predominantly agricultural and limited in number by the limitation of their territory.

Now it is quite incredible that the temple hill was ever excluded from Zion.

Throughout the OT Zion appears as the holy mountain, the seat of the sanctuary. It is true, at the same time, that Zion and the site of Jerusalem are interchangeable ideas in Hebrew literature; but this only proves that the mountain of the sanctuary was essentially the mountain on which the city stood.¹

Further, it is clear, from 1 K. 8:1 f. 2 S. 24:8, that the temple stood above the city of David, as elsewhere in Hebrew holy places the sanctuary crowned the hill on whose slopes the town stood. Moreover, the graves of the kings, which were certainly in the city of David, encroached on the temple enclosure² (Ezek. 43:7 f.), which indeed at the time of the captivity was closely built up (*ibid.*), and stood in the middle of the city (Ezek. 11:23). Again, Mi. 4:8 identifies the ancient 'tower of the flock', the original seat of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with 'Ophel of the daughter of Zion'; and Ophel is one of the few topographical names that can be traced down to the time of Josephus, whose description shows that it lay to the SE. of the temple.³

Still more precise is the determination given by references to the one fountain of Jerusalem, which, as we have seen (§ 5), springs out under the temple hill on the E. According to Neh. 3:15 12:47, the city of David was reached by a stair in the vicinity of the fountain gate and the pool of Siloah.⁴ This ascent led up above David's palace to the water gate (see § 24), where in Nehemiah's time there was an open space in front of the temple (cp Neh. 8:16 with Ezra 10:9). Thus we see that David's palace lay between the temple and the pool of Siloah or King's pool (Neh. 2:14).

These notices are the more important because the water system connected with the Virgin's spring forms one of the few certain parts of Jerusalem's topography. The spring itself is Gihon, which from its name must have been a true spring, whilst 2 Ch. 33:14 teaches us to look for it in the Kidron valley (573). The subterranean conduit in which the famous inscription was found had for its object to conduct the water inside the city, and appears to be that constructed by Hezekiah (2 K. 20:20).⁵ In Is. 22:9 ff. we read of a lower pool and an old pool (no doubt identical with the upper pool, Is. 7:3; 2 K. 18:17), whose waters were collected in the time of Hezekiah, under apprehension of siege, in a reservoir between the two walls. From this passage, compared with Neh. 3:15, we gather that Hezekiah's pool was protected by an outer line of fortification, and here lay the gate of the two walls (2 K. 25:4),⁶ with the royal

¹ The explanatory note of an editor in 1 K. 8:1, 'the city of David, which is Zion,' cannot be strained to mean that the removal of the ark from the city of David to the temple was its removal from the mountain of Zion to another hill.

² [This is not held by all who agree with Robertson Smith in placing the city of David on the eastern hill. Sayce supposes the tombs to have been hewn in the cliffs above the Pool of Siloam (PEFQ, '83, p. 219). Clermont-Ganneau (Rev. Critique, '83, p. 329 ff., PEFQ, '95, p. 154 f.) thinks that the southern curve of the Siloam tunnel was due to the necessity of avoiding the royal vaults, which ought to be found on the N. of the curve. Jewish traditions certainly placed these tombs near to the Kidron and connected them with it by a tunnel, affirming that their position was known up to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. See PEFQ '85, p. 102 f. Nehemiah (4:15 ff.) mentions the tombs in close connection with Siloam and apparently to the E. of it. G. A. S.]

³ Whether the whole of the southerly slope of the eastern hill, or if not, what part of it, was called Ophel (= 'swelling') are questions we cannot answer.

⁴ The fountain gate is the gate beside Siloah, which is itself called the fountain (מִקְוֵה) by Josephus (BJ v. 4:1).

⁵ [The Siloah or conduit in existence in the reign of Ahaz (Is. 8:2), may have been the conduit above ground which leads from Gihon round the Ophel hill. See however above, § 11 n.]

⁶ [This is a much more probable explanation of 'the two walls' than Benzinger's (HA 50 n. 1), that the W. and E. hills had parallel lines of walls on either side of the Tyropæon. As we have seen, no trace of any such lines of wall has been seen

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gardens beside them.¹ The supplementary notices of the conduit and the outer wall, given in Chronicles, have not the weight of contemporary history; but they show the writer to have still possessed the same tradition as to the place of the city of David, for he describes its outer wall as running along the Kidron valley W. of Tahon (i.e., so as to leave the fountain outside, 2 Ch. 33:14; cp 32:1 f.), and tells us that Hezekiah's conduit brought the water of Gihon in a westerly direction to the city of David (chap. 32:1 f.).²

(c) Birch's view is also confirmed by the oldest post-biblical tradition. According to the First Book of

Maccabees, circa 100 B.C. (e.g., 4:17 5:54 7:30), Zion was the temple hill. So also in 1 Esd. 8:81 (probably, too, Judith 9:13) and Eccles. 2:16. It is true that Josephus, as we have seen (§ 16), identifies Zion with the Upper City of his time on the SW. hill; but his statements as to the topography of the city of David and Solomon are of no independent value; he possessed no sources except the OT (§ 27:1). [Nor did the early Christian tradition altogether follow Josephus. Origen (*ad Joan.* 4:19 f.) makes Zion and the temple hill identical; and though Eusebius and Jerome in the OS place Zion on the W. hill, Jerome in his *Comm. in Jer.* 22:4 f., seems to take the other view. The rise of the prevalent Christian tradition would appear to have been assisted by the building of Constantine's Church of the Resurrection and Basilica on the NW. hill; just as, no doubt, the anticipation of the prevailing view by Josephus was due to the rise of Herod's palace with the great towers on the same ridge (cp Sir C. Wilson, Smith's *DNA*, art. 'Jerusalem' p. 165 f.).]

According to the OT, then, the city of David lay on the southern part of the hill which his son crowned

with the temple. The chief feature in the fortifications was a tower named 'the Millo' [מִלּוֹ, probably meaning a solid,

not a hollow, tower; cp ZPD¹ 1226, but also MHT 10]; its site is quite uncertain; modern scholars are divided between the E. and the W. hill. We have no means of determining whether David's city included more than the E. hill. If it was confined to this then the wall ran up the W. edge of Ophel above the Tyropæon valley. It is significant, however, that after careful examination, Bliss found no remains of a city wall, and such scraps as he uncovered appear to have been made only for dwellings or cisterns.³ The new wall assigned to David (1 Sam. 5:9) may have been built round an increase of his city in the Tyropæon and on the lower slopes of the W. hill;⁴ yet if the Tyropæon, as Robertson Smith argues (see § 24), was the *gai* of Hinnom in which the heathen sacrifices afterwards were offered and the Canaanite quarter lay, its inclusion in the city in David's time would not be possible. The town had but little splendour. The king occupied a wooden palace, the work of foreign craftsmen; and the ark still dwelt in curtains. Under Solomon, who had the true Oriental passion for building and luxury, and squandered enormous sums on his court, great improvements were made, especially by the erection of the twin palaces 'the house of Yahwè and the house of the king,' constructed of stonework strengthened by string courses of wooden beams in the still familiar style of Arabian building. The palace, which took nearly twice as long to erect as the temple,

by Bliss, who has, however, made clear the existence of a wall outside the two pools of Siloah and probable the existence of another running inside them in agreement with the above explanation of Robertson Smith.]

² 2 K. 25:4 Jer. 39:4 Neh. 3:15.

³ [Hezekiah's conduit is not the only rock-cut passage in Ophel in connection with the Virgin's Spring. Sir Charles Warren (see *PEFQ Mem.*, 'Jerus.', 366 ff.) discovered at the end of the serpentine tunnel from which the conduit breaks off, a perpendicular shaft 44 ft. high, and above it a series of sloping passages issuing in a vault three-quarters of the way up the hill and due W. from the Virgin's Spring. See § 21.]

⁴ *Excav. at Jerus.* '94-'97, 173 ff. with plate.

⁵ So Benzinger, *HA* 45.

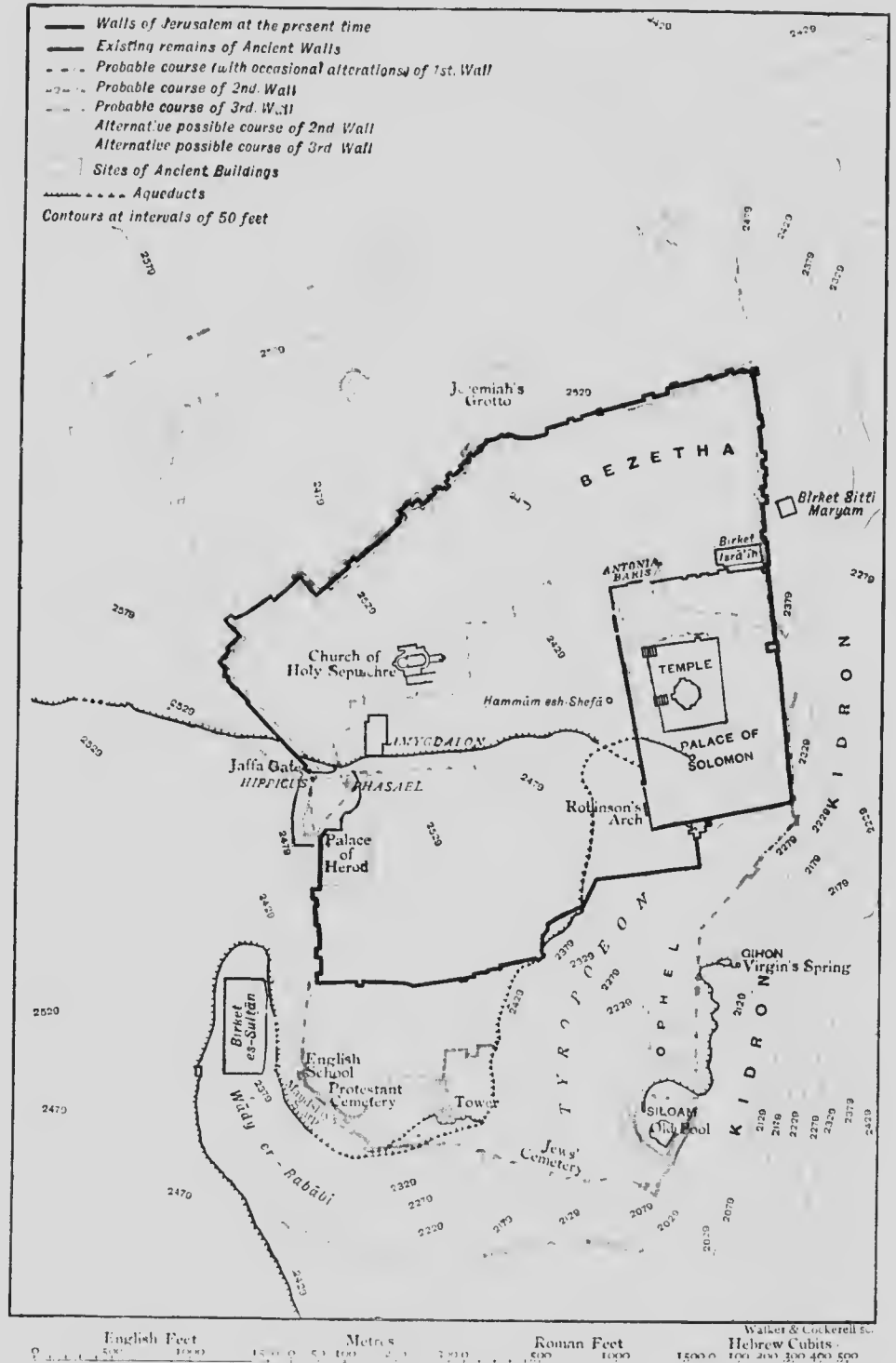
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consisted of a great complex of buildings and porticos, including the porch of judgment, an armoury, and the palace of the queen.

The site of the palace has been variously assigned by topographers. It lay above the old residence of David¹ (1 K. 9.24), and all the indications given in the OT lead us to place it quite close to the temple, with which its porticos seem to have been connected (2 K. 16.18 23.11). Wellhausen indeed, from an examination of 1 K. 6.7, has made it probable that the royal buildings lay within the outer court of the temple (Wellh. *CH*²⁰ 264). The clearest details are connected with a court of the palace called the prison court (Jer. 32.2), where there was a gate called the prison gate, and a great projecting tower (Neh. 3.25-27). This part of the building must have been close to the temple, for it was at the prison gate that the second choir in the procession of Neh. 12 halted and stood 'in the house of God,' meeting the other choir, which ascended from Shiloah by the stair above David's house and reached the temple at the water gate. It appears further from Neh. 3.27 that the fortifications of the prison were adjacent to Ophel, so that the palace seems to have stood about the S.E. corner of the temple area.² [On the temple and the other buildings of Solomon see further Stade, *GIJ* 131 ff., as well as Benzinger's *H.A.* and Nowack's; and on the relevant text of Kings, Benzinger in the *KHC*, also Stade, *ZATW* 3.129-177 ('83).]

[The extent of Solomon's Jerusalem is quite uncertain. The rise of a considerable foreign trade, the rapid increase of wealth, the splendour of

22. Solomon's Jerusalem.

the court, the multiplication of officials, and the incursion of many foreigners must have greatly enlarged the city; but whether the new population was settled in suburbs, or the walls of the city were extended to receive them, we cannot determine. Many of those who hold that David's city was confined to the E. hill believe that Solomon threw walls (1 K. 3.1 9.15) round the W. hill (Sir C. Wilson, Smith's *DB*², 'Jerus.' 1648; Buhl, *Pal.* 135). On this hill two divergent lines of fortification have been laid bare by Bliss, following the excavations of Maudslay and others. From the so-called Maudslay's scarp (see plan), which Bliss takes to be the (probable) S.W. angle of Solomon's city, a line of scarp runs N.E. across the brow of the S.W. hill towards a rectangular line of wall on the slope of the hill above the Tyropoeon. From this Bliss infers a continuation to the present S. wall of the city at Burj el-Kebrit, and so across the Tyropoeon to the E. hill. If this was the line of Solomon's wall, Bliss takes the lowest strata on the other line laid bare by him S.E. from Maudslay's scarp to Siloam round the S. end of the W. hill to be a farther extension of the walls made by kings after Solomon. All this is still very uncertain; and it is possible that the W. hill was not inclosed within walls before the exile (see below, § 23). G. A. S.]

After the division of the kingdoms Jerusalem was shorn of its political glory. The city itself was taken

23. Pre-exilic.

by Shishak in the reign of Rehoboam, and lost the riches accumulated by Solomon. The great houses of Omri and Jehu quite overshadowed the kingdom of Judah, which forgot its weakness in the reign of Amaziah only to receive signal chastisement from Jehoash, who took Jerusalem, and partly levelled the walls (2 K. 14.8 ff.). The decline and fall of Samaria raised the relative importance of the southern capital; the writings of the prophets show that wealth had accumulated and luxury increased, and so we find King Jotham adding an upper gate in the northern or higher court of the temple (2 K. 15.35 Jer. 36.10 Ezek. 9.2), whilst Hezekiah, as we have already seen (§ 19), laboured for the improvement of the water supply, and so rendered the city more capable to resist siege. [Whatever additions had been

¹ So in Neh. 3.25 it is called the upper palace in distinction from the house of David, chap. 12.37.

² Another view is that Solomon's palace stood on the western hill, and was connected with the temple by a bridge. But 'the ascent' of the AV of 1 K. 10.5 is not in the original, and seems to rest on a false reading in Chronicles. In Ezek. 41.3 the sovereign enters the temple from the east.

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made by this time on the W. hill, it is clear from Hezekiah's conduct in Ophel that on the latter lay still the citadel and chief part of the city.¹ The later history in Chronicles adds details of fortifications erected by Uzziah and Manassah, which probably express the oral tradition current in the author's day. In the later days of the monarchy Jerusalem had so far increased that we read of a second town or quarter (2 K. 22.14 Zeph. 1.10 Heb.; cp Neh. 3.9); see, however, HULDM. HASSENAM, where the true title is represented to have been the 'old city.' There was also a trading quarter called the Maktēsh, inhabited by Canaanites or Tyrians (Zeph. 1.11), who still formed a large part of the mercantile population in post-exilic times (Neh. 13.16 Zech. 14.21). Maktēsh means *mortar*, whence we must suppose that the traders lived in a hollow valley, perhaps the upper part of the Tyropoeon (but cp MAKTEH).² The main part of the town, however, was still grouped round the temple plateau, from which steep streets ran down the slope of the hill (Lam. 1.1), the houses rising tier above tier, so that the roof-tops commanded a view of the environs (Is. 22.1). According to Eastern custom the handicrafts—e.g., the bakers, Jer. 37.21—had their own streets or bazaars.

[Down to the reign of Hezekiah Jerusalem had been simply one of many sanctuaries of Yahwē; although in the eyes of the Judean prophets (Am. 1.2 Is. 6) Yahwē's dwelling-place was there, Jerusalem was ignored by the great prophets of North Israel and does not seem to have been a place of popular pilgrimage (in the pages of Amos, Bethel, Gilgal, and Beersheba are described as such, while Jerusalem is not). What hope, therefore, was there that it would survive the fate which had overtaken Samaria and all the other Syrian shrines? (cp Mic. 3.12). The extraordinary faith of Isaiah in the inviolableness of Yahwē's 'hearth,' and its wonderful rescue from the Assyrians, at the time when the rest of Judah with the local sanctuaries was overrun by them, effected a vindication of the city, and assisted a change in her religious position which was slowly becoming inevitable in the interests of the sole deity of Yahwē and of the purity of his worship (cp DEUTERONOMY, § 13). The other shrines of Israel, however consecrated by the national history, had all associations with the unpurified popular religion; and just as Jerusalem's freedom from political entanglements in the time of David had, as we have seen (§ 14), secured the choice of it as a capital for all Israel, so now its freedom from religious associations of an impure kind (Zion had never, as we have seen, been the shrine of any god before it was the resting-place of Yahwē's ark) secured the choice of it as Israel's one sanctuary: the only place where sacrifice was permitted, the shrine where Yahwē set his name and to which all Israel were commanded to make pilgrimage three times a year. That this change—rendered inevitable both by the political events and by the religious interests of the eighth and seventh centuries—was codified as law (in the Book of Deuteronomy) and carried into effect by the nation before the exilic period, was what prevented the destruction of the city and temple by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. from being regarded as final, inspired Jeremiah's prophecies of a return, and the hopes and programmes of reconstruction by Ezekiel and other priestly writers (see especially Ps. 51.18). G. A. S.]

For the compass of the walls of Jerusalem at the time of its capture by Nebuchadnezzar the chief

24. Nehemiah's walls and gates.

document is the account of the restoration of the fortifications by Nehemiah, who followed the old line, and speaks of the various gates and towers by their old names. His description presents many difficulties, the most intelligible part being that which deals with the eastern wall, from Shiloah and the

¹ [But see below, footnote to § 24, on the difficulty of holding Siloam without fortifying the W. hill.]

² [It is doubtful which head of the Tyropoeon should be preferred; whether the hollow between the NW. and SW. hills or the other head.]

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fountain gate to the point where the temple and the palace joined one another. The western boundary of the city is particularly obscure, and its position must be determined mainly by reference to (1) the 'valley gate' (Neh. 2:13-14). The valley (*gai*) is used as a proper name, and is no doubt identical with the valley (*gai*) of the son of HINNON (*q.v.*, § 4), the Kidron valley being always called *nahal* (the Ital. *fiumara*). The common opinion makes this *gai* the valley to the W. of modern Jerusalem (Wady er-Rababi), in which case the valley gate must necessarily have occupied much the same position as the modern Jaffa (*Yafa*) gate, and the whole of the later upper city on the SW. hill must already have been included within the walls. This view, however, is far from being indisputable.¹

A thousand cubits S. of the valley gate was (2) the *dung gate*,² the gate before which lay the rubbish heaps of the city [probably identical with the gate HASESTIN].³ This, on the common theory, must have been about the SW. corner of the hill, near the present Protestant school.⁴ Between this point and (3) the *fountain gate*⁵ in the vicinity of the pool of Shiloah is nearly half-a-mile in a straight line, and the intervening wall must have been much longer if it followed the natural line of defence.⁶ Yet Nehemiah gives no account of this section of the ramparts (Neh. 3:1-32). His record seems to imply that the fountain gate was near the dung gate; and similarly in chap. 12 the procession which went southward to the dung gate is immediately afterwards found at the fountain gate. It is hardly possible that so important a part of the circuit should be twice omitted, and in fact the vast lacuna disappears at once if we suppose that the *gai* is the Tyropoeon, and that the upper city of Josephus on the SW. hill was not enclosed in the circuit of Nehemiah's walls.

If the *gai* is the Tyropoeon the valley gate lay on the Tyropoeon, somewhere near the SW. angle of the Haram area, and the wall ran southward along the E. side of the valley,⁷ till at the pool of Shiloah an outwork was thrown out to protect the water-supply.

¹ [It is still adhered to by Ben-Zion, *HA* 41, and Balh, *Pal.* 94-132, as if indisputable; for curiously neither of them even mentions the rival view advanced by Robertson Smith.]

² [חֲשֵׁתָהּ שֶׁנֶּחֱמִיָּה, Neh. 2:13-14 12:31; חֲשֵׁתָהּ שֶׁ, 3:13, from which some have thought the name Tyropoeon = 'cheese-making' is derived; as if חֲשֵׁתָהּ = cheeses or curds had been substituted for חֲשֵׁתָהּ. But see also WRS *Rel. Sem.* (1) 357 n., (2) 377 n.]

³ Jer. 19:2, according to which it lay on the valley of Hinnom. See HASESTIN.

⁴ [Just S. of the Protestant school Bliss uncovered a gate; but it is over 250 feet from the Jaffa gate.]

⁵ [The gate between the two walls, 2 K. 25:4 Jer. 39:4 52:7, is probably the same as the fountain gate; see above, § 19; cp *ZDPV* 5 357-8 283.]

⁶ [The line of wall uncovered here by Bliss measures only about 1050 ft. between the gate S. of the Protestant school and the gates at the SE. corner of the wall S. of Siloam.]

⁷ [The identification of the Tyropoeon with the valley of Hinnom is accepted by Prof. Sayce, *Philo*, 1884, p. 217, also by Birch, *Philo*, 1885, p. 55 ff., and Schwart, *Das Heil. Land*, 1909. Yet it is not altogether without objection or difficulty. In the first place, the border between Judah and Benjamin (§ 8) ran along Hinnom; yet the Tyropoeon appears too insignificant a natural feature, in comparison with the valleys on either side of it, to form so important a boundary; especially when in the time of the Priestly Writer, who draws the boundary (Josh. 15:8 18:1-3), Jerusalem had perhaps grown out across it to the W. hill. Again, as we have seen (§ 21), no line of wall has ever been uncovered on the W. side of the Tyropoeon or along the W. slope of Ophel (yet cp the wall described in § 19 ii. 6). Moreover, it is difficult to conceive that after the reservoirs at Siloam (of which we have evidence in the time of Ahar) were finished, the W. hill could have remained unfortified. The possession of that by an enemy must have rendered the security of the reservoirs almost impossible. Besides, there is the difficulty of conceiving how the population, during the prosperous times of Solomon and Uzziah, can have been confined to the E. hill, unless, of course, we take for granted that there were large suburbs. Then there is the phrase the Second City (but cp above, § 21, first part), which is suitable to a large extension on the W. hill (2 K. 22:14 Zeph. 1:10). All this makes it probable that in the time of the later kings the Tyropoeon was included in the city; but if that was the case, would the burning of children to Moloch (2 K. 23:10 Jer. 23:19 44:32-35) have been there? Of course, this difficulty would not affect Robertson Smith's theory, which holds that there was no extension of the city to the W. hill till post-exilic times; but in any case the burials may have been at the mouth of the valley below Shiloah (Jerome, *Comm. in Jer.* 7:31). For Sir Charles Warren's theory that Hinnom was neither the W. er-Rababi nor the Tyropoeon, but a name given to the whole Wady en-Nar, thus including Kidron, see Hastings, *BD* 2 385-388.

G. A. S.]

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Besides simplifying the topographical difficulties of Neh. 3, this view has several other advantages.¹

On the received view the Tyropoeon is nowhere mentioned in the O.T., though it lay in the heart of the city. This difficulty is removed by the view suggested above, and the third valley (W. er-Rababi) appears to be quite out of relation to the circuit of the biblical Jerusalem, so that one does not look for mention of it. Again, we have seen that the Canaanite quarter of the city lay in a hollow—presumably in the Tyropoeon—and it is very natural that the seat of Canaanite worship in the valley of Hinnom should be in the vicinity of this quarter. Once more, by placing the valley gate quite near the temple, we understand how it was in this neighbourhood that the sacred procession in Neh. 12 began its course. Even at a much later date the temple hill was the real stronghold of Jerusalem, which Judas and his successors were concerned to fortify with walls. It would have been folly in Nehemiah to enclose a much vaster and less defensible circuit when the inhabitants were so few that it was necessary to draft one-tenth of the whole people into the capital (Neh. 11:1).

The course of the wall N. of the valley gate must still have skirted the base of the Temple hill E. of the Tyropoeon. It is not improbable that the Maktesh or Canaanite trading quarter lay outside the fortifications, a bazaar beyond the gate being common in Eastern towns.² From the tower of furnaces (see FURNACE, § 2, OVER) the 'broad wall' ran to the point where in the Persian time the governor of the Syrian provinces had his throne.³ The throne would stand in an open place by a gateway, and comparison of Neh. 3:7 with 12:39 shows that the gate must have been (4) that of Ephraim—i.e., the gate of the main road leading to the N., which then as now must almost of necessity have followed the upper course of the Tyropoeon, and so would skirt the walls for some distance before entering the city. In fact there were 400 cubits between the gate of Ephraim and (5) the *corner gate* (חֲשֵׁתָהּ שֶׁ, 2 K. 11:13). The corner gate is named also the *first gate*⁴ (חֲשֵׁתָהּ שֶׁ, Zech. 14:10), and so is probably identical with the *old gate* of Neh. 3:6 12:39 (cp HASESTIN). For obvious engineering reasons the eminence at the NW. of the Haram area must always have been a principal point in the fortifications, and here the old gate may very well be placed. It is indeed possible that this was the site of the ancient bastion of Millo. From the corner gate the N. line of the wall ran by (6) the *fish gate*⁵ to the towers of HAMMATH (*q.v.*, on the reading) and HANANEL, the latter of which appears in Zech. (l.c.) as the opposite extremity of the city from the royal wine vats in the gardens by Shiloah, whilst in Jer. 31:38 the line between it and the corner gate is named as the natural direction of extension for the city. The tower, therefore, must have stood very near the NE. corner of the wall, but not so far E. as the angle of the Haram area, which is here built out, disguising the natural line of the hillside. From Zech. (l.c.) we see that (7) the *Benjamin gate* was at the E. end of the N. wall. There was a road into Benjaminite territory over the Kidron (1 K. 2:37), and to this there was a natural descent by a small valley now nearly obliterated, having its head a little S. of the Birket Israh. Here too is the direct way to Anathoth, which was through the Benjamin gate (Jer. 37:13). In Nehemiah's record (8) the *sheep gate* seems to have the same position.⁶ From the angle near the tower of Hananel and the Benjamin gate the line of the hill ran

¹ [The distance from the SW. angle of the Haram area to the upper pool of Shiloah in a straight line, is about 1200 ft., which, on WRS's theory that the valley gate was near the corner and the dung gate near the latter, would give room for the 1000 cubits mentioned by Nehemiah as between these two gates.]

² In fact at the siege of Titus the wool and clothes market and the brassworkers' bazaar still lay in much the same quarter, in the new city, outside the old line of fortification, though within the second wall (*RF* vi. 81).

³ See below, § 12.

⁴ [Or rather *former gate*. Some would identify it with the gate of Ephraim.]

⁵ [חֲשֵׁתָהּ שֶׁ, Neh. 3:12 39 Zeph. 1:10 2 Ch. 33:14; for the name cp Neh. 13:16, 'the Tyrians brought fish, etc.' A point on the N. wall would be its natural position.]

⁶ [חֲשֵׁתָהּ שֶׁ, Neh. 3:12 12:39; all place it in the N.]

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southwards, tending to the E. At the extreme E. point, beyond the present line of wall, and a little S. of the modern golden gate, must be placed (9) the *horse gate* (Jer. 31.40).¹ South of this again came the fortifications of Ophel and the upper palace, and from this point the enceinte swept round to the pool of Shiloah. The lower wall of Manasseh in 2 Ch. 33.14 is described as an outwork in the Kidron valley extending all along the eastern side of the town and round the N.E. corner.

[Other city gates mentioned are:—(10) the *gate of the Miphkad* (מִפְקָדָה מִשְׁכָּן; *miphkad* perhaps = 'muster'; but cp Ezek. 48.21 [EV, appointed place], where it seems to be some locality just outside the temple, see HAMMURKAD), between the horse and sheep gates according to Neh. 3.31; (11) the *middle gate* (שַׁעַר הָאֶמֶת), probably on the N. wall, Jer. 39.3, by some identified with the *gate of Ephraim* (שַׁעַר אֶפְרַיִם); (12) the *water-gate* (שַׁעַר הַמַּיִם) is not mentioned by Nehemiah on his circuit of the walls, but appears from Neh. 12.37 (cp 3.26 8.13.14) to have been an entrance to the temple courts. Still some take it to be a city gate opening above Gihon. The other 'gates' mentioned in Kings, Chronicles, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel were temple doorways or approaches, including those of Jer. 17.19 and 20.2; with the exception of the two in 2 K. 11.6, *Gate of Sur* (שַׁעַר סוּר; in 2 Ch. 23.5, שַׁעַר הַסּוּר, 'the foundation') and the *gate of the couriers* (שַׁעַר הַמַּשְׁמָרִים), both of which were connected with the palace.

Nehemiah reports the rebuilding of the whole city wall, as it had been before Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of it. The temple was rebuilt before his time (in 518-515). Nehemiah mentions for the first time the castle 'the Birah',² for whose gates he brought timber with him (2.8); it lay on the N. of the temple (see below, § 25). He also mentions 'the king's house' (3.25)—i.e., Solomon's palace—but does not say what he did with it; we do not hear of it again. The house of the high priest appears to have lain to the S.E. of the temple (20); those of the priests to the E. above the horse-gate (22); 'the Nethinim dwelt on Ophel' (26). David's citadel is not mentioned (but see below on the Akra, § 27 iii.). There was an 'upper tower lying out from the king's house' (25), and 'a great tower lying out' below the horse-gate (27).

The long blank in the history of the Jews which follows the time of Nehemiah makes it impossible to trace the progress of Jerusalem in any detail. Under the Persian empire the

25. Persian period.

Jews enjoyed little prosperity. [It is very probable that like their neighbours they suffered much violence; and upon certain ancient traditions of this the hypothesis has been raised that the temple itself was destroyed. Under Artaxerxes Ochus (about 350 B.C.) there was a widespread rebellion in Phoenicia and other western parts of the empire, which was put down with great severity. Syncellus³ records a battle between Jews and Persians, which resulted in the capture of Jericho (?) and the exile of many Jews to Hyrcania and Babylonia, whilst Josephus (*Ant.* xi.71) says that Bagoses the general of 'another Artaxerxes,' on a murder being perpetrated by the high priest in the temple, made this the excuse for entering it, and thereby, in Jewish opinion, polluting its sanctuary. The revolt of the Jews, if it took place, was undoubtedly a religious revolt; and it is easy to believe that Ochus or his general Bagoas punished it, as they punished similar revolts in Egypt and Phoenicia, by the devastation of the temple. Robertson Smith suggested that the story of Josephus about the minor desecration of the temple by Bagoses is really a pragmatical invention designed partly to soften the catastrophe of the Jews, and partly to explain it by the sin of the high priest. This has been accepted by Cheyne, and both scholars have transferred to the campaign of Bagoas Pss. 44, 74, and 79, which describe a destruction of the temple and were generally regarded as Maccabean.⁴ The occurrence of such a catastrophe, however, is by no

¹ שַׁעַר הַסּוּר. According to Neh. 3.28 it lay on the S.E. corner of the temple; it had been connected with the palace, 2 K. 11.15 2 Ch. 23.15.]

² בִּירָה. The name is in Hebrew only post-exilic and is thought to be borrowed from Assyrian, in which *birtu* = 'castle.'

³ Ed. Dindorf, 1486.

⁴ WRS. *OTJC* (2) 207 438 ff.; Che. *Introd.* to Isa. 258 ff.

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means certain, or accepted by all authorities.¹ It is possible that the psalms cited refer to the destruction of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Soter in 320 (see next §). (On the historical points involved, and on the reference of these Psalms and of Is. 64.10 f., cp ISMAEL ii. § 21; PSALMS.)

G. A. S.]

[The Greek period of the history of Jerusalem opens with Josephus's charming story (*Ant.* xi.83 ff.) of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem after the capture of Gaza, and of the sacrifice he offered in the temple. There is nothing impossible either in the visit or (even) in the sacrifice;² still they are not mentioned by any ancient Greek author. Alexander is not likely to have turned back from Gaza on Jerusalem with Egypt still unsubdued; and, as Ewald remarks, the whole tone of Josephus's narrative is unhistorical (see ALEXANDER).]

26. Greek period.

In 320, according to Appian (*Syr.* 50), Ptolemy Soter 'destroyed (*καθάρηκεν*)' Jerusalem. So tragic an event can scarcely have happened without some echo in Jewish literature, and it is possible that some of the Psalms usually referred to the time of Ochus or Antiochus Epiphanes date from this destruction by Ptolemy. Josephus (*Ant.* xii.1; c. *Ap.* i.22) quotes a confirmation of the capture of the city from Agatharchides of Cnidus (middle of 2nd cent. B.C.), who represents it as due to the unwillingness of the Jews to fight on the Sabbath, and Josephus adds that Ptolemy led a great many Jews captive into Egypt (see PTOLEMY). The subsequent struggles between Ptolemy and Antiochus for the possession of Palestine appear to have been limited to the seaboard,³ and, for Jerusalem, a long period of prosperity followed. Eccles. 50 records a series of embellishments under Simon the Just, *circa* 300: the repair of the temple and the building of substructures and upper walls around it; an alteration on the brazen sea of the temple; and the strengthening of the city walls (after their destruction by Ptolemy). The city's prosperity, fostered by Ptolemy Philadelphus, culminated in the high-priesthood of Simon II. (219-199 B.C.).

In 203 Palestine passed from the Ptolemies into the hands of the Seleucids; but in 199 Scopas retook Jerusalem and set an Egyptian garrison in the citadel. In 198 the Jews assisted Antiochus to expel the garrison, and by treaty with Egypt in the following year the Seleucids were confirmed in their possession. On the accession of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, vigorous measures were taken to Hellenize Judaea (ISRAEL, § 70), and after the struggles of Menelaus and Jason for the city Antiochus entered it (169 B.C.), plundered the temple, destroyed the walls, and placed a Syrian garrison in a new citadel, and an altar to Zeus on the altar of Yahweh (Dan. 11.31.)

When Judas Maccabaeus reconstructed the temple (165) he also fortified the holy mountain of Zion (the temple hill) with wall and towers, 1 Macc. 4.60. Once more raised by the Greeks (662-954), the walls of the city were renewed with hewn stone by Jonathan (103 ff.).

It is plain from 1 Macc. 4.60 67 10.11 that up to this time the fortified city was still identical with the temple hill; but a new topographical problem

27. The Akra. is raised by what is related of the citadel (Akra) erected by Epiphanes to dominate the town.

i. *Robertson Smith's view of site: N. of temple.*—The Akra is identified by the author of 1 Macc. with the city of David. It continued to be held by the Greeks after the town was fortified by the Maccabees, and indeed was ultimately reduced by the erection of a special wall cutting off the Greek garrison from access to the city and market (12.46). The natural inference from all this is that the Greek citadel lay on the temple hill, and

¹ Cp Davidson, *Crit. Rev.*, '93, p. 19; A. R. S. Kennedy, *Est. T.*, '92, p. 247; Che. *ib.*, 220.

² Cp Schürer, *Hist.* 1.187, 3.301.

³ Diod. Sic. xix.; Pseudo-Hecat. in Joseph. c. *Ap.* 1.22.

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presumably on the site of the later Antonia, N. of the temple.¹ The temple hill is certainly the Zion of 1 Macc. ; and the city of David, with which the Akra is identified, had always meant the fortress of Zion. The same result seems to follow from the language of Josephus.

When Josephus lived, Jerusalem was almost a new town. Under the Maccabees, and again under Herod, the prosperity of the Jews was greater than at any previous time. The sanctuary was a centre of pilgrimage from the most distant lands, and the sovereigns of Jerusalem had an empire greater than any of the kings after Solomon. The growth of the city must have been enormous, and the great buildings of Herod and his successors had wholly changed its aspect, especially in the quarter of the temple and on the western hill where the royal palace stood. These changes were very apt to mislead an uncritical writer with regard to the ancient topography, and in fact Josephus falls into a radical blunder by assuming that the fortress of David belonged to the upper city, like the royal castle of his own day,² and that the western hill had always been part of Jerusalem.

Of Jerusalem as he himself saw it Josephus gives a vivid description (*B/v.* 41). The city stood on two hills divided by the Tyropæon valley, into which the houses descended tier beneath tier. The higher (western) hill was called the upper market, the lower (eastern) hill across the Tyropæon was the citadel hill, and was called indifferently the Akra or the Lower City. That this Akra included the ridge S. of the temple is clear from several marks: the hill was *αμφικυρτός*, 'hog-backed'; it was cut off by ravines on the outer side, and had a continuous approach to the temple, which stood on the higher ground; finally, it extended to Shiloah at the mouth of the Tyropæon.³ Thus we see that though Josephus himself has lost the true tradition as to the city of David, he furnishes additional proof that the citadel hill, still identified with it by the author of 1 Macc., was no other than the eastern hill.

ii. *Robinson's view: W. of temple.*—A different view of the Akra was maintained by Robinson, and has been elaborated by Sir Charles Warren and Colonel Conder⁴ in connection with better observations as to the two heads of the Tyropæon valley. It is maintained that the Akra was a knoll, W. of the temple hill and N. of the traditional Zion, between the two heads of the Tyropæon (§ 7). To gain any show of plausibility for this view, it is necessary to lay great weight on a statement of Josephus that the temple hill was once a third eminence lower than the Akra, and divided from it by a broad ravine, and that Simon after taking the Akra destroyed the citadel, and laboured for three years to reduce its site below the level of the temple plateau and fill up the intervening hollow (*B/v.* 4; *Ant.* xiii. 66). This story is probably exaggerated, for, according to the early and trustworthy evidence of 1 Macc. 13, the Akra was not destroyed, only purged, and strengthened by additional fortifications on the sacred mountain. In any case we know that the Akra was opposite the temple, and that in the time of Josephus there was no longer a ravine between, whereas the city opposite the temple to the W. was still cut off by the deep Tyropæon (*Ant.* xv. 115), except where a bridge led to the palace on the western hill. Nor is it possible that the western branch of the Tyropæon can be the deep ravine which, according to Josephus, separated the upper and the lower city, for that head is the theatre-shaped basin described in *Ant.* xv. 115 as facing the temple across the ravine.

iii. *Third view: S. of temple.*—Though the Akra proper must thus have lain on the E. hill it is by no means certain that the view expressed above by

¹ [So also Sir Charles Wilson, Smith's *BD²*, 'Jerus.' 1644. But see below, § 27 (iii).]

² A perpetuation of this blunder gives the current name Tower of David to the Herodian tower, probably Phasael, which still stands by the Jaffa gate. On this tower compare a paper by Schick in *ZDPV* vol. i.

³ *B/v.* vi. 72; cp v. 41 and the association of Shiloah and the Akra in v. 61.

⁴ See Warren, *The Temple of the Fount*, London, 1880; and Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, London, 1875, vol. i., Hastings' *BD* 2594.

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Robertson Smith, that it lay N. of the temple on the site of the later Antonia, is correct. It may have lain to the S. of the temple,¹ on the site which, as we have seen (§ 18), must have been occupied by the old Jebusite fortress, that is to say, on the higher ground opposite the temple plateau, beyond the deep hollow in the rock described in § 18. If there be any truth in the account of Josephus, that Simon reduced the rock of the Akra to a level lower than the temple plateau, and filled up the intervening hollow, this would account for the disappearance of the conspicuous rock from this part of the hill as well as for the fact stated by Josephus, that the hollow was no more in his day (about this he cannot be in error). Further, under the Akra lay the gymnasium or 'place of exercise' which the high-priest Jason constructed (2 Macc. 4:12); for this a most likely spot would be either the Tyropæon or the Kidron Valley below the S. end of the temple plateau. It was probably on the same site that Herod built his Hippodrome, and this, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 102; *B/v.* ii. 31) lay to the S. Finally, notice the association of the Akra with Shiloah in *B/v.* 61. [G. A. S.]

Under the Hasmonean dynasty we meet with the first unambiguous evidence that the city had extended to the loftier western hill, where a new palace was erected overlooking the western hill; temple (*Ant.* xx. 811). This continued to be the royal quarter, and

was raised to great splendour by Herod, who covered a vast extent of ground with his palace, its courts, and its pleasure grounds. The palace of Herod embraced two edifices transcending the temple in magnificence; and the three enormous adjoining towers, Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamme (*Ant.* xvi. 52; *B/v.* 43), made the upper city the strongest part of Jerusalem. Here also in Herod's days stood the xystus or gymnasium, beneath the Hasmonean palace, where a bridge spanned the Tyropæon. The bridge was already there under the later Hasmoneans, when the new quarter had as yet minor importance, and the temple hill was still the only citadel. Here the warlike high priest Hyrcanus usually dwelt in the castle (*βίβλος*, iv. 2) which Herod afterwards converted into the fortress of Antonia (so called by him after Mark Antony) in the NW. corner of the encinte of the temple (*Ant.* xv. 114; *B/v.* 58). Antonia had the form of a square keep, with loftier towers rising pinnacle-like at the corners. It commanded the temple and therefore the whole lower city, and by its two staircases the Roman soldiers descended into the porticoes of the temple to keep order among the worshippers (cp Acts 21:35). [The soldiers in Herod's palace and the towers would be only those which formed the guard of the Roman Procurator.² Another tower built by Herod was Psephinus, § 32 iii.]

When Pompey besieged the temple hill in 65 B.C. the bridge (§ 28) was broken down, and the Tyropæon afforded a complete defence on the W.

29. *Romans.* Pompey's assault was made from the N., where there was a strong wall with towers and a deep fosse which was with difficulty filled up to permit the advance of Pompey's siege train.³ This fosse must be identified with the rock-cut trench N. of the Haram area, and from Josephus's description seems to have been still the northern limit of the town. The walls destroyed by Pompey were restored by Antipater. In 40 B.C. occurred the Parthian occupation of Jerusalem, resulting in the flight of Herod. Three years later the city yielded, after an obstinate resistance, to Herod and the Romans (37 B.C.).⁴ Like Pompey, Herod attacked from the N. The Baris, occupied by Antigonus, was not surrendered till the temple and the

¹ Cp Benzinger, *H. A.* 142 ff., and Buhl, *Pal.* 142.

² See § 21.

³ Sir C. Wilson, Smith's *BD²*, 'Jerusalem,' 1644.

⁴ *Ant.* xiii. 114; *B/v.* 17.

⁵ *Ant.* xiii. 16; *B/v.* 118.

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rest of the city had been carried by storm, and we now read of two walls which had to be reduced successively. [The construction of the temple by Herod (18-16 B.C.)¹ is considered elsewhere (H.E.R.O.D., § 4). He died in 4 B.C. of the usual chronology. Under Archelaus, and afterwards under the Roman procurators, nothing of structural or topographical interest happened at Jerusalem save the building by Pilate of an aqueduct from the Wady 'Arrub to 'Solomon's Pools,' and so to the city and the temple; and the growth of the northern suburb, Bezetha.

The appearance of Jerusalem in the Gospels and Acts repeats some of the general impressions of the city's situation which we have received from

30. The NT. the OT, presents several new features of interest, and raises one or two topographical problems. The nearness of the city to the desert is emphasised (Mt. 3:5-6; Acts 21:38); the mountains are about it (Mt. 21:16 etc.). As the chief actors in the story are now provincials, Jerusalem appears mainly as a place of pilgrimage (the accounts of the Passover in all the gospels; also Lk. 24 Jn. 5:1-7; 7:23-24; 10:22); it is 'the holy city' (Mt. 15:27-28). High over everything else basks the temple, the wonder and admiration of all who visit the city (Mk. 11:17 etc.); beside it neither Herod's buildings nor the walls are thought worthy of notice; David's tomb is mentioned once (Acts 2:29). The Roman occupation is in evidence; the city is the residence of the Procurator with his guard (Mk. 15:6 Jn. 18:28), perhaps in the palace on the W. hill; but his judgment seat (Mt. 27:19 etc.) and a strong garrison are in the Antonia (Acts 21:34-22:4, cp above, § 28) from which stairs descend into the outer court of the temple (Acts 21:38-22:30-23:10). As the central and centre of pilgrimage from all parts of the world, thronged by crowds of many nationalities (Lk. 23:26 Jn. 12:10; Acts 27:11) Jerusalem becomes the headquarters of the infant church (Acts 8:9-11; 13:1; 15:1-2; 21:17); but its aloofness from the world and the decline of its religious supremacy are emphasised by the gradual drift of the story in the Book of Acts down the hills on which the city stood to the Maritime Plain (8:26-9:30; 32 ff. 10 etc.). Even in the Gospels there is an interesting foreshadowing of this decentralisation. Often as Jesus and his disciples are described as resorting to the temple to teach the people (Lk. 21:37 Jn. 5:14-17 etc.), this is the only part of the city mentioned in connection with them (except the Pools of Siloam, Jn. 9:7, and Bethesda, Jn. 5:2 ff.), and we find them far oftener outside the walls. In fact almost for the first time the curtain is lifted on the environs; and we see especially Olivet (Lk. 21:37, 'at night he abode in the mount called of Olives'; 22:10, 'he came out and went as was his wont to the Mt. of Olives'; 22:39 Mt. 26:30 Mk. 14:26 Jn. 8:1-18, 'over the brook Kidron'), the garden there, Gethsemane; the villages Bethphage, Bethany, and Siloam (Lk. 13:4); the roads to Jericho (Lk. 10:3) and Emmaus (Lk. 24:13). The city herself is hostile to Jesus (Mt. 23:37 Lk. 19:34), and the shadow of her doom lies upon her (*ibid.*, etc.).

The main topographical problems are few. The site of BETHESDA (Jn. 5:2, near the sheep-gate; see above, § 24, col. 2424, end) is still doubtful (see above, § 11, col. 2414, end).² On Acceldama and Golgotha see the special articles; on Solomon's Porch (Jn. 10:23 Acts 5:12) and the high priest's palace see TEMPLE; and on the site of GABRIATHA see PRÆTORIUM.

Under Agrippa I., the third wall, to be described immediately, was built. Agrippa II. made in the Upper City an addition to the palace of the Hasmonæans which commanded a view into the interior of the temple courts (*Ant.* xx. 811), and the Jews replied by building higher the western wall of the inner temple court, which also intercepted the view into the outer court of the Roman

¹ The court and cloisters were not completed till 9 B.C.
² We identify with *Beṣṣa* (*Beṣṣa*, etc.) of Jos. *BJ* ii. 13.4, etc., which is explained to mean *καλονομία*, 'new city' (i.e., *בית החדש*, cp also *Offerhaus*: *בית החדש* [*id.*], cited by G. Heitzger, *Lex.*). On Bezetha see above, §§ 9, 23 (end).

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garrison and led to difficulties with Festus. Under Florus the Jews destroyed the cloisters leading from the fortress to the temple (*BJ* ii. 156); but they were rebuilt. The defeat of Cestius Gallus in 66 A.D. proved the strength of the city, and the inhospitality of its surroundings to an invading army.

The walls of the city as they stood at the time of the siege by Titus must now be described. They were three in number.

i. The first wall consisted of a rampart to the N. of Herod's palace, connecting Hippicus in the citadel of the upper city with the western porch of the temple,¹ and in 70 A.D. western hill from Hippicus southward, thence curving round beyond Siloam, and joining the western wall of the temple enclosure at Ophel. Several traces of this wall survive. (Its course from Maudslayi's scarp round the SW. hill and across the mouth of the Tyropoeon was traced by Bliss in the excavations of 1904-07; and its remains, as he appears successfully to prove, are those immediately under the debris, which he assigns to the long interval between the destruction of the wall by Titus and the building of a new wall (the remains of which now lie above the said debris) on the same line by the Empress Eudocia in the fifth century.)

ii. The second wall, connecting a point in the northern line of the first wall with Antonia (§ 28), enclosed the new town or trading quarter. (By occasional excavations in recent years, recorded by Schick, the general course of this wall appears to be now beyond doubt. It must have started from Antonia, S. of the trench which separated the latter from Bezetha (*BJ* v. cp 6 § 2, 7 § 3 and 11 § 4), and have taken at first a westward direction; but it was for long uncertain whether this direction was sustained to the N. or deflected to the S. of the site of the sepulchre church. Schick's observations appear to have proved the latter. A little N.E. of the site of the church the wall turned S. at a right angle, then about 150 yards farther on resumed at a right angle the W. direction to the S. of the site of the church, turning once more S. on the E. of the Pool Amvadalom, and so joining the first wall at, or in the neighbourhood of, Hippicus.)

iii. Outside both these walls, on the hillside sloping southwards towards the temple, had grown up a suburb called Bezetha, which Agrippa I. in the time of Claudius Caesar began to protect with a third wall conceived on a gigantic scale, but never altogether finished. The precise compass of this wall, which began at Hippicus (§ 28), and rejoined the first wall in the Kidron valley, has been much disputed, the great tower of Psephinus, which stood on very high ground, and formed its NW. angle, being supposed by some to have stood near the modern castle of Goliath (Kasr Jālid), whilst others place it as far N. as the Russian cathedral.³

The measurements by which it has been proposed to decide the northern limits of Jerusalem are the distance of 3 stadia from the city to the tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene (commonly identified with the Tombs of the Kings, *Kubur es-Salitin*), and the circuit of 33 stadia assigned by Josephus to the whole city. These measurements would seem to imply that the ancient city stretched farther N. than the modern walls; but they can hardly claim to be taken as mathematically accurate; the estimates of the compass of the city vary, and Eusebius places it at 27 stadia. This again would imply a line closely coincident with the N. wall of the modern town, agreeing with the remains of ancient scarping still visible, and with the express statement of Josephus that the line of the third wall passed through the royal caves—i.e., the catacombs—or the 'Cotton grotto' and 'grotto of Jeremiah' (which are separated by a kind of fosse cut through the live rock, manifestly forming part of the old wall line).

In the siege under Titus the Romans successively carried the third and second walls.⁴ They then occupied Antonia, which was levelled to facilitate the approach of the forces for the attack on the temple stronghold. The temple was opened by fire rather than force, and, the Jewish leaders having

33. Titus. [The northern line of this wall must have run along the N. edge of the SW. hill; *IEP Mem.* 'Jerusalem,' 255; *ZDPV* 8 270 ff.]

¹ Both E. and S. of the sepulchre church Schick has pointed out the old ditch of the wall with remains of the latter in it. E. of the church he has recognised traces of a large tower or castle which, he suggests, may be the site of the Persian governor's seat mentioned in Neh. 3:7 (*ZDPV* 8 259 ff. 114 ff.). Cp Wilson, *Smith's BD* 2, 'Jerus.' 1646.]

² *IEP Mem.* 'Jerus.' 255 ff. 145 ff. 4 ff. *Pfiff.* 1229, pp. 63 ff.; *ZDPV* 117 ff.]

³ The Camp of the Assyrians, the site of a camp of Titus, lay between these walls towards the W.

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retired to the upper city, the lower town from the temple to Shiloah was burned by the Romans. The capture of the upper city was effected by a regular approach with mounds and battering-rams (September 70 A.D.), and even then the huge citadel of Herod could only have yielded to famine had it not been abandoned by the Jewish leaders in a vain attempt at escape (ISRAEL, § 106). Its three great towers, with a portion of the western wall, were left as a memorial, and of this group the so-called tower of David (Phasael) still stands.

The rebuilding of Jerusalem by Hadrian seems to have been conceived in a spirit friendly to the Jews, and there is even some evidence that the

34. Ælia Capitolina. restoration of the temple was contemplated or commenced. After the great revolt (132-135 A.D.), however, Ælia Capitolina was transformed into a purely pagan town with seven quarters and many buildings of heathen fashion.¹ [It was not nearly so large as the Jerusalem of the Herods: the SW. hill lay outside the walls (Jer. *Mic.* 3:12). 'The S. walls appear to have run very nearly on the lines of the present city wall.'²]

The spread of Christianity and the rise of the practice of pilgrimage gave a new importance to the city of the crucifixion and resurrection, and in the time of **35. Christianity.** Constantine the 'discovery' of the Holy Sepulchre and the erection of the magnificent church of the Anastasis (dedicated 336 A.D.), made Jerusalem again a great religious centre. In the pagan reaction under Julian an attempt was made to rebuild the temple; but it was frustrated by an outbreak of fire from the foundations (362). The unfortunate empress Eudocia spent her last years at Jerusalem (about 430-400), built the church of St. Stephen, founded monasteries and hospitals, enriched the churches and above all rebuilt the walls of the city (Evagrius, *HE* 20:23) on the old and wider lines, especially on the S. The Siloam was again included, and is so described by Antoninus Martyr (25), about 600.³ It is in all probability the ruin of Eudocia's wall that Bliss found in his 'upper wall' from Maudslay's scarp to Siloam (see above, § 10 ii. a, 30). The next great builder was Justinian, part of whose splendid church of St. Mary perhaps still remains in, or to the E. of, the mosque el-Aksā. In 614 Jerusalem was taken by Chosroës, and the churches and sepulchre were burned; but the vicar of the exiled patriarch Modestus began to restore them even before the Persians retired. In 628 Heraclius retook the city; but the Christian days were numbered. In 637 Jerusalem capitulated to the caliph 'Omar, who gave directions for the erection of a place of

36. Islam. worship on the site of the 'remotest shrine'—i.e., the temple, to which Mohammed, according to Kor. 17:1, was transported from Mecca in his famous night journey. From this verse the great sanctuary of Jerusalem received the name el-Aksā, now generally confined to the building at the S. end of the Haram. The original mosque as described by Arculfus (670) was a rude edifice of wood capable of containing 3000 worshippers; but, soon after, the sanctuary was reconstructed in a style of great magnificence by the caliph 'Abd el-Malik, whose date (72 A.H. = 691 A.D.) is read in a Cufic inscription on the Dome of the Rock, though the name of the caliph seems to have been changed to that of el-Ma'mūn, who restored the buildings after a great earthquake, which, according to Mokaddasy, left nothing standing except the part around the *mihrāb* or niche indicating the direction of Mecca. In their present condition the buildings of the sanctuary show features of very various styles, from the Byzantine downwards. The architectural problems which they suggest are closely connected with controversies as to the topography of the Temple (q.v.) and the true site of the Holy Sepulchre (see GOLGOTHA). Apart from the question of the holy sites, the later topography of Jerusalem presents no feature that need detain us, and the subsequent fortunes of the city belong to the general history of Palestine and the crusades.

Among the countless volumes on the subject the following may be named as still of use:—Robinson, *BR*, 38, and *LBK*, 52; Tobler, *Zwei Bücher der Topogr. Jerus.* etc., 53.

37. Bibliography. 54; De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, 1860, *Le Temple de Jerus. suivie d'un essai sur la topographie* etc., 1864-5; Neubauer, *Glog. d. Talud*, 63; Guérin, *Judée*, 68-69; Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, 70; *PEFM*, vol. on Jerus., 84; this covers the work to 83; for subsequent work see the *PEFQ*, and the *ZDPV*, 24-1900.

¹ Details in *Chron. Pasch.* Ol. 524 3.

² Bliss, *Excav.* 306.

³ The mosaic plan of Jerusalem discovered at Medeba in 1897 omits the church of St. Stephen and represents the W. wall as turning N.E. after including the church of Mt. Zion on the site of the present Crenaculum. Its date must therefore be earlier than Eudocia. There are also traces upon it of Hadrian's wall excluding the church on Mt. Zion.

JESHIMON

Besant and Palmer, *Hist. of Jerus.*, 88; Benzinger, *HA* § 10:91; Buhl, *Pal.*, 6; Bliss and Dickie, *Excav. at Jerus.*, 91-97, 98; and the articles of Sir Charles Wilson in Smith's *DB*, 1891, and of Col. Conder in Hastings' *DB*, 90. See also Harkness' *Pal.* by Socin and Benzinger, 90, and Murray's by Harkness Smith, 1892. The sources for the Byzantine and Mediaeval topography are found in the volumes of the 'Palestine Pilgrims Text Society'; the Arabic topography in Guy F. Estrange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 1890, but its translations, often freely given, must be used with caution. On modern Jerusalem, besides notices in many of the above-cited works (especially the two guide-books), see *Jerus. the Holy*, by E. Sherman Wallace, U.S. Consul in the city.

G. A. S.-W. R. S., § 1 f., 12-36; C. R. C., § 3-11.

JERUSHA (יְרוּשָׁה), a compound of יְרֻ and שָׁה, the latter perhaps a divine name represented by שָׁה in בְּרֵשִׁית [see BAASHA, n. 1]; so S. A. Cook, *Ezra*, 7:10 526b (99), יְרוּשָׁה [AL], יְרוּשָׁה [Jos. *Ant.* ix. 11 2], bath Zadok, the queen-mother of Jotham, 2 K. 15:33 (יְרוּשָׁה [B], יְרוּ [A])=2 Ch. 27:1 (where יְרוּשָׁה, *Jerushah*, יְרוּשָׁה [B]; possibly as though 'possessed'—i.e., 'married').

JESHAIAH, twice AV *Jesaiiah* (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, § 28, 'Yahwē saves,' the same name as that of the prophet Isaiah (q.v., i. § 1); ωσαϊας [BA], ιεσσειας [NL].

1. AV *JESAJAH* and Pelatiah, sons of Hananiah b. Zerbababel (1 Ch. 3:21 יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, ωσαβα [B], ωσαϊα [A], see [L]); according to Pesh., Vg., he was the son of Pelatiah.

2. A son of (the Merarite) Juduth (1 Ch. 25:315 יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, ωσαϊα, ωσαϊα [B], ωσαϊα, ωσαϊα [A], ωσαϊα [L]); cp 3 and 5 below.

3. A descendant of Moses (1 Ch. 20:25 יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, ωσαϊα [L]) who in 1 Ch. 24:21 appears as ISMAH (q.v.); cp 23:15 17; as a Levite he is probably assigned to Merari; cp 24:21 with 23:17 21.

4. b. Athaliah, one of the clan called B'ne Elam in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1]a), Ezra 8:7 (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, ωσαϊα [B], ωσαϊα [A], ωσαϊας [L])=1 Esd. 8:33 JOSIAS, RV *Jesias* (ωσαϊας [B], ωσαϊα [A]).

5. A Merarite Levite in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1]d), Ezra 8:19 (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, ωσαϊα [A])=1 Esd. 8:48, OSALIAS (om. B), which is based on some such form as ωσαϊας (cp Neh. 12:32). See 2 above.

6. AV *JESAJAH*, a Benjaminite (Neh. 11:7 יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, ωσαϊα [Bb], ωσαϊας [A]).

JESHANAH (יְשָׁנָה; THN KANA [B], THN ANA [A], ιεσσηνα [L], *JESHANAH* [Vg.]), a city taken by Abijah from Jeroboam (2 Ch. 13:19), and doubtless also mentioned in 1 S. 7:12 (critically emended text; see SHEN). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 11 3) calls it *ισαβας*; see also *Ant.* xiv. 15 12, B/ i. 17 5 (*kava*; v. *l. kava*). It is mod. *Ain Sinia*, 3½ m. N. of Bethel, an interesting ancient site (Clerm. Ganneau, *PEFQ*, 77, p. 206, *PEFM* 2:291 302).

JESHARELAH (יְשָׁרְאֵלָה), 1 Ch. 25:14, see ASARELAH.

JESHEBEAB (יְשִׁעְבַּב, 'he brings back a father' [as though יְשִׁעַב and בָּב], § 62; om. B, ιεσβεαβ [AL], *ISRAAB*—L [Vg.], cp Gray, *HPV* 24 יְשִׁעַב [Pesh.]) the name of a priestly course (1 Ch. 24:13). The readings point to an original 'Ishlaal', which has been adopted by K1. (*SHOT*); but it is hardly likely that the Chronicler would give a priest a name compounded with that of the detested Baal. On the other hand, the name may well have been traditional, and perhaps intentionally disguised by the Chronicler (or rather by a later scribe), with the above rather weak result. Cp Oholiab for Oholiab (see OHOLIAH), and see ISRAEL, JASTOBEAM, MEPHIOBETH.

JESHER (יְשִׁרָה [Gi], יְשִׁרָה [B]), cp *JESHURIN*: CAP [L], ωσαϊα [BA], son of CALEB and AZUBAH (q.v.), 1 Ch. 2:18.

JESHIMON. In the six places where AV has Jeshimon as a place-name (Nu. 21:20 23:28 1 S. 23:10 26:13), RV invariably has 'the desert,' while RV¹⁹ has

¹ The passages in sq. brackets are by G. A. S., also the following sections: §§ 2-18, 20, 22, 23 f., 27 iii., 30.

JESHISHAI

retains 'Jeshimon' (יֶשִׁימוֹן, Ἰερήμων [BAFL.] in Nu., τοῦ [Ἰερήμωνος] [BAFL.], [rov] Ἰερήμωνος [L.] in S).

The word *Jeshimon* occurs frequently elsewhere as a common noun (Dt. 32 to Ps. 68 7 [s] 78 4; 100 14 Is. 43 19 etc.) with allusion to the wilderness of Sinai.

The Jeshimon of Nu., which is immediately overlooked by Pisch, is the long tract of barren land N. of the Dead Sea; that of Sam., 'before' which is the hill of Hachilah (see HACHILAH), is the eastern part of the hill-country of Judah. For a vivid sketch of the latter see GASM. *H. 312 f.*, and cp BETH-JESHIMOTH, DESERT, § 2 (2).

JESHISHAI (יֶשִׁישַׁי, 'aged' [ע] [BAFL.], COYCI [L.], JESHISH, om. Pesh.), in a genealogy of GAD (§ 13) (1 Ch. 5:14 f.). שׁ suggests יֶשִׁי—i.e., Jesse.

JESHOSHAI (יֶשִׁוּשַׁי, § 31; one might read JASHOSHAI, 'Yahwē causes to grow,' but this is hardly worth while. The passage contains three kindred names, derived from יֶשִׁי and יֶשִׁע. First comes יֶשִׁוּשַׁי, a corruption of יֶשִׁעִי, Jeshiah; then יֶשִׁעִי, Asah; and lastly יֶשִׁישַׁי, a corruption of יֶשִׁעִי, Masceel, a Simeonite, temp. Hezekiah (1 Ch. 4:36, אסועיה [B.A.], אס. [L.]).

T. K. C.

JESHUA (יֵשׁוּעַ), § 28, 84; יֵשׁוּעַ [BNA], COYA [L.], a place in the list of towns of Judah, Neh. 11:25-30 (see v. 26), and obviously in the extreme S. towards Idom. It is mentioned just before MOLAIAH (q.v.), and is obviously only another form of the SHEMA [i.] of Josh. 15:26, and the SHEVA [i.] of Josh. 19:2.

The most original form is doubtless Shema; *m* became *h*, and *h* became *z* (cp *z* in Jerus. Talm. for *h*; Frankel, *Fortsetzung*, 192), and finally *z* was prefixed by a copyist. The form *Shu'a* or *Shewa* lies probably at the root of the Ar. *Shu'a*, the name of a ruined place situated on a high hill a little more than half-way between Kh. 'Atir (Jatir) and Kh. el-Milly, and due W. of Tell 'Arād. So Knobel in 1861, followed by most commentators. Conder, however, limits the identification to Jeshua (*PEEM* 34-9).

T. K. C.

JESHUA (יֵשׁוּעַ), a later form of JOSHUA (q.v.); cp H'ZAH' 1332 f.; יֵשׁוּעַ [BNAQFL].

1. h. Nun; Neh. 8:17; see JOSHUA.

2. A family of the line Pithath-Moab in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II., §§ 9, 8 c; Ezra 26 (q.v. [BAFL.])=Neh. 7:11 = 1 Esd. 5:11, JESUS.

3. Father of Jozabad, a Levite, Ezra 8:33 = 1 Esd. 8:63; JESU RV JESUS (cp reads Jesus Jozabad).

4. Father of EZER (ruler of Mizpah); Neh. 3:19.

5. Jeshua b. Jehozadak the high priest, who, together with Zerubbabel, is often mentioned in contemporary writings; see Hag. and Zech. 3-6, where, however, his name is uniformly written JOSHUA (יֵהוֹשֻׁעַ). As in Ezra 3:2 f. 43, he is mentioned prominently in connection with the building of the temple; but to other questions Hag. and Zech. unfortunately give no answer. Was he one of the leaders in what is commonly called 'the Return'? (For a discussion of the large question here suggested, see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 7, and cp ZERUB-BABEL.) The 'sons of Jeshua b. Jozadak' were among those who had taken foreign wives (Ezra 10:18). His descendants are traced down to Jaddua (351-331 B.C.) in Neh. 12:10 f. In the Apocryphal books of 1 Esd. and Ecclus. (e.g., 49:12) the name appears regularly as JESUS.

6. 'The house of Jeshua' was a priestly family among whom were incorporated the line Jeshiah (Ezra 2:36 = Neh. 7:30 = 1 Esd. 5:24). To show their antiquity the Chronicler mentions a Jeshua among the representatives of the twenty-four courses instituted by David (1 Ch. 24:11; AV JESHUAH); cp also 2 Ch. 31:15, where Jeshua is a priest of the time of Hezekiah.

7. The line Jeshua and Kadmiel are names of levitical families, Ezra 2:40 (q.v. [BAFL.])=Neh. 7:43 = 1 Esd. 5:24, JESSE, RV JESUS (q.v. [BAFL.], see GENEALOGIES I., § 7 (i.)), and cp HODAVIAH. They both occur together as individual names in Neh. 9:4 f. and 10:9 (to Jeshua b. Azariah), and Jeshua alone in 8:7.

1 RV here wrongly gives 'or Sheba,' as if Sheba were a mere variant of Beersheba.

2 In the case of Jeshua, as with so many post-exilic names, there are numerous instances where identification is out of the question. Indeed, we may plausibly suppose that such a common and reputable name may have served to fill some of the gaps in

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JESHUAH (יֵשׁוּעַ), 1 Ch. 24:11 AV, RV JESHUA (q.v., i. [6]).

JESHURUN, in Is. 41:2 AV JESURUN (יֵשׁוּרֻן, ὁ ἡγαθῶνενος [BAFL. in Dt.], ὁ ἡγαθῶν ἱσραήλ [BAFL.], or [H] 90 144) simply ἱσραήλ [in Is.]; the other Greek versions in Dt. εὐθῆς [Symm., Theod.], in Is. εὐθύτατος or εὐθῆς [Ag., Symm., Theod.]; Pesh., 'Ig. 'Israel'; Vg., Dt. 32 *directus*, Dt. 33 and Is. *directus*; Ar. Walt. *maṣṣun*, 'praised' [Dt. 32:33, but in 33:26 'Israel', Gr. Ven. ἱσραελικὸς = יֵשׁוּרֻן], a poetical name for the people of Israel (Dt. 32:15 33:26 Is. 44:2). From the likeness of the writings in which it occurs Jeshurun might be an artificial formation, designed to represent the ideal of Yahwe's people, viz., righteousness (from יָשָׁר, *yāsar* = upright). This view, however, is not favoured by the use of the term in the above four passages; Jeshurun (if the vowels are right) is nothing more than a synonym for Israel. Late writers had access to and sometimes utilised archaeological facts. It is possible, therefore, that there was a shortened form of the ethnic name Israel, which was not unknown as יֵשָׁר, *yēser* (hence the name of a son of Caleb, 1 Ch. 2:18), but was still better known as יֵשָׁר (vocalised on the analogy of Zebulun, Sīyyun [Zion]) or perhaps rather יֵשָׁר, *Yēser*.

The termination is probably not a diminutive (Ges., with Gr. Ven. [above]), but indicates that the bearer of the name belongs to a certain category (Kon. *Lehrgeb.* 24 405); Yēser will mean one who belongs to or represents the ethnic category of Yēser. Whether Yēser originally conveyed the idea of righteousness or (cp *z*) prosperity, we cannot tell. In later times it may very well have done so; the name יֵשָׁר, when its real origin (see JACOB, § 6) had been forgotten, may have been explained by יֵשָׁר, 'God's righteous one.' See JASHAR, BOOK OF, § 4, and cp Bacher, *ZATW* 5:161 f. ('85); G. Hoffmann, *ib.* 16:218 ('96).

T. K. C.

JESIAH (יֵשִׁיָּה), 1 Ch. 12:6 AV; (יֵשִׁיָּה) 1 Ch. 23:20 AV; RV. ISSIAH (q.v., 2 4).

JESIAS (εἰς [B] etc.), 1 Esd. 8:33, RV = Ezra 8:7, JESHIAH, 4.

JESIMIEL (יֵשִׁמְיֵאל [C'nsb.], or יֵשִׁמְיֵאל [Ba.]; the text seems wrong; but see NAMES, § 31, where יֵשִׁמְיֵאל is favoured; cp *z* *z* *z* *z* [B?], *z* *z* *z* [AL.]; see JESHOSHAI), a Simeonite, temp. Hezekiah (1 Ch. 4:36).

T. K. C.

JESSE (יֵשָׁע, § 52; contracted from יֵשָׁעִי [see NAMES, § 52]; or from אֲבִישַׁי, ABISHAI? cp Icabod from Abi-cabod [so Marquart, *Fundamente*, 24; see also *Ezra* 7:10 526 a ('99)]; for another view see JEREBEL; in many MSS of 1 Ch. 2:13 יֵשָׁע; יֵשָׁע [BAFL.], אסאי [S], son of Obed and father of David (see DAVID, § 1).

JESSE (יֵשָׁע [B], יֵשָׁע [A]), 1 Esd. 5:26 = Ezra 2:4, JESHUA II., 7.

JESU (יֵשָׁע [B], יֵשָׁע [A]), 1 Esd. 8:63 = Ezra 8:33, JESHUA II., 3.

JESUI (יֵשָׁע), Nu. 26:44; Jesuite (יֵשָׁע), *ibid.* See ISHVI.

JESURUN (יֵשִׁרֻן), Is. 41:2, RV JESHURUN (q.v.).

JESUS (יֵשָׁע [BAFL.]), the Greek form of JOSHUA and JESHUA.

1. See JOSHUA [i.].

2. 1 Esd. 5:11 = Ezra 2:4, JESHUA II., 2.

3. 1 Esd. 8:63 = Ezra 8:33, JESHUA II., 3.

4. Ecclus. 49:12 etc. See JESHUA II., 5.

named-lists which must often have troubled the Chronicler. The priestly ABISHUA (?) is perhaps related to Jeshua in the same way as Abisaph to ASAPH (q.v., 3); cp GENEALOGIES I., § 7 (iii. c. n.).

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5. 1 Esd. 5:24 = Ezra 2:36, JESHAIAH ii, 6.
6. 1 Esd. 5:26 RV = Ezra 2:40, JESHAIAH ii, 7.
7. Father of Sirach. See ECCLESIASTICUS, § 2.
8. Son of Sirach. See ECCLESIASTICUS, § 2.
9. A name in the genealogy of Jesus, Lk. 3:29 (AV JOSE). See GENEALOGIES ii, § 3 f.
10. See JUSTUS.

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| Sources, §§ 1-4. | Conflicts with Judaism, § 22 ff. |
| Primitive Tradition, § 5 ff. | Messianic Ideal, § 26 f. |
| Preaching Ministry, § 9 f. | Passion Week, § 28 ff. |
| Teaching, § 11 ff. | The Future, § 32 f. |
| Healing Ministry, § 19 ff. | Literature, § 34. |

Jesus Christ, the author and object of the Christian faith, a Jew by race, was born in Palestine towards the end of the reign of Herod the Great (CHRONOLOGY, § 57 ff.). The home of his childhood was NAZARETH, a town in the lower division of the province of GALILEE (§ 5). The family to which he belonged was of humble estate. In early youth he worked at a handicraft (see JOSEPH [husband of Mary], § 9). On arriving at mature manhood he became a public teacher, rapidly gained fame, gathered about him disciples, offended the ruling classes by free criticism of the prevailing religion, and ended a brief but extraordinary career by suffering crucifixion.

This short summary of facts is taken from those books in the NT which bear the name of Gospels, and are our main source of information for the history of Jesus. These documents are of varying value from a historical point of view. Critical opinion is much divided as to the fourth, that which bears the name of John, the judgment of many critics being that it is the least trustworthy as a source whether for the words or for the acts of Jesus. By comparison, the first three, from their resemblances called synoptical, are regarded by many as possessing a considerable measure of historical worth. But even these, from a critical point of view, are not of equal value, nor do the contents of any one of them possess a uniform degree of historic probability. They present to the critic a curious, interesting, and perplexing problem still far from final solution. By their resemblances and differences, agreements and disagreements, they raise many questions as to origin, relative dates, and literary connections, which have called forth a multitude of conflicting hypotheses and a most extensive critical literature. In the present state of the inquiry a dogmatic tone is inadmissible. All that one may do with propriety is to indicate what he regards as the most plausible opinion. We are concerned with the question here only in as far as is necessary to explain and justify the method on which the public life of Jesus is dealt with in this article.

We may regard *Mt.* as the oldest of the synoptical Gospels, and in its leading contents the nearest to the primitive tradition.

3. Mark (and Luke). In its present form, or in an earlier shape, it appears to have been the main source of the narrative parts of the other two Gospels. In many sections the style is suggestive of an eye-witness, so as to make the reader feel that he is in contact with the ultimate source of the evangelic tradition, the oral narratives of the companions of Jesus. As reported by Eusebius (*HE* 3:39), Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, writing about 125 A.D., described Mark as the *interpreter* (*ἑρμηνεύς*) of Peter, which probably means that he helped the apostle to put what he had to say into Greek or Latin.¹ Internal evidence supports the hypothesis of such a connection between much of the material in the second Gospel and one of the men who had been with Jesus, and with none of them more probably than with Peter as he is represented in the evangelic tradition. This Gospel is full of realisms. Its graphic style has often been remarked on. But it is not a question of merely pictorial narrative. The phenomena to be noted are descriptions to the life,

¹ See Sanday, *Bampton Lectures* for 1893, p. 280.

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vivid presentations of a striking personality, words and acts reported just as they must have been said and done, because they had impressed themselves indelibly on the ear and eye of the reporter. What specially makes for the hypothesis of an eye-witness, and generally for the primitive character of Mk.'s reports, is the disregard manifest in them of conventional considerations of the fitting and edifying. The influence of such considerations is traceable in the other two Synoptists especially in *Lk.* In the third Gospel Jesus is the *Lord* (about a dozen times so named in narrative where Mt. and Mk. have *Jesus*), and it is never for a moment forgotten what religious decorum demand in recording the words and acts of so august a personage. For this *Lk.* may in part be personally responsible, but probably not altogether. The decorum of his narrative reflects the reverence of the early church for its risen and exalted Head, the writer's deference thereto showing itself in the omission of some things reported in the primitive tradition and in the putting of other things in a modified way. This reverence and its controlling influence would grow with time. The absence of that influence from Mk.'s narrative as evinced by the realism, of which examples will be given as we proceed, is an index at once of antiquity and of first-hand sources of information. Peter doubtless shared the reverence of the church for its Lord. But Peter had seen and heard, and the vivid sense of the unique reality overpowered all considerations of what was becoming, such as might naturally weigh with those who had not seen or heard but drew their information mainly from documents. And so we see in Mk., containing, according to Papias, the report of Peter's recollections, the real man Jesus, without the aureole of faith around his head, yet with a glory of truth, wisdom, and goodness the better seen on that very account.

The informant who tells of Mark's connection with Peter says, also, that Matthew wrote a book of *Logia* (*τὰ λόγια συνευρηγμένα*, Eus. *HE* 3:30).

4. Matthew (and Luke). Most modern critics treat this statement with respect, but few identify the *Logia* of Papias, written (as he states) in the Hebrew tongue, with our Canonical Mt., even to the extent of seeing in the latter a simple translation into Greek of the Hebrew original. The prevailing and intrinsically reasonable opinion is that the book of the publican apostle was the source whence the author of our Mt. drew the words or discourses of Jesus so amply reported in his Gospel. He, and also the author of *Lk.*; for in the didactic element there is much common to the first Gospel and the third, though the latter contains a considerable amount of peculiar material which may have been derived from a different source. The common matter is given in such varied forms and connections in the two Gospels as to suggest either various redactions of the source or very free use by one or both Evangelists. How variations might arise is easily conceivable. Collections of the words of Jesus were not made in a purely historical or antiquarian spirit. They met the demand of disciples for Christian instruction, for words of the Master by which they might guide their lives. The practical aim would influence the form and the collection of the *Logia* as used by preachers and catechists. The words of the Lord Jesus would almost involuntarily undergo modification to suit actual circumstances. This process has gone farthest in *Lk.* Besides the influence of *decorum* already touched upon, we note in *Lk.*'s report of the words of Jesus, as compared with Mt.'s, a certain indifference to the historical setting, to the actual circumstances under which and with reference to which Jesus spoke, a disregard of the religious antitheses of the time, and a translation of the sayings into terms, and an ideal transposition to a time which fit them for the present use of the Church. The 'Sermon on the Mount' in *Lk.*'s report is virtually a discourse of the

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exalted Lord to a Christian congregation, edited either by the Evangelist or by another in that view. Having regard to this broad contrast between the first Gospel and the third, we can have no difficulty in giving to the former the preference as to comparative originality. Neither may give the *ipsissima verba*; but on the whole Mt. comes nearer them than Lk.

From the foregoing statement it follows that the narratives common to Mt., Mk., and Lk., and the discourses common to Mt. and Lk., may with a considerable measure of confidence be regarded as a trustworthy tradition concerning the ministry of Jesus. They represent the oldest, comparatively primitive, tradition, and as such must form the basis of a statement concerning that ministry professing to be guided by a critical method. They relate exclusively to the public life, passing over in silence almost unbroken the childhood and early youth.

According to this primitive tradition, the public career of Jesus began when another remarkable man was performing the part of a prophet in the wilderness of Judaea: a man of austere ascetic life, symbolising the severity of his attitude as a moral critic of his time; preaching to all classes the necessity of repentance, and baptizing in the Jordan such as received his message as the voice of God—hence known as the 'Baptist' (see *Isaiah*, § 92). Jesus came from Nazareth (Mk. 10) to see and hear John, and, like the others, received baptism at his hands (see *Jordan*, § 2), a fact stated by Mk. without note or comment, by Mt. in a way implying that it needed explanation, by Lk. (in a participial clause) as a subordinate incident. Expositors and theologians have endeavoured to explain the significance of this event. It meant this at least: that Jesus felt a deep sympathetic interest in John's work. The visit to the Jordan helps us to look back into the silences of Nazareth; it is a window into the mind of Jesus. John, we gather, was a great man for him. So he confessed at a subsequent time (Mt. 11.11), and what he said then shows what he had thought before he left the seclusion of Nazareth. To be baptized by such a man was a suitable start for his own ministry. It was a public intimation of moral solidarity. How far his tendencies, methods, and habits agreed with or differed from those of the prophet of the wilderness would appear in due course; it was well, to begin with, that fundamental sympathy should be at once made manifest.

How long Jesus remained in the region environing the lower part of the Jordan and the Dead Sea is uncertain. Mk. states that he returned to Galilee after John had been 'delivered up' (that is, thrown into prison by Herod, tetrarch of Galilee: see Mk. 6.14-29). All three Synoptists make mention of a retirement into the remoter inhospitable wilderness of Judaea, and of an experience of moral trial there, familiarly known as *the Temptation*. The bare fact (intrinsically credible) is stated by Mk., without the symbolic representation given in the parallel accounts; but the impulse to this withdrawal into solitude is very realistically described by him, as a being *driven* by the Spirit into the desert (1.12), which, as external force is not to be thought of, speaks of intense mental preoccupation.

At length Jesus, with clarified vision and confirmed will, returned to Galilee, the main theatre of his future work as we know it from the oldest tradition,¹ there to enter on activities which have won for him a unique place in the history of the world. It does not clearly appear from Mk.

6. Primitive tradition. concerning the ministry of Jesus. They represent the oldest, comparatively primitive, tradition, and as such must form the basis of a statement concerning that ministry professing to be guided by a critical method. They relate exclusively to the public life, passing over in silence almost unbroken the childhood and early youth.

6. John the Baptist. According to this primitive tradition, the public career of Jesus began when another remarkable man was performing the part of a prophet in the wilderness of Judaea: a man of austere ascetic life, symbolising the severity of his attitude as a moral critic of his time; preaching to all classes the necessity of repentance, and baptizing in the Jordan such as received his message as the voice of God—hence known as the 'Baptist' (see *Isaiah*, § 92). Jesus came from Nazareth (Mk. 10) to see and hear John, and, like the others, received baptism at his hands (see *Jordan*, § 2), a fact stated by Mk. without note or comment, by Mt. in a way implying that it needed explanation, by Lk. (in a participial clause) as a subordinate incident. Expositors and theologians have endeavoured to explain the significance of this event. It meant this at least: that Jesus felt a deep sympathetic interest in John's work. The visit to the Jordan helps us to look back into the silences of Nazareth; it is a window into the mind of Jesus. John, we gather, was a great man for him. So he confessed at a subsequent time (Mt. 11.11), and what he said then shows what he had thought before he left the seclusion of Nazareth. To be baptized by such a man was a suitable start for his own ministry. It was a public intimation of moral solidarity. How far his tendencies, methods, and habits agreed with or differed from those of the prophet of the wilderness would appear in due course; it was well, to begin with, that fundamental sympathy should be at once made manifest.

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8. Public career. At length Jesus, with clarified vision and confirmed will, returned to Galilee, the main theatre of his future work as we know it from the oldest tradition,¹ there to enter on activities which have won for him a unique place in the history of the world. It does not clearly appear from Mk.

¹ We might say the exclusive theatre, were it not for a few incidents connected with the final journey to Jerusalem through Peraea (little children brought to Jesus, man seeking eternal life with relative conversation, two sons of Zebedee, blind man at Jericho). Mk. makes Jesus *teach* multitudes in Peraea (10.1); Mt. makes him *heal* (10.2). There are rudimentary indications of a Samaritan ministry in Lk. (in the long insertion

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whether he chose any particular spot as the centre from which his activity was to radiate. It is certain that Nazareth was no such centre. With the exception of an occasional visit, his native town (but see *NAZARETH*) was henceforth forsaken for other scenes more suitable or more sympathetic. Among these a prominent place belongs to Capernaum, a thriving populous town on the shore of the Lake of Galilee.

The public ministry of Jesus presents four broad aspects: (1) a preaching ministry among the people at large; (2) a teaching ministry among disciples; (3) a healing ministry; (4) a prophetic or critical ministry antagonistic to current conceptions and embodiments of righteousness.

1. The chief scene of the first form of ministry, the *κῆρυγμα*, was the *synagogue*. On his way northwards from the Jordan Jesus at length arrived at Capernaum, and 'straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue and taught' (Mk. 1.21). Shortly thereafter he set out on a preaching tour through the towns of Galilee (1.39). Here one of Mk.'s realisms occurs. Jesus appears in his narrative making a slight from Capernaum in the grey dawn while all are asleep, possibly 'a slight from the unexpected reality into which his ideal conception of his calling had brought him' (Holtzmann, *Handcomm.* *zum NT*), certainly an escape from sudden entangling popularity to similar service elsewhere. 'For this end I left' (Capernaum), said Jesus simply, in self-defence, to disciples who had pursued him (1.38). In Lk.'s version slight is eliminated, and a reference to his divine mission is substituted for an apology for slight (4.43).

Of this synagogue-ministry no detailed record has been preserved. Not a single specimen of the brief striking synagogue addresses of Jesus is to be found in the Gospels—at least there is none under that name: it is possible that some discourses—e.g., the beautiful exhortation against earthly care (Mt. 6.25-34 Lk. 12.22-34)—assigned to other occasions—were really delivered in synagogues. Lk. has given us the text, and a general characterisation, of one synagogue address—that delivered in Nazareth (4.18-22). If, as without sufficient reason some suspect, his account be unhistorical, it is to say the least, a felicitous invention. The text from the Book of Isaiah (61.1 f.) is thoroughly typical of the religious attitude and spirit of Jesus, and the expression 'words of grace' (*λόγους τῆς χάριτος*) is doubtless most apt, whether we take it as applying to the manner or to the substance of the discourse. Lk.'s account of the appearance of Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth is meant, and it is fit, to be a symbolic programme of his whole preaching ministry. Mk.'s contribution to the characterisation of the synagogue-*kerugma* is a report of the impression made by what was probably the first appearance of Jesus as a speaker in a synagogue, that in Capernaum. They exclaimed, he tells (1.27). What is this, a new doctrine (*διδασκαλίη*)? and he explains that the novelty was that Jesus spake not as the scribes, who appealed to authorities, but as himself having authority: with the confidence of personal insight and with the authority of self-evidencing truth.

Mk. makes a general preliminary statement about the preaching ministry in Galilee which may be viewed as covering the synagogue preaching: 'Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the Gospel' (1.14 f.). Hence it may

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be inferred that the constant theme of the *kerugma* was the kingdom of God, that the kingdom was presented as a boon rather than as a demand; as good news (*εὐαγγέλιον*) not as awful news—the aspect under which it appeared in the preaching of John; and that the summons of the preacher was not merely to repentance, but above all to *faith*—i.e., make the good news welcome. The statement is summary, and its language may be secondary, coloured somewhat by the dialect of a later time; but even in that case we are not left without a clue to the general tenor of Jesus' popular discourses. We might rather it from a saying whose authenticity is as certain as its import is significant: 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners' (Mk 2:17 Mt 9:13 Lk 5:12). The value of this declaration lies in this, that, whilst spoken with reference to a particular occasion, it indicates a habitual attitude, a fixed policy. Jesus addressed himself by preference to those who could not be regarded as in the conventional sense exemplary. The chosen audience reflects light on the nature of the message. It was good tidings even to the ignorant, the erring, the fallen, the outcast, hinting that the past might be forgiven and forgotten, and that the future offered great possibilities. What hope-inspiring ideas of God and man and their relations underlay such teaching!¹ The occasion on which the saying was uttered also throws a contributory light on the nature of the Galilean Gospel. Jesus had been eating with 'publicans and sinners,' and was on his defence for that act. In this connection the term 'call' must bear the special sense of an invitation to an entertainment. Lk.'s gloss 'to repentance' restricts and even obscures the meaning. The kingdom, as Jesus preached it, was a feast, and his call was a generous invitation to come and enjoy its good things.

In his popular addresses Jesus would make free use of parables. He spoke in parables to all classes, but especially to the people. 'Without

10. Parables. parable he was not wont to speak to them' (Mk 4:34). And of course the aim of the parabolic method of instruction, in as far as it had a conscious aim and was not the spontaneous outcome of natural genius, was to popularise the truths of religion: simplification with a view to enlightenment. In the conversation between Jesus and his disciples after the utterance of the parable of the sower, as reported by all the Synoptists, an opposite purpose, that of keeping the people in darkness, seems to be avowed by the preacher. It is not credible, however, that Jesus would either cherish or avow such an inhuman intention, though it is credible that in the bitterness of his disappointment at the meagre fruit of his popular ministry he might express himself in a way that might be misunderstood, on the principle of reading intention in the light of result.² None of the parables preserved in the Gospels is expressly connected with synagogue addresses, with the doubtful exception of *the mustard seed* and *the leaven* (Lk 13:18-21, cp v. 10). *The treasure and the pearl* (Mt 13:44-46) may be a pair of parabolic gems (setting forth the absolute worth of the kingdom of heaven) whose original setting was in such an address; and the exquisite parables concerning the pleasure of finding things lost (Mt 18:12-14 Lk 15) may have been first uttered on a similar occasion, unless we suppose that the original place of these parables was in an address to the publicans gathered together in the house of Matthew (Mk 2:15-17, and parallels). The collection of parabolic utterances preserved in the Gospels is so large and varied that there is little room for complaint that it is not still larger; yet one cannot but reflect what a rich addition to the evangelic *memorabilia* a verbatim report of the

¹ That *faith* occupied a prominent place in the religious idea of Jesus appears from the incidents of the centurion (Mt 8:5-13), the woman with an issue (Mk 5:25-34 and parallels), and the Syro-Phoenician woman (Mk 7:24-30 Mt 15:21-28). See Farrar.
² On this, see Jälicher, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, 131-149, also *Evangel. d. NT*, 228.

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parables spoken on the Galilean preaching tour would have been.

2. *The teaching* (διδασκῆ) or instruction given to disciples (μαθηταί).—That Jesus aimed at gathering about him a circle of disciples who

11. Teaching. should be constantly, or at least much, in his company is one of the most certain data of the primitive tradition. He began the process of selection very early (Mk 1:16-20 Mt 4:18-22), having some disciples to accompany him on his first Galilean preaching tour. He meant to make the selected ones—or at least the inner circle of them—in his own happy, unforgettable phrase, 'fishers of men,' a playful allusion to the secular occupation of those first chosen. The aim involved, of course, special instruction, and that demanded leisure. The desire of Jesus to get leisure for uninterrupted intercourse with his disciples, and more particularly with the body of twelve which, according to the testimony of all the evangelists, he formed out of a larger company of followers, is specially apparent in Mk. Through his preaching and healing ministries, the fame of Jesus rapidly rose to such a pitch that wherever he went large masses of people gathered round him, masses too large for any synagogue to hold, so that perforce he had to become a street or field preacher. The work was not un congenial; but, in the tropical climate of the lake shore, it was fatiguing, and withal it was unsatisfactory. Much sowing, little fruit; such was the feeling of the preacher, as expressed in the parable of *the Sower*, which is a critical review of the early Galilean ministry. Unwearied in well-doing, Jesus yet began to feel with increasing depth of conviction that, if anything was to come of his labours, he must find time and opportunity for careful initiation of the few more intelligent and susceptible hearers, that continuing in his word they might become disciples indeed, and by insight into truth become enlightened, free, and apt to teach others. Mk. more than any other evangelist shows Jesus making repeated earnest efforts in this direction, fleeing from the crowd, as it were, in quest of rest and leisure for the higher work. The ascent to the hill-top (3:13) was such a flight. The voyage towards the eastern shore on the day of the parabolic discourse from a boat was another. The undisguised manner in which Mk. allows this to appear in his narrative is a good instance of his realism: 'They [the disciples] take him with them, as he was in the ship' (4:36), *sine apparatu* (Bengel) and *sine mora*. Here was flight along the only line of retreat, the shore being besieged by the vast crowd, and not easy even along that line, some of the people having got into boats to be nearer the speaker (4:36). The voyage towards Bethsaida at the north-western corner of the lake, after the return of the twelve from their apprentice mission (6:32), was a third (unsuccessful) attempt at escape. The long excursions to the north, into the regions of Tyre and Sidon and Caesarea Philippi (7:24-37), were likewise flights, endeavours to escape both from friends and from foes; more successful because taking the fugitives outside the boundaries of Israel, or into a borderland where Jesus and his work were comparatively unknown.

In connection with the first and the last of these retirements some of the most important parts of the

12. The didachē of Jesus were communicated to his disciples. With the ascent to the hill is connected the great 'Sermon on the Mount,' unreported by Mk., preserved by Mt. and Lk. in very diverse forms, yet withal so like as to leave no reason for doubt as to their identity. Which of the two reports comes nearest to the original, and whether both do not diverge therefrom widely in different directions, are questions which cannot be discussed here (see GOSPELS). The two points which we are concerned to emphasise are: (1) that the discourse was *didachē*, disciple-instruction, possibly with none

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present but disciples, though that is not made clear in either narrative, and therefore might more appropriately be called *The Teaching on the Hill* than *The Sermon on the Mount*; and (2) that this teaching was given during a season of leisure, *probably lasting for days*. The latter point has a most important bearing on the question of the muty of the discourse as given in Mt. If we assume that it was delivered all in one gush, and on a single theme—say the antithesis between Pharisaic righteousness and the righteousness of the kingdom as conceived by Jesus—then certain portions must be eliminated as irrelevant, e.g., The Lord's Prayer (6.9-13) and the counsel against cate (6.25-34).¹ But if the teaching on the hill continued for days, with different themes for each day, then the muty must be understood in a wide sense, and Mt.'s version of the 'sermon' may be a substantially correct summary of what Jesus said on various topics not closely connected with one another.²

The teaching on the hill as reported in Mt. affords large insight into the thoughts of Jesus on the essentials of religion: God, man, the kingdom of God, the righteousness of God.

Jesus taught no abstract doctrine concerning God, or indeed on any subject. He did not say, 'God must be thought of as Father,' and then proceed to explain what the title meant. He simply used the new name and defined as he

13. Idea of God.

went along by discriminating use. The title 'Father' is applied to God no less than fifteen times in the sermon, most suggestively, so as to ascribe to him by implication a universal and a special providence (5.45, 6.12), benignant and magnanimous in its action, doing good even to the unthankful and the evil (5.45), a perfect ethical nature whose perfection consists in gracious unmerited love (5.46-48), a spirit delighting in mercy and ready to forgive, and desiring the same spirit to rule in the hearts of those who have the supreme honour to be called God's children (6.14 f.), an eye that carefully notes the most secret devout acts of the sincere and humble worshipper (6.14-18), an ear that hears their prayers, and a heart that is inclined to grant all the good desired or needed (7.11).

That Jesus did not employ this new name for God simply under the instinctive guidance of a happy religious genius, but with full consciousness and deliberate purpose, is intrinsically probable, and is attested by a remarkable word ascribed to him in the evangelic tradition, and preserved in substantially the same terms in the first and third Gospels: 'No one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither knoweth any one the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son is pleased to reveal him' (Mt. 11.27 Lk. 10.22). In view of the statement in Lk.'s preface as to the method on which he compiled his Gospel, a sober criticism will not readily acquiesce in the theory that the passage in which this text is embedded is a free poetical composition by the evangelist in the spirit of Plinianism, and that it was borrowed from him by the author of the canonical Mt. writing at a later date.³ It is much more probable that both evangelists found it in a common source containing a collection of the sayings of Jesus, either in the form which it assumes in extant MSS, or in that current among the gnostics: 'No one knew the Father save the Son, and the Son save the Father and he to whom the Son shall reveal.' Under either form the Logion implies a peculiar relation, if not to God, at least to the conception of God as Father, that of one who claimed to have given currency to the name.

¹ So Weiss in his *Matthäus-Evangelium*, and in his edition of Meyer's *Comm. on Matthew*.

² This view is taken by Lutheroth (*Essai d'Interpretation de quelques parties de l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu*). He takes καθ' ἑαυτοὺς (5.1) in the sense of camping out (*camping*). He points to Acts 17.11 and Lk. 24.49 as instances of the use of the word in a kindred sense.

³ So Pfleiderer in *Urchristentum*.

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The whole section Mt. 11.25-30 was probably a muty, which Lk. (10.21 f.) for some reason gives only a fragment. In favour of this view is the resemblance it bears to the prayer of Jesus in the Gospel of St. John (14.13), which, like it, begins with a prayer and ends with an invitation, in the name of wisdom, to come and receive instruction. This resemblance has been used as an argument against the genuineness of the Logion 'come unto me' (Pfleiderer, *Urchrist*, 303). But it is perfectly conceivable that Jesus was acquainted with St. John, and that his utterance was coloured by the language of its closing sentences. This view meets the objection taken to the Logion on the ground of the self-designation in some of its expressions (Marthean, *Seat of Authority in Religion*, 277-281). When he says, 'I am meek and lowly,' Jesus of Nazareth speaks in the name of wisdom (one of his self-designations according to Kesch, *Logos*, 27 f.), as the earlier Jesus had spoken before him.

Jesus taught his doctrine of man on the same method of incidental suggestion. He asserted the worth of

14. Idea of man.

man by comparisons sometimes pathetically and even humorously understating the truth, in one instance sublimely adequate. A man is better, greater, of more worth to God, and to himself, thinking rightly, than a bird (Mt. 6.26), a sheep (Mt. 12.12), yea, than the whole world (Mk. 8.36). The truth implied is that the things compared are really incommensurable. It is a Hebrew way of asserting the ideal, absolute worth of humanity, a method applied in the Epistle to the Hebrews to Christianity, which is declared to be better in various respects than the Levitical religion, when what is meant is that it is the absolute, perfect, therefore eternal, religion. Man's incomparable dignity in the teaching of Jesus rests on the fact that he is a son of God, not merely a creature, whether small as a bird or great as a world; a son indefinitely, whether good or evil, just or unjust (Mt. 5.13). By this lofty conception of man's relation to God, rather than by expressed statement or laboured argument, Jesus brought immortality to light. 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living,' he said (Mt. 22.32). *A fortiori* he would have said: 'God is not the Father of the dead, but of the living.'

Not to be overlooked even in a summary statement of Christ's teaching concerning man is his assertion of the rights of woman, in connection with

15. Woman.

married relations (Mt. 5.31 f., cp. 19.2-9 Mk. 10.2-12). The Jewish doctors of the time for the most part accepted the old Hebrew notion of a wife as property bought and sold, and to be put away at the pleasure of her husband. But they were zealous to have the bill of divorce (Dt. 24.1) in due form, that the woman might be able to show that she was free to marry again, and doubtless they flattered themselves that they were thereby defending the rights of women. Jesus asserted a more radical right of woman—not to be put away, except when she put herself away by unfaithfulness. He thus raised anew the prophetic cry 'I hate putting away' (Mal. 2.16). It was an act of humanity of incalculable value to the highest interests of the race, as well as an act of heroic courage.

By his friendly relations with the 'publicans and sinners' Jesus gave a practical and impressive expression of his doctrine of man. The

16. Outcasts.

great social gathering of the outcasts in Capernaum (Mk. 2.15-17 and parallels) brought together by Levi or Matthew, called doubtless for that immediate local service, as well as for the ulterior wider service of the apostleship, was a concrete assertion of the great truth that a man at the worst is still a man, and a son of God, and that all superficial cleavages of race, descent, colour, occupation, or even character, are of small account in comparison with that which is common to all humanity, the soul.

The so-called feast in Levi's house cannot have been merely a private entertainment given by the newly called disciple to as many of his old comrades as his dining chamber would accommodate. All the evangelists say that there were many present. Lk.'s expression is 'a great crowd' (ὄχλος πολλός). The meeting was probably in the court around which the buildings of an eastern house of any size are arranged, and of the dimensions of a congregation rather than of a dinner party. Jesus was the prime mover in the matter, and Levi merely

his agent. It was a deliberate attempt on Christ's part to get into personal contact with the social outcasts of Capernaum.

By these kindred ideas of God and man and their relations Jesus became inevitably the founder of a universal religion, however narrow the limits within which his own ministry was restricted. Those who, like Baur¹ and Weissacker, have interpreted his teaching in a universal sense have most truly divined his innermost thoughts.

In setting forth the *summum bonum* as the kingdom of God Jesus poured his new wine into a very old linguistic skin. But that the wine, the idea connected with the phrase, was new, the parables of the new wine and the new piece of cloth (Mk. 2:21 f. and parallel) suffice to prove.

17. Kingdom of God.

The kingdom he preached was ethical, spiritual, (and therefore) universal in character; not political, theocratic, national; at least national only to those cherishing current Jewish expectations. The Beatitudes, which form the sublime introduction to the Teaching on the Hill, in either version of them, amply bear out this assertion. Obviously so in Mt.'s version, really so also, though not so obviously, in Lk.'s. Jesus may have said: 'Blessed [ye] poor,' as Lk. reports, and the reporter may have understood the term 'poor' chiefly in a social sense; but it does not follow that his understanding in this case, any more than in the case of the saying, 'I came not to call the righteous,' exhausted the Teacher's meaning. Jesus used words in a pregnant sense, and in his mind the natural and the spiritual lay close together: witness the saying: 'few things (dishes) are needful, or (rather) one' (thing)—*i.e.*, the food that endures for ever—Lk. 10:41 f. The high ideal of man links together in his thought the social and the spiritual. The poor man passes into the blessedness of the kingdom whenever he realises what man is or may be. Poor in purse or even in character, no man is beggared who has a vision of man's chief end and good. If this be idealism, then Jesus was an idealist. He was also a poet, and words were symbols for him of thoughts which no words could adequately express. To make him the herald of a theocratic particularistic kingdom of Israel is to bring him down from these lofty regions to the low level of dull prosaic commonplace.²

The kingdom of God, or of heaven, as it is usually designated in the first Gospel, while in its ultimate significance implying a high ideal of life, sonship and a heroic career rife with tribulation (Mt. 5:10-12) is in its initial aspect, as already indicated, a boon rather than a demand. Seek ye the kingdom (as the highest good), said the Master to his disciples (Mt. 6:33). It is to be sought as the *summum bonum*, in preference to the temporal good above which Pagan aspiration rarely rises (Mt. 6:32). It is the bread which perisheth not, the raiment which waxeth not old, the treasure which cannot be stolen (Lk. 12:33). The quest of this supreme good, in singleness of mind, is ever successful. 'Seek, and ye shall find' (Mt. 7:7). And the quest is the noblest of human endeavours. He who so seeks the highest good fulfils at the same time the highest duty of man. In this coincidence of the chief good with the chief end lies the unique distinction of the Christian religion as expounded by its Founder.

Jesus carefully explained his conception of the *ethical ideal*, both by positive statements and by keen caustic criticism of the system of religion and morals prevalent among the Jews in his time. Among the statements a foremost

18. Ethical ideal.

¹ Baur's view of the religion of Jesus as spiritual and universal is entirely independent of his theory as to the indebtedness of Jesus for these characteristics of his teaching to Greek philosophy and Roman world-wide empire. We may hold aloof from this theory, yet accept his view of the essential characteristics of the Christianity of Christ.

² This prosaic view pervades the treatment of Christ's teaching in all the works of Dr. Bernhard Weiss.

place belongs to the golden rule, 'what you wish me to do to you do ye to them' (Mt. 7:12), for which analogies can be found in other religions, but with this difference, that, whilst in the teaching of Jesus the rule assumes a positive form, in all other known instances it is given negatively. So in the saying 'Love ye your neighbour as yourself' (Lk. 19:18). The negative confines us to the region of justice; the positive takes us into the region of generosity, for we wish more than we can claim, or than the average man is willing to do to others. Jesus would have a disciple to be not merely *dikaios* but *agathos*, spontaneously doing to others all that a spirit of magnanimity prompts. The golden rule covers only the duties arising out of human relations. The summary of duty, 'Love God with all your heart, and your neighbour as yourself'—given in answer to a question at a later time (Mk. 12:28-31), covers the whole ground of obligation. Thus we have religion and morality blended in one ideal as of co-ordinate importance, a combination not lying to the hand in the OT—the two great commandments, though both in the law, are not given in one place (Mt. 6:19 f. Lk. 19:18) and still less in accordance with the spirit of the time. In Rabbinism ritual was before morality, and the tendency was to sacrifice morality in the interest of religion. Jesus said: 'ethics before ritual'—the essentials of true religion consist in morality—placidity before sacrifice (Mt. 5:21), mercy before sacrifice (Mt. 9:13), filial affection before sacrifice (Mt. 15:4-6 Mk. 7:9-13).

Whilst putting morality on a level with, or even in some respects above, religion, Jesus was careful to subordinate individual interests to the universal claims of the kingdom of God: 'Seek ye his kingdom' said he to his disciples (Lk. 12:31), implying if he did not say 'first' (Mt. 6:33), food or raiment being relegated to the second place. The 'Lord's Prayer' is constructed on the same principle of subordination. First God's glory, kingdom, and will; then, only in the second place, the temporal interest (daily bread), and even the spiritual interests (pardon and protection from temptation), of the worshipper. Jesus insisted that this subordination must be carried to the length of willingness to part with life itself. First the things of God, then the things of men (Mk. 8:33). True to his great principle that religion and morality are one, however, Jesus gave his disciples to understand that the things of God are at the same time those of deepest concern to man. They are the true life of the spirit, for the sake of which one who understands the philosophy of life will gladly part when needful with the lower life of the body (Mk. 8:35).

The antithetic presentation of the moral ideal was given partly in didactic form, partly in the way of occasional polemics. For the didactic aspect, which concerns us here, we are indebted chiefly to Mt., in whose version of the Sermon on the Mount the contrast between Jesus's interpretation of the law and that current in the Rabbinical schools is worked out in a series of examples (Mt. 5:21-48). This section of the sermon is omitted almost entirely by Lk., whereby the small part he has retained loses much in point. The gist of the elaborate contrast is: The law as interpreted by the scribes, externalised and restricted in scope; as interpreted by Jesus, inward and infinite. Thou shalt not *kill*, said the scribe; thou shalt not *hate* or *despise*, said Jesus. Thou shalt love thy *neighbour*, and doing that thou dost enough, said (in effect) the scribe; thou shalt love *all*, making no distinction between fellow-countrymen or strangers, friend or foe, except as to the form love takes, said Jesus. The external is that which is seen; hence the tendency of an outward morality to become a morality of ostentation. Jesus used this morality, much in vogue in his time, to emphasise by contrast the reserved retiring character of true piety (Mt. 6:1-18 16-18). True goodness is in the

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heart, and the good man is content that it should be there, visible only to the Father in heaven.

4. The later teaching of Jesus will be referred to in another connection. We pass, therefore, from the teaching to the healing ministry.

19. Healing ministry: evidence

In doing so we make a transition from a subject which is universally attractive to one which is distasteful to many because of its association with the idea of *miracle*. The distaste is felt not only by those who do not believe in the miraculous, but also by not a few who, whilst not adherents of the naturalistic school, have no sympathy with the apologetic value attached to 'miracles' as evidential of revelation. The following statement will not bring us into collision with this feeling. The *miraculousness* of the healing ministry is not the point in question: what we are concerned with is the question of fact. Now, as to this, the healing ministry, judged by critical tests, stands on as firm historical ground as the best accredited parts of the teaching.

The *triple tradition*—i.e., the narrative common to all the three Gospels—contains no less than nine reports of healing acts, including the cases of the leper, the midman of Gergesa, and the dead daughter of Jairus. Then, in most of the reports the action of Jesus is so interwoven with unmistakably authentic words (e.g., in the case of the palsied man) that the two elements cannot be separated; we must take the story as it stands or reject it entirely. That the healing ministry was not only a fact but a great outstanding fact, is attested by the popularity of Jesus, and by the various theories which were invented to account for the remarkable phenomenon. Mk. gives a realistic, life-like description of the connection between healing acts and the fame of Jesus. The cure of a demoniac in the synagogue of Capernaum (Mk. 1.23) creates a sensation even greater than that produced by the discourse of the new preacher. They remark to one another not only on the new doctrine, but also on the authority which Jesus yields over unclean spirits (1.27). The result is that in the evening of the same Sabbath day, after sunset, the people of the town gather at the door of the house where Jesus resides, bringing their sick to be healed (1.32). So, again, on his return to Capernaum, after his preaching tour in Galilee, the report speedily spreading that he had come back, a crowd assembles so large and dense as to make access to him impossible except through the roof of the house (2.13). Fresh recollections of the synagogue-sermon, but still more of the Sabbath-evening cures, explain the popular enthusiasm. The theories were various and curious. The relations of Jesus had their theory, not so much indeed about the healing acts as about the healer. Mk. reports (it is one of his realisms) that they thought him out of his senses (3.21). Much benevolence had made him mad. The beneficent deeds must have been there, else the madness would not have been imputed. The Pharisees, more shrewd, put a less friendly construction on the puzzling phenomena, seeing in them not the acts of a man more endowed with love and with power over diseases (physical and mental) than was good for his own health of body and mind, but the acts of a man in league with the prince of darkness, an incarnation of Beelzebub (*Βεελζεβούλ* Mk. 3.22). [See BEELZEBUB.] This was a very unlikely theory, as Jesus pointed out; but the thing to be noted is the existence of the theory, showing, as it does, that there were facts imperiously demanding explanation of some sort. Yet another theory, too curious to be an invention of the evangelists who report it (Mk. 6.16 Mt. 12.24), originated in the palace of Herod the murderer of the Baptist, and in his own guilt-haunted mind. This Jesus of whose marvellous works I hear is John risen again, the mysterious powers of the other world manifesting themselves through the resurrected man. The theory is perhaps absurd, yet by its very absurdity it witnesses to extraordinary facts

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arresting general situation, and forcing the way, however unwelcome, into kings' houses.

The healing ministry of Jesus presents a problem at once for exegesis, for theology, and for science. The question for exegesis is, What do the reports necessarily imply? Was the leper cured, or only pronounced clean?

20. Interpretation.

Was the leper that led the thousands miraculously produced or drawn forth by the bearing of Jesus from the streets in possession of the crowd, or is the story merely a symbolic embodiment of the life-giving power of Jesus in the spiritual sphere? Was the daughter of Jairus really dead? For theology the question is, What bearing has the healing ministry on the personality of Jesus? Here is certainly something to wonder at, to start the inquiry. What manner of man is this? Is it only a question as to the manner of the *man*, of a man fully endowed with powers not unexampled elsewhere, at least in kind, though lying dormant in ordinary men? Or do the phenomena take us outside the human into the region of the strictly divine? For science the question is, Can the acts ascribed to Jesus be accounted for by any known laws of nature—e.g., by 'moral therapeutics', or the emotional treatment of disease? One must be taken in attempting to answer this question not to understate the facts. In the case of demoniacal possession, for example, it is making the problem too easy to say that that was a merely imaginary disease. The diseases to which the name is applied in the Gospels were in some cases serious enough. The 'demoniac' of Gergesa was a raging madman; the boy at the foot of the hill of Trachinon was the victim of aggravated epilepsy. The only door of escape open for scientific scepticism in such cases is doubt as to the permanence of the alleged cure.

There is one thing about which we may have comfortable certainty. Whether miraculous or not, whether the works of a mere man, or of one who is a man and more, these healing acts are a revelation of the love of Jesus, a manifestation of his enthusiasm of being placed beside the meeting with the people of Capernaum as an aid to the understanding of the heart and aims. By that meeting he showed his interest in a despised class of men; by the healing ministry he showed his interest in a despised part of human nature, the body, and so evinced the healthy catholic nature of his conception of redemption. He was minded to do all the good in the world he could. He was able to heal men's bodies as well as their souls; and he did it, thereby protesting against that pagan notion of the body, as something essentially evil and worthless, which underlies all modes of asceticism, and against a false spiritualism which regards disease of the body as essential to the health of the soul. The healing ministry shows Jesus, not as a thumaturge bent on creating astonishment, but as in a large, grand, human way the friend of men, bearing by sympathy their sicknesses as well as their sorrows and sins as a burden in his heart.

4. The conflict with the religious leaders of Israel, called in the Gospels 'scribes and Pharisees,' formed a very essential part of the public life of Jesus. It soon brought that life to a tragic end. The Gospel of Lk. by toning down that aspect, omitting much of Christ's polemic against Pharisaism, and mitigating the asperity

Such is the view of Christ's healing ministry presented in Mk.; witness the prophetic citation in 8.17. There is no desire in the first Gospel to magnify the miracle. Peter's mother-in-law simply suffers from a feverish attack. The sympathy of Jesus is the point of interest, which was the same whether the fever was severe or not. In Lk. it is a *great* fever (4.38) and throughout this Gospel care is taken to magnify the power as well as the benevolence of Jesus. Mk. in the citation quoted, goes so far as to say that Jesus was not able to do any mighty work in Nazareth, because of the unbelief of the people (6.5).

22. Pharisaic hostility. Jesus. It soon brought that life to a tragic end. The Gospel of Lk. by toning down that aspect, omitting much of Christ's polemic against Pharisaism, and mitigating the asperity

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of what is retained by representing it as uttered under the control of friendly social relations (three feasts in Pharisees' houses peculiar to this Gospel 7:36-50 11:17-24 11:25), makes it impossible to form a clear idea of the religious environment of Jesus, of the heroic warfare he had to wage, and of the forces that were at work, moving steadily on towards Calvary. For information on these points, we must turn to the pages of Mt. and Mk., especially of the latter, in which the course of the conflict is vividly depicted. A few anecdotes bring before us realistically Pharisaic hostility, in its rise and progress, and prepare us for the end (Mk. 2:36).

Collision was inevitable. Radical contrariety of view on the whole subject of conduct in religion and in morals was its deepest cause, and the popularity of Jesus as a preacher and a leader was a constant and increasing source of irritation.

The contrast (1:21 f.) between Jesus and the scribes, in their respective styles of preaching or teaching, remarked on by the second evangelist, was not unnoticed by the people. If they did not say, 'How unlike the scribes! they at least showed the new teacher an amount of consideration not accorded to the scribes.' Therefore, we are not surprised to learn that when Jesus returned from his preaching tour in Galilee to Capernaum the scribes were in a fault-finding mood (26). They took care, however, to conceal the cause of their chagrin, selecting as the point of assault neither the preaching nor the healing, but the 'blasphemous' word of pardon: 'Son, thy sins be forgiven thee.' 'The Capernaum mission to the "publicans and sinners" (2:15-17) supplied the next occasion for offence. These classes had begun to take an interest in Jesus. "There were many (of them there), and they began to follow him" (2:15). They had doubtless heard the story of the palsied man, and how Jesus had been sympathetic towards the sinner, and had been regarded by the scribes as a blasphemer. They naturally desired to see and hear and know the interesting blasphemer. The offence in this instance lay in eating with such people—i.e., in having comradelike relations with them. It was a complicated many-sided offence: a slight on the national feeling of Jews, who resented whatever reminded them of their political humiliation; an indirect slight on the laws which the classes fraternised with habitually neglected; it was also—though this might not be so clearly perceived—a slight on the prerogative of Israel as an elect people, an evil omen of an approaching revolution when the kingdom of God would be thrown open to all.

Next come Sabbath controversies trivial in occasion, but cutting contemporary Jewish prejudice to the quick, and greatly intensifying the exasperation (2:23-28 3:1-6). These encounters revealed a radical contrariety between Jesus and the scribes in their respective conceptions of the Sabbath. Jesus expressed the difference in a saying preserved only in Mk. (2:27): 'The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.' The remark implied a manner of conceiving God, man, and religion, different from that in vogue, and it is not surprising that from that day forth dislike began to deepen into hatred, harbouring murderous intentions. The author of Mk. winds up his narrative of the healing of the withered hand with the significant statement: 'the Pharisees went forth and straightway, with the Herodians, took counsel against him, how they might destroy him' (3:6). The reference to the HERODIANS (4:7), little spoken of in the Gospels, signifies that the Pharisees now began seriously to aim at the life of Jesus, and naturally felt that the assistance of persons having influence at the court would be valuable.

Hereafter the foes of Jesus come before us attacking his healing ministry on a side at which it appeared to them vulnerable. The meeting with the outcasts of Capernaum had given a choice opportunity for a

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calumnious assault upon his moral character, of which they seem to have taken advantage to the full extent (Mt. 11:19). 'The cures of demons formed the basis of the attempt to rob him of the fame fairly won by his wonderful works (Mk. 3:22). The cures themselves could not be denied, nor the power they evinced; but was the power necessarily from heaven, might it not be from an opposite quarter? The men who made the malign suggestion knew better; but it was enough for them that the suggestion was plausible. Hence the solemn warning of Jesus against blasphemy—i.e., speaking evil of that which is known to be good (Mk. 3:29).

The next encounter had reference to ritual ablutions (Mk. 7:1-23 Mt. 15:1-20).¹ This time, Jesus assumed the

24. Ritual. offensive, and exposed the vices inherent in the systems represented by the scribes; declaring in effect that the hedging of the Law by the multiplied rules of legal doctors had for its result the setting of the Law aside, and giving as an example the doctrine of Corban in its bearing on the fifth commandment. This was offence enough; but Jesus added to it by an appeal to the multitude, to whom he addressed one of those great emancipating sayings which sweep away the cobwebs of artificial systems better than elaborate argument—that which defiles is not what goeth into the mouth but what cometh out of it. It was a virtual abrogation, not merely of the traditions of the Elders, but even of the ceremonial law of Moses: a proclamation of the great truth that moral defilement alone is of importance.

When it had come to this, a crisis was at hand. Jesus knew it, and retired from the scenes of strife,

25. Jesus sees the crisis. partly to escape for a while from the malice of his foes, and still more to prepare his disciples, by seasonable

instructions, for the inevitable end. The time of these later instructions was that of the northerly excursions,² already referred to, and their main theme was *sacrifice*. Jesus began to tell his disciples plainly that he himself must suffer death at the hands of the religious leaders, and that they and all faithful souls must be prepared to endure hardship for truth and righteousness (Mk. 8:30-34 Mt. 16:21-24 Lk. 9:21-23); and from this time forth he devoted much attention towards developing in the twelve the heroic temper demanded by the situation. It was no easy task; for, while the master was continually preoccupied with the cross, the disciples were often thinking vain thoughts. The contrast is depicted in a realistic manner by Mk. 'They were in the way, going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus was going before them; and they were amazed' (10:32). They could not comprehend the intense preoccupation betrayed in the master's manner. It filled them with awe. The sequel explains. The ambitious request of James and John followed soon after, as comic scenes succeed tragic ones in a drama. Hence the need for inculcating such recondite truths of the kingdom as that greatness comes by service; that childlikeness is the condition of entrance into the kingdom; that ambition aspiring to greatness and trampling on weakness is a cursed passion, deserving drowning, with a heavy millstone round the neck, in the deepest part of the sea; and that only through brotherly kindness and charity can one hope to win the favour of God (Mt. 18 Mk. 9:33-50).

¹ The preceding incidents are common to the three Synoptics. This one is omitted by Lk. along with a group of other narratives, including the second storm on the lake, the Syro-Phœnician woman, the second feeding, the demand for a sign, in short, the whole of Mt. 14:22-16:12 and Mk. 6:45-8:21 except that Mk. 8:15 Mt. 16:1-11. These omissions were probably intentional on Lk.'s part, the incidents being known to him, but passed over for various reasons.

² The Gospels speak of two excursions—one to the regions of Tyre and Sidon, another to the neighbourhood of Caesarea Philippi. Even so conservative a critic as Weiss is inclined to resolve the two into one by treating the second feeding as a merely literary duplicate of the first.

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During the period of wandering in the north the disciple Peter, the foremost man among the twelve, and usually their spokesman on important occasions, made an eventful declaration concerning the master. Jesus had himself led up to it by introducing into their conversation, as they journeyed towards Caesarea Philippi, the topic: 'Who do men say that I am?' (Mt. 16:13-20 Mk. 8:27-30 Lk. 9:18-21).¹

26. Messiah.

That general question disposed of, there came a second: And you, who say you that I am? The answer of Peter was: 'Thou art the Christ' (Mk. 8:29). It was apparently the answer which Jesus anticipated and wished; which would imply that he regarded himself as one in whom the Messianic hope of the Jewish people was fulfilled. Can this indeed have been so? Can such an one as Jesus, so wise and good, and so utterly out of sympathy with the religious spirit of his time, have thought himself the Messiah, or even taken any interest in the Messianic idea? It is evident that one occupying the position of Jesus as a religious teacher could not escape having some conscious attitude towards that idea, friendly or indifferent or hostile. And it is certain that he would be utterly unsympathetic towards the Messianic ideas current among the Jews of his time. Pharisaic notions of the Messianic king and kingdom would be as distasteful to him as Pharisaic notions of the Law, of righteousness, of God, and of man. His attitude towards the whole circle of ideas associated with conventional religion was, without doubt, that of a radical sceptic. But he did not live in the region of negation. His way was to discard unwelcome ideas and put better ones in their place. He did this in connection with all the other subjects above mentioned, and doubtless he acted on the same principle in connection with the Messianic hope—this all the more decisively because that hope was not rabbinical but prophetic in its origin, associated with some of the most spiritual aspirations of OT saints and seers, if also finding expression occasionally in materialistic or political representations of the good time coming. By elective affinity Jesus would choose the purest and loftiest elements in prophetic delineations, and out of these form his Messianic idea. From certain indications in the Gospels—the voice from heaven at the Baptism and the Transfiguration, the text of the discourse in the synagogue of Nazareth, the intimate connection between the confession of Peter and the first distinct intimation of the approaching Passion—it may be inferred that Deutero-Isaiah was the chief source of his conception, and that his Messiah was one endowed abundantly with the charisma of *love* (Is. 61), therefore well-pleasing to God (Is. 42:1), and destined to be a man of sorrow (Is. 53).

Messiah stands for an ideal, the *summum bonum* embodied in a person. The Jews believed that such a person would come. Jesus might very sincerely share the expectation, as the Baptist did. Could he also regard himself as the coming one? He could not, if a Messianic consciousness implied self-asserting pretensions, or, generally, states of feeling incompatible with a lowly spirit. He could, if the Messianic vocation presented itself to his mind as a duty, rather than as a dignity, as a summons to a career of suffering, a tempting to renunciation rather than to usurpation. So, in fact, it did appear to him. The man of sorrow in Is. 53 is ideal Israel; the faithful in Israel, the men who stand for God and righteousness in an evil world, conceived poetically as an individual. Jesus thought of himself as that individual, the representative of all who live sacrificially and therefore redemptively. See MESSIAH.

All goes to bear out this assertion—e.g. the self-designation 'Son of man,' so much used by Jesus. The

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meaning of this title he never defined any more than he formally defined the name 'Father' applied to God. It is doubtful if OT

27. 'Son of man.'

texts can give us much help towards fixing its import. We must watch the Son of man in the act of so designating himself, defining the name by discriminating use. Doing this, we receive the impression that the title is chosen because it is one that makes no claims. In Aramaic it means simply 'the man.' If it be Messianic, through the use made of it in Daniel and the *Book of Enoch*, it is furtively so, an *ineognito*. The adorning people frequently called Him 'Son of David,' and the early Christian Church laid stress on the title as an important link in the chain of Messianic proof. Hence the genealogies in Mt and Lk. Even Paul recognises the Davidic descent as in its own place important (Rom. 1:3). There is no evidence that Jesus repudiated the title;¹ but the title 'Son of man' does show that he regarded the other (as implying physical descent and therefore regal rights) as of little significance. Others said Son of David; he said Son of Man.² See SON OF MAN.

The message from the imprisoned Baptist to Jesus (Mt. 11:2 f. Lk. 7:18 f.) is not without significance in this connection: 'Art thou the coming one?' By some (e.g., Holtzmann in *Handkom.*) the question is viewed as the utterance rather of a budding than of a waning faith. But the comments of Jesus on the message and on the man who sent it, bearing a stamp of authenticity upon them and probably taken by the two evangelists from the Book of Logia, demand the latter interpretation. 'Blessed is he who findeth no cause of stumbling in me.' John had found cause of stumbling in Jesus, in whom from the first his prophetic eye had detected an extraordinary person. John's Messiah was to be an iconoclast, a hewer down of barren trees and effete institutions, one coming in the fury of the Lord to destroy by the wind and fire of judgment. Jesus hitherto had been nothing of the kind; rather a preacher of good news, even to the immoral; a healer of disease, a teacher of wisdom, with nothing like a fan in his hand, save one of searching moral criticism on the ways of scribes and Pharisees. Therefore, John began to fear that, after all, this was not the Christ. This fear is a valuable testimony to the kind of Christ Jesus believed in and was; one seeking to save rather than to judge, and just on that account liable to be misunderstood even by a John, and to be despised and rejected by a religious but ungodly world. How far apart the two prophets were in their ideas and tendencies, may be estimated from the striking remark made by Jesus concerning the Baptist: 'the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he' (Mt. 11:11).

The triumphal entry into Jerusalem by Jesus towards the close of his career may seem to conflict with the view

28. Entry into Jerusalem.

set forth above, and to exhibit a Messiah parading his claims. The story belongs to the triple tradition, and must be accepted as historical (Mt. 21:1-11 Mk. 11:1-11 Lk. 19:29-44); but cf. HOSANNA. Mt., after his usual manner, represents the whole transaction as happening in order that a certain prophetic oracle might be fulfilled. So he viewed it, and so he wishes his readers to view it; but it does not follow that Jesus rode into the holy city on the foal of an ass with conscious intention to fulfil prophecy. The less intention on his part, the greater the value of any uniformity between prophecy and fact. Action with intention might show that he

¹ The discussion between Jesus and the scribes in the temple on the relation of the Christ to David has been interpreted in this sense. But the question of Jesus does not necessarily imply denial *in toto* of Davidic descent, or more than a hint as to the comparative unimportance of it. It meant, in effect: You begin at the wrong end, physical descent; and it leads you in an unsuitable direction of Messiah.

² The passages in which the title is used in an apocalyptic sense seem to breathe a different spirit. They cannot be discussed here.

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claimed to be, not that he was, the Messiah. On the other hand, his right to be regarded as the Messiah would have stood where it was though he had entered Jerusalem on foot. The actual mode of entrance could possess at most only the value of a symbol. And Jesus seems to have been in the mood to let it have such value, and that just because it was in harmony with his habit of avoiding display and discouraging vulgar Messianic hopes. There was really no pretentiousness in riding into Jerusalem on the foal of an ass. It was rather the meek and lowly one entering in character. The symbolic act was in harmony with the use of the title 'Son of man,' shunning Messianic pretensions, yet showing himself as the true Messiah in a deeper way. Mk.'s narrative of the incident is to be preferred as preserving most of the primitive simplicity. It is only in his version that Jesus instructs his disciples to tell the man from whom the young ass is being borrowed that it will be returned when he has had his use of it (Mk. 11:3). Some modern commentators, influenced by conventional notions of dignity, will not allow even Mark to put the matter so. But he does; it is one of his realisms.¹

The thoughts of Jesus, then as always, were humble; but those of his followers were more ambitious, and such as to provoke the ire of those who sought his undoing. They shouted Hosannas in his honour, as to the Son of David through whom the long hoped-for kingdom was about to come. The very children in the streets, according to Mt. (21:15), caught up the cry, to the chagrin of the guardians of conventional proprieties. The enthusiasm of the people who had come up with Jesus to keep the feast of the passover—men and women from Galilee, proud of their prophet and king—was his death-knell. He had come up to Jerusalem fully convinced that he was going to meet death. Therefore, he used his short time to bear a final testimony against plausible falsehood and sham holiness, and for truth and godliness. Many incidents and utterances are packed into that eventful week—the cleansing of the Temple, parables of judgment (*Two sons, Vine-dressers, Marriage of the king's son*), sundry encounters with captious disputants, and a sublime anti-Pharisaic discourse in which the foibles and vices of a degenerate piety are depicted with prophetic plainness and artistic felicity (Mt. 23). During that fatal week last words had to be spoken to disciples, among which was a foreboding reference to the approaching judgment-day of Israel, accompanied by useful hints for their guidance in a perilous time (Mk. 13 Mt. 24 Lk. 21). The tender pathos of the situation is immortalised in the anointing in Bethany (Mt. 26:6-13 Mk. 14:3-9), the holy supper (Mt. 26:26-29 Mk. 14:22-25 Lk. 22:17-20), and the agony in Gethsemane (Mt. 26:36-46 Mk. 14:32-42 Lk. 22:39-46).

The story of the passion is told at great length, with much agreement, though also with many variations, in all the four Gospels, a sure index of the intense interest taken in the tragic theme within the apostolic church. This interest would not be of late growth. When the apostles began to preach Jesus crucified and risen, they would encounter the eager demand, Tell us how it happened! Faith would make three demands for information concerning its object: What did he teach? What did he do? What did he suffer? Some think that the demand for information concerning the teaching came first and was first met. But even those who, like Holtzmann, take this view regard the history of the passion as the nucleus of the narrative department of the evangelic tradition. First the logic, then the passion drama, then the anecdotes of memorable acts. Whether this was the true genetic order of the

¹ The true reading is εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει παῖδα where *παῖδα* implies that the reference is to returning the colt to its owner, not to the readiness with which the owner, after explanations, will send it to Jesus.

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three masses of oral tradition, which in combination make up our evangelic records, may reasonably be doubted. The passion group perhaps took shape earliest. The apostles would have to tell at once what they knew,—the main facts of the case,—especially when preaching outside Jerusalem. Thus began to form itself the passion-chronicle: the main facts first, then this nucleus gradually gathering accretions of minor incidents, till by the time written records began to be compiled the collection of passion-memorabilia had assumed the form which it bears in, for example, the Gospel of Mk. The presumption is that the collection as it stands there is the truth, or at least the truth as far as it could be ascertained.

For modern criticism the story, even in its most historic version, is not pure truth, but truth mixed with doubtful legend. Still, even when it is examined with a critical microscope, as it has recently been by Dr. Brandt,¹ not a few of the relative incidents stand the test. Betrayal by one of the twelve, desertion by all of them, denial by Peter, death-sentence under the joint responsibility of Jewish rulers and Roman procurator, assistance in carrying the cross from Simon of Cyrene, crucifixion on a hill called Golgotha, the crime charged indicated by the significant inscription on the cross-beam, 'King of the Jews,'² death if not preceded by a prayer for the murderers, or by the despairing cry 'My God, my God,' at least heralded by a loud voice. In these eight particulars we have the skeleton of the story, all that is needful to give the passion its tragic interest, or even to form the basis for theological constructions. The details omitted—the process before the Sanhedrin, the interviews with Pilate and Herod, the mockery of the soldiers, the preferential release of Barabbas, the sneers of passers-by, the two thieves, the parting of the raiment, the words from the cross, the preternatural concomitants of death—are more or less of the nature of accessories, enhancing the impressiveness of the picture, suggesting additional lessons, but not changing the character of the event.

Still, even accessories are not to be lightly sacrificed. Critical estimates are to be received with caution even in a historical interest, and to measure their value it is important to have a clear idea about the nature of the interest taken by the primitive church in the story of the passion. Now, there can be no doubt that along with sympathy with the fate of a beloved Master went a theoretic or dogmatic interest, at least in a rudimentary form. There was a desire to harmonise the passion with faith in the Messiahship of Jesus. This was obviously a vital matter for disciples. They could not continue to believe in Jesus as the Christ unless they could satisfy themselves that he might be the Christ, the cross notwithstanding; nor could their faith be triumphant unless they could further satisfy themselves that he was all the more certainly the Christ just because he was crucified. The words of the Master concerning suffering as the appointed lot of all faithful souls might help them to attain this insight. With this doctrine as a key, they would see new meanings in OT texts, and gradually learn from histories, Psalms, and prophecies that the path appointed for the godly, and therefore above all for the Messiah, was a path of sacrifice. Thenceforth union between OT experiences and teaching and the incidents of the passion would become proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus. The offence of the cross would be turned into an apology for faith in the crucified.

¹ *Die Evangelische Geschichte und der Ursprung des Christentums auf Grund einer Kritik der Berichte über das Leiden und die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1892.

² This points to Messianic pretensions imputed or confessed. But such pretensions had two aspects, a religious and a political. It was the religious aspect that was dealt with in the trial before the Sanhedrin as reported by the Synoptists; but of course it would be the political aspect that the Sanhedrists brought under the notice of Pilate. The Messianic idea would have no interest for him except in so far as it involved a claim to temporal power.

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Were those primitive apologists content with correspondence between texts and undeniable facts? Did they invent 'facts' to suit Hebrew oracles, so as to bring out correspondence even in curious details and make the apologetic as convincing as possible? There was certainly a temptation to do so, and we are not entitled *a priori* to assume that they did not yield to the temptation in any instance. On the other hand, we must be on our guard against too hastily assuming the contrary. The probability is that, on the whole, facts suggested texts, instead of texts creating facts. The reasonableness of this statement may be illustrated by an example taken from the history of the infancy in Mt. The last of several prophetic citations in that chapter is, 'He shall be called a Nazarene' (23). See NAZARETH. The fact that Nazareth was the home of Jesus is independently certain. It is equally certain that, but for the fact, the supposed prophetic citation would never have occurred to any one's mind; for it is the weakest link in the chain of prophetic evidence for the Christhood of Jesus. This instance suggests that what faith was busy about in these early years was not the manufacturing of history, but the discovering in evan- gelic facts, however minute, the prophetic fulfillments which are sometimes so far-fetched as to make it inconceivable how they could ever have been thought of unless the facts had gone before. This general observation may be applied to some of the most pathetic incidents in the passion history—the prayer for forgiveness, the taunts of passers-by, the casting of lots for possession of the garments.

Legendary elements of a supernatural character found their way into the traditions, it is not to be wondered at in connection with events which appealed so powerfully to the imagination of believers. The thing to be noted is that when criticism has done its work the passion narratives remain in their main details history, not legend. A history how profoundly significant as well as moving! With its theological import we have here no concern; but we may not leave such a theme without briefly indicating its ethical lessons. The crucifixion of Jesus exhibits in a uniquely impressive manner the destiny of righteousness in this world. He was crucified not by accident, not altogether or even mainly through misunderstanding, but because his wisdom and goodness were inconvenient and troublesome. The passion history further sets before us a story not of fate merely, but of *love*. It is the story of one who was willing to die. He knew more or less distinctly what was to happen, consented to it, and was helped to do it by the thought that out of the wrong and evil befalling himself good to others would come. In proof of this statement, it is sufficient to point to the Lord's supper. The passion-history, finally, encourages large hope for the world.

Christianity could not have entered on its victorious career unless the followers of the Crucified had believed that he not only died but also rose again. This is acknowledged even by those who, like Dr. Ferdinand Baur, have themselves no faith in the resurrection. The primitive disciples believed that their Master rose 'on the third day,' and that he would soon come to the earth again; and this faith and hope became the common possession of the apostolic church. The faith and the hope both find support and justification in the words of Jesus as reported by the evangelists. Sad predictions of approaching doom have added to them the cheering words, 'and shall rise again' (Mk 9:11 and parallels). Many sayings promise the coming of the Son of man in glory, and that speedily, even within the lifetime of the present generation. These sayings present one of the hardest problems for the student of the Gospels; on one side a critical problem which has to deal with the question how far the words of Jesus have been coloured

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by the hopes of the apostolic age; on another side, an exegetical one having for its task to interpret these words in harmony with others which seem to imply not only a delayed *parousia* (parables of the *Ten Virgins*, the *Upper Servant playing the Tyrant*, and the *Unjust Judge*), but also an indefinitely protracted Christian era (parables representing the kingdom as subject to the law of growth—the *Sower*, the *What and Tares*, the *Mustard seed*, and, above all, the *Seed growing gradually*, peculiar to Mk. 4:26-29 and his most valuable distinctive contribution to the stock of evangelic traditions). Though some of the relative logic belong to the later and less accredited stratum of tradition, there is no reason to doubt their genuineness. Jesus seems to have had two ways of speaking about the future—partly because, as he himself confessed, he had no clear vision of time's course (Mk. 13:32); partly owing to the purpose his utterances were meant to serve. Some of them were promises meant to cheer (Mk. 9:2 and parallels); some, didactic statements bearing on the nature of the kingdom of God (Mk. 4:26-29). In the former the advent is appropriately represented as near; in the latter it is by tacit implication indefinitely remote.

The words of Jesus concerning the future show limitation of vision. In other directions we may discover indications that he was the child of his time and people. But his spiritual intuitions are pure truth, valid for all ages. God, man, and the moral ideal cannot be more truly or happily conceived. Far from having outgrown his thoughts on these themes, we are only beginning to perceive their true significance. How long it will be before full effect shall be given to his radical doctrine of the dignity of man! How entirely in accord with the moral order of the world, as interpreted by the whole history of mankind, his doctrine of sacrifice as at once the penalty and the power of righteousness in an evil world! The purity of the doctrine may seem to be compromised by occasional references to the reward of sacrifice, e.g., 'Great is your reward in heaven' (Mt. 5:12); things renounced are to be received back an hundredfold (Mk. 10:30). But the idea of reward cannot be eliminated from ethics. The heroic man is and must be blessed. The apocalyptic presentation of the reward in the Gospels is a matter of form. The essential truth is that it is ever well with the righteous.

Besides the books referred to in the article, and the many Lives of Jesus, the following works may be consulted:—Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*; Weissacker, *das Apostolische Zeitalter*; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jud. Gesch.*; Baldensperger, *das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit*; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*. The last two and the last of these works have been translated.

On the sources generally, compare GOSPELS. For History of Period, see CHRONOLOGY, §§ 43-63, HERODIAN FAMILY, and ROMES. Contemporary life and thought are illustrated in such articles as: ESSENES, HERODIANS, PHARISES, SADDUCEES, SCRIPES, SYNAGOPUE, TEMPLE. Further details of life and teaching are dealt with under such headings as NATIVITY, RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION, NARRATIVES, WONDERS, PARABLES (cp FIG-TREE, HUSKS, LEAVES, SCORPION, VIRGINS, and so forth), LORD'S PRAYER, MESSIAH, SON OF GOD, SON OF MAN, ESCHATOLOGY, § 82 ff. On the names of persons and places mentioned in the Gospels, see the separate articles (*Places*: BETHABARA, BETHANY, BETHSaida, BETHLEHEM, BETHSAIDA, CAPERNAUM, DAI MANUTHA, EMMAUS, GETHSEMANE, JERUSALEM, OLIVES [Mt. of], NAIN, NAZARETH, SALIM, SYCHAR, SIOAN; *Persons*: the several evangelists and apostles, also CLOPAS, HEROD, JOSEPH (NT 23), JOHN THE BAPTIST, LAZARUS, LYSANIAS, MARTHA, MARY, NATHANIEL, NICODIMUS, PILATE, QUIRINTUS, and the like). A. B. B.

JETHER (יֶתֶר; יֶתְרֹן [BAL.])

1. Ex. 4:18 EVRHE: יֶתֶר [BAL.], another form of JETHRO [23]. Sam. and some MSS have יֶתְרֹן.
2. Gideon's first-born son (Judg. 8:20).
3. The father of Amasa (1 K. 2:24 [om. AD] by Abigail. In 2 S. 17:25 (MT) he is called יֶתְרֹן (877); יֶתֶר; יֶתְרֹן [Jos.]; but יֶתֶר [BA]; so B in 1 Ch. 2:16 and described, according to the best readings, as a Jethreite. In 1 Ch. 2:16, however, he appears as an Ishmaelite; hence Thierias, Wellhausen, Driver, Klostermann, Budde, Lohr, H. P. Smith read יֶתְרֹן in Sam.

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But the rival reading **יִתְרֵי** is less likely to be a conjectural emendation (see **ABIGAIL**, 2; **JEREMIEL** 1, 2).

4. A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 232). See **JERAHMIEL**, § 2.
5. A Judahite, 1 Ch. 417 (**יִתְרֵי** [B]).
6. An Asherite, 1 Ch. 731 (**יִתְרֵי** [B], **יִתְרֵי** [L]), see **ITHRAN**, 2.

7. See **JETHETH**.

JETHETH (יִתְרֵי); Jetheth, OS² 1313) one of the 'dukes' of Edom, Gen. 3640 (**יִתְרֵי** [A], **יִתְרֵי** [B], **יִתְרֵי** [L]), 1 Ch. 151 (**יִתְרֵי** [B], **יִתְרֵי** [A], **יִתְרֵי** [L]).

In view of the readings of **E** it is plausible to read יִתְרֵי, which occurs also as a Jerahmeelite and Judahite name (see **JETHUR**). Cp **GENEALOGIES** 1, § 5. S. A. C.

JETHLAH, RV **ITHLAH** (יִתְלָה; **צֵילָאָה** [B], **יִתְלָה** [A], **יִתְלָה** [L], **יִתְלָה** [OS 26878]), an unidentified site in Danite territory (Josh. 1942), associated with Zorah, Eshtaol, Bethshemesh, Ajalon, and Timnah.

JETHRO (יִתְרוֹ), Jithro, § 77; cp **Sab**, יִתְרוֹ (יִתְרוֹ); either shortened from Jithron [see **ITHRAN** and cp **ITHRA** in **JETHER**, 3], or mispointed for Jithru [cp **GASHIMU**; **יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [L]]. Father of Moses' wife, **ZIPPORAH**, Ex. 31 [but **E** does not give the priest's name], 418 [see **JETHER**, 1], 1817. All these passages belong to **E**; the first and third of them add 'priest of Midian.' This was most probably interpolated from Ex. 216 (J) by the redactor (R), who also removed the discrepant name 'Hobab' from that passage, and thus produced a superficial harmony, against which, however, Nu. 1029 and Judg. 411 protest (see **HOBAB**).

The futile attempts of the ancients to reconcile the discrepancies of the documents require no elaborate consideration. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 121) says that Jethro was a surname of Reuel (רְעוּל, 'superiority'); this seems to have influenced **E** in Ex. 21612. Targ. Jon. in Ex. 218 represents **REUEL** (רְעוּל) as Zipporah's grandfather. In the former case Hobab, in the latter both Hobab and Jethro are brothers-in-law of Moses. Apart from other considerations, the only biblical sense of יִתְרוֹ is 'father-in-law,' though יִתְרוֹ doubtless can be used in the looser sense of 'wife's relation.'

There is no anachronism in the description given of Jethro or Hobab in Exodus as a priest, and by implication as a sheikh of the Midianites; such dignitaries there must have been in ancient Arabia. Though we cannot adopt Hommel's statement that the ideas and language (and particularly the ritual terms) of the Priestly Code (P) are largely influenced by instruction which Moses received from the 'Kōhen Midian,' there need be no *a priori* objection to the view that Arabian culture impressed its mark, at more than one period, on the Israelites. It is certainly remarkable that such an early record as JE represents the Midianite as Moses' instructor in the art of legislation (Ex. 18), and as having been asked by Moses to be his guide in the desert, for which a good reward is held out to him in the Promised Land (Nu. 1029-32).² As Judg. 116 represents, Hobab (**יִתְרוֹ** [B]) did actually accompany Moses;³ 'Hobab' has evidently dropped out of the text and should be restored, though possibly both here and in the other passages where our text has 'Hobab' we should change 'Hobab' into 'Jonadab' (see **HOBAB**). The clan called 'b'ne Hobab' is also designated 'Kenite'; it might, however, with sufficient accuracy have been called 'Midianite,' the line of demarcation between the tribes in S. Palestine not being very definite (see **AMALEK**, **MIDIAN**). Not impossibly, however, the original text called Jethro or Hobab a Misrite (*i.e.*, virtually a N. Arabian); the readings of MT may be corrupt (see **KENITES**). It should be observed that

¹ So probably in Ex. 425, **יִתְרוֹ** (יִתְרוֹ), 'one newly admitted into (my) family by the shedding of blood.'

² Ex. 18, at all events, is misplaced, Israel having already arrived at the Mount of God (cp 4A). But the Mount of God is Horeb (Sinai) near which Jethro lived (cp 31), which makes the latter's request to return to his own land, etc. 627, unnecessary; cp similarly Nu. 1030. See **EXODUS** 1, § 5.

³ See Moore and Budd. This must have been expressed in the passage which Nu. 1029-32 represents. The redactor, to avoid inconsistency with Ex. 1827 has stopped abruptly at 116.

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according to the tradition Jethro was a worshiper of Yahweh (Ex. 18912 [E]).

It is interesting to notice that Sha'ib occurs as the name of a Wady on the E. of the Jordan, opposite Jericho (see B. 162 and NIKHIM); and that the diminutive Sha'ib is the given by Mohammed to Jethro. But the name Sha'ib after all be distinct from Hobab, and in any case the Median legends have no historical value. Cp *Ew. Hist.* 2.

JETUR (יִתְרוֹ), יִתְרוֹ (BADEL), a son of Ishmael, Gen. 2515 (**יִתְרוֹ** [A], **יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [L]), 1 Ch. 131 (**יִתְרוֹ** [L]), cp 1 Ch. 519 (**יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [A], **יִתְרוֹ** [L]), 1 Ch. 2313 (**יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [A], **יִתְרוֹ** [L]), see **ISHMAEL**, § 4 (7), **ITURRA**.

JEU (יִתְרוֹ), b. Zerah, a post-exilic (Jud.) inhabitant of Jerusalem: 1 Ch. 96 (**יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [L]).

Jeu is also the Kt. in 1 Ch. 935 (AV **JETHIEL**, RV **JETHIEL**, 1 Ch. 1144 (AV **JETHIEL**, RV **JETHIEL**), 2 Ch. 2611 (RV **JETHIEL**), 2 Ch. 2913 (AV **JETHIEL**, Ezr. 813 (AV **JETHIEL**). See **JETHIEL**.

JEUSH (יִתְרוֹ), § 53; [Kr. always; so also except Gen. 30514 1 Ch. 710 **יִתְרוֹ**], '[God] helps?' cp *אֱלֹהֵי*, which is transliterated *εὐαγγελος* in an inscription from Memphis; see *ref.* in Buhl, *Gesch. d. Edom.* 499, who opposes the view; in Gen. **יִתְרוֹ** (**יִתְרוֹ** [A], **יִתְרוֹ** [L]).

1. An Edomite clan, son of Esau by his Horite wife Hamah, Gen. 3051418. See **ANAH**, **BANHEMATH**, **EDOM** (Gen. 305, **יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [A], **יִתְרוֹ** [L]), 1 Ch. 135 (**יִתְרוֹ** [B]).

2. b. Bilhan in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v. § 3 and 9) 1 Ch. 710 (**יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [A]).

3. b. Eshek in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v. § 9, ii. B), 839 (**יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [A], **יִתְרוֹ** [L]), RV, AV **JETHIEL** probably the same as (2).

4. h. Shimel, a division of Gershonite Levites, 1 Ch. 2313 (**יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [A]), cp (1) above and see **GENEALOGIES** § 714.

5. b. Rehobam, 2 Ch. 1119 (**יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [A]), cp (1) above and see **GENEALOGIES** § 714.

JEUZ (יִתְרוֹ), see **Uz**; **יִתְרוֹ** [B], **יִתְרוֹ** [A], **יִתְרוֹ** [L]), a name in a genealogy of Benjamin (q.v. § 3 and 9) 1 Ch. 8101. See **JQR** 11105, § 3.

JEW (יִתְרוֹ), *yehudi*; Aram. **יִתְרוֹ**, *yehudi*; Ya'-u-da-ai, *Yehūdaios*, *Judeus*, *i.e.*, a man of Yehūdāh-JUDAH, (q.v.). **JEHUDI** (q.v.) and the fem. **JUDITH** (q.v.) are used as proper names; but the form **Jehudi** (יִתְרוֹ, 1 Ch. 418) cannot be relied upon (see **JEHUDI**). The adj. *Yehūdaios*, 'Jewish,' occurs in 2 Macc. 811, etc., Tit. the adv. *Yehūdaios* in Gal. 214; the verb *Yehūdaios* (in Esth. 101, 'became Jews'), Gal. 214; the substantive *Yehūdaios* ('religion of the Jews,' 'Jews' religion') in 2 Macc. 22181 Gal. 1133.

1. A subject of the kingdom of Judah, 2 K. 162525 Jer. 38194012413439 ('Jewish men' = men of Judah); 441521.

2. The date of the passages does not matter. **1. Use in OT.** Into consideration, for the Assyrian phrase *Yehūdai* (*Yehūdai* 'Ahaz the Judahite' in Tiglath-pileser's inscription shows that *יִתְרוֹ* was already in the sense of 'man of the land of Judah.' Jer. 341 not included; *יִתְרוֹ* has grown out of *יִתְרוֹ* (see *Giesebr. ad loc.*).

2. A Hebrew of the Babylonian or Persian province of Judah or of the Maccabean state, Zech. 823 Neh. 12411 [33] 412 [6] 1 Macc. 82023 etc.

3. A member of the Jewish race, broadly taken, Ezr. 41556 etc., Esth. 2534651385 etc., Dan. 38.

The word is used in the NT, chiefly in the plur. denote—

1. Jews as distinct from Gentiles or proselytes, or Samaritans. Mk. 73 Jn. 2613 4022 2164 72 194042 Acts 210 2130 2 (Drusilla, a 'Jewess'). Similarly of Jewish Christians (Acts 161 'a Jewess who believed' Gal. 213, c) Jn. 831.

2. Of 'Israelites indeed'—Jews worthy of the name, Rom. 228 f. Rev. 2930.

3. Of Jews, as antagonistic to Jesus or to the Gospel, 2815 Rom. 217 2 Cor. 1124 1 Thess. 214 and especially Jn. 64 848-57 918 1019 1110 3131 3612911. Cp Zahn, *Eint.* 2554. 'Jewess' occurs twice, Acts 161 2424.

JEWEL, the rendering of several Hebrew words (below). See generally **ORNAMENTS**, **PRECIOUS STONES**.

(1) **יָהוּדִים**, *yehūdīm*; AV 'Jains [of gold]'; RV 'Jains [of gold]'; (2) **יָהוּדִים**, *yehūdīm*, 'rows' (Drusilla, a 'Jewess'). Similarly of Jewish Christians (Acts 161 'a Jewess who believed' Gal. 213, c) Jn. 831.

(3) **יָהוּדִים**, *yehūdīm*, 'rows' (Drusilla, a 'Jewess'). Similarly of Jewish Christians (Acts 161 'a Jewess who believed' Gal. 213, c) Jn. 831.

(4) **יָהוּדִים**, *yehūdīm*, 'rows' (Drusilla, a 'Jewess'). Similarly of Jewish Christians (Acts 161 'a Jewess who believed' Gal. 213, c) Jn. 831.

(5) **יָהוּדִים**, *yehūdīm*, 'rows' (Drusilla, a 'Jewess'). Similarly of Jewish Christians (Acts 161 'a Jewess who believed' Gal. 213, c) Jn. 831.

(6) **יָהוּדִים**, *yehūdīm*, 'rows' (Drusilla, a 'Jewess'). Similarly of Jewish Christians (Acts 161 'a Jewess who believed' Gal. 213, c) Jn. 831.

(7) **יָהוּדִים**, *yehūdīm*, 'rows' (Drusilla, a 'Jewess'). Similarly of Jewish Christians (Acts 161 'a Jewess who believed' Gal. 213, c) Jn. 831.

JEWRY

2 Ch. 32 27 יהוה ב. AV 'pleasant jewels' RV 'goodly vessels'.
See ORNAMENTS (1).

JEWRY (יהודה), Dan. 5 13 AV, RV JUDAH [q.v.].

JEWS' LANGUAGE (יהודית), 2 K. 18 26, etc. See
HEBREW LANGUAGE, § 2.

JEZANIAH (יְהִיָּה), Jer. 40 8. See JAAZANIAH, 1.

JEZEBEL (יִזְבֶּבֶל); יִזְבֶּבֶל [BA.]. The two
explanations in Ges. *Thes.* are 'non-habitation', i.e., 'cha-de';
and 'island of habitation'—perhaps a title of Tyre. But
(against 1) a negative particle יִזְ is unprovable (see ICHA-
BOD, note, and cp NAMES, § 45), and (against 2) יִזְ in
a personal name will naturally bear its well-attested sense of
'exaltation'. The first element יִזְ should be explained as in
ICHABOD, JEZKEL, ITHAMAR. König's explanation, 'exalted isle'
[Eph. 7, 10 190 (Jan. 99)], so far as 'isle' goes, is surely
wrong. So, too, is DHM's theory that יִזְבֶּבֶל is an intentional
alteration of the Phen. בַּעַל יִזְבֶּבֶל [Baal exalts, or is a husband?]
so that it should mean 'un-exalted'. An artificial etymology,
'what filth,' is implied in MT of 2 K. 9 37 (יִזְבֶּבֶל); see
below.)

Daughter of Ethbaal of Tyre (see AHAB), wife of
Ahab (1 K. 16 31 18 41 19 17 21 5 ff. 2 K.
9 7 ff.). ATHALIAH (q.v.), queen of Judah, was her
daughter. Nothing more clearly shows Ahab's
thoroughly political instinct than his marriage with this
Tyrian princess. It is not so clear, however, whether
he foresaw the religious consequences of the step.
Solomon had married foreign women, and erected special
sanctuaries for them; but the religious influence of no one
of these was supreme. Ahab was perhaps a monogamist,
like Jeroboam. At any rate, Jezebel had too proud a
nature to be content to worship her own god with a few
Tyrian sojourners; the Tyrian Baal-worship must have
equal rights with the worship of Yahweh. According to
the Elijah-narratives Jezebel destroyed all the prophets
of Yahweh except ELIJAH (q.v.), and even that brave
prophet had to seek refuge from her in Horeb. She is
made responsible for the judicial murder of NABOTH
(q.v.), and Elijah's legendary biographer connects her
dreadful end with a curse pronounced on her by Elijah
on the occasion of Naboth's death (1 K. 21 23). The
dramatic tale of Jehu's entrance into Jezreel need not
be repeated (see JEHU).

It is worth while, however, to relieve the Deuteronomic com-
piler of Kings from the tastelessly savage words of MT of 2 K.
9 37. The true reading can probably be recovered from *Q* (cp
Klo's note). 'And the carcass of Jezebel shall be like the carcass
of Naboth, and there shall be none to say, Woe is me.'

In Rev. 2 20 there seems to be implied a misinterpretation
of words of Jehu in 2 K. 9 22. The name 'Jezebel' is
given to a false prophetess, who had influence in the
church of Thyatira, and is accused of seducing Christians
to commit fornication, and to eat things offered to
idols. 'Fornication' is probably meant literally.
Whether a party of false teachers is here personified, or
whether (as Bousset and Schürer suppose) an individual
is meant, is disputed. At any rate, the adherents of
Jezebel and the NICOLAITANS (q.v.) represent the same
antinomian tendency (cp 2 Pet. 2 18).

JEZELUS (Ἰεζελός [BA]). 1. 1 Esd. 8 32 =
Ezra 8 35; JAHAZIEL, 5.
2. 1 Esd. 8 36 = Ezra 8 9, JEHIEL, 8.

JEZER (יֶזֶר); Ἰεζερ [L.], in genealogy of
NAPHTALI (Gen. 46 24 [Pl.], Ἰεζερ [ADL], Nu. 26 49 [Pl.], Ἰεζερ
[BF], Ἰεζερ [A], 1 Ch. 7 13 Ἰεζερ [BF], Ἰεζερ [A], gentilic Jezerito
(Nu. 26 49, Ἰεζρι, ὁ Ἰεζρι [A], ὁ Ἰεζρι [BF], -σσ. [L]; cp
IZRI (יֶזְרִי) in 1 Ch. 25 11.

JEZIAH (יִזְיָה), RV IZZIAH (יִזְיָה [Ba. Ginsb.]; a
third variant: יִזְיָה [Ginsb.], i.e., Jeza-iah, see NAMES, § 32;
אִזְיָה [L.], b. Parosh, in the list of those with foreign wives (see
Ezra 1, § 5 end); Ezra 10 25 אִזְיָה [BA], אִזְיָה [M] = 1 Esd. 9 26

1 AB Vet. Lat., etc., read *יהוה יזבבל* σου—i.e., they make
her the wife of the Angel of the Church (so Tisch., Treg., WH.
2 2 21; RV Copt., Vg. *הוה יזבבל* (so Tisch., Treg., WH.

JEZREEL

[AV] EDDIAS, [RV] IEDDIAS, IRVOR; IZZIAH or IZZIAH
(Gezias [B], eddias, [A]).

JEZIEL (יִזְיָהל, Kt. יִזְיָהל, some MSS read
יִזְיָהל and יִזְיָהל; perhaps corruption of Jahaziel, יִזְיָהל, 'God
sees'; see NAMES, § 31, but also, there, n. 2), b. Azmaveth, one
of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12 1 (אִזְיָהל [B], אִזְיָהל [A], אִזְיָהל [L.], *Jaziel*,
[B] but in a different text)). See DAVID, § 11 (r, iii.).

JEZLIAH, RV IZZIAH (יִזְיָה), ZARPAIA [B], EZLIAH
[A], יִזְיָה [L.], b. Elpaal, in a genealogy of
BENJAMIN (q.v.), § 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 8 18 f.

JEZOAR (יֶזְעָר, Kt. יֶזְעָר, Kr.). 1 Ch. 4 7 AV, RV
IZHAR (q.v. [L.]).

JEZRAHIAH (יֶזְרָחִיָּה), § 35, 'Yahweh rises'), a Levite
musician priest in the procession at the dedication of the
wall (see EZRA ii., § 13 4), Neh. 12 42 (om. B⁹ A.
יֶזְרָחִיָּה [N a mg. L.]). The identical Hebrew name
appears elsewhere as IZRAHIAH.

JEZREEL (יֶזְרְעֶל); 'God sows' יֶזְרַעַל [A.], also
B in Hos. 14 7 11 [2 2] 2 23 [24], אִזְרַעַל [L. generally in Kt.];
יֶזְרַעַל [Jos.]; יֶזְרַעַל [B nearly always]; AL in 1 S. 29 11 2 S.
24 44, and A in 1 K. 20 [21] 23 2 K. 9 10. Other forms are יֶזְרַעַל
1 K. 4 12, יֶזְרַעַל Judg. 6 33, and יֶזְרַעַל 1 K. 18 46
2 K. 9 35, יֶזְרַעַל 1 S. 29 11, 2 Ch. 22 6, and יֶזְרַעַל 1 K. 18 46
1 11 [22]. Gentile form JEZREELITE (יֶזְרַעֲלִי); ὁ Ἰεζρελῖτης
[BA], ὁ Ἰεζρελῖτης [L.], 1 K. 21 16 etc., in 2 K. 9 21 ὁ Ἰεζρελῖτης [A],
9 25 ὁ Ἰεζρελῖτης [A].

1. Originally a clan-name, analogous to Israel,
Jerahmeel, Ishmael; then the name of a city and
district; lastly, that of the long, deep
vale dominated by the city of Jezreel.¹

1. **Clan and town.** Of the existence of the Jezreelite clan
in N. Palestine we have no direct biblical evidence;
but it may be surmised that the fact recorded boni-
fatically in king Menephtah's famous inscription (see
ISRAEL, § 7, end) was the extinction of a tribe called, not
Israel, but Jezreel. Renouf's conjecture that the stele
actually spoke of 'Jezreel' is not indeed confirmed
(see Spiegellberg's report, and EXODUS i., § 2); but it
remains possible that the spelling Isir'il (= Israel) is due
to a mistake of the ear such as was, at any rate, often
made by Greek scribes. The place is assigned in
Josh. 19 18 (אִזְרַעַל [B], יֶזְרַעַל [L]) to Issachar. We
know from Judg. 5 that this tribe suffered greatly
from Canaanitish preponderance (cp ISSACHAR); and
since Taanach, Ibleam, and Megiddo on the one side
and Beth-shean on the other are represented in Judg.
12 7 as Canaanitish enclaves, we may, for geographical
reasons, assume that Jezreel, though coveted by Issachar,
also long remained Canaanitish.

Josh. 17 16 probably confirms this view; we read there of the
Canaanites of Beth-shean and of the *עֵצֵי* (*emek*) of Jezreel as
having formidable 'chariots of iron.'

It may be that one of the fruits of the victory com-
memorated in Judg. 5 was the conquest of Jezreel
(Budde, *Ri.-Sam.* 47). In the time of Saul, at any
rate, Jezreel was Israelitish; not far from it ('by the
fountain [of Harōd] which is by Jezreel') was the camp
of the Israelites before the great battle in which Saul
was said to be slain (1 S. 29 1; see, however, SACI, § 4).
The district of Jezreel is included in the kingdom of
Ishbaal (2 S. 23 5), but the text is doubtful.² It was

1 For slightly different views of the development see We. *CH*
254, n. 2; Bu. *RV.-Sam.* 45, n. 1. The passages quoted by We. to
prove that Jezreel was originally the name of a district, not of a
city, are 1 S. 29 11 2 S. 24 44. The inference is not justifiable;
the clan of Jezreelites not merely occupied a district; they must
have had one chief settlement called after their own name. That
'Jezreel' was the name of a city in David's time is certain (Bu.
rightly quotes 1 S. 25 43). Both We. and Bu., however, seem to
misunderstand 1 S. 29 11 f., where, comparing *עֵצֵי*, we should read
יֶזְרַעַל—'and the Philistines went up to fight
against Israel'—the equivalent of the statement in 21 1 (cp. the
duplicate statements in 24 4, 29 1; see GILBOA). In 2 S. 29
אִזְרַעַל ('and over Jezreel') may be a corruption of יֶזְרַעַל
(and over the Giritines, or 'Giritines'; see
GIRITINES). In 2 S. 14 יֶזְרַעַל evidently means the district of
Jezreel.

See preceding note.

JEZREEL

afterwards the residence of Ahab and, after him, of Joram; 'by' was the vineyard of NAOTH (1 K. 21.1), where Joram, Ahab's second son, was slain by Jehu (2 K. 9.21 ff.). It was at the palace of Jezreel that the usurper had his famous encounter with Jezebel (2 K. 9.30-37). According to Hosea, vengeance would be taken on Jehu for the bloodshed of Jezreel, and where should this be but in the vale of Jezreel? At the same time—so Hosea interpreted to himself the divine message of which he was conscious—the guilt-laden kingdom of N. Israel would come to an end (Hos. 14.4; 2.11 [2.2] is much later).

The next time the place is mentioned, it is called Esdraelon (Judith 3.9.46.73), and Esdraelon is the name given by Eusebius (OS 267.52; Jer. [133.14] omits the name) to 'a very notable village in the great plain between Scythopolis and Legio'; the Jerusalem Itinerary locates it 10 R. m. from Scythopolis. In the times of the Crusaders the Franks knew it as Gerin (Gerinum; William of Tyre, 22.26); in 1173 the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, calls it Zerein. From Saladin's time onwards Zer'in has no doubt been the Arabic name of the village which has succeeded the ancient Jezreel (Zer'in for Jezreel, as Bētin for Bethel). Strange indeed it is, that a place once so important should have such a miserable modern representative! The 'tower' referred to in 2 K. 9.17, which was a part of the citadel, has long since disappeared. The ruined tower of the squalid modern village is not ancient; but the view from it compensates one to some extent for disappointments.

'Westward, the Carmel ridge may be followed until it terminates at the sea; in the distant east the Jordan line is made out easily; Gilboa seems near enough for you so to strike it with a stone that the missile would rebound and reach Little Hermon before it fell. The great mountain walls of Bashan and of Eglon (Ajlūn) rise in the far east, and seem to forbid any search beyond them' (Harper, *In Scripture Lands*, 285).

In fact, Jezreel itself stands high; you would hardly guess how high, as you approach it riding across the gently swelling plain of Esdraelon. Looking eastward, however, you see that there is a steep, rocky descent on that side into the valley of Gilboa, with the remains of wine-presses cut in the rock, which, with a white marble sarcophagus (found by Guérin), are the only relics of any antiquity at Zer'in.

We noticed just now (in Josh. 17.16) the phrase 'the *emek* (עמק) of Jezreel'; the meaning of this has now to be stated clearly. An עמק (*emek*) is a

2. Vale. 'wide avenue running up into a mountainous country'; the *emek* of Jezreel ought therefore to mean, not the great central plain (עמק, *biḥāh*) W. of Jezreel, the gate of which is Megiddo, but the broad deep vale E. of Jezreel (between the so-called Little Hermon and Gilboa), descending to the Jordan, the gate of which is Jezreel. It should be borne in mind that the later phrase 'the plain of Esdraelon' (Judith 18) is less correct than the early phrases 'the plain of MEGIDDO' [q.v.] and 'the Great Plain'.¹ We do not mean that the 'great plain' could not be designated the plain of Jezreel, for Jezreel looks *two* ways—along the *emek* or 'vale' to the Jordan, and across the *biḥāh* or 'plain' to Mount Carmel. But if one place has more claim than another to give its name to the great central plain, it is Megiddo—at least if MEGIDDO [q.v.] is *Lejjūn* or Legio, which looks as if it were set there for the very purpose of guarding the chief entrance of the plain from Sharon. The 'Vale of Jezreel,' then, is the fit name for that broad deep vale with its gate at Jezreel, which 'three miles after it has opened round Gilboa to the south . . . suddenly drops over a bank some 300 feet high into the valley of the Jordan' (GASm. HG 357). Near the edge of this bank rises the mound which covers the ruins of Bethshean, in a position not surpassed for strength by any in Palestine. See BETH-SHEAN.

T. K. C.
2. A place in the hill-country of Judah (Josh 15.66.122.274)

¹ See GASm. HG 384 f.; Furrer in Schenkel, BL 3302.

JOAB

[B], *עֶזְבָּאֵל* [A], *עֶזְ [p]leā* [L]), not far from Carmel, when came Ahinoam, David's wife (1 S. 25.4), *עֶזְבָּאֵל* [B], *עֶזְבָּאֵל* [L]), and Jether or Ithra, his brother-in-law (2 S. 17.25). Perhaps this name lies hidden in the miswritten *JEZU* in 2 Ch. 20. See ABIGAIL, 2; AHINOAM; AMASA, 1; JETHER, also SAUL, § 4.

JEZREEL (יֶזְרְעֵל). 1. Mentioned in genealogical connection with Etam and SHELAH (1. 7. 11) in 1 Ch. 4.37 (*אֶתָּם* [BA¹], *עֶזְרֵיָה* [AB¹], *יֶזְרְעֵל* [L]). Perhaps the eponym JEZREEL, 2.

2. Name of a son of Hosea (Hos. 1.4; *עֶזְבָּאֵל* [BAQ]), in allusion to the 'bloodshed of Jezreel.' See above, JEZREEL 1, § 1.

JEZRIELUS (יֶזְרִיְהוּס [A]). 1 Esd. 8.27 RV = Ezr. 10.26, JEHIEL, 11.

JIBSAM, RV IBSAM (יִבְסָם), § 54. 'he is from grant'?), son of Tola (see ISSACHAR, § 7), 1 Ch. 7. (BACAN [B], IE8. [A], IAB8CAM [L]).

JIDLAPH (יִדְלָפִי), § 54, son of NAHOR [q.v.] (Gen. 22.22 [J]); IE8ΔΔΦ [A], IE8ΔΔΦ [L], om. D. See PEDAIAB, 1.

JIMNA, JIMNAH, JIMNITES. See IMNAH.

JIPHTAH, RV IPHTAH (יִפְתָּה), see JIPHTAH-EL, an unidentified site in the lowland of Judah, mentioned in the same group with Mareshah Josh. 15.43 (IEΦΘ[AL], om B?). See JOTBAH.

JIPHTAH-EL, RV IPHTAH-EL, VALLEY OF (יִפְתָּה־עַל), cp JEPHTHAH; ΓΑΙΦΑΝΑ [B], ΓΑΙΕΦΘΑΝΑ [AL]), a place on the N. border of Zebulun towards Asher, Josh. 19.14.27 (ΓΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΘΑΙΝΑ [B], ΓΑΙ ΕΦΘΑΝΑ [L]). It has been identified with the Jotapata so well known from Josephus's account of the siege during the first Roman war (BJ iii. 7), the name of which in the Mishna is יִפְתָּה, Yodēphath (Neub. Gdogr. 203; cp 193, n. 6). The names Iphtah and Yodēphath (for another form see JOTBAH) may seem dissimilar; but the old Hebrew names passed through strange vicissitudes; the transformation of Iphtah is not impossible. Jotapata is no doubt the modern Jéfāt, a little to the NE. of Kānet el-Jelil, and due N. of Sepphoris. To the NW. of Jéfāt lies *Kādūl*, see CABUL, col. 615. According to Robinson (BR 3107), the 'valley' of Iphtah-el is the great Wādī 'Abillin, which takes its rise SW. of Jéfāt; but this is not plausible. Should we not read, for יִפְתָּה? The letters יִפְתָּה may have fallen out owing to the proximity of יִפְתָּה. The 'round and lofty' Tell Jéfāt, which is only connected with the hills to the N. of it by a low saddle, would form an excellent landmark. For a less probable identification (Conder's), see DABBASHETH, T. K. C.

JOAB (יֹאָב), 'Yahwè is father' cp JOAH, ABIJAH, ELIAB. A possible derivation from יֹאָב must not be disregarded; cp No. ZDMG, '88, p. 477; יֹאָב [BAL].

1. b. ZERUIAH [q.v.], David's nephew and general (1 S. 26.6.2 S. 213 etc., 1 K. 1.7 etc., 1 Ch. 2.16; יֹאָב [A, Ps. 60 title], יֹאָב [A in 1 Ch. 11.26]). We do not know whether he, like his elder brother Abishai, followed the fortunes of David from the first. We first hear of Joab in connection with the encounter between the men of Abner and Ishbaal and the men of David at Gibeon (2 S. 2.12 ff.; see HELKATHIAZZURIN), and the vengeance which he took² upon ABNER [q.v.] for the violent death of his brother Asahel (2 S. 2.22-26) had consequences which were helpful to the claims of David, though David himself (according to 2 S. 3.31-39; cp 1 K. 2.31 ff.) did not recognise this. It was the exploit of this warrior at the capture of Zion which, according to 1 Ch. 11.4-9, was rewarded by his promotion to be a head

1 So 1 Ch. 2.16; in 2 S. 2.18, however, he stands first.

2 How long a time elapsed between the encounter at Gibeon and the events in chap. 3 is unknown. 2 S. 28 (cp 304) of the former chapter presupposes a cessation of the war; but ch. 31 (cp 304) represents the strife between the rival houses as continuing.

JOAB

(יֹאב) and commander (צָבִי).¹ In 2 S. 20:23 (cp 8:16) we find him placed 'over all the host of Israel.' But through what events one who began as the mere leader of a band (cp 2 S. 3:22) rose to the generalship (20:23; cp 8:16) we are not told in 2 S., and, unlike Abishai, Joab is not referred to in the scanty notices of the war with the Philistines.

Passing over the wars of David and his complicity in the death of Uriah (2 S. 11), we meet with him next in the account of Absalom's exile and rebellion. Here he is represented as standing on terms of close intimacy with David and as prevailing on the king to recall his banished son (14:1 ff.), although it was not until Absalom had taken severe measures that he was able to procure him an interview with the king.² In the fight against Absalom (2 S. 18) a third of the people is put under his charge, although from v. 16 he would seem to have been at the head of the army. That he was directly responsible for the death of Absalom (27:10-14) is rendered doubtful (1) by the conflicting statement in v. 15 which ascribes the deed to his armour-bearers, (2) by his retaining influence over the king, and (3) by the remarkable fact that no allusion is made to the deed in David's final charge (1 K. 2:1 ff.) or elsewhere. But, however this may be, the king felt himself obliged to promise AMASA (7:2) the post which Joab had held.

On the occasion of Sheba's revolt (which the MT, according to its present arrangement, places immediately after Absalom's rebellion), the command, in the absence of Amasa, was given to Abishai, the king fully realising that Joab would naturally follow his brother (2 S. 20). 'The fact that he then takes the leadership into his own hands is so much a matter of course that it does not need to be mentioned.'³ Joab finds an opportunity of ridding himself of his rival Amasa, and successfully quells the revolt.

In David's frontier wars Joab was the foremost figure; it is true he is unmentioned in the panegyric, ch. 8:1-14, but the account in ch. 10 probably gives a more historical view. The later tradition may have deepened the horrors of his campaign in Edom,⁴ but that his policy was thorough is shown by the deadly hatred which arose between Edom and Israel. An equally successful campaign was carried out against Ammon and the allied Arameans (ch. 10; see DAVID, § 8 b), and in the following year Rabbath-Ammon, the capital, with all its spoil, fell into his hands (ch. 11:12-26-31).

In ch. 24 (a later but pre-deuteronomic narrative; cp SAMUEL II, § 6) Joab is ordered to number the people. The unwillingness he exhibits is characteristically treated in 1 Ch. 21:6, 'Levi and Benjamin counted he not among them, for the king's word was abominable (so EV) to Joab.'⁵

Finally, at the close of David's life, Joab sided with Adonijah in his attempt to gain the crown (1 K. 1:7 ff.), and upon the accession of Solomon was slain by Benaiah at the altar-horns and buried in his house 'in the wilderness' (1 K. 2:29 ff.). See ZERUIAH, ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.

A recollection of his name may be preserved in 2 and 3 below; otherwise he passes out of history. In the list given by 2 CH. 11:20 a certain אֲבִי (Abi), and אֲבִיב (Abib), cp also chap. 4:6 son of Joab is cited as captain of the army.

¹ The Chronicler's account of the way in which he rose to distinction ignores the important part which he played in counteracting Abner; the Abner episode is, in fact, omitted in Chron.

² It is difficult to place much confidence in the notice (14:2-5) that two years elapsed before Absalom saw David's face. 27:25-27 are an acknowledged gloss; but since v. 28 is an almost identical repetition of v. 24, it is probable that v. 28 is also a gloss, and v. 29 follows immediately upon v. 24.

³ So, at any rate, Bu. (SBOT), in opposition to the almost general opinion that for 'Abishai' (v. 6) we should read 'Joab' (so Pesh.). If, as has been suggested elsewhere (see JTS 16:100), the connection between the revolts of Sheba and Absalom and the story of Amasa's murder are both due to a redactor, it is probable that Pesh. is right, and that the allusion to Abishai occurred after the two narratives had been joined, and was, indeed, rendered absolutely necessary by 19:13 (14).

⁴ In 1 Ch. 18:12 the campaign is ascribed to Abishai.
⁵ 1 Ch. 27:24 says that Joab 'began to number, but finished not.'

JOANAN

but unfortunately there is no further evidence to support this statement.¹

In reviewing Joab's history it is difficult to gain a clear insight into his relation to David. Powerful and indispensable as he was, he was replaced by Amasa at the close of Absalom's rebellion, which throws doubt upon the suggestion that the increase in Joab's influence over David dates from the episode of Uriah. If David was afraid of Joab because of his acquaintance with the true facts of Uriah's death, he could certainly have found means to get rid of him. Joab's treachery to Uriah is not too clearly stated in 2 S. 11:15 ff.,² and although Joab may have justly incurred blame, it is difficult to see why his brother Abishai (to whom David owed so much, cp, e.g., 2 S. 21:17) should be included in the invectives against the 'sons of Zeruiah' (cp 2 S. 3:39 16:10 ff.; see Klo.), 19:20 [21] ff.).

There is a consensus of critics that 1. c. mjunction ascribed to David in 1 K. 2:5 f. was written after his time to excuse the killing of Joab and Shimei (see DAVID, § 12). Here, as in the section 2:28-34, Joab's fate is represented as a just retribution for the murder of Abner, 'captain of the host of Israel,' and of Amasa, 'captain of the host of Judah.' The special stress laid upon the innocence of David,³ as well as the reiterated condemnation of the 'sons of Zeruiah,' reveals the tendency to idealise the character of the great national hero which characterised later ages (cp DAVID, § 9).

² The father of Ge-harashim (1 Ch. 4:14; יֹאבָב [B]). See HARA-HIM. Meyer (*Entst.* 147) suggests a connection with ATROTH-BETH-JOAB (7:2). The resemblance between Seraiah (the name of his father) and Zeruiah (above) is superficially striking, but apparently accidental.

³ One of the two families of PATAH-MOAB (7:2) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA II, §§ 9, 8 c), Ezra 2:6 = Neh. 7:11 (יֹאבָב [B] in both) = 1 Esd. 5:11 (יֹאבָב [B], AV om.); cp Ezra 8:9 = 1 Esd. 8:35.

JOAB, HOUSE OF. See ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.

JOACHAZ (יֹאחָז [A], יֹאחָזָז [L]), 1 Esd. 1:34. See JEROHAZ.

JOACHIM (יֹאכִימ [BAQ]), Bar. 1:3, and Joakim 1 Esd. 1:37 43; RV Joakim. See JEROAKIM, JEROACHIM. Joakim is also the name of a son of Zerubbabel (1 Esd. 5:5), of the high priest in Judith's time (Jud. 4:6), and of the husband of Susanna (Sus. 1:1).

JOADANUS (יֹאדָנוֹס [B], יֹאדָנוֹס [A]), 1 Esd. 9:19 = Ezra 10:18, GEDALIAH, 5.

JOAH (יֹהָ), 'Yahweh is brother,' cp יֹהָיָה, and see NAMES, § 44; יֹאחָ [BNALOQ].

¹ b. Asaph, Hezekiah's vizier at the time of Sennacherib's invasion (2 K. 18:18, יֹאסָפָר [BA, omitting 'b. Asaph'], 27:26 37, יֹאסָ [B]; in v. 26 יֹאסָפָר [A]; 1 S. 36, יֹאחָ [N], יֹאסָ [P], v. 11 יֹאסָ [B], om. N^o 1, v. 22 יֹאסָ [P]).

² b. Joahaz, Josiah's vizier during the religious reforms (2 Ch. 34:8, יֹאחָז [B], יֹאסָ [A] om. Pesh., יֹאחָז [Jos. Ant. x. 4:1]).

³ b. Zimnah, a Gershonite Levite (1 Ch. 6:21 [5]; יֹאסָ [B], יֹאסָ [L]; 2 Ch. 29:12; om. B., יֹאסָ [A], יֹאסָ [L]). See GENEALOGIES I, § 7 (iii, b), and note that ASAPH (7:2, 3; cp 1 above) is also a Gershonite name.

⁴ b. OREB-EDOM (7:2) (1 Ch. 20:4; יֹאסָ [B], -8 [L], יֹאסָ [A]).

JOAHAZ (יֹהָ), cp יֹהָיָה; יֹאחָזָז [BAI].

¹ The father of JOAH (2) (2 Ch. 34:8; יֹאחָ [B], om. Pesh.).

² (= יֹהָיָה), JEROHAZ, king of Israel (2 K. 14:1; יֹאחָז [B], אֲחָז [A]).

³ (= יֹהָיָה), JEROHAZ, king of Judah (2 Ch. 36:24).

JOANAN. 1. (יֹאנָן [A], יֹאנָן [B], om. L).

1 Esd. 9:1 = Ezra 10:6, RV 'Jonas.' See JOHANAN, 2.

2. (יֹאנָן [Ti. WII]), Lk. 3:27 RV. See GENEALOGIES II, § 27.

¹ Joab, according to Thienius, is a mistake for Shaphat (cp אֲשָׁפָת [BA 1 K. 4]).

² David orders Uriah to be placed in the thick of the battle and then left. But in 27:17 Uriah appears to join with other heroes in an onslaught against the city (no names of enemy or city are given in 11:2 ff.) and falls with them. Nor is the introduction of Ahimelech in v. 21 a case in point, for how was a city to be taken without going up to the wall (as in 2 S. 17:13)?

³ 1 K. 2:32: 'my father David knew it not'; cp the awkward expression 2 S. 3:28 בְּיָדֵי דָוִד יָדָעְתִּי.

JOANES

JOANES (ιωάνης [WH], ἰωάνης [Ti]), Jn. 142 RV^{ms}, AV 'Jona,' RV 'John.' See BAR-JONA, JOHN.

JOANNA, or rather, as in RV JOANAN (ιωάναν [Ti WH]), eighteenth in the ascending genealogical series which begins with Joseph, Mary's husband, in Lk. 3:23-38. See GENEALOGIES II., § 37.

JOANNA (ιωάννα [Ti], ιωάννα [WH]); cp Aram. יוֹחַנָּה, Ber. R. 64, b. Sot. 22 a, from an original Heb. יוֹחָנָה or יוֹחָנָה, Dalm. *Jud.-Pal. Aram.* 142, n. 9, cp BAR-JONA, wife of CHUZA (Lk. 83). She was one of the pious women who ministered to Jesus and the twelve apostles (αἰτρώς [Ti WH]) of their substance, and of those who went to the sepulchre to embalm his body (Lk. 83:24-26).

JOANNAN (ιωάννης [ANV]), 1 Macc. 22, RV 'John.' See MACCABEES I., §§ 1, 3.

JOARIB (1 Macc. 21). See JEHOIARIB.

JOASH (יֹאָשׁ, and, in an abbreviated form, יֹאָשׁ. Both forms occur in 1 and 2, but in 3 *ff.* the latter is consistently found; cp *yasi-ilu*, an Arabian tribal-name, temp. Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal [Hommiel, *Exp. T.* 8502 f.]; Sab. יֹאָשׁ, Sin. 154 f. etc. Possibly 'Yah gives,' § 26, see Gray, *HPV* 154 f., but more probably it is not a verbal form; *was* [BRAL]; *as* [A. K. 148]).

1. b. Ahaziah, king of Judah (B.C. 835-796), who was hidden during the usurpation of Athaliah and crowned at the age of seven (2 K. 12:2 Ch. 24).

On the two parallel accounts of the revolution which placed Joash on the throne, (1) 2 K. 11:1-12:18, (2) *ib.* 11:13-18a, see Stade, *ZATW* 5290 f. (85), who is followed by Benzinger and Kittel. The former, which emphasizes the religious motives of the revolution, may have come from a work on the history of the temple. The account in 2 Ch. 22:10-23:21 is largely recast; but, where this is not the case, can be used as a parallel text to (a).

We know but little of Joash's long reign. Somehow the temple had been allowed to get into disrepair, and Joash made a new arrangement for the due preservation of the fabric, the priests being made responsible for this. The temple is evidently regarded as a royal possession. A statement of more historical interest (turned to his own account by the Chronicler, 2 Ch. 24:23b) is concerned with the inroad of the Syrians under Hazael, who only departed on receiving a large tribute. No doubt this inroad stands in close connection with Hazael's successful wars against Jehu or Jehoahaz. Joash met his death at the hands of assassins, which was possibly an act of private vengeance for the cruel murder of Zechariah b. Jehoiada, the priest. (This is suggested by the statement of 2 Ch. 24:25, which may be not wholly incorrect.) See ISRAEL, § 31; CHRONICLES, § 8; CHRONOLOGY, § 35.

2. h. Jehoahaz (797-783 B.C.?), king of Israel (2 K. 13:10-14 2 K. 25). One of the greatest of the Israelitish kings. His success over BENHADAD (*q.v.*) b. Hazael (which is said to have been foretold by Elisha, 2 K. 13:14 f.) and his victory over Amaziah, followed by his breaking down of the wall of Jerusalem, are the most prominent facts of his reign. That Judah was reduced to vassalage was the result, according to the narrative, of an audacious challenge of Amaziah b. Joash (1), king of Judah, which provoked the scornful and only too prophetic parable of the 'thistle and the cedar' (2 K. 14:8 f.). See AMAZIAH, 1.

3. Father of GIDEON (*q.v.*) (Jude, 6-8). See AMAZIAH.

4. A prince (lit. 'the king's son') temp. Ahab (1 K. 22:26 cp 2 Ch. 18:25 *was* [B]). Either the title 'king's son' was given to officers of state, or members of the royal house did not disdain such an office as the governorship of the prison. Possibly *יֹאָשׁ* is a corruption of *יֹאָשׁ* (Che.), see HAMMELECH.

5. A son of SHELAIH (*q.v.*), b. Judah, 1 Ch. 4:22 (*was* [B]).

6. One of David's heroes (1 Ch. 12:3, *was* [B], *was* [A]). See DAVID, § 11 a, iii.

JOASH (יֹאָשׁ), § 80, 'Yahweh aids,' for *יֹאָשׁ*, cp Ar. *gatha* and Sab. n. pr. *יֹאָשׁ*. This, however, is not favoured by the Gk. transcription *was* [BAL], which

¹ See Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, s.v. *יֹאָשׁ*.

JOB

does not presuppose the harder *y* [= *ξ*]. See J (*יֹאָשׁ*).

1. h. BECHER (*q.v.*) in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* ii. a), 1 Ch. 7:8, cp JENNI, p. 10, and 1 Ch. 23:10 f. (B).

2. One of David's overseers (1 Ch. 27:29). See DAVID.

JOATHAM (ιωθάμ [Ti WH]), Mt. 19,

JOAZABDUS (ιωζαβδος [A]), 1 Esd. 9:48 = 87, JOSABAD.

JOB (יֹב), Gen. 46:13 AV, a corruption of JAS (*q.v.*).

JOB (יֹב; *was*, *was*), the hero of the Book of (*cp* also Ezek. 14:14 20 Jas. 5:11, on which see below).

1. **Name.** JOBAH (*q.v.* 2), king of Edom (Gen. 36). Though this confusion is due to a late uncritical writer probably a Jewish Haggadist,¹ we must admit the possibility that there may be a connection between names. Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar all have points of contact with name-lists in Genesis, and we should naturally expect this to be the case with 'Iyyob.' In fact, most critics before Dillmann have explained 'Iyyob' from the Hebrew, as if the original framer of the story of Job either coined the name or at least modified it as to make it symbolic of his hero; the alternatives (1) 'the pious' = Ar. *awwab*, 'one who turns to God' (see Koran, 38:16 29:44); (2) 'the assailed, or persecuted'—i.e., by God, or by Satan. Neither is very satisfactory. The former is not definite enough in meaning, nor is the root Israelitish;² the latter implies an exceptional use of the grammatical form (*cp* יֹאָשׁ = 'Yah gives'). There is no indication that the writers of Job thought of any meaning for the name.

Another problem remains—the true origin of the name. In *Am. Tab.* 2376:13 we find Aiah a personal name in N. Palestine (Che. *Exp.*).

2. **Its origin.** 1897, b. p. 23; possibly Aiah = 'Iyyob.' In the next article (JOB, BOOK OF, § 4), the name of the hero of Job (יֹב from יֹאָשׁ?) is traced to Ea-bani, the name of an ancient Babylonian hero, whose creation out of clay has been compared with the narrative Gen. 27 (see CREATION, § 20, n. 4). Ea-bani seems to have been confounded with Gilgamesh, who, according to the myth, was attacked by some sore disease, and was supernaturally healed. For other legendary Hebrew names of Babylonian origin, see CAINITES, §§ 6-8, 10. On the land of Uz see UZ.

The question whether Job really lived—which is distinct from the question whether he actually said or did all that is related of him in our book—can only be answered in the affirmative if we are prepared to regard Cain, Enoch,

and Noah as historical personages. The saying of Resh Lakish, 'Job existed not, and was not created' but is (only) a parable,³ shows that great freedom of speech upon such matters was allowed among Jewish doctors. There has been some vagueness in the utterances of modern Christian scholars, who have not always considered that for a story to have a traditional basis is not equivalent to its being founded on fact. The moral value of the story of Job is unimpaired by the denial of its historicity; like the story of Jonah it is a parable, and the only question is—a parable of what? The ancients were struck by Job's righteousness (Ezek. 14:14 20 Ecclus. 49:9 [Heb. text]), or by his patient endurance (Jas. 5:11). To Mohammed, too, Job was a model of piety and

¹ Bleek, Dillmann, Budde ascribe it to a Hellenist; but the arguments of Fränkel (*MGWJ* 41 308 f. [72]) deserve attention. See UZ.

² Cp Lag. *Uebers.* 90.

³ Cp also the later Heb. יֹב *Dalm. Aram. WB.*

⁴ The saying was, however, tampered with. See Fränkel, *ib.* 310; and cp Job. and Sol. 60 f. On Resh Lakish see further Grätz, *Hist. of the Jews* (ET), 2500 f.

JOB (BOOK)

§]. See JEUSU

JENAMIN (9.2., § 9.

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patience (Koran, 38.43), and the Mohammedans humorously call the angel *abu Eyyub*, 'Job's father.' In Christian Egypt, too, as Amelineau remarks,¹ the story of Job was very popular, but not the speeches. The one was practical, the other appeared to be speculative. Theodore of Mopsuestia witnesses to the same preference of the story to the speeches in his time. For evidence of the further legendary development of the story of Job in the Jewish and Moslem world see D. B. Macdonald, *ASL* 14:137-164 [198]; K. Kohler, 'The Testament of Job,' *Kohut Memorial Volume* (197), 264-338.

In Ecclus. 49.9 **Q** is certainly wrong in reading **מִן** **מִן** for **מִן**; the latter reading is supported both by Syr. and by our

Hebrew text. The recovered Heb. text, however, must be corrupt. Stend thinks he can read **מִן** in the MS after **מִן** (*Das hebr.*

Fragment, '97, p. 32). **Q**, however, has **מִן** **מִן** **מִן**, and this is what the copyist of our MS may have meant to give; but the word we want is **מִן**, and in **מִן** **מִן** **מִן** should be

מִן, and the **מִן** of Cowley and Neubauer should be **מִן**. The passage then becomes, 'He also mentioned Job the upright, who uttered right words' (see Job 42.7). In Jas. 5:11 Zahn (*Einl.*

155) may be right in preferring the reading **מִן** (Al¹⁹ 1331 L. Arm.) to **מִן** (B¹⁹ K¹⁹ 177.). The verse becomes, 'Ye have heard of the patience of Job and the end (appointed by) the Lord. See (here) that the Lord is full of compassion and pitiful.'

T. K. C.

JOB, BOOK OF. The book stands third among the *K'thubim* or Hagiographa, according to the Talmudic arrangement, but not always in the same place relatively to other books; in the Greek Bible too, there are variations in the MSS. On these points see Kyle, *Canon of the OT* (1892). In the Syriac Bible Job is placed between the Pentateuch and Joshua, because, according to the Jews (*Bab' bathra*, 15a), it was written by Moses (cp CANON, § 45). It may mitigate our surprise to remember that one of the fathers of modern criticism, Eichhorn, even claimed for the book a pre-Mosaic origin. We need not, however, any longer discuss the possibility of this view, since no scholar could be found to defend it. The most scientific arrangement is that which includes Job in the group of books of Wisdom (*Hokmah*), of which it is doubtless the greatest, and the most fraught with suggestion for the history of the Jewish religion. See WISDOM LITERATURE.

As the book now stands, it consists of five parts.

1. The Prologue, written, like the Epilogue, in prose (chap. 1).
2. The Colloquies of Job and his friends (chaps. 3-31).
3. The speeches of Elihu (chaps. 32-37).
4. The speeches of Yahweh out of the storm, with very brief answers of Job (chaps. 38-42a).
5. The Epilogue (42.7-17).

Thus it is plain that the book of Job is deficient in literary unity. Two literary styles are represented in it:

1. **Contents and character.**—narrative prose and didactic poetry; both, however, are thoroughly artistic in character. We must not read the

Prologue as a history; this would be to do injustice to a considerable epic poet. Nor must we read the Colloquies as mere specimens of Hebrew philosophy in metre. This would be to miss making the acquaintance of a powerful lyric poet who was also skilled in the delineation of varieties of character. Certainly it is not legitimate to call the book of Job a drama; a Hebrew drama, especially in post-exilic times, is inconceivable. The attitude of the Priestly Writer (P) in the Hexateuch towards the ancient Hebrew myths and legends sufficiently shows how hopeless a dramatic movement would have been, even had it been initiated. Nevertheless, the idea of inclosing a poetical debate between the two parts of a quasi-poetical tale is dramatic in tendency, and suggests that in more favourable circumstances gifted dramatists might have arisen among the Jews. In order that students may appreciate the art (not less

JOB (BOOK)

than the meaning) of the poem and its different sections, there is one preliminary service which the textual critic must render—viz., to submit the text of Job to a careful revision.

All that can be done for exegesis from an opposite point of view has been done by Dillmann, and if Davidson cannot be mentioned as Dillmann's rival, yet every one of the too few pages that Davidson has written on Job testifies to familiarity with the available exegetical material; where either of these eminent critics has failed, it has been simply owing to the inadequacy of their critical methods. To Lückell, Siegfried, Budde, Beer, and Duhm is due the credit of having perceived that the next step forward in exegesis must be preceded by a purification of the text. The labours of these scholars and of others who have worked at the text of Job on the same lines, though less continuously, cannot be disregarded by exegetical students, and any article like the present must constantly refer not only to the Massoretic but also to an emended text.

The present writer is tied to no master, and will give the student the best that he knows. Nor can he abstain from adding that the emended text to which he will appeal is one which has partly been produced by considerations of metre. For the most necessary information on this subject he would refer to the article POETICAL LITERATURE; it is enough here to endorse the statement of Duhm, that the usual poetical form in the Colloquies of Job and his friends is the simplest metre of Hebrew prosody—viz., the stanza of four stichs, of three beats each.¹ There are also, it is true, passages of tristichs in chaps. 24 and (perhaps) 30; but these are among the later insertions. One of the clearest reasons for denying these passages to the main author of the work is the difference in their poetical form. The statement of Zenner (*Zt. f. Kath. Th.* '99, p. 173) that the book of Job contains much more than a hundred tristichs implies far too conservative an attitude towards the traditional text.

The object of the Prologue is to show that disinterested love of God is possible, and that in the case of

2. **Prologue and Epilogue.**—such an one as Job, or of that quasi-personal being whom Job symbolises, the terrible load of suffering has this

one intelligible purpose—viz., that the perfection of his unbought piety may be exhibited before angels and men. Job is introduced to us as a rich Edomite Emeer, happy in his family and in his enormous possessions. He also knows the true God under the name Elōhim, and is scrupulous in the observances of piety. Heaven is thrown open to us that we may see what Yahweh himself thinks of Job, and how the Satan is only permitted to hurl this great and good man into an abyss of misery that his piety may come out as pure gold. The deed is done, and Job, stricken with a loathsome sickness (see PESTILENCE), withdraws to the ash-mound (*mazhala*) of his village (cp Lam. 4.5).

'Flesh for flesh,'² the Satan had said (24); 'his dearest relations are nothing to a man, if he may but save his life.' That, however, was not the right reading of Job's character. His wife's faith indeed gave way. Loyal to her husband, but faithless to her God, she bade Job be a man, since God withheld the reward of piety, and curse his all-powerful enemy before he died. To Job, however, this was the height of folly; she who so spoke had degraded herself—had become 'one of the foolish women' (see FOOL.). Not only did he 'speak no rash word' against God,³ he willingly accepted the

¹ Jerome states that the book is composed in hexameters with a dactylic and spondaic movement. Evidently he means double trimeters. Dupont, Prof. of Greek at Cambridge, translated Job in Homeric hexameters under the title *ἑρμηνεία* (Cambr. 1853). Vetter (*Die Metrik des B. Job* [197]), and Ley (articles in *St. Kr.* '98) are the most recent special monographs on the metre of Job.

² Read probably **בְּשָׂרָה בְּשָׂרָה** MT's **בְּשָׂרָה בְּשָׂרָה**, 'skin for skin,' gives no adequate sense; Schwally's explanation (*ZATW* 20.46 f. [1900]), is only slightly more plausible than that of Merx and Budde.

³ MT in 1.22 reads **וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לַיהוָה**, 'and attributed nothing unsavoury to God,' the exact sense of which is variously given (see Schultens, Di., Bu.). Probably, however, we should read

¹ 'Version Thébaine du Livre de Job,' *FSBA*, '87, p. 109.

'evil' which could not blot from his memory the 'good' of happier days. In a little while his three chief friends arrive, for the news has spread far and wide; they are doubtless Elinors like Job, and they know how true sympathy should express itself.

The prose narrative is resumed in the Epilogue. Yahwé declares that his anger is kindled against the friends of Job because they have not said of him the thing that is right, like his servant Job; he tells them to offer sacrifice, and Job shall intercede for them, 'that sudden ruin may not befall them.'¹ So Job prayed for them, and, as a public act of justification, God restored him more than his former prosperity, till at length he died, old and full of days.

As a piece of narrative the Epilogue compares very unfavourably with the Prologue. The idea that after having been proved capable of 'fearing God for naught,' Job should have to spend a hundred and forty years in the enjoyment of a commonplace prosperity will seem to most moderns so unreasonable that they probably would be glad to have reasons for cancelling it. It is not less strange that nothing should be said in the Epilogue either of Satan's loss of his wager, or of Job's recovery from his leprosy. However, to do justice to the writer we must view him, not as an artist, but as a teacher.

The Epilogue was a necessary concession to the unspiritual multitude, who had been taught even by prophets to look forward to double compensation for Israel's afflictions² (Is. 61 Jer. 16:14-18 Zech. 9:12). Regarding Job as a symbol of suffering Israel, Jewish readers could not but expect him to be re-endowed with sons and daughters, flocks and herds, and treasures of gold³ (cp Is. 54: 606 f. 9). Now, too, we can see why, instead of telling us how Job recovered from his sickness, the narrator uses the vague expression *וַיִּשְׁכַּח*, which is so often used of the hoped-for restoration of the national prosperity (e.g., Ps. 147 Joel 3[4] 1). He is thinking here, not of the legendary Job, but of his people Israel.

We next consider Prologue and Epilogue together. Can these be by the same writer as the Colloquies? (1) It must be admitted that the Colloquies in general presuppose the main facts of the story in the Prologue; on the other hand, in 10:15-17 f. (contrast 8:4 20:3) we have certain statements which are plainly inconsistent with some of those facts. (2) In Job 42:7 Job is commended for having spoken rightly of God; obviously this does not correspond with the speeches of Job in the Colloquies. (3) The Prologue ascribes the trials of Job to the Satan. Nothing is said of this in the poem; neither Job nor his friends know anything of such a being. (4) In the Prologue Job is a model of patience; in the Colloquies he is impatient. (5) The explanation of Job's sufferings given in 1:10 is unknown to the Colloquies. (6) Sacrifices are essential to piety in the prose-story of Job; they are not once mentioned in the Colloquies.

The necessary inference is that the Prologue and the Epilogue were written before the Colloquies, and since

וַיִּשְׁכַּח (cp 2:10, and especially Ps. 106:33). *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* represents *נָשַׁח*; *נָשַׁח* comes from *נָשַׁח* (cp 2:10, and especially Ps. 106:33). *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* was inserted by the last editor to make sense.

¹ In 42:8 MT gives, *וַיִּשְׁכַּח עֵשֶׂת יוֹב*, 'that I may not do something shameful to you' (i.e., give you an exemplary punishment (Bu.). The text of Job is so far from immaculate that it is better to emend it here than to force Yahwé to use a more impossible word than *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* for Yahwé to use could hardly be imagined. Probably we should read, *וַיִּשְׁכַּח*, *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* and *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* are both very liable (as experience of Job and Psalms will show) to corruption.

² The exact doubling of Job's former possessions shows that we are not reading literal history here (Davidson, on 42:12).

³ On the close of 42:11 see KESITAH, and on the names of Job's three daughters, the first and the third of which are strangely misread, see JEMIMA, KEZIA, KEREN-HAPPUCH.

42:7 implies that both Yahwé and the friends had discourse with Job, it follows that the present Colloquies (if we may provisionally regard them as a whole) have been substituted for speeches of very different purport which came from the narrator of the prose story, and were in perfect harmony with it.¹

The chief value of the Epilogue for us moderns (whose aesthetic and religious grounds alike are compelled to exception to its contents) is that it enables us to reconstruct the main outlines of the original colloquy and of those portions of the story which had to be omitted together with the original colloquy. Elsewhere an attempt has been made to reconstruct what might conceivably have formed the omitted portion of earlier book of Job.² Something of the sort can, hardly dispensed with in a full treatise on the criticism of Job, the to economise space it is not given here. The theory adopted above enables us to account (a) for the severe blame which Yahwé gives to the three friends, and for their assumed liability to some terrible calamity;³ (b) for the high praise awarded Job; (c) in part for the expressions in the description of suffering servant of Yahwé in Is. 52:13-53:12; and (d) for the early view of Job, which persisted for centuries in the quarters in spite of the later insertions in the book, as a model of righteousness and patient endurance.

We must now ask, Is it possible to get behind the representation given of Job and of his misfortunes in the Prologue and Epilogue? There is a legendary basis may be assumed as on *a priori* grounds like

4. Legendary basis. Even the book of Tobit has its legendary element, though the main current of the narrative is unaffected by it. More may we expect to find a traditional basis for the story of Job, which is of just the type in which the primitive imagination delighted; indeed, the name of its hero (in striking contrast to Jobit=Tobiah) is plainly no fiction, but a legacy from antiquity.

The prevalent view among critics is that a wise man adopted a story which had been handed on from a long age in popular tradition, and adapted it to his own didactic purposes.⁴

One of the chief points in favour of this view is the supernatural machinery of the Prologue, which has a strong mythological character. In particular, the humorousness of the dialogue between Yahwé and the Satan, which might abundantly paralleled from Christian hagiology, evidently presents the popular, not the official religion. On the other hand, it must be remarked (1) that the Prologue is evidently constructed with a didactic object—viz., to give an adequate explanation of the sufferings of the righteous; (2) that the Epilogue is not fully intelligible unless Job be understood as type of the people of Israel; and (3) that the Epilogue presupposes that Job and his three friends have been conversing on the subject of the divine government of the world (Job 42:7) whereas discussions on speculative subjects are uncongenial to the popular mind.

How far can this view be endorsed? So much as this appears to be certain—the story of Job is based upon a popular legend. It is probable, however, that some of the most interesting features of the Prologue are not of traditional origin, but come from a cultivated wise man who knew how to write for the people, but stood somewhat apart both from the popular and from the official religion. This wise man lived in the post-exilic period, when the belief in the Satan was becoming general. Very probably the imaginary dialogue between Yahwé and the Satan is not merely humorous but ironical. The narrator may wish to suggest a grave doubt as to the appropriateness of such a belief in Judaism; certainly he regards the Satan, like the *h'm* *Elôhim*,⁵ as no more than a part of his poetic machinery. His main object, however, is to show (anticipating much later teaching) that the accumulated woes of Israel are but tests of the disinterestedness of Israel's love for God. It is true, the Epilogue is inconsistent with this; this wise man and artist, free-minded as he is, has to make concessions to the multitude (see § 3).

¹ See D. B. Macdonald, *JBL* 14:63-71 (1915); Duhm, *Hibb.* (1915), Einl. p. viii.

² Che. *Jewish Religious Life*, 161.

³ *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* (see preceding col. n. 1).

⁴ See Wellh. *JDT*, 1871, p. 555; Che. *Job and Sol.* 66; Buddle, pp. viii ff.; Duhm, p. vii f.

⁵ Cp *Job and Sol.* 110 (parallel between Job and Faust).

⁶ I.e. 'members of the divine guild' (ANGELS, § 2).

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Most probably all that he adopted from the legend was (1) the name of the hero and of the land in which he lived, (2) the fact of Job's close intercourse with God, and (3) the surprising circumstance that this most righteous and divinely favoured of men was attacked by some dread disease such as leprosy, but was ultimately healed. So much as this was not improbably known to Ezekiel, who (14.20) mentions three men, Noah, Daniel (or rather perhaps 'Enoch'—see ENOCH), and Job as having escaped from peril of death by their righteousness. The original story was probably derived from Babylonia (cp preceding article). Eabani, the friend of the solar hero Gilgamesh (see ENOCH), himself too created for Ea by the potter-goddess Anur, was attacked by a distressing sickness, apparently the same from which Gilgamesh had for a time been a sufferer. In the Babylonian legend Eabani dies, whereas Gilgamesh is healed for a time by a magic potion and immersion in the fountain of life in the earthly paradise. It would seem that in Palestine one part of the story of Gilgamesh dropped away from that hero and attached itself to Eabani, whose name became Hebrewised into *אֵבָן*, out of which arose *אֵבָן* (*Job*). Probably the story was brought by the Israelites from Hauran, if, as has been suggested (see HANAN), the Hauran of Genesis is a distortion of Hauran. The 'land of Uz' (see UZ) was therefore probably in the NE. of Palestine, where indeed the name 'Uz' would naturally lead us to place it, but is transferred to Edom by the author of the original Book of Job, because of the traditional reputation of the Edomites for wisdom (Obad. 8; cp TEMAN). This new situation suggested the mention of the Sabaeans (115), and the Cushites (117; read *קִשְׁיִם* for *קִשְׁיִם*; see CUSH, § 2, i.), also the designation of Job as 'the greatest of all the sons of Jerahmeel' (13; read *בְּנֵי קִרְם* for *בְּנֵי יִרְמְיָהוּ*; see JERAHMEEL, KEDEM, MAHOL) and of the friends of Job as a Temanite, a Zarhite, and a Tenuanite respectively (for the emendations here adopted see SUHITE, ZOPHAR). The later wise man (once more we provisionally assume the unity of the Colloquies) who, as we have seen, discarded the original Colloquies and substituted new ones, does not seem to have altered the Prologue and Epilogue. To his work, which from the very first impressed thinkers as much as the prose narrative of Job impressed the multitude, we now direct our attention. Evidently he admired that narrative, for he has adopted it; but not less evidently he was not satisfied even by the attractive theory embodied in the Prologue, partly, we may suppose, because it depended for its efficiency on the opening of the heavens, and the admission of human listeners to the council-hall of Elōhim. For the wise men sought to connect religion as much as possible with mother-earth.

It should be noticed that there are three cycles of speeches, or colloquies, so that each friend speaks nine times (on Zophar's third speech see below), and Job answers nine times. Job also opens the colloquies by a poetic complaint.

The friends, who represent the Jewish theologians of the author's time, are about to speak. An excuse for this had to be provided. Submission to the divine will was the fundamental note of the character of Job, according to the Prologue. In order to justify argumentation, the sufferer must be seen to have lost his composure. The word 'God' occurs but twice in Job's complaint (chap. 3); he murmurs, but without accusing God of injustice. All that he craves is an explanation of this sudden catastrophe. Why has he suffered to live on when he—why must he live on, now that he is in abject misery? Piety does not forbid him to

¹ For a peculiar view of the 'Edomite setting' of the original poem, see Klostermann on 1 K. 411.

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curse his natal day—the day which began with the night of his birth.

Perish the day on which I was to be born,
And the night which said, Behold, I a boy I
Let not God above ask after it,
Let not the moon show her splendour above it.²

Years and days are not imaginary, but have an objective existence in the unseen world. Job would fain reverse himself on this luckless day. As Moulton well says, 'All variations of darkening that fancy can suggest are invoked to blot out that day which betrayed Job into life'.³ Then Eliphaz the Temanite comes forward. He is the oldest of the party—older than Job's father (15.10). It is characteristic of him that he appeals to special revelations of his own; characteristic of Bildad that he loves to appeal to tradition; characteristic of the young and impetuous Zophar that he appeals to no authority but his own judgment, and gets irritated at any one who disputes the correctness of his theory.⁴ All are agreed that the cause of all calamity (and therefore of Job's) is sin, whereas Job himself from the first ascribes his trouble to some baffling mystery in God himself. The point which is not clear to the friends is, whether the calamity which has befallen Job is a punishment or merely an educational chastisement. They could not have hesitated to adopt the second view but for the vehemence of Job's complaint which seemed to them unbefitting in a devout man. Eliphaz gently remonstrates with his friend, and, if textual corruption be removed, his speech will not strike us as either unconnected or dictatorial. Why should Job lose heart? Who ever perished, being innocent? Job must know this; clearly Eliphaz does not expect any criticism of his statement. There is one truth, however, of which Job seems to him not fully aware; indeed Eliphaz himself had needed to have it enforced by a special, personal revelation, whispered to him by a mysterious form at night (17.21):—

Can mortal man be righteous before God?
Can man be pure before his maker?
Behold, he trusteth not his servants,
His holy ones are naught before God;
How much more the dwellers in houses of clay . . .
Do they not dry up, when he bloweth upon them?
They die, but without wisdom.⁵

What, then, is man's true wisdom? It is to recognise trouble as the consequence of sin, and not to be seduced into irritating words which can only lead to the complete destruction both of the fool who utters them and of his children (5.24 f.). Does Job think that there is anyone of the celestials who can be induced to help him? He will hardly indulge in this fancy after the relation which Eliphaz has just related. For his own part, Eliphaz would rather turn trustfully to God, whose purposes are so unsearchable, but, for the righteous man, so beneficent. He concludes with an idealistic picture of the happiness in store for Job, if he will defer to the friendly advice offered to him by Eliphaz (5.17-27).

Job 4.8-11 and 5.20 f. are late insertions which spoil the fine rhetoric of the poet. Chap. 5 is also questioned by Siegf., Beer, and Duhm, but seems to be protected by 4.18 f. if read as emended above; indeed, 'call now,' etc. is much too vigorous an address for an ordinary glossator. Verse 7 needs correction in order to suit 2.6, but cannot be rescued for the poem, both 2.6 and 2.7 being alien to the Temanite's argument. (Verse 7 should probably be read, 'Yea, man brings forth misery, and the sons of wickedness pour forth iniquity';

¹ *הָרָה לְהָרָה* (Hick., Bu., Du.).

² See translation of four stanzas of Job's complaint, with justification, in *E. J. P. 7* 10.340 f. (199).

³ *Book of Job*, introd. p. xix.

⁴ Cp Davidson, *Job*, 25 f.

⁵ In l. 4 read *קִשְׁיִם בְּמִלְחָה*. After l. 5 we have omitted four lines, to avoid having to justify emendations at too great length. When we follow 5, there is a quotation from Is. 40.24. See Beer *ad loc.*

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מִן הַיָּמִים הַהֵם וְכֵן יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמָיו. Cp. Balde, Duhm, Matthes.

Bildad's first speech is chiefly remarkable for his respectful attitude towards tradition. 'We are of yesterday,' he says, 'and know nothing' (8₂), whereas the wisdom of the past is centuries old, and has a stability to which Job's new-fangled notions (for Job represents a 'new school' of religious philosophy) cannot pretend. Here the first genuine allusion to Egypt (8₄). 'Nile-grass,' 8₁₁; see REED) should be noticed; also Bildad's cruel reference to the fate of Job's children (8₄). Zophar gives a panegyric of the divine wisdom (11₅₋₈), which, however, only leads up to the poor inference that God must be able to see secret sin (11₁₁), and which Job (12₂ f. 11 f. 14-25 13₁ f.) reduces, as he thinks, to its just proportions.¹

The saying in 11₆, 'Know therefore that God exacteth of thee less than thine iniquity deserveth' (EV) is indeed a terrible one, but Zophar is not to be held responsible for it. It is not an interpolation, however, but an editorial attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage. 'When duly emended, it may assist us in the emendation of 11₆, which should probably run thus, 'That thou mightest know that it (i.e., divine wisdom) is marvellous in reason': וְיָדַעְתָּ כִּי יִסְרָאֵל לֹא מְלֹכֶה. Chap. 12 has been much misunderstood. Grill would excise 12₄₋₁₃ as a later insertion. Siegfried prints 12₄₋₅ and 12₁₃₋₁₄ in colours (as insertions); and Duhm omits 12₇₋₁₀ and 12₄₋₅, and makes 12₄₋₆ (Irishtichs, he thinks) parallel to the cycle of poems in chaps. 21 and 30₂₋₈. This is simply owing to corruptions of the text which have obscured the meaning. Probably the only interpolations are 12₄₋₅ and 13. The passage should begin, No doubt with you is discernment, And with you is perfection of wisdom. Yea, I have not learned wisdom, And your secrets I know not (cp 11). But ask now the beasts that they may teach thee, etc. (cp 7 f.). The wicked man at the judgment is confident. At (God's) fixed time his foot is secure, etc. (cp 5 f.). Doth not the ear try words, etc. (p. 11).

The only result of these successive speeches is to make the complaints of the sufferer bolder and more startling. But before he 'gives free course to his complaint' (10₁), he secures his right to do so. The immensity of his woe is his justification. All he asks of his friends is—spoken or silent sympathy; but he asks it in vain, and this intensifies his agony. The friends may lecture to him on the infinite power and wisdom of God. Miserable comfort! He knows it only too well. To be compelled to think that this power and wisdom is not directed by morality, and that he is worth no more to the Almighty and the All-wise than the mountains which he removes, or the rivers which he dries up, is acutely painful. Job does not profess to understand God's dealings in the world of nature, but hitherto it has appeared to him that he understood God's intercourse with His moral creature—man. He looks for consistency in God's dealings with moral beings. The sudden transition from happiness to misery in Job's case can only, so he fancies, be ascribed to capriciousness in God; or, if we may express the underlying symbolic meaning the catastrophe by which a religious and prosperous people like Israel was suddenly crushed by the iron heel of a foreign despot, appears to show that Zion has been forgotten by her God. As for the theory that calamity is a chastisement, it will not apply to Job's case, for his days are numbered, and even for those few days God, as if a wild beast, cannot refrain from torturing his prey. Yet, such is the power of true religion, the man who utters these desperate words, pleads with his God for gentler treatment! These three speeches of Job (6 f. 9 f. 12-14) are rich in poetic ore; but we have space here only for the wonderful expressions of an inextinguishable heart-religion which occur near the close of the first and third speeches respectively.

¹ Davidson's remark (p. 88) that in reply to Zophar Job shows, by a brilliant declaration of the divine wisdom and power, that he is a greater master in the knowledge of these than his friends are, hardly touches the main point. Job admits that God is wise; but the result of his observation is that God's wisdom is mainly devoted to destructive ends.

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It will be noticed that in the first quotation a supposed 'parody' of Ps. 84(5) and an unesthetic phrase which Arabic parallelism can make tolerable, have disappeared. If emendation is permissible, it is so here.¹

What is man that thou shouldst spy him out,
And direct thine attention to him?
That thou shouldst try him (by fire) every morning,
And test him every moment?

How long are thou look away from me,
Ere thou leave me that I may have a moment's cheer?
Why hast thou set me as a target?
Why art thou unto me as a mark?

And why dost thou not pardon my transgression,
And cause mine iniquity to remove?
For now I must lie down in the dust,
And when thou seekest after me, I shall be gone (7₁₇₋₂₁).

O that thou wouldst hide me in Sheol,
That thou wouldst conceal me till thine anger were spent,
That thou wouldst appoint me a set time and remember me,
If the fury of wrath should come to an end!

All my days of anguish I would wait
Till thy relenting came;
Thou wouldst call, and I would answer thee,
Thou wouldst long after the work of thy hands (14₁₃₋₁₅).²

It will be plain, even from these quotations, that the first part of the discussion has not been wholly useless.

6. Second cycle.

It is true, the several points of view of Job and of the friends are in some respects totally different. Both parties, however, have alike become awake to the fact that the problem before them has more than a merely personal reference. It is not only Job but a large section of the human race which has, apparently, lost its sense of union with God. The old days of idyllic happiness and unquestioning faith have passed away not merely for Job, but also for Israel, and for many another people, and 'the earth' seems to be 'given over into the hands of the wicked' (9₂₄). According to the friends, this was because of some sin committed by Job (i.e., by Job's antitypes). Job, however, did not accept this, and went on piling complaint upon complaint. The friends, he said, were treacherous, and God was inconsistent—'He destroys the perfect and the wicked' (9₂₂). We might have supposed that this enlargement of the problem would have softened Job's mood.³ It does not soften it; the poet fails to make the most of the psychological situation. There is but one idea which can at all comfort Job; it is this—that God's love cannot really be extinct—that in the depths of his nature God cannot be as hostile to him as he seems. Though slowly dying he can even now imagine God longing after him when it is, humanly speaking, too late, and he indulges in the dream of a successful conflict between God's wrath and God's love.⁴

It is Wrath that hurries Job to Sheol; Love stands by sorrowfully and waits his time. Thanks to Love, it will at length be seen that Job's removal to the dark underworld was the best thing that could have happened. No longer seeing him, God's

¹ The readings here proposed are: מִן הַיָּמִים הַהֵם (l. 1); מִן הַיָּמִים (l. 3); see Exp. T to 30(1); וְכֵן יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמָיו (l. 6); לִפְנֵיהֶם (l. 8); cp 16_{12b}; Beer). The opening words of v. 20 are omitted as an interpolation (Bick., Du.).

² The emendations in 14₁₃₋₁₅ are:—אֶתְּחַנֵּן עֲנֵךְ מִן הַיָּמִים (l. 4); וְעַתָּה (l. 5); Exp. T, l.c.; וְכֵן יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמָיו (l. 6). Of these, the most important is the first. MT has, וְכֵן יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמָיו; אֶתְּחַנֵּן עֲנֵךְ מִן הַיָּמִים; אֶתְּחַנֵּן עֲנֵךְ מִן הַיָּמִים; which Bickell, Cheyne (Jew. Rel. Life, 214), and Duhm follow ('if a man were to die and to live again'). This, however, does not fit the parallelism. (y and z, E and N are easily confounded.)

³ Cp. the touching apologue of the mustard-seed in Buddha-ghosha's Parables.

⁴ On this division of God into two parties, cp Davidson on 17₁; Che. Job and Sol. 31. The Jewish poet Ibn Gabirol finely says, אֶתְּחַנֵּן עֲנֵךְ מִן הַיָּמִים, 'I fly from Thee to Thee'; and our own inimitable Crashaw says,

But thou giv'st leave (dread Lord!) that we
Take shelter from Thyself in Thee;
And with the wings of Thine Own dove
Fly to Thy sceptre of soft love.

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irritation will pass away, and he will long to renew his intercourse with him on earth or in heaven. Thus, though Job will still have the 'anguish' of being parted from God, he will be able to wait patiently for the reawakening of his love. Will Job come to believe that this is no dream? That is the important question with which we approach the second colloquy.

Job's essential devoutness is manifest to us, but it was not so to his friends (cp 13.4). In fact, passages like those quoted above are not intended for the ears of the friends. They are lyric monologues which illustrate the dramatic process going on within the mind of Job: they form no real part of the colloquy. Job's narrow-minded friends can see his outward irreverence, but not the longing to be at peace with God which alone made such irreverence possible. Now, they think, Job reveals himself in his true character, and, their gentler treatment having failed, they proceed to try the effect of lurid pictures of the wicked man's fate,¹ intending that Job should see in these pictures no distant resemblance to himself. This wounding language Job meets with growing dignity. The symptoms of his sickness are becoming aggravated; death, he feels, cannot be far distant. He has already said, 'Yea, let him kill me, I will not desist' (cp 13.15). Surely my ways I will defend before him' (13.15). But now his condition appears desperate,² and in his loneliness he returns to the idea that God cannot be entirely his enemy.

Death, indeed, he cannot escape; he is caught in God's net, and complaints of injustice are unavailing (19.6 f.). Job is now sure that he has an avenger of blood in heaven (cp 1.9-12 [13]); when he is dead, his cry (i.e., the appeal of his blood, which lies on the bosom of the earth) will reach the ear of the divine Love. To mother-earth he first makes his appeal; then he tells the universe of a stupendous fact of his consciousness.

O earth, cover not my blood,
And let my cry have no resting-place.
'Yea, I know it—my piercing cry is in heaven,
And my shriek has entered the heights.
He will accept the words with which I cry,
My blood-avenger will hear my call.
That he may decide between a man and God,
And between man and his fashioner (16.1-21.2).

But here Job stops. It is implied that reparation will be made for Job's unjust and violent death; but no surmise is offered as to the form that this will take. The much-suffering man has advanced beyond what he said in 9.32 f.; he has found a 'daysman between us that might lay his hand upon us both'; the daysman's nature, if not his name, is Righteous Love. But he has not resumed the position adopted for a moment in

¹ Read עַל־יָדֶיךָ for מִיָּדֶיךָ , both in 14.14 and in 7.1.

² There are, of course, corruptions of the text as elsewhere. For instance, 15.14-19, as they stand, are highly suspicious. It is not enough to omit וְיָדֶיךָ and 17.14 (li.) as interpolations. A single stanza should take the place of וְיָדֶיךָ 14-19; the original text can easily be detected under the present much-edited text. What Eliphaz really says is, 'Ask the wise men, for they alone have unerring wisdom: they will not withhold their *torah*' (see *Crit. Bib.*).

³ Read לֹא אֶחָד (*Exp. T.* 10.322); MT, לֹא אֶחָד , is clearly wrong. Davidson, 'I will not wait'; Duhm, 'I cannot hold out'; Buddie, 'I hope for nothing.'

⁴ The passage, 16.22, 17.1 f., so far as we can understand it, interrupts the context, and must surely be an interpolation. Cp. Siegfried's notes.

⁵ Lines 3 and 4 in MT run, 'Even now, behold, my witness is in heaven, and my witness is in the heights.' But the context requires more than a 'witness' of Job's innocence, and שֶׁדַּיִם (Aram.) occurs only once again in the MT, and there it is corrupt (see JEGAR-SAHADUTHA). Read probably $\text{בְּשִׁמְךָ יְהוָה בְּשִׁמְךָ יְהוָה}$. Sense, metre, and the textual phenomena are thus satisfied. Lines 5 f. make a miserable sense in MT; וְיָדֶיךָ represents an intermediate stage between the true text and MT. The true text may be something like this, וְיָדֶיךָ וְיָדֶיךָ וְיָדֶיךָ . In line 8, for וְיָדֶיךָ read וְיָדֶיךָ (illustrated by the argument in 10.8). 'His friend,' however explained, whether as Job's friends (collectively) or as a title for God, is intolerable. For a minute, though not quite satisfactory discussion of the passage, see Buddie; and on the versions see Beer.

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14.13-15, he does not on this occasion specify the form which the expected reparation, or vengeance for blood, will take. It was a noble idea that he had stated; but, not being able to offer any tangible proof of its correctness, he soon falls back into his old elegiac strain, and even appeals to the friends for pity (19.20). He might as well have appealed to idols—'I from their averted faces the persecuted heroic sees that his doom is sealed. If God had not marked him out for death, they might have thought to do God service (cp 13.8) by stoning him. Job warns them of their guilt (cp 13.10 f.), he does not threaten them with 'the sword,' as the faulty MT represents. First, however, he revives his own courage by giving for the third time a public expression to his unextinguished belief in his God (19.25 f.). We cannot indeed venture, in deference to later Christian beliefs, to let the text of 19.25-27 pass, and assume that the passage refers either to the hope of the resurrection, or at least to the hope of conscious and continuous intercourse with God in an unbodily state of existence (cp Eschatology). A close examination of the text shows that it has not only suffered corruption but also received interpolations, and our general experience with the ancient versions (which have often made prophets and poets give support to the later eschatology) justifies us in dealing with the MT somewhat freely. The present writer's attempt at a thoroughly critical restoration may be thus tendered,—

As for me, I know it—my Avenger lives,
And (lying) in the dust I shall receive his pledge;
Shaddai will bring to pass my desire,
And as my justifier I shall see God.

When ye say, 'We will pursue him like a hart,
And will satisfy ourselves with his (accrued) flesh';
Have fear for yourselves (because of your words,
For those are words of inquiry) (19.25-26).

So then the dream of a permanent resurrection of the old intercourse with God on earth or in heaven is not finally ratified by Job's mature thought. Still he ventures nearer to that dream than when he uttered the cry to mother-earth. He will not give up his belief in God's righteousness, and therefore declares it to be certain that God will one day publicly recognise his servant's innocence; and since on the one hand it is essential to the completeness of this reparation that Job should witness it, and on the other it is inconceivable (14.12) that man should 'awake, or be raised out of his sleep' to the old familiar life, it is the only solution which remains that the unbodied spirit of Job should for a moment be transferred to the upper world to 'see God as his justifier.' On this view great stress must be laid; no other exegesis appears possible. עַל־יָדֶיךָ , 'on the dust (of Shēol),' and בְּיָדֶיךָ , 'my justifier' (underlying בְּיָדֶיךָ), being both apparently planted firmly in the text. That God can 'both kill and make alive' would no doubt have been granted by the poet; exceptionally a man like Enoch or Elijah might doubtless be saved either *from* death or *out of* death. But he regards his hero not as an exceptional person but as a representative of the class of righteous sufferers, and as such (so the poet thinks) Job cannot be raised from the dead.

Job, then, in some unimaginable way will for a moment be enabled to see the Light of lights—Eloah. His desire has been to have his innocence 'vouched for' by the righteous Judge; that desire 'Shaddai' will bring to pass. First, the Gōel, or Vindicator (see Gōel), will convey to Job the 'pledge' of his willingness to act as Gōel (cp Ruth 4.7 f.), then the solemn act of justification will be performed in the presence of Job. We must not be 'wise above that which is written,' and speculate with the help of later Jewish eschatology on the change which, for Job, must pass upon Shēol when he returns thither at peace with God. Certain it is, that Job, and therefore also his poet, has broken with the conventional

¹ Shaddai (see NAMES, § 117), occurs 31 times in the MT of Job.

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Life has ceased to be a song of joy; he is perishing by a slow, painful death.

My skin falls, blackened, from me,
My bones are burned with heat;
My cithern is changed to mourning,
My pipe to notes of grief (30.30f.).

So ends the elegy according to the present text. Most probably, however, 31:1-4 has taken the place of two lost stanzas which formed the conclusion. I attribute this may have come the editor's notice. 'The words of Job are ended' (31.40f.). This the writer intended to be followed by the present passage is impossible. Neither chap. 19 nor chap. 30 could possibly have been followed by 42:7. Whether the writer gave an epilogue of his own, or left his work a torso, it is impossible to conjecture.²

The skilful writer who, with an object that we shall see later, undertook to continue the earlier poem, had no difficulty in adopting his predecessor's style, though he fails very much in consistent delineation of character. Zophar no doubt is still the same blunt person as before (though 20.7a must not be quoted as a proof of this),³ but Eliphaz too is surely blunt enough in 22:2-20. Job for his part disdains to answer such revilings. He is absorbed in the astonishing heresy (so he deems it) which he has to propound. He shrinks from it with horror, and yet ventures to state it—the divine governor of the world is non-moral. The friends may prescribe methods of operation to God which are pleasing to human minds, but God too clearly shows that they are not the methods which he himself adopts.

Not unnaturally chap. 21 gave offence to many readers. It appears that 22:16-18 were inserted to conform the passage to the prevalent doctrine of retribution. Though Budde and Duhm still claim for it the authorship of Job, Siegfried's view, which is here adopted, seems more probable. At any rate, dogmatic corrections have certainly been made elsewhere in this chapter. Thus, in 22:13 MT says, that after a prosperous life the wicked man goes down 'in a moment' (בְּרִיחַ) into Sheol. This cannot be right; the true text probably had בְּנֶגֶד, 'in luxury.' So in 22:30a and בְּיָמָיו is an orthodox correction which makes Job say that the wicked man is reserved for the day of calamity, and led forth (?) to the day of wrath.

In 22:30a it seems necessary to read מְאִיר and בְּיָמָיו (Du.). מְאִיר seems to be a corruption of נֶגֶד (נ should also be read for נָר in 22:28). The whole description of the wicked man's career in 22:28-33 is full of textual errors. 'Know their tokens' (22:29f.) should be 'examine travellers' (מִדְּרָגִים הָיִים). 22:32f. are ludicrously wrong. Read probably, 'Seeing that he is escorted (in honour) to the citadel, and diligently seeks the sanctuary of God' (וְהוּא לִקְרֵת יִבְקֵל וּמִקְדָּשׁ). 'Gold he amasses like the sand, and of his treasures there is no number' (כֶּסֶם יַצְבֵּר לוֹ כְּחֹל וּלְצִנְיָו אֵין). Perhaps no passage has given more useless exercise to exegetical ingenuity than this.

That even Eliphaz should follow Zophar's example, and hurl the falsest accusations against Job, would be indeed a striking phenomenon, if the original writer were responsible for this speech. 'Surely,' he says, 'thy wickedness is great, and thine iniquities are infinite' (22:5). Job must be a practical atheist (22:1-30 appear to be a later insertion,⁵ designed to mitigate the strange contrast between the Eliphaz of chap. 22,

¹ 31:1 looks as if it were based on a scarcely legible text which the editor interpreted according to his own fancy.
² In its sadness the present conclusion reminds us of the close of Ps. 88—a very Job-like psalm (cp Delitzsch).
³ For 20.7a read בְּכִיִּי (E v. 710.382).
⁴ The sanctuary would naturally be attached to the citadel.
⁵ Note the points of contact between 22:24 (Eliphaz) and 21:33 (Job; emended text). It is not likely that the chief poet himself would have fallen into such a close parallelism between Job and Eliphaz.

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and the kindly speaker who opened the first colloquy) Job's next speech, in its original form, was probably intended to show that, as the wicked often enjoy a long and prosperous life, so the righteous often experience nothing but misery.¹ Such a case is his own. God's commandments have been his rule of life. If he could only find God—who ever eludes his search—and induce him to listen to his plea, his vindication would be certain. True, Job would have to make one condition with God (23:6; cp 9.34, 13.21). In MT the passage is strangely distorted; most probably it should run thus—

He would remove the pressure of his hand upon me;
Then he would use no threatening to me.²

But alas! it has become too plain that God has resolved to destroy him (24.13; read מָוֶת with Bu., Du.), though God knows full well that if he were to examine him, Job would come forth as gold (24.10); and feeling himself to be the spokesman of the suffering righteous everywhere, Job goes on (so we must suppose) to produce further evidence for the awful theory of God's non-moral character. The true continuation, however, has been lost. Chap. 24, as Duhm rightly holds, is not a connected discourse, but a cycle of poems written in tristichs instead of tetrastichs.³ It is only 24:25 that we can safely regard as genuine; this is the true close of Job's original speech.

How Bildad took this powerful indictment of the Governor of the world, does not appear. His third speech was lost, and a rhetorical description of the power, wisdom, and purity of God was inserted as a substitute. The second part of this description was, by a scribe's error, transposed so as to stand after 26:1-4. The latter passage is properly Job's ironical answer to this superlative but unoriginal piece of rhetoric; it is therefore necessarily not genuine. Job's true answer to the (lost) speech of Bildad is to be found in chap. 27. It is, however, impossible to ascribe the whole of this chapter to Job; part of it in all probability is a genuine fragment of the third speech of Zophar.⁴ The calmness of Job's dignified protest in 27:1-6 and 12 is very noteworthy. Duhm contrasts it with the bitterness of Job's earlier speeches, and ascribes the change of tone to the intuition expressed by Job in chap. 19. The observation is just; but the cause assigned does not seem to be the right one. As we have seen, it is a partly new conception of Job that underlies these later chapters. Job is calm because that bitter-sweet undercurrent of yearning love to God which appears again and again in chaps. 3-19 does not disturb or distract him.

If it is correct to view 27:7-11 13-23 as a fragment of Zophar's last speech, the latter certainly merited the disdain with which Job treated it. It is, however, not impossible that we have here the attempt of a later orthodox writer to make the sufferer retract his heterodox statements (cp chap. 28). At any rate it has no right to appear in the last speech of Job, the true continuation of which must be sought elsewhere. We have in fact reached the great 'Oath of Clearing,'⁵ by which Job finally proves his innocence, and which represents the

¹ Cp 23:15-17 with 21:6 (which precedes the description of the prosperity of the wicked). The parallelism is pointed out by Duhm.
²

יִהְיֶה נִרְיָא
אִם הוּא לֹא יִנָּס בִּי

In 23:6 B should be read thus, εἴτα ἀπελθὼν ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐ λήθησεται.

³ The tristichs in 27:1-4 are imperfectly preserved, and the form may therefore be doubted. It does not seem likely, however, that this member of the cycle of poems would be in tetrastichs when the other members were in tristichs.

⁴ So Grä. (HGBF, 21.247f.). Che. (Job and Srd. 38), G. Hoffm., Duhm, Grätz and Hoffm., however, are wrong in assigning chap. 28 to Zophar (see below). It is only 27:11 and 13-24 which can reasonably be given to this lover of philosophy.

⁵ Moulton, p. 36.

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high-water mark of Old Testament morality. His last words to his friends are—

Rehold, ye have all seen it;
Why then do ye so vainly rage? (27.12).¹

Then, in all probability, followed an appendix, so framed as to form a parallel to chaps. 29 f. The opening words were transferred to the end, when chaps. 29 f. were removed to their present place. Let us restore 31.35-37 to its proper place at the head of the 'Oath of Clearing,'² and since it is highly corrupt, let us endeavour to emend it in accordance with Job's aspirations elsewhere.

O that he would hearken to my voice,
[And listen to the words of my complaint,]
That he would take away the insulting of mine opponent,³
That he would lay his hand upon us both!

Surely my concern would I present,
I would arrange arguments for him;
I would tell him the number of my steps,
My rising up and my lying down he would examine.

The usual view is that Job imagines himself approaching the Divine Judge (whom in *zv. 35* he is made to call 'my adversary') with the proud self-possession of a 'prince' (*נָסִיךְ*), holding the accusation written by God and his own answer with his signature, and that Job declares that if he had possessed this accusation, he would not hide it as a thing which brought disgrace, but would parade it upon his back (!) as a distinction (cp *Is. 22.22*), and (or?) wear it as a diadem on his brows. All this is violently improbable, and yet this very passage is utilised in the service of the theory that Job fell away from his God (Laue, p. 96). Truly Hoffmann deserves credit for his refusal to twist the exegesis of *zv. 35* in order to soften the surprising character of the passage. It is God, he says, whom Job says that he will take upon his back and bind upon himself as a coronet—an 'Ungeheuerlichkeit,' says Budde; yes, indeed, but an inevitable one, if the present text is to be strictly interpreted. It is probable that the passage can be restored nearly to its original state. The most important emendations are (l. 3) *וְיָשִׁית יָדוֹ עָלַי*; (l. 4) *וְיָשִׁית יָדוֹ עָלַי*; (l. 5) *וְיָשִׁית יָדוֹ עָלַי*; (l. 8) *וְיָשִׁית יָדוֹ עָלַי*. For the rest, see *Crit. Bib.*

Then this ideal righteous man tells us how he would clear himself if God were to hear his cry, and investigate his case. He goes through a catalogue of evil deeds and thoughts, and in the most solemn manner imprecates upon himself God's vengeance if he be guilty. The first two stanzas (= *zv. 5-8*) fit on particularly well to the last stanza of the introduction (*i.e.*, 31.35-37); they continue the figure of the 'way.' The last stanza is by no means an equally good conclusion. Doubtless, like *zv. 35-37* (which, as we have seen, should form the opening of the chapter), it has been misplaced, and probably the same fate has befallen *zv. 29-34*.⁴ If so, the last extant part of the monologue will be (*zv. 26 f.*)—

If, when I saw how the sun shone,
Or the moon walking in splendour,
My heart was secretly beguiled,
And I kissed—putting hand to mouth.

This, however, cannot be the true conclusion. Unfortunately that was lost at an early date, and the two opening stanzas were detached so as to form a conclusion.

We can now see why the second wise man undertook to continue the original colloquies. It was to complete the disproof of the current theory that suffering was always either disciplinary or educative. This wise man must have agreed with his predecessor in rejecting the Epilogue, and he would certainly not have sanctioned either the speeches of Elihu or even the grand orations of Yahwé.

¹ Read *וְיָשִׁית יָדוֹ עָלַי*; cp Ps. 62.11, where a similar emendation is required.

² 31.1-4 are doubtless an editorial insertion (cp *zv. 4* with *zv. 37a*). They fill the place of an illegible passage.

³ 'The opponent' is a collective term for the friends, who with one consent vilify Job (cp Ps. 43.1). In the next line the continuator forgets that, according to the original poet, God is Job's adversary, and the friends merely his partial advocates.

⁴ Davidson's view of *zv. 24-34* as the repudiation of another class of secret sins is hardly quite satisfactory.

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To the speeches of Elihu we now turn our attention. According to Duhm Elihu is brought before us as a distinguished historical person, a

9. Speeches of Elihu. so (as a 'man of family') contrasted with Job and the three friends.

truth, however, probably is that the proximity of the description of Elihu in 32.2 is due to corruption and interpolation; Elihu was originally called simply 'the son of Jerahmeel'—*i.e.*, the Jerahmeelite, with reference to a Jerahmeelite famous in legend for his wisdom who appears to be mentioned in 1 K. 4.31 (on the text see JERAHMEEL, § 4).² The lateness of the introduction to chaps. 32-37 is shown by the use of the ethnic 'the Buzite,'³ which presupposes the corrupt traditional reading in Gen. 22.21, 'and Buz his brother' (instead of *וְאַחִיזַי*, 'and Ahibuz'; cp AHIH).

Anticipating some surprise at Elihu's appearance, the narrator states that Elihu was angry with Job because he held himself more righteous than God, and with the friends because they found no answer (to Job), and so made God seem guilty (32.2 f.). He says himself that he had waited because he was so young, and assuredly he falls into all the worst errors of juvenility. There is no intention, however, of amusing the reader the faults of juvenility were also the faults of the narrow orthodox school to which the writer belonged. The matter of which Elihu is so 'full' (32.18-20) is distributed over four speeches. The themes of the first three are (1) the ground and object of suffering (32 f.), (2) the righteousness of God (34), (3) the use of religion (35).

These are treated in relation to the erroneous utterances of Job, whom (unlike the three friends) Elihu constantly mentions by name. Then, in his last and longest effort, Elihu unrolls before Job a picture of the divine government, in its beneficence and righteousness as well as its omnipotence, with the object of breaking down Job's pride (36 f.). It is in the second part of his last speech that Elihu exerts himself most as a poet, and it has often been suggested that the sketch of the storm in 36.29-37.5, and the accompanying appeals to Job, are preparatory to the theophany in 38 (so lately Moulton, xxxiii). The objection is (1) that the close of the speech of Elihu does not relate to the storm, as it ought to do, and (2) that Yahwé begins (38.2) with the declaration that the last speaker was a darkener of (the divine) counsel. We shall return to the Elihu section which is more interesting theologically than poetically; see § 12. There is much corruption and possibly some interpolation in 'Elihu.' But we shall not spend more time on this speaker, whose discourses are but a foil to the Colloquies, the speeches of Yahwé, and the Praise of Wisdom.

We now pass on to the great poetical ornament of the book. The Speeches of Yahwé (38-42.6) serve a twofold purpose. They are a link between the Colloquies (in their expanded form) and the Epilogue, and they present, if not a solution, yet a powerfully expressed substitute for a solution of the great problem of suffering. The writer had rejected the theory defended by the three friends; he also disapproved of Job's vehement censure of the divine government of the world, but not, we may suppose, of his intuition of a justification of the righteous after death. He was obliged to make Yahwé intervene in Job's lifetime, because he felt it necessary for the circulation of the book (Prologue

10. Speeches of Yahwé.

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¹ Cp further, § 12.

² 'Barachel' and 'Ram' are probably fragments of 'Jerahmeel.'

³ 'The Buzite' would of course be superfluous after 'son of Jerahmeel.' It seems to be due to a scribe who had before him the same corrupt text that we have. 'Buz' was suggested by 'Uz.'

⁴ Ahibuz was the true name of the brother of Uz and Jerahmeel (?), according to Gen. 22.21 f. 'Jerahmeel' should probably be read for 'Kemuel the father of Aram,' *ib.*; a late editor produced the latter as an attempt to make sense of corrupt fragments of 'Jerahmeel.' See JERAHMEEL, § 4.

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and Colloquies) that it should be accompanied by the Epilogue, and he could not help making Yahwë pass a strong censure on Job's fault-finding propensity, partly no doubt to satisfy his own conscience, and partly also to make it possible for Yahwë in 427 to enlogise Job's statements respecting God (after Job had retracted all that could justly be accused of arrogance).

An editor has prefixed to these Speeches the words, 'And Yahwë answered Job out of the tempest, and said' (381), but it would have been more in the spirit of our poet to have quoted 1 K. 19 11b 12 (Elijah's theophany), where it is distinctly said that Yahwë was not present in the storm-wind. It is by an appeal to the reason, not by physical terror, that Yahwë seeks to work upon Job, though the awful mysteriousness of the universe, as set forth poetically by Yahwë, forces from the lips of Job the words:—

I had heard of thee by the ear,
But now mine eye has seen thee;
Therefore I must pine away,
And dissolve to dust and ashes.¹

What Job means is that his previous notions of the divine government were derived from mere doctrine, whereas now he had obtained a vivid intuition of God's working, not merely among men, but in the great and complex universe. He had in fact seen God's glory, and the strain upon his whole nature was such that he seemed about to break down. Of consciousness of moral offence on his part there is no trace; his error was of intellectual origin, and this certainly did not require him to 'repent in dust and ashes.' The only charge brought against him is that he has 'darkened (God's) counsel by words without insight' (382; cp 423). Remonstrance is the general purport of the speeches of Yahwë, and though the form of this may be humiliating to Job, yet the glorious pictures of nature which are presented cannot fail to lighten his load of grief (see Blake's beautiful thirteenth illustration of Job). Unfortunately the text of the Speeches is in some disorder. As the text stands, the Divine Speaker breaks off at 401f. with a searching question which elicits from Job a confession of his ignorance. This, however, cannot be right. Another question is put in 408f., and, as Davidson remarks, the second question is implied in the first. As Bickell and Duhm have seen, vv. 8-12 must originally have followed v. 2; the separation was consequent on the interpolation of 4015-4134 (Behemoth and Leviathan). The Behemoth and Leviathan passages will be considered later; other insertions are the passage on the ostrich (3913-18), and, according to G. Hoffmann and Duhm, 3813b 14b 15; 3828, too, should be omitted as a tautological prose version of v. 29. The poem (for as such we may regard it) will gain much by restoration to its original form; its splendid imagery will then be seen to the best advantage.² The earth, the sea, the world under the sea (Shêöl), and the manifold wonders of the heavens are successively treated; Job is asked whether perchance he brought these into existence, or knows the secrets connected with them.³ More striking, however, are the poetical pictures of animals. Nine (excluding the ostrich) are brought before us in Yahwë's searching interrogatory; the poet enters into the habits of each, and conveys to us the fascination of which he is conscious himself.

Regretfully we abstain from dilating on these pictures; in special articles the omission is partly remedied (see, e.g.,

¹ Read **אָפּען אַרץ** (Botcher, Beer), and **אָפּען**. Job surely cannot say that he is now ready to die on his ash-mound, with the gladness of one who has seen God (Du.).

² The details of the poem are to some extent treated in special articles.

³ There are Zoroastrian parallels. See the question put by Zarathustra to Ahura-mazda in the Gathas (Yasna 44.3-5 in the Oxford *Zendavesta*, 3 113/7); also the fine description of the divine creative acts in Bundahish 30.4-6 (West, *Pahlavi Texts*, 1 121).

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CREATION, § 21; HORSE; OSTRICH; MAZZAROTH; STARS, § 33; UNICORN). It may be that the pictures were originally fewer in number (B is deficient in some details), if so, we need not regret the insertions.

Duhm hints a doubt respecting the raven-stanza (38 41), and adopts Wright's conjecture (**עֵרָא** 'for the evening'); cp *Job and Sol.* 53, n. 4. This can hardly be right. More probably **עֵרָא** is a corruption of **עֵרָא**, 'for the wolf.' The lion and the wolf are naturally mentioned together.

Our survey of Job would be most imperfect if we did not mention here at least the principal interpolations.

11. Chief interpolations.

(1) The poems of which 241-24 is composed are as follows:—(a) 27, 1-4, a fragment on the merciless rapacity of the wicked. Details of this sort are not characteristic of Job. The other poems spoken of being in tristichs, it is probable that (a) was also written in this form. The text, however, is in a bad condition.

For v. 1 B only gives **דִּיאַרְיָא עֵרָא** **עֵרָא** **עֵרָא**, omitting **עֵרָא** (the text was already corrupted, as in MT) for dogmatic reasons; v. 2, which is also omitted, was apparently unintelligible. In fact, **עֵרָא** and **עֵרָא** are obscure. Duhm's restoration of the imperfect tristich in v. 1 is not quite natural, and he has to change **עֵרָא** into **עֵרָא**. It is better to emend in such a way as to suit the sequel. **עֵרָא** should probably be **עֵרָא**; for the rest see *Crit. Bib.* The sense which we obtain is,

Why do the wicked prosper?
They grind the face of the destitute;
Bad men oppress the poor.

(b) Verses 5f. (7b 2: 8 to 12, a description of an oppressed, pariah race. This should be taken with 30 2-8, which contains the sequel. Text very bad; compare or contrast C.

(c) Verses 13-13a (??), a sketch of the 'rebels (?) against the light'—murderers, thieves, etc.

(d) Verses (18b (?) 24, a fragment on the end of tyrants. Text very bad.

(2) 30 2-8, more on the unhappy pariahs and troglodytes; one could almost fancy that it came from the oration of a democratic leader (cp 18).

(3) 28 1-27. No earthly treasures lie too deep for human industry, but Wisdom is with God alone. By Wisdom the writer means the Reason which originated and pervades the phenomena of the world (cp Prov. 8). The poem cannot have been written to stand where it does, for it is altogether in a different style, full of imagery, and too rich for the deep but simple idea which it is meant to convey; it contains no allusion whatever to Job's problem.² An editor of the Colloquies, however, seems to have thought that it might fitly be introduced (cp Job 11 5-12), because Job, as a censor of the government of the world, had virtually questioned the existence of the Divine Wisdom (a different view of Wisdom). According to this humble-minded person all speculation was wrong,³ and he pleased himself with making Job anticipate his retraction in 40 4f. Verse 28 comes from his pen, unless, as the warning Pasek after **וְיָחִיד** may perhaps suggest, the interpolated verse is no longer in its original form, in which case we must be cautious how far we accuse the interpolator of narrowness of mind; it may have been a later scribe who made the best substitute he could for an indistinctly written passage.

It is the distinction of Duhm to have cleared up the exegetical problem of the opening word (**עֵרָא** 'for'). Verse 7 is usually supposed to take up what is said in v. 6; the 'path' is the way to the place of 'sapphires' (?). But it is much more natural to suppose that the words, '(But) whence doth wisdom come,' etc., which now appear only in v. 12⁴ and v. 20, originally stood before v. 7, and if the refrain was forgotten there,⁵ we may reasonably explain the 'for' in v. 1 as referring to the same refrain, which would therefore seem to have opened each of the

¹ For a seemingly important emendation of the text of 27, 3f., see PURSLAIN.

² So Studer, *Che. (Job and Sol. 40 f.)*, Du., Laue. On the other side see Dillmann, Budde, and König (*Leit.* 414).

³ See *Jew. Rel. Life*, 153.

⁴ In v. 12 **עֵרָא** has evidently intruded from v. 13.

⁵ As was the case in Pss. 46 and 49.

four stanzas of the poem.¹ Into the complicated controversy which has arisen out of this little word 'for,' it is needless to enter. Budde adheres to the ingenious but unnatural theory which he proposed in *Z.A.F.W.* 2 193-274 (82); he has not, however, convinced Smend (*Rel.-gesch.* 2, 470), who still holds to Wellh.'s view (Bleek's *Einl.* 4, 540 ff.) that 27.7-28.27 is of late origin.²

28.1-27, when restored to its original strophic form, is a beautiful specimen of Hebrew poetry. 'The corruptions of the text are not incurable (see, besides the commentaries of Budde and Duhm, the articles GOLD, LION, MINING, SAPPHIRE, TOPAZ). The naive delight which the author takes in his knowledge of mining and of gems (cp Dante) is communicated to the reader.

(4) 39.13-18. See OSTRICH.

(5) 40.15-24 41.9-11 (12?) 41.1-8 13-24. The description of two mythical monsters called Behemoth and Leviathan; the old mythological tradition having become pale, the poet fills up the gaps in his supposed knowledge from what he had seen or heard of the two Nile monsters—the hippopotamus and the crocodile (see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, HIPPOPOTAMUS). If Job was really God's equal, he could of course bring even these wondrous creatures into subjection. The seeming hyperboles in the descriptions are partly due to corruption of the text.

Thus in 40.17 'tail' and 'cedar,' in 41.31 'pot of ointment,' and in 41.32 the 'hoary' sea should disappear. In 40.17 we should perhaps read 'he cleaveth reeds as with shears; the sinews of his neck are intertwined';³ in 41.31, 'he maketh the sea like a caldron';⁴ and in 41.32 'the bottom of the sea is his path; the dark places of the sea are his road.'⁵ For other critical emendations, see HOOK, JORDAN, SOUL, and of course such writers as Budde, Duhm, Gunkel, and Beer should be consulted. Budde and Duhm, however, start with an incorrect theory as to the meaning of the names Behemoth and Leviathan.

That the passages which we have been considering really are interpolations, can hardly be questioned except on the ground of an *a priori* assumption of the unity of the book. They are interpolations because their insertion in the Book of Job has involved interference with the form of the context, except where, as in the case of chap. 28 (see v. 28), the interference was confined to the inserted poem itself, and, even when beautiful in themselves, they mar the effect of the true poem of Job.

The Speeches of Elihu are somewhat differently circumstanced. It seems best to call them (with G. Hoffmann) a supplement to the original poem, rather than an interpolation. Their insertion (if they were inserted) has involved taking no liberty, either with the text of the speeches themselves, or with that of the Colloquies of Job and his three friends, and some writers⁶ think that they give the best solution of Job's problem that was, from the point of view of the Hebrew Wisdom, possible, and that without them the Speeches of Yahwè would be liable to the charge of using force towards Job instead of argument. This charge, however, would be valid only if the Speeches of Yahwè belong to the author or authors of the Colloquies. For certainly the Speeches of Yahwè, noble as they are in themselves, are not such as were adapted to impress the supposed auditor (see, e.g., 23.7). As to the high estimate of the Elihu Speeches in the writers referred to, it may be enough to say that (in spite of Elihu's assertion in 32.14) there is hardly any argument in the Elihu section which cannot be found in the Speeches of the Friends, while the description of God's incomprehensible greatness in 36.13-37.24 appears like an inferior copy of

¹ Each stanza consists of four tetrastichs or quatrains.
² Geschbrecht (*Der Wendepunkt des B. Hiob*, 79) adopts a point of view akin to that of Budde.

³ Read *אֶת־הַיָּם כְּסִימָה*, and in *ב*, *הַיָּם אֶת־הַיָּם*. See *Crit. Bib.*

⁴ Read *כְּסִימָה*.

⁵ Read *אֶת־הַיָּם כְּסִימָה* (see *ב*, and cp Am. 9.3).

⁶ Among older scholars Stickel (47), and among recent writers Budde, Cornill, and Wildeboer may be specially mentioned.

the Speeches of Yahwè. The admiration expressed by some critics for the teaching of Elihu is certainly much exaggerated, and would not have been shared by the poet of the Colloquies, who rejects the doctrine of the Friends. Not to speak now of the poverty of the style, it may truly be said that the speaker or writer thinks far too much of his minute advances in religious theory. The only excuse for him is his marvellous naiveté. Here is one of his self-assertive utterances:—

I will fetch my knowledge from far,
And will see justice done to my Maker.
For truly my words are no lies,
One perfect in knowledge is before thee (36.3/).

What an over-estimate of his originality! Elihu's favourite theory of the disciplinary character of suffering (33.14-30 36.8-25) was fully stated by Eliphaz at the outset (5.8 ff. 17 ff.). If he ceases to advocate it, it is because Job will not allow that it applies to his case. There is only one section in which Elihu may claim some originality. He says (33.14) that God speaks to sinners in two ways; first, by alarming them with dreams (27. 15-18), and next by sending them sicknesses which would have a fatal issue but for the intervention of a friendly angel (27. 19-28). The central stanza of the former passage (33.15 ff.) should run thus:—

By a dream, a vision of the night,
In slumberings upon the bed,
He opens the ears of men,
And makes their flesh to tremble.¹

Here Elihu differs from Eliphaz his model by making the dream (see v. 17) a means of 'withholding a man from injustice' (עֲוֹן, v. 17, Bick., Du., after *ב*). The most important part of the second passage (33.22-25) is very incorrectly given in MT, though the interpretation given to MT by critics (cp PARACLETE) does not seriously misrepresent the mind of the writer. Most probably we should read as follows:—

And his soul draws near to the pit,
And his life to the dark world,
Unless an angel redeem him,
One who rescues man from Abaddon,

And he be gracious to him, and say, 'Let him go;
I have found the ransom of his soul;
Let his flesh swell with youthful strength,
Let him return to the days of his youth.'²

Here Elihu ventures on a virtual contradiction of Eliphaz who (v. 1) denies that 'holy ones,' i.e., angels, can help a man struck by deadly sickness. He positively asserts that when a sick man seems near his end, one of those angels whom God commissions, not to lie in wait (like the Satan) for the tripping of the righteous, but to prevent the chastisement of penitent sinners from going too far, rescues him from the destroying angel who has already grasped him. The 'ransom' spoken of is probably the prayer of penitent confession (v. 26-28). The angelology of 'Elihu' is

¹ MT, obscurely, *וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים*, i.e., 'and seals their discipline' (or, 'their bond'). *ב*, Aq., Pesh. (Bick., G. Hoffm., Bu., Beer, Du.), *וַיִּבְרָא*, 'terrifies.' For *וַיִּבְרָא*, Beer suggests *וַיִּבְרָא*, 'terrors' (*ב*, *ἐν εἰδέναι φόβου τοιοῦτου*). But this leaves metre and parallelism imperfect. A close inspection reveals *וַיִּבְרָא* *וַיִּבְרָא* (see 4.14/; Ps. 119.130). Writing the letters of MT continuously, one sees how the error arose.

² In l. 2 for *וַיִּבְרָא*, 'to the destroying (angels)', which is not properly *וַיִּבְרָא*, 'to the pit,' read *וַיִּבְרָא* *וַיִּבְרָא*. *ב* *וַיִּבְרָא* gives one heat more, but has no other recommendation. In l. 3 read *וַיִּבְרָא* *וַיִּבְרָא*. Note the Pesh. after *וַיִּבְרָא*. In l. 4 read *וַיִּבְרָא* *וַיִּבְרָא* was perhaps still in the text when the gloss *וַיִּבְרָא* was inserted. By a little transposition and corruption, became *וַיִּבְרָא*. Bu. omits *וַיִּבְרָא* as a gloss, which is unjustifiable. In l. 5 read *וַיִּבְרָא* (so some MSS) with Böttch., Wright, Grä., Hoffm., Bu., Du., Beer. In l. 6 insert *וַיִּבְרָא*; Bick., Bu., Du. In l. 7 read *וַיִּבְרָא*; Hoffm., B., Bu., Du.

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therefore more developed than that of the Colloquies (cp *Job and Sol.* 44 f.).

We have on the one hand an angel of Death, and on the other an angelic redeemer. Whatever may have been popularly believed at an earlier date, it is only a late poet (later, it would seem, than those who gave the tone to the Psalter, and later also than the poem of Job) who could have authoritatively sanctioned this belief. Elihu's minute reproductions of sayings of Job (see 33 8 f., 34 5 f., 35 2 f.) also point to an author who had the book before him as a whole, so far as it was then extant. What he gives us is a reassertion of the doctrine of earthly retribution in what seemed to him an improved form, and he gives this reassertion greater force by leading the reader to suppose that Job was silenced by it, and that Yahwë tacitly approved it.

(a) *Language*.—That there are many points of contact between Elihu and the Colloquies is not denied (cp Bu., *Beitr.* 92-123); but there are also many words (e.g., 27) and phrases peculiar to 'Elihu' (ib. 124-146), which would hardly have been the case if 'Elihu' were written by the author of the Colloquies, considering that the circle of ideas in 'Elihu' is not very different from that in the Colloquies. It may of course be answered that an interval of some duration separates the composition of the two sections, so that we are ultimately thrown back on the question whether it is likely that the same writer would have worked up the old material again with the object of restating old solutions of Job's problem. A good deal has been said on the larger number of Aramaisms in 'Elihu' as compared with the Colloquies, and, as the text now stands, not without reason. But the text of 'Elihu' is in urgent need of critical emendation (e.g., 317 in Job 37 6 is certainly wrong).¹ So far as the present writer can see, however, the legitimate emendations of the text of 'Elihu' do not raise the Speeches of Elihu to the same plane of literary excellence as the Speeches of Job and his Friends (upon which, be it remembered, the same beneficent art of critical emendation has also to be practised). Budde, it is true, is of an opposite opinion. By the removal of corruptions and interpolations he thinks that the linguistic argument against the so-called 'genuineness' of the Elihu-section has lost its basis, and that both the form and the contents of the speeches can now be much better appreciated (*Hibb.*, Einl., p. xx). To criticise this statement adequately would require too much space. The present writer has no disinclination to join in the effort to relieve Elihu's speeches from some of the rust which has gathered about them; but he feels sure that no restoration can make the picture a masterpiece (cp Driver, *Intro.* 6, 429).

(b) *Non-mention in Prologue and Epilogue*.—There certainly ought to have been a condemnation of Elihu in the Epilogue; the non-mention of him in the Prologue we can perhaps pass over. It is absurd to speak of the harmony (?) between the Speeches of Elihu and those of Yahwë as sufficiently indicating Yahwë's approval of his youthful advocate (Stickel). Almost more reasonable is the statement in the *Testament of Job* (a Greek Jewish Midrash), 'And after he (Elihu) had ended, God appeared to me (Job) in a storm and in clouds, and spoke, blaming Elihu, and showing me that he who had spoken was not a man but a wild beast.'² It would, indeed, have been inhuman to harass a sufferer like Job with such feeble commonplaces!

The recognition of the fact that the Book of Job, like Homer and like the Sagas, has grown together by the combination of different elements, has an important bearing on the date of the Book. The phrase 'the Book of Job' may have two meanings: (1) the original Book of Job, so far as it is extant (11-21; 427-17), and (2) the Book of Job with the latest inserted passages. The date of the Book, in the second sense, will be that of the latest insertion; in the first sense it will be that of the writing of the Prologue

¹ Perles, *Job*; Siegf., *Bu.*, 117.

² Kohler, 'The Testament of Job', *Kohut Memorial*, 333.

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and Epilogue. The latter date can easily be determined. A prominent supernatural personage in the celestial court is called 'the Satan' ('adversary,' 'accuser'). The same personage appears in his character of 'accuser' before Yahwë in Zech. 3, and it can readily be shown (see SATAN) that the conception of the Satan is more developed in Job 1 and 2 than in Zech. 3.¹ Now the date of Zech. 3 is 519 B.C.; the first Book of Job is therefore later than 519 B.C. It is no objection to this date: (a) that the picture of the life of Job in the Prologue is in harmony with the old patriarchal stories, or (b) that the author shows himself to be a gifted narrator. The Book of Ruth shows that there were highly gifted narrators in the later times, and such a writer could easily imitate the patriarchal stories. If the *ḥēlīḥāh* (EV piece of money) in 42 11 is really copied from Gen. 33 19, the writer of the original Job was only too faithful an imitator, for *ḥēlīḥāh* is probably a corruption of a much more intelligible and historical phrase (see KESITAH). The mention of the Chaldeans (17) as marauders has been thought to point to the period before Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar. But 'Chaldeans' should probably be 'Cushites' (see CUSH, § 2, 1); the 'Cushites' and 'Sabeans' of antiquity were remembered by a late tradition (cp 2 Ch. 149).

The date of the Prologue and Epilogue is marked (1) by the double restoration of Job's property (42 1; 42 10) may be a gloss,² which corresponds to a standing feature in the descriptions of glorified Israel (see Is. 61 7, Zech. 9 12, Jer. 16 14-18), and (2) still more by the parallelism between the story of Job's calamity and restored prosperity and the figurative description of the vicissitudes of the Servant of Yahwë in Is. 52 13-53 12. The latter point requires some elucidation. Is. 53 3 4 7 are like a poetic description of the 'stroke' of Job's sickness, of the horror of his neighbours, and of his own pious resignation; G. Hoffmann deserves special credit for pointing out the analogy of the metaphorical sickness of the Servant to the actual sickness of Job. It appears likely that Job, who in the Prologue and the Epilogue is a type of Israel, partly suggested the figurative description of the 'Servant of Yahwë'—the personification of the company of pious Israelites in the age inaugurated by Ezra which regarded itself as the true, spiritual Israel. Reflecting on the cause of Job's misery, the writer (of Is. 53) came to the conclusion that God must have appointed this for the good of those who, unlike Job, were transgressors (cp 42 8), and that Job's consciousness of this must have helped him to bear his sufferings uncomplainingly.³ And taking Job to be a type of Israel, he became assured that true Israelites, who bore the sufferings brought upon them through the great national calamity as uncomplainingly as Job (i.e., the Job of the original Book), would like him be the means of salvation to others, and would thus, like him, demonstrate the possibility of disinterested piety. It must surely be admitted that the two writers (of the original Job and of the 'Servant' passages) belonged to the same period, and if so it is probable that they lived subsequently to the introduction of Ezra's lawbook, for this is the period to which the passages on the Servant of Yahwë may most plausibly be assigned (see SERVANT OF THE LORD). It is, however, not quite impossible to give both Is. 53 and the original Book of Job a somewhat earlier date, viz., somewhere about 500 B.C., which is the date to which G. Hoffmann, *Hibb.* 34, assigns the 'genuine Book of Job.'

It is impossible to estimate with precision the amount of linguistic evidence for the late date of Prologue, Epilogue, and Colloquies, owing to the frequent uncertainty of the text. For instance, the first three words cited by Dillmann (p. xxxi) as Aramaic probably do not belong to the true text of the Colloquies.

¹ This is of importance. Dillmann asserts, 'In Zech. (110 f. 81 f. 6) the Prologue of Job is already used and imitated' (*Hibb.*, Einl. p. xxxi). See, however, Nowack, *Kl. Pr.* 325.

² But see Budde's note.

³ *Jew. Rel. Life*, 122.

לִּי in 10:15 and בִּי in 81:33 are corrupt; and 15:17, which contains לִּי (a favourite word of Elihu), is a wretched distich, which has no place in this fine poem; לִּי, a doubly Aramaic form, also occurs in an interpolated distich (18:17; see Bick., Du.). לִּי, which Beer (p. 85) and Nestle (*ZAW* 20:172 (1900)) rightly claim as an Aram. word for *accuse* (so *Q*), 'skin-bottle,' is found again in an inserted distich (13:28; see Du.); לִּי, 'my witness,' 16:19 and לִּי in 26:13 (see RAHAS) are corrupt. There are, however, undoubted Aramaicisms, such as קָטַן (8:22), קָטַן (8:2), קָטַן with plural קָטַנִּים and קָטַנִּים (6:26 12:11 18:17, and often), קָטַן (18:27), קָטַן (18:28 22:10), קָטַן and קָטַן (8:7 11 12:23).

Dillmann accounts for these partly as dialectal peculiarities, partly as arising from a rhythmic need of variety; but the former explanation cannot safely be pressed. As words, or senses of words, characteristic of later Hebrew (7th or 6th century) he mentions

(a) קָטַן, 2:10; (b) לִּי 'to determine' (22:28), an Aramaic usage. But Dillmann's note on 22:28 is most unsatisfactory; he is compelled to take the next word לִּי to mean 'a thing'—a purely imaginary meaning, though one commentator after another reaffirms it. The passage is corrupt; לִּי comes from לִּי (continue לִּי); the line is copied from 11:17 (on which see *Exp. T* 10:382 f. (1901)); it occurs in the late appendage to the third speech of Japhar; (c) קָטַן (Aram.), 14:20 15:24;

(d) לִּי, 7:3 (a doubtful passage).¹ (e) לִּי, 'to let loose (the hands), 6:4. Here again the text is corrupt: we can emend with more confidence than in 7:3. Read לִּי לִּי וְלִי וְלִי, 'that he would grant my prayer and shatter me.' (f) לִּי, 'tyrant,' 21:28, as in Is. 13:2. The change from 'liberal, noble' to 'tyrant' is not probable (contrast Is. 32:5), and it is better to emend to לִּי (both passages). (g) לִּי, 'interest,' 21:21, 22:3. (h) לִּי, 10:22. But Shöl was certainly not לִּי, 'disorderly';

לִּי is based on a miswritten form of לִּי, 'branches' (14:9, etc.). (i) לִּי, 4:13 20:2 (doubtful passages). (k) לִּי, 21:6. (l) לִּי, 26:10. (m) לִּי, 21:34. Dillmann also mentions the use of לִּי for the accusative, and the occasional use of the plural in לִּי. He might have added that the relative לִּי only occurs once in the MT of the Colloquies (19:29b); it is found, however, in Lam. 2:4 f. (see LAMENTATIONS).

On the whole, Dillmann has not been able to indicate many distinctly late Hebrew words in the Colloquies; rare words, only to be explained from the Arabic, need not necessarily be late, though the possibility of the late adoption of Arabic words in literary Hebrew cannot be denied.⁴ It would seem that if the writer is of late date (and the other arguments go far to prove that he is so) he took pains to cultivate a classic Hebrew style, and his success shows that the facilities for writing such Hebrew were great; there was probably a regular school for the practice of classic Hebrew writing. The falling off in the Hebrew of Ben Sira is very noticeable.

To place the Book of Job—whether in a larger or a narrower sense—in the age of Jeremiah (Dill., König), or more precisely not long before the siege of Jerusalem, is becoming more and more difficult. It is true, the death of Josiah, and the sad events which rapidly followed, must have prompted the question, 'Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper?' (Jer. 12:1; cp Job 21:7). Moreover, we actually find Jeremiah (20:14-18) cursing the day on which he was born. It is true, both passages are liable to grave suspicion, and may without arbitrariness be regarded as 'secondary'; even Dillmann questions 20:14-18. But even accepting provisionally Jeremiah's authorship of both passages, we cannot draw any critical inference from this. Poetry like that of Job and the Psalms represents, not the scanty band of a prophet's disciples, but that large section of the community which had at length absorbed Jeremiah's

¹ The parallelism is bad, and the distich does not fit in with the context. לִּי is a corruption of לִּי.

² The scribe may have collected the singular combination of corrupt variants in v. 22 from different manuscripts.

³ See König (*Einl.* 417), who, with Dillmann, reads לִּי. Probably the passage is glossatorial. See also König on the variation of usage in Job 1: between לִּי and לִּי.

⁴ Ibn Ezra (on Job 2:11) expresses the opinion that the Book of Job is a translation. In his *Liber Jobi* (1737) Schultens describes the language as Hebræo-Arabic, and says that it expresses the true genius of Arabic. This is in every way an exaggeration.

ideas. The probability, therefore, is that the poet which contain parallels to passages plausibly ascribed to Jeremiah were written a good while after that prophet's age. It is true the language of Job is so vigorous and comparatively speaking, so pure (especially when methodical textual criticism has been applied) that apart from other considerations one's first impulse might be to place such a book rather early. But very early is impossible to place it, and a time of rapid national decline, like that of Jeremiah, is really less suitable for the composition of such a fine work than any moderate quiet part of the Persian period. As a compromise we might of course refer the work to the exilic period (see Davidson, *l. p.* lxvii; *Che. Job and Sol.* 74). But when we take the ideas of the book into consideration, we see that it is best understood as the provisional summation of a long period of meditation under the combination of special influences which existed in the post-exilic age and at no other period.

How much later the existing Colloquies were substituted for the original Colloquies or Colloquy, is of course uncertain. The former imply a heightened interest in the problem of suffering. The wise men tell Job that he must have been a great sinner to have been overtaken by such a calamity. So in Is. 63:17 we find the Jewish community asking why Yāhwē had caused the Jews to err from his ways, and hardened their hearts so as not to fear him? The company of faithful Jews (=the Servant of Yāhwē) could not remember any transgressions sufficient to account for the recent aggravation of their misery. They were 'those who worked righteousness and remembered the ways that God would have' (Is. 64:5a); yet they were compelled to suppose that Israel had somehow broken faith, and become guilty in the eyes of God, so that all their righteous deeds (which they could no more disown than Job could disown his righteousness) were as a filthy garment (Is. 64:5 [4] f.), and consequently they had to bear the weight of God's unaccountable anger. This is analogous to what the three Friends would have had Job say, and what he stoutly refused to say; there is nothing to compare with it in the section consisting of Is. 40-55 (see 40:27 49:14).

The later we bring down the date of the Colloquies the better we can understand not only the atmosphere of political and social unrest (see, e.g., 7:1) which seems to pervade them (cp 12:17-25, 14:1 f.), but also the wide intellectual interests of the author. Even if we restrict our view to Job 3-19, the extent of those interests is very striking; the earlier writer apparently had it in him to say nearly all the best that his successors have said. Apart from their particular controversy, both Job and the Friends state much that is admirable respecting God and human nature, and show an interest in the world of nature which can only be paralleled to some extent in the second part of Isaiah. The angelology and mythological allusions, too, indicate a remarkable freedom from religious scruple, such as we know to have characterised the later period.² Nor must we omit to pay homage to the purity and inwardness of the morality of Job's great self-justification (chap. 31). He may seem to be self-righteous; but this is only due to the predominance of the conception of God as a Judge. He knows equally well with the Friends that essential purity belongs to God alone, though the passage which distinctly expresses this truth (14:4) is plainly an interpolation.³ Job has never really fallen away from God. Nor are the authors of the Colloquies sceptics except as regards an antiquated orthodoxy. They are no doubt

¹ In *EB* Professor Davidson places the Book 'somewhere in the troubled period' between the early part of the seventh and the fifth centuries.

² See *Job and Sol.* 79 ff.; *OPs.* 270; and cp Budde, *Hibb.* *Einl.* 44 f.

³ It interrupts the connection. Budde keeps the passage in the text, but in the note inclines to regard it as an interpolation (so Bick., Beer).

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in a sense cosmopolitans. Either by hearsay or by travel (cp 6:19 21:29) they have some real acquaintance with the world outside Judea. But to all that, from a modern Christian point of view, is fundamental in the Jewish religion Job is as loyal as Ezra himself. And what can be more truly prophetic than Job's appeal to God's love against his indiscriminating wrath? All this can hardly have been written much before the close of the Persian period.¹

The Speeches of Yahwé (38-42:6) belong to a poet of the same school as the poem on the Divine Wisdom (28:1-27); they are, however, of somewhat earlier date than that fine poem, which contains one line borrowed from the Speeches (v. 26b; cp 38:25b). The writer's interest in the problem of suffering is but slight. Nor does philosophical speculation attract him: he is an observer—a poetic observer—of nature. Chap. 28 has special affinities with the eulogies of wisdom in Prov. 8:13-20 and 8:22-31. The happy tone, the interest in nature, and in the case of chap. 28 (and parallels) the tendency to hypostatize Wisdom, suggest the bringing down of all these works to the period of widened outlook and greater freedom from anxiety at the beginning of the Greek rule. We need not, however, on this account identify 28:27, 'wisdom,' with the λόγος or the σοφία πνευματική; indeed, such a view would oblige us, with Duhm, to bring down Prov. 8:22-31 and Job 28 to the third century B.C. The Zoroastrian conception of the twofold wisdom² (heavenly and earthly) is old enough to have influenced the Jews; Persian (and Babylonian) influences continued to be felt long after the fall of the Persian Empire.

The various conflicting theories which have been offered as to the purpose of the book will now be seen to proceed from a false assumption.

15. Growth and object of Job. The book of Job has no literary unity, and cannot have had a purpose. It has grown; it has not been made. The different parts of the book, however, had their purpose, which must be sought for by an exegesis unfettered by *a priori* theories. The earliest writer wished to suggest that righteous Israel's sufferings were an honour, because they showed that Israel's service of God was disinterested.

The next writer simply gave expression to the conflicting thoughts of his time on the great problem of suffering; he himself had no definite solution to give. A third writer could only offer the anodyne of the poetic imaginative observation of the wonders of nature. A fourth sought to undo the work of his predecessors by restating a theory which had not, he thought, been adequately represented before. The present book is heterogeneous and amorphous; it gives us, however, a picture of Jewish religious life and thought which is of priceless value. For a subtle and interesting attempt to commend a very different view see § 4 of the Introduction to Budde's commentary.

The genuine Septuagint text has been practically recovered from the Sahidic Version (Coptic of Upper Egypt) of Job published by P.

16. Versions. Agostino Ciasca in 1889: 39:9b-40:7 is the only lacuna. It is shorter than the Hebrew text by nearly 400 stichoi. Origen in his *Hexapla* supplied its deficiencies from Theodotion, marking the insertions by asterisks, and there are still five MSS which give Origen's marks more or less completely (see Hatch, *Essays on Biblical Greek*, 216). Hatch in 1889 accepted the shorter Septuagint form as that of the original Book of Job, and Bickell (1892-1894), whenever his metrical theory will allow it, follows the Greek.³ Dillmann, however, in the Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy (*Textkritisches zum B.*

¹ See Kleinert, 'Das spezifisch-hebräische im B. Hiob,' *St. Kr.*, '86, p. 290 ff.

² See *Katopistron*, '02a, p. 70; cp PERSSA (Religion).

³ See § 17a. For Bickell's earlier view of Φ , see his *De indole ac ratione Versionis Alexandrinae in interpretando libro Jobi* ('63).

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Job, '90) has subjected Hatch's arguments to a detailed consideration, and has shown that, except in a few cases, the omissions were arbitrarily made by the Greek translator, or, as we might almost better call him, paraphrast. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that some of the omissions may be justifiable on grounds of internal criticism, and that the translator may have been partly guided by warning signs (Paseks) in the Hebrew text indicating the non-originality of certain passages, some of which signs may easily have become misplaced. See further Budde, *Hiob*, Einl. xlviii ff.; Beer, 'Textkritische Studien zum B. Job,' *ZATW* 16:267 ff. ('96), 17:97 ff. ('97), 18:237 ff. ('98). Beer's work deals with all the versions; see also his *Text des B. Hiob*—two parts ('95, '98). On the Peshitta, see A. Mandl, *Die Peshitta zu Hiob, nebst einem Anhang über ihre Verhältnisse zur LXX u. Targum* ('92), and E. Baumann, *ZATW* 18:305 ff. ('98), 19:288 ff. ('99), 20:177 ff. (1900). See also W. Bacher, 'Das Targ. zu Hiob,' *MGGW* 20:208-221 ('71), and H. Grätz, 'Das Zeitalter der griech. Uebersetz. des B. H.,' *MGGW* 26:83-91 ('77).

(a) *Text*.—Now that the study of the textual criticism of Job is entering on a new stage, we must not omit to trace its earlier history. These are the chief names: C. F.

17. Literature. Houbigant (priest of the Levites), *Note Critique sur divers livres de l'Ancien Testament* (1777). A hundred years later, A. Meix, *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (1871), reviewed unfavourably by Ewald, *GGZ*, Nov. 29, '71, but gratefully by H. Schultz, *MTF* 16 ('71). The importance of the book lies in its treatment of the text, especially in its attempt at a methodical use of the versions, not so much in its use of a theory of strophes to discover interpolations or lacunae. P. de Lagarde, *Prophetie Chaldaïce*, see pp. 1 f. ('72). G. Bickell, *Carmine VT metricæ*, 150-187 ('82), giving the text of Job arranged according to his metrical theory, marks a step forward; cp Flunk in *ZKl.*, '82, p. 340 ff. G. H. Bateson Wright, *The Book of Job, a new critically revised translation, with essays on its origin, date, etc.* (intended to follow in the wake of the critical edition of A. Merx), a pioneering work, produced at Hong Kong, with easily explained defects, and strange indications of a critical tendency almost new among students of the text of Job (cp Budde, *TLZ*, June 14, '84; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 113; *JQR* 9:574, 197). H. Grätz, *MGGW* 36 ('89), in a review of Cheyne's *Job and Solomon*, which contains a compendium of Grätz's emendations as far as chap. 29, not included in the posthumous *Fundamentales*. G. Hoffmann, *Hiob* ('91); cp Cheyne, *Crit. Rev.* 1:250-259 ('91). Bickell, 'Der ursprüngl. Sept-text des B. Job,' *ZKl.*, 86, p. 557 ff.; 'Krit. Bearbeitung des Job-dialogs,' *HZKM*, 92, pp. 137 ff., 241 ff., 327 ff.; '93, pp. 1 ff., 153 ff.; '94, p. 121; of the highest importance in spite of its too frequent arbitrariness, which is objected to good-natured laughter by Budde. Perhaps, however, Budde would have improved his own work by adopting more from Bickell. The theory that the poetical portions (except the eight-line speech of Yahwé and certain passages in tristichs) are composed in four-line strophes cannot be said to have been overturned by Budde. On Bickell's view of the original Septuagint, see C. Siegfried 'Job' in *SBOT* (Heb.), '93; cp R. Gottheil, *JQR* 7:552 ff. ('94). Bickell's work was not in time to be used by Siegfried. J. Ley, 'Die metrische Beschaffenheit des B. H.,' *St. Kr.*, '95, pp. 635-662, and later essays in *St. Kr.*, '99, G. Beer ('95-'96); Budde ('96); Duhm ('97); see below. Perles, *Analekten* ('95). Cheyne, 'The Text of Job,' *JQR* 9:573 ff. ('97); 'More Critical Gleanings from Job,' *Exp.* 7:10 340 ff. ('99), and many scattered notes in *JQR*, *Exp.*, *Crit. Bib.*, and the present work.

(b) *Metre*.—J. Ley, as above. Paul Vetter, *Die Metrik des B. Job* ('97). See also Bickell, Budde, Duhm, and cp POETICAL LITERATURE, § 8.

(c) *Commentaries and Translations*.—For orientation in the work of the earlier exegesis, see Del.'s indispensable work on Job, Introduction, § 10, 'History of Exegesis'; cp Diestel, *Gesch. des AT in der christl. Kirche*. No other book was so impossible to interpret before the reawakening of linguistic knowledge as that of Job. In the 16th century Mercerus (1573) both for Job and for the 'Solomonic' writings did work of some permanent value. The famous passage, Job 19:25, he explains of Job's hope of a public recognition of his innocence by God in his lifetime. The first strictly philological commentary is that of Albert Schultens, *Liber Jobi*, 2 vols. Leyden, 1737—a magnificent and thorough attempt to apply the key of Arabic philology to problems which were often only created by corruption of the text. Elizabeth Smith (*d.* 1805), translation, '10. S. Lee, '37. H. Ewald, *Dichter des Alten Bundes* (2), 8 ('54); cp Cheyne, *Founders*, 88 f. J. G. Stickel, '42. K. Schlotmann, '51. E. Renan, *Le Livre de Job*, '50. F. Delitzsch, '64, (ET '76). A. Dillmann, in *KGH*, 60, '61 (valuable). A. Merx, '71 (see above). A. Elzas, '72 (Jewish). F. C. Cook (*Speaker's Comm.*), '73. F. Hitzig, '74. J. C. Matthes, part 1, '76 (philological commentary; excellent). G. L. Studer, *Das B. H. für geistliche u. gebildete*

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Zalen, '81 (a useful companion to his critical essays; see below). E. Reuss, in *La sainte Bible*, Anc. Test. vi. (78), and *Job* (translation), '83. G. H. B. Wright, '81 (see above). A. B. Davidson, *Commentary*, vol. i. '92 (philological), '84 (in Cambridge Bible). W. Volck, in *AGA*, '89. G. H. Gilbert, *The Poetry of Job*, part i., a rhythmical translation in three-toned lines; part ii., interpretative essays (Chicago, '89). G. Hoffmann, '91; translation, etc.). C. Siegfried, '93 (see *Text*). Fr. Baethgen, in *Kau. HS*, '94; and *Job* (translation), '99. G. Bickell, 'Job', in *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, ii. '82 (translation); should go with *Carm. I.T. Metr.*; see above, a); *Das B. Job nach Anleitung der Strophen u. der Septuaginta*, '94 (translation); should go with B's later Heb. edition; see a). K. Budde, '96. B. Duhm, '97. The last two writers seem to mark a new stage in exegetical study.

(d) *Articles and other contributions*. — A. Schultens, 'Animadversiones philologicae in librum Job', in *Opera minora*, 9-92 (1769). Fr. Böttcher, in *Recens. rit. Aehrenle*, 49, and *Neue exe.-krit. Aehrenle*, (Abthl. 3), 65. J. A. Fronde, *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 12-6 ff. (67). S. Hoekstra, 'Job de knecht van Jehovah', *Th. P. 5* 1 ff. (71). H. Grätz, 'Die Integrität der Kap. 27 u. 28 in *Job*', *MGW* 21 241 ff. (72). J. Wellh. *JDT*, '71, p. 552 ff. A. Kuenen, 'Job en de lijdende knecht van Jahveh', *ib.* 7 492 ff. (73). Godel, essay in *Études Bibliques*, 74. W. H. Green, *The Argument of the Book of Job unfolded*, '73. Studer, 'Über die Integrität des B.H.', *JPT*, '75, p. 668 ff. J. Barth, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des B. Job*, '76. K. Budde, *Beiträge zur Kritik des B.H.*, '76. 'Die Capp. 27 u. 28 des B.H.', *ZATW* 2 193 ff. (82). Fr. Gesebrecht, *Der Wendepunkt des B.H.*, '79 (subtle; obscure in style). J. Derenhour, 'Réflexions détachées', *RE* 1 1 ff. (86). T. K. Cheyne, 'Job and the Second Part of Isaiah', *Proph. Is.* 2 25 ff. (84); *Ju. and Solomon*, '87. J. Grill, *Zur Kritik der Composition des i. H.* '90 (original). J. Meinhold, 'Das Problem des B.H.', *Neue Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, '92, p. 63 ff. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 36-38 48-70 92, '95 (important). L. Laue, *Die Composition des B.H.*, '95. C. H. H. Wright, *Biblical Essays*, 1-33, '86. G. G. Bradley, *Lectures on Job*, '87. Seyring, *Die Abhängigkeit der Sprache Sal. Cap. 1-9 von Job*, '89. D. B. Macdonald, 'The original form of the Legend of Job', *JBL*, 14 63 ff. (95). H. L. Strack, 'Die Priorität des B.H. gegenüber den Einleitungsreden z.d. Spr. Sal.', *St. Kr.*, '96, p. 609 ff. J. Ley, 'Die dram. Anlage der Hiobdichtung', *Neue Jahrb. f. Philos. u. Pädagogik*, '96 (2), 126 ff.; 'Charakteristik der drei Freunde Hiobs', *St. Kr.*, 1900, p. 331 ff. S. R. Driver, 'Septuagint of the OT', *Contemp. Rev.*, '96, p. 257 ff. T. K. Cheyne, 'The Book of Job and its Latest Commentator', *Expos.*, '97, p. 401 ff.; '97, p. 22 ff.; *Jew. Rel. Life*, '98, *passim*. R. G. Moulton, '96 (in *Modern Reader's Bible*). Among the introductions see especially those of Driver, Cornill, and Wildeboer.

T. K. C.

JOBAB (בָּבִי, 10888 [BADFL]).

1. One of the thirteen tribes called sons of JOKTAN (Gen. 10:29, 10888 [E]; 1 Ch. 1:3 om. B, 10888 [A]). Its precise seat is unknown, but there may be an echo of the name in that of the *Yuhaihab* (יְהִיחַב), a tribe mentioned in two of Glaser's inscriptions (*Skizze*, 2303), which seems to have been subject to the Sabrean king. Cp Di. s. note.

2. b. Zerub, an Edomite king whose city was Bozrah (Gen. 36:33, 10888 [A] in v. 33, 10888 [E]; 1 Ch. 1:44, 10888 [B] in v. 44 only); identified with Job in the appendix to the 3 version of that book (42:17b). Cp schol. in Field's *Hex.* on Gen. 36:1c.

3. King of Madon, who joined Jabin, king of Hazor, against Joshua (Josh. 11:1, 10888 [L]).

The name Jobab appears twice in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (Gen. 46:16, 10888 [E]; 1 Ch. 7:34, 10888 [E]; 1 Ch. 7:34, 10888 [B] in v. 34 only); identified with Job in the appendix to the 3 version of that book (42:17b). Cp schol. in Field's *Hex.* on Gen. 36:1c.

Very possibly Jobab is not always correct. Joab or Jonadab is more probable (cp HUBAH); n is often omitted or misread.

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JOCHEBED (יֹכֶבֶד, probably 'Yahwē [my tribe's]

glory,' cp §§ 38, 80; 10888 [BAFL]) was, according to P, the *didah* (דִּידָה) or aunt of Amram, who took her to wife; their children were Aaron, Moses, and Miriam (Ex. 6:20 [P], Nu. 26:59 [K], 860 [A]). The tradition (a) that the mother of Moses was a 'daughter of Levi' (i.e., a woman of the tribe of Levi) was certainly, and the tradition (b) that her name was Jochebed was possibly, earlier than P, because (1) the phrase 'daughter of Levi' is used of Moses' mother in Ex. 2:1 (E), and (2) names compounded with Jeho- (Jo-) were apparently regarded by P as of somewhat later origin (see Nu. 13:16). It is noteworthy, however, that the narrators nowhere call Moses and Aaron b'nē Amram; we cannot be sure that in the earlier tradition Moses was not like Mel-

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chizedek, 10888 [BAFL]). A son of the second Phinehas (b. Eli) was probably called Jochebed (אִלְחָבוֹד). This would hardly have been so if tradition attached the same name to Moses' mother. We may safely assume, however, that Jochebed was a name current in the family of Aaron and Moses from the Sinaitic period, and perhaps it is the long looked-for key to the mysterious name יֹכָד (Jacobi) which has doubtless been worn down in popular use from some longer name, which we need not suppose to have included the divine title *el*. Cp JACOB, § 1.

On the name see Nestle, *Eig. 77 ff.*; Gray, *HPV* 156, and NAMES, § 112. The representation of Jochebed as Amram's cousin (Ex. 6:20) is interesting; a *dimid* could not marry his nephew, according to Lev. 18:12 20:19. But perhaps the right: 72 could easily disappear after 72. Cp KINSHIP, § MARRIAGE, § 2.

T. K. C.

JODA. 1. 1 Esd. 5:18 (10888 [A]) = Ezra 39, JUDAH

(3). 2. (10888 [Ti. WH]), 1k. 326 RV, AV JUDA. See GENEALOGIES ii, § 3f.

JOED (יֹדֶה [Ba.], יֹדֶה [Ginsb. misprint?]; 10888

[B, omitting preceding יוֹדֶה]. 10888 [AL]. -AB [N], c on the name, Ki. s. note 2 Ch. 9:29, SBOT), a Benjaminite (Neh. 11:7).

JOEL (יֹאֵל; 10888 [BNAL]).

1. b. Pethuel (Joel 1:1), see next art.

2. The eldest son of Samuel the prophet; see SAMUEL. In the parallel passage 1 Ch. 6:28 [13], for הַבְּנוֹת רַחֲמֵי (AV) the firstborn Vashni and Abiah) we must read יֹאֵל וְיִשְׁכָּבֵל (cp RV 'the firstborn Joel and the second Abiah'). The comparison of the two texts illustrates, in an interesting manner, the ways in which errors have found their way into MT. According to the Chronicler (1 Ch. 6:33 [18] and 15:17), Joel is the father of the singer HEMAN (9:2).

3. The brother of Nathan of Zoloh, 1 Ch. 11:34 (so B⁹⁶, but B⁹⁶ in both Ch. and S, followed by Bertheau, Keil, Gesenius, 'the son of Nathan') and one of David's heroes. In 2 S. 23:36 his name appears as יֹאֵל (see IGAL). The correct reading is doubtful, since in S. 23:36 reads יֹאֵל (B⁹⁶, however, read יֹאֵל). For ZUBAH, however, Marquart (*Fund.* 21) would read יֹאֵל = יֹאֵל in Benjamin.

4. A Simeonite prince (1 Ch. 4:35).

5. In 1 Ch. 5:48 Joel would seem to have dropped out of the preceding verse, or else we must insert here the name of one of the sons of Reuben. Pesh. reads here CARRI, which is probably right.

6. A Gadite chief (1 Ch. 5:12).

7. A Kethathite, 1 Ch. 6:36 [21]. In v. 24 [9] his name appears as SHAUL (9:2). He is mentioned again in 2 Ch. 29:12. See GENEALOGIES i, § 7 (iii, c).

8. h. ISRAHIAH (9:2), 1 Ch. 7:3 (9:2) [B].

9. A Gershonite chief (1 Ch. 15:7 [11], descended from Ladan (1 Ch. 23:8). Cp 10 below.

10. b. Jebiel, a Gershonite temple treasurer (1 Ch. 26:22) 'Joel' was perhaps looked upon as a favourite Gershonite name (cp GENEALOGIES i, § 7 (iii, c, n)).

11. b. Pedaiah, a Manassite captain (1 Ch. 27:20).

12. One of the b'nē NERO in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i, § 5 end), Ezra 10:43 = 1 Esd. 9:35, JUEL (10888 [B]).

13. b. Zichri, in list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii, § 54, § 15 [11a], Neh. 11:9).

JOEL. The second book among the minor prophets is entitled 'The word of Yahwē that came to Joel the son of Pethuel,' or, as the LXX (10888 [BAFL]), Latin, Syriac, and other versions read, 'of Bethuel.' Nothing is recorded as to the date or occasion of the prophecy, which presents several peculiarities that aggravate the difficulty always felt in interpreting an ancient book when the historical situation of the author is obscure. Most Hebrew prophecies contain pointed references to the foreign politics and social relations of the nation at the time. In the book of Joel there are only scanty allusions to Phœnicians, Philistines, Egypt, and Edom, couched in terms applicable to very different ages, while the prophet's own people are exhorted to repentance without specific reference to any of those national sins of which other prophets speak. The occasion of the prophecy, described with great force of rhetoric, is no

1 This is actually supplied by B⁹⁶.

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known historical event, but a plague of locusts, perhaps repeated in successive seasons; and even here there are features in the description which have led many expositors to seek an allegorical interpretation. The most remarkable part of the book is the eschatological picture with which it closes; and the way in which the plague of locusts appears to be taken as foreshadowing the final judgment—the great day or assize of Yahwe, in which Israel's enemies are destroyed—is so unique as greatly to complicate the exegetical problem. It is not therefore surprising that the most various views are still held as to the date and meaning of the book. Allegorists and literalists still contend over the first and still more over the second chapter, and whilst the largest number of recent interpreters accept Credner's view that the prophecy was written in the reign of Joash of Judah, a rising and powerful school of opinion follows the view suggested by Vatke (*Bib. Theol.* 492 f.), and reckon Joel among the post-exilic prophets. Other scholars give yet other dates; see the particulars in the elaborate work of Merx (see below, § 8). The followers of Credner are literalists; the opposite school of moderns includes some literalists (as Duhm), whilst others (like Hilgenfeldt, and, in a modified sense, Merx) adopt the old allegorical interpretation which treats the locusts as a figure for the enemies of Jerusalem.

The reasons for placing Joel either earlier or later than the great series of prophets extending from the time when Amos first proclaimed the approach of the Assyrian down to the Babylonian exile are cogent.

2. Alternative dates.

In Joel the enemies of Israel are the nations collectively, and among those specified by name neither Assyria nor Chaldaea finds a place. This circumstance might, if it stood alone, be explained by placing Joel with Zephaniah in the brief interval between the decline of the empire of Nineveh and the advance of the Babylonians. It is further obvious, however, that Joel has no part in the internal struggle between spiritual Yahwe-worship and idolatry which occupied all the prophets from Amos to the captivity. He presupposes a nation of Yahwe-worshippers, whose religion has its centre in the temple and priesthood of Zion, which is indeed conscious of sin, and needs forgiveness and an outpouring of the spirit, but is not visibly divided, as the kingdom of Judah was, between the adherents of spiritual prophecy and a party whose national worship of Yahwe involved for them no fundamental separation from the surrounding nations.

The book, therefore, must have been written before the ethico-spiritual and the popular conceptions of Yahwe came into conscious antagonism, or else after the fall of the state and the restoration of the community of Jerusalem to religious rather than political existence had decided the contest in favour of the prophets, and of the law in which their teaching was ultimately crystallized.

The considerations which have given currency to an early date for Joel are of various kinds. The absence of all mention of the one great oppressing world-power seems most natural before the westward march of Assyria involved Israel in the general politics of Asia. The purity of the style also is urged, and a comparison of Amos 12 Joel 3[4]16, and Amos 9:13 Joel 3[4]18 has been taken as proving that Amos knew our book.

The last argument might be inverted with much greater probability, and numerous points of contact between Joel and other parts of the OT (e.g., Joel 22 Exod. 10:14 Joel 24 Ezek. 36:35 Joel 3[4]10 Mic. 4:3) make it not incredible that the purity of his style—which is rather elegant than original and strongly marked—is in large measure the fruit of literary culture. The absence of allusion to a hostile or oppressing empire may be fairly taken in connection with the fact that the prophecy gives no indication of political life at Jerusalem. When the whole people is mustered in 1:13 f., the elders or sheikhs of the municipality and the priests of the temple are the most prominent figures. The king is not mentioned,—which on Credner's view is explained by assuming that the plague fell in the minority of Joash, when the priest Jehoiada held the reins of power,—and the princes, councillors, and warriors necessary to an independent state, and so often referred to by the prophets before the Exile, are altogether lacking. The nation has only a municipal organization with a primaryocracy, precisely the state of things that prevailed under the Persian empire. That the Persians do not appear as enemies of Yahwe and his people is perfectly natural. They were hard

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masters but not invaders, and under them the enemies of the Jews were their neighbours, just as appears in Joel 1.

Those, however, who place our prophet in the minority of King Joash, draw a special argument from the mention of Philistines, Philistines, and Edomites (3[4]1 f. 10), pointing to the revolt of Edom under Joram (2 K. 8:20), and the incursion of the Philistines in the same reign (2 Ch. 21:16 22:1). These were recent events in the time of Joash, and in like manner the Phoenician slave-trade in Jewish children is carried back to an early date by the reference in Amos (1:9).

This argument is specious rather than sound. Edom's hostility to Judah was incessant, but the feud reached its full intensity only after the time of Jehonadab (237[8]), when the Edomites joined the Chaldeans, drew profit from the overthrow of the Jews, whose land they partly occupied, and exercised barbarous cruelty towards the fugitives of Jerusalem (Obad. 10 f., Mal. 1:2 f. 15:23). The offence of shedding innocent blood charged on them by Joel, is natural after these events, but hardly so in connection with the revolt against Joram.

As regards the Philistines, it is impossible to lay much weight on the statement of Chronicles, unsupported as it is by the older history, and in Joel the Philistines plainly stand in one category with the Phoenicians, as slave-dealers, not as armed foes. Gaza in fact was a slave-emporium as early as the time of Amos (1:6), and continued so till Roman times.

Thus, if any inference as to date can be drawn from chap. 3[1], it must rest on special features of the trade in slaves, which was always an important part of the commerce of the Levant.

In the time of Amos the slaves collected by Philistines and Tyrians were sold *en masse* to Edom, and presumably went to Egypt or Arabia. Joel complains that they were sold to the Grecians (Javan, Iomans).² It is probable that some Hebrew and Syrian slaves were exported to the Mediterranean coasts from a very early date, and Is. 11:11 already speaks of Israelite captives in these districts as well as in Egypt, Ethiopia, and the East.

The traffic in this direction, however, hardly became extensive till a later date.

In Dom. 2800 Egypt is still the chief goal of the maritime slave-trade, and in Ezek. 27:13 Javan exports slaves to Tyre, not conversely. Thus the allusion to Javan in Joel better suits a later date, when Syrian slaves were in special request in Greece.³ The name of Javan is not found in any part of the OT certainly older than Ezekiel. In Joel it seems to stand as a general representative of the distant countries reached by the Mediterranean (in contrast with the southern Arabs, cf. *Sabirans*, chap. 3[4]18), the furthest nation reached by the fleets of the Red Sea. This is precisely the geographical standpoint of the post-exilic author of Dan. 10:4, where Javan includes Carthage and Tartessus; cf. JAVAN.

Finally, the allusion to Egypt in Joel 3[4]19, must on Credner's theory be explained of the invasion of Shishak a century before Joash. From this time down to the last period of the Hebrew monarchy Egypt was not the enemy of Judah.

If the arguments chiefly relied on for an early date are so precarious or can even be turned against their inventors, there are others of an unambiguous kind which make for a date in the Persian period. It appears from chap. 3[1] f. that Joel wrote after the Exile.

The phrase, 'to bring back the captivity' (חֲזֹקֵי צָרָה), would not alone suffice to prove this, for it is used in a wide sense, and perhaps means rather to 'reverse the calamity';⁴ but the dispersion of Israel among the nations, and the allotment of the Holy Land to new occupants, cannot fairly be referred to any calamity less than that of the captivity.

With this the whole standpoint of the prophecy agrees. To Joel Judah and the people of Yahwe are synonyms; Northern Israel has disappeared.

Now it is true that those who take their view of the history from Chronicles, where the kingdom of Ephraim is always treated as a sect outside the true religion, can reconcile this

¹ In the AV of 217 it appears that subjection to a foreign power is not a present fact but a thing feared. The parallelism, however, and v. 19 justify the now prevalent rendering, 'that the heathen should make a mock of them.'

² The hypothesis of an Arabian Javan, applied to Joel 3[4]16 by Credner, Hitz., and others, may be viewed as exploded. See St. *Die Populo Javan*, Gieseler's Programme, 80 (reprinted in *Stellenkunde*, *Wien*, 1873, p. 225).

³ Cf. Mevius, *Phönizisches Alterthum*, iii. 1 707 f.

⁴ See Ewald on Jer. 48:47, and Kuenen, *Th. T.*, 1873, p. 519 f. [Di. on Job 42:8 etc.].

fact with an early date. In ancient times, however, it was not so; and under Josiah, the contemporary of Elisha, such a limitation of the people of Yahweh is wholly inconceivable. The earliest prophetic books have quite a different standpoint; otherwise, indeed, the books of northern prophets and historians could never have been admitted into the Jewish canon. Again, the significant fact that there is no mention of a king and priests, but only of sheikhs and priests, has a force not to be undervalued by the ingenious reference of the book to the time of Josiah's minority and the supposed regency of Jehoiada.¹ Moreover the assumption that there was a period before the prophetic conflicts of the eighth century when spiritual prophecy had unchallenged sway, when there was no gross idolatry or superstition, when the priests of Jerusalem, acting in accord with prophets like Joel, held the same place as heads of a pure worship which they occupied after the Exile (cp Ewald, *Propheten*, 189), is not consistent with history. It rests on the old theory of the antiquity of the Levitical legislation, so that in fact almost all who place that legislation later than Ezekiel, are agreed that the book of Joel is also late. In this connection one point deserves special notice. The religious significance of the plague of drought and locusts is expressed in chap. 19 in the observation that the daily meal-offering and drink-offering are cut off, and the token of new blessing is the restoration of this service, chap. 24. In other words, the daily offering is the continual symbol of gracious intercourse between Yahweh and his people and the main office of religion. This conception, which finds its parallel in Dan. vii. 11-12, is quite in accordance with the later law (cp the importance attached to the meal-offering and burnt-offering in Neh. 10. 31-34). Such is the historical basis which we seem to be able to lay for the study of the exegetical problems of the book.

The style of Joel is clear, and his language presents little difficulty beyond the occurrence of several unique

5. First part. words, which in part may very well be due to errors of the text. On the other hand, the structure of the book, the symbolism, and the connection of the prophet's thoughts, have given rise to much controversy. It seems safest to start from the fact that the prophecy is divided into two well-marked sections by chap. 2. 13-14.

According to the Massoretic vocalisation, which is in harmony with the most ancient exegetical tradition as contained in *Q*, these words are historical: "Then Yahweh was jealous, and answered and said unto his people, Behold, etc." Such is the natural meaning of the words as vocalised, and the proposal of Meix to change the vowels so as to transform the perfects into futures, and make the priests pray that Yahweh will answer, and deliver the gracious promises that fill the rest of the book, is an exegetical monstrosity not likely to find adherents.

The book falls into two parts. In the first the prophet speaks in his own name, addressing himself to the people in a lively description of a present calamity caused by a terrible plague of locusts which threatens the entire destruction of the country, and appears to be the vehicle of a final consuming judgment (the day of Yahweh).

There is no hope save in repentance and prayer; and in chap. 2. 12 the prophet, speaking now for the first time in Yahweh's name, calls the people to a solemn fast at the sanctuary, and invites the intercession of the priests. The calamity is described in the strongest colours of Hebrew hyperbole, and it seems arbitrary to seek too literal an interpretation of details, e.g., to lay weight on the four names of locusts (see Forster), or to take chap. 1. 20 as a conflagration produced by drought, when it appears from 2. 4 that the ravages of the locusts themselves are compared to those of fire.

When due allowance is made for Eastern rhetoric, there is no occasion to seek in this section anything else than literal locusts.

Nay, the allegorical interpretation, which takes the locusts to be hostile invaders, breaks through the laws of all reasonable writing; for the poetical hyperbole which compares the invading swarms to an army (2. 4 f.) would be inconceivably lame if a literal army were already concealed under the figure of the locusts. Nor could the prophet so far forget himself in his allegory as to speak of a victorious host as entering the conquered city like a thief (2. 9).

The second part of the book is Yahweh's answer to the people's prayer. The answer begins with a promise of deliverance from famine, and of fruitful seasons compensating for the ravages of the locusts.

6. Second part.

¹ Stade (*op. cit.* 17 [*Abael. Reden*, 142]) not unreasonably questions whether 2 K. 12. 1-3 [2. 4] implies the paramount political influence of Jehoiada.

² Reuss (*la Bible*, and *Gesch. Heil. Schr. AT*, § 215 f.), though with hesitation, adhered to the earlier date.

In the new prosperity of the land the union of Yahweh and people shall be sealed anew, and so Yahweh will pour down further and higher blessings. The ascription of the words to the prophet Joel, and the hope of earlier prophets (Is. 39. 1; cp Jer. 33), shall be fully realised in the outpouring of the Spirit on all the Jews and even upon their servants (cp Is. 44 with 46 f.); and then the great day of judgment, which had seemed to overshadow Jerusalem in the new age, shall draw near with awful tokens of blood and fire and darkness.

The terrors of that day are not for the Jews but for their enemies.

The worshippers of Yahweh on Zion shall be delivered (Obad. 2. 17), whose words Joel expressly quotes in chap. 3 (3. 18), and it is then heathen enemies, assembled before Jerusalem to war against Yahweh, who shall be mowed down (see Jer. 49. 34; cp Jer. 49. 33), by no human arm, but by heavenly war (the mighty ones, O Yahweh, 3. 4. 11). This definitely wipes the profane foot of the stranger (cp Is. 52. 1), Jerusalem shall be a holy city for ever. The fertility of the land shall be more than long ago promised in Am. 9. 13, and streams issuing from the temple, as Ezekiel had described in his picture of restored Jerusalem (Ezek. 47), shall fertilise the barren Wadi Aracus (cp Am. 1. 5-7).

Egypt and Edom, on the other hand, shall become desolate, because they have shed the blood of Yahweh's innocents. Cp the similar predictions against Edom (Is. 34. 7, Mal. 1. 3), and against Egypt, Is. 19. 4 f. 23. 29. Joel's eschatological picture appears indeed to be largely a combination of elements from older unfulfilled prophecies.

The central feature, the assembling of the nations to judgment, is already found in Zeph. 3. 9, and in Ezekiel's prophecy concerning Gog and Magog, where the wonders of fire and blood named in Joel 2. 3 [3. 1] are also mentioned (Ezek. 38. 22). Other physical features of the great day, the darkening of the lights of heaven, are a standing figure of the prophetic f. Amos (5. 8-9) downwards. It is characteristic of the prophetic eschatology that images suggested by one prophet are adopted by his successors, and gradually become part of the permanent scenery of the last times; and it is a proof of the late date of Joel that almost his whole picture is made up of such features. In this respect there is a close parallelism, extending to minute details, between Joel and the last chapters of Zechariah.

That Joel's delineation of the final deliverance and glory attaches itself directly to the deliverance of the nation from a present calamity is quite in the main of the prophetic perspective. On the other hand, the fact that the calamity which bulks so largely is natural and not political, is characteristic of the post-exile period.

Other prophets of the same age speak much of death and failure of crops, which in Palestine, then as now, were aggravated by bad government, and were far more serious to a small and isolated community than they could ever have been to old kingdoms. It was indeed by no means impossible that Jerusalem might have been altogether undone by the famine caused by the locusts; and so the conception of these visitations as the destroying army, executing Yahweh's final judgment, really much more natural than appears to us at first sight, and does not need to be explained away by allegory.

The chief argument relied upon by those who so find allegory at least in chap. 2, is the expression

7. Verse 2. צפון, 'the northerner,' in 2. 20.

In view of the other points of affinity between Joel and Ezekiel, this word inevitably suggests Gog and Magog, and it is difficult to see how a swarm of locusts could receive such a name, or if they came from the N. could perish, as the verse puts it, in the desert between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea. The verse remains a *crux interpretum*, and no exegesis hitherto given can be deemed thoroughly satisfactory, but the interpretation of the whole book must not be made to hinge on a single word in a verse which might be altogether removed without affecting the general course of the prophet's argument.

The whole verse is perhaps the addition of an allegorical glossator. The prediction in 2. 19, that the seasons shall henceforth be fruitful, is given after Yahweh has shown his zeal and pity for Israel, not of course by mere words, but by acts, appears in 2. 21 f., where the verbs are properly perfects, and

[See the commentaries. In *Critica Biblica* it is proposed to make 2. 25 precede 2. 20, and in 2. 20, for the enigmatical צפון to read צפון, 'and both its rear and its front' (will I remove, etc.), referring to צפון, 'my great army,' which precedes. It is held that many expressions are just such corruption and contraction, and just such misplacement, as is here supposed. The sense appears good. E.D.]

JOELAH

corollary that Yalovec has already done great things, and that vegetation has already rested. In other words, the money already expended in the removal of the plague is taken as a pledge of future grace and to stop short till all the world's old promises are fulfilled. In this context *et* is out of place. Olsson also states that in *et* heists are spoken of in the plottic language of chap. 1. (See *PROPHETIC LITERATURE*, and on the right in between passages of Joel and Amos, see AMOS, §§ 8, 15.) (On the argument as to date drawn from the language of Joel, see Holzinger's article cited below.)

Ew. *Propheten*, 1; Hitz., Keil, Pusey, v. Orelli, We., Nowack, GASM., in their comm. on the Minor Prophets; and

8. Literature.

8. Literature. separate comm. by Credner (71), Winsche (72), Ir. (in Cambridge Bible, 97). See also Kue. *Outl.*, § 68 f. Mers (*Die Prophetie des Jais u. the Ausleger*, 70) gives an elaborate list of interpretation from the LXX down to Calvin, and appends the Ethiopic text edited by Ir. Of older comm. the most valuable is Pococke's (Oxford, 1701). Bochart's *Haruz* may also be consulted; c. also Triv. *Expositor*, March '88; Gray, *ibid.*, Sept. '83; H. T. Fowler, *J.H.T.* 10:14-15; Oort, *Goedeleeze Bijdragen*, 10, pp. 2-15, *J.H.T.* 76, p. 352 ff.; Matthews, *ibid.*, 85, pp. 34-36 (120-170); pp. 357-361; Gratz, *Die einwürtliche Charakter der Prophetie Isais*, 73; Holzinger, *Z.N.T.*, 89, pp. 89-131.

W. R. S.—S. R. D.

JOELAH (יֹאֵלָה), b. Jt ROUN

JOELAH (יִזְחֵל), i. JERUHAM [5] one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 127, $\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$ [BN], $\iota\omega\eta\lambda\alpha$ [ML]). See **DAVID**, § 11, (a m.).

it appears to be the error of a scribe who began to write שִׁנָּה (see n. 6); read therefore שִׁנָּה , Elah (cp שִׁנָּה , where Elah and Jerohan again occur close together). Kt., however, suggests שִׁנָּה ; but this, though supported by many MSS (Kenn.), and perhaps by שִׁנָּה , is less natural. T. K. C.

JOEZER (71)

JOEZER (יֹזֶר, 'Yahweh is help,' cp אֱלֹהֵינוּ *Th. אלהינו*, and NAMES, § 28), one of David's warriors, a Korathite (1 Ch. 126 יֹזָבָב [B], זָבָב [A], יֹזָבָב [L]). See DAVID, § 11, (cf. *ib.*).

JOGBEHAN

JOGBEHAN (גִּבְעָה); Nu. KAI YHWH CAN AYTAQ [BAI.]; Judg. יִעֲרֵבָא [I]. עֲנַנְתִּיךָ זֶרַעֲךָ [N]. עֲנַנְתִּיךָ נֶאֱבַע [L.], one of the cities fortified by Gail (Nu. 32.45). The indications given in the story of Gilead (Judg. 8.11) are sufficient to show that it is the modern *Kh. 'Izbeth* (so GASm. HG 585 and Baed.⁽³⁾ 172; usually el-Izbethat), 3468 ft. above sea level, some 6 m. NNW. from Amman (Rabbath Ammon) on the road to es-Salt.

The identification is not Conder's. It had been critically defended by Dietrich, 'Beiträge zur bibl. Geogr.,' in Merx's *Archiv*, 346-349 (1867-69), but even before him had been accepted by Knobel and Ewald (against Gesenius and Bertheau).
CP. NOLAN, KENATH. **T. K. C.**

JOGLI (יגלי)

JOGLI (יָגֹלִי, 'led into exile'), father of BURKI (Nu. 34²² [P], εϒλει [B], εκλι [A], ιεκλι [I], ιεκλει [L]).

JOHA (יֹחָנָה).

JOHA (יֹחָה), abbrev. from יֹחָנָן, § 51; or more probably an error for יֹחָזָא—i.e., יֹחָזָה, Joahaz; cp some of **Q**'s forms below).

1. b. Berish in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (2.7., § 9 ii. β); 1 Ch. 8 to (ωαχα [B], ωαχα και ιεζια [A], και ιεζια [I.]).

JOHANAN (1)

JOHANAN (יְהוֹנָן [nos. 9-15], a shorter form of יְהוֹחָנָן [nos. 1-8, EV nearly always JEHOHANAN], 'Yahwè is gracious'; cf. יְהוֹנָתָן, etc., and see NAMES, §§ 23, 83). With one exception [no. 9], the name occurs only in late writings. *yawan* [BHAL], *yawan* [BL]; for details see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE).

1. Priest temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., §§ 64, 11), Neh. 12.13.
2. h. Eliashih, a high-priest (EZRA 106, *וואר* [HC-A], AV JOHANAN, cp Neh. 12.22 *ל. וואר*). In 1 Esd. 9. called JOANAN, RV JOANAN (*וואר* [B], om. L); perhaps the same as JOATHAN b. JOIAH (N-h. 12.14; cp Meyer, *Entst.* 9), and possibly also the high-priest Johanan who murdered his brother Jeshua in the temple in the time of an Artaxerxes (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7.1). If so, Johanan was the uncle, not the brother, of Jeshua (so Marq.).
3. A priest in procession (see EZRA ii., § 13 g) Neh. 12.42 (*וואר* [HC-A]).
4. h. Tobiah, the 'Ammonite,' who married the daughter of Meshullam (Neh. 6.18; *וואר* [HC-A]).

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6. b. MASHKOLAH, a sister (1 Ch. 26.1, *masqal* [B], *masqal* [J], *masqal* [A]). A captain, temple-leishophat (1 Ch. 17.19), perhaps the one whose son Ishmael is mentioned in 2 Ch. 23.1.
7. b. YHJHVA, an Ephraimite (2 Ch. 25.2 *wayisro* [B]).
8. One of the five Hittites in 1 Ch. 2.11 those with foreign wives (see FRYE, 1, p. 54 n. 6). FRYE 192, 1 Esd. 10.3, JOHANNES, RV JOHANNES (*wayisro* [B-A]).
9. b. KAHEN (2 Ch. 1), a captain, who resided to Gedaliah Ishmael's conspiracy. He took a leading part in the attempt made to renew the Jewish commonwealth after the destruction of Jerusalem (2 K. 23.23, see: *Wayisro* [A] *wayisro* [B] 10.3; Atr. 13; *ka* [B], *ahaz* [B] 7.15, 41.11; *wayisro* [B] 7.15, 11.11; 10.3; *wayisro* [B] 14.10; 1 Ch. 2.14; *wayisro* [B] *wayisro* [B] 7.16; 42.10; *wayisro* [A] 1.1, 1.17, 1.21, 43.3; *wayisro* [J] 24.1). In Jer. 10, he is mentioned along with his brother JOHANNES (2 Ch. 10.7).
10. b. J-SAH (1 Ch. 3.14). ¹⁰ reads *wayisro*, *wayisro*, probably this is right (see Hitz, *GTZ* 24, and cf. H-AHAZ).
11. b. FLOHAI (), a descendant of Zambelot (1 Ch. 3.24 *wayisro* [A]).
12. A name introduced into the list of high priests in 1 Ch. 6.9f. [14.5] (*wayisro* [B], B only in 9f.). See GENAO, HSA, 37 (iv).
13. 14. A Benjaminite (1 Ch. 12.4), and a Gadite (ib. p. 12, *wayisro* [B]). Two of David's warriors (PSALM, p. 11).
14. A representative of the one Azkai in FRYE's caravan (see FRYE 1, p. 2, n. 16 [1 Ch. 12]). FRYE 12, 1 Esd. 8.35, JOHANNES, RV JOHANNES (*wayisro* [B] 10.3) [A].

JOHANNES (IOWANN)

JOHANNES (IOWANNHC [A]), 1 Esd. 8:3 9:29. See IOHANAN, 8 15.

JOHN (IOANNES) [AN]

JOHN Ἰωάννης [ANV, Tr. WH]; WH in Jn. 1:42 21 is *ἡ* Ἰωάννης; for details, see JOHN, SON OF ZEBOEDAI, § 11.

1. Father of Matthias (I. Macc. 21). See MACCABEES I.
2. Surnamed Cabbis or Cabbis, son of Matthias (I. Macc. 22b). See MACCABEES I.
3. Son of Alco, father of EPHRAEMUS (I. Macc. 8:17 2 Macc. 1:11).
4. Surnamed Hymnarus, son of Simon (I. Macc. 13:53 etc.). See MACCABEES I.
5. An envoy from the Jews to Ptolemy (2 Macc. 11:17).
6. A member of the high-priestly family (ANATHAS) otherwise unknown. It substitutes J. anathas, that is, Jonathan (in the form of the name see JONAS, § 10, 11), son of the high priest ANSAS, and himself high priest in 36-7 A.D.; he still held a prominent position in 50-2 A.D. and was assassinated in the instigation of Felix the Roman procurator (Jos. *Jur.* xviii. 53 A.D. 8-9; *B.H.* II. 245 f. 13 c.). Blass gives 'Jonathan' in the text of Acts 16, not only in his edition based upon D but also in the other edition which, according to him, was made by Luke. Thus his hypothesis (ACTS, § 17) finds no confirmation here, for it cannot be supposed that Luke would of his own proper motion have substituted a false name for the true. Yet confusion of the names through the carelessness of copyists is hardly more probable. It remains for us to suppose that perhaps a J. anathas otherwise unknown to us was really intended; in this case the insertion of Jonathan in D rests, like so much else in this codex, on learned conjecture.
7. Surnamed MARK (I. Macc. 2:1).
8. Father of Simon Peter (Jn. 142 21:15-17 RV); AV Jona, Jonas. See BAR-TOXA.
9. The 'divine', the description of the recipient of the Revelation in the title of the Apocalypse in EV, following TR, ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου. So 12, 61. Other slightly different short descriptions occur, as well as longer ones, e.g., ἀπὸ τοῦ θεολόγου καὶ ἐκκλησιαστοῦ (D), and a very long eulogistic one in 7. 'The Divine,' lit. 'The Theologer,' intimates that John was specially devoted to the presentation of the Logos-doctrine. This form of the title (which is not accepted by modern editors) claims the same origin for the Apocalypse as for the Fourth Gospel, in opposition to the ancient theory of a second John (see APOCALYPSE, § 14; and on John 'the Elder,' JONAS, SON OF ZEBEDEE).
10 and 11. John the Baptist; and John the son of Zebedee; see below.

JOHN THE BAPTIST

JOHN THE BAPTIST (ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΒΑΠΤΙΣΤΗΣ [Ti. VII]). The forerunner of Jesus is only less interesting to biblical students than Jesus himself. Twice already his life and work have been referred to (ISRAEL, § 92; JESUS, § 6); it is our present object, to supplement these references by a more connected treatment without undue repetition.

Long before the time of John the Baptist there was a great ascetic prophet who sought his inspiration in the

- 1. Public appearance.** His life was a guiding star to many in the days of John—an age not unlike his own, when alien influences again threatened to extinguish

JOHN THE BAPTIST

pure Hebrew religion. Not to speak of the Essenes (p. 1), there was the hermit teacher of Josephus called Hinnus, who lived in the desert, covered himself with leaves, sustained life with fruits, and bathed frequently, by day and by night, in cold water for religious purity (Jos. *Ant.* 13 § 2). The same historian also mentions 'John surnamed the Baptist,' who 'was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to justice towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism (*βαπτισμὸς οὐδὲναι*), for baptism (*τὴν βαπτισμὸν*) would be acceptable to God, if they made use of it, not in order to expiate some sins, but for the purification of the body, provided that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness' (*Ant.* xiii § 2). That this is a complete statement, no one can believe. The hostility of Antipas, recorded by Josephus himself, is a proof that something more dangerous to established governments than plain moral exhortations had fallen from the lips of the desert preacher. What that was, may be learned from the synoptic gospels.

Shortly before the beginning of the public ministry of Jesus, John (so let us call him) appeared in the wilderness of Judea,¹ announcing in the old prophetic phraseology the approach of the Messianic judgment and the necessity of immediate turning to God. As he moved about, the number of his followers increased, and he led them to the Jordan (cp BETHABARA), there to give them as representatives of a regenerate people the final purification which attested the reality of their inward change.² It is said to have been the opinion of doctors of the law that the waters of the Jordan were not pure enough for sacred uses.³ John, however, was not to be daunted by this; he was no formalist, or he would not have deserted Jerusalem, and called the Pharisees and the Sadducees 'broods of vipers.' At the same time it is worthy of remark that according to Jn. 1:28 John had baptised converts at Bethany or Bethabara beyond Jordan—i.e., probably, at Beth ninnrah, which is 13½ m. E. of Jordan—and at Enon, 'near Salim' (to be emended 'Jerusalem')—i.e., perhaps, 'Am Kārim, which is a short distance W. of Jerusalem.⁴

As regards his mode of life, John was an ascetic, but not such a one as the hermit Hinnus of whom 2. Mode of life. Josephus tells us, nor yet a preacher of Essenism (as Gratz supposes). His object was not to make mere ascetics, but to prepare as many as possible for the Messianic judgment, in which only a 'remnant' would escape. His own asceticism was a consequence of his life in the desert; he was not primarily an ascetic but a prophet after the manner of Elijah. Hence 'locusts' (or rather 'cicob-beans')⁵ and wild honey were his food, and a cloak of 'camel's hair'⁶ with a broad leather waist-cloth was his dress.

¹ Will read in Mk. 1:4 Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κηρύσσων; Tl. καὶ κηρύσσων; Trgg. [καὶ] κηρύσσων. RV renders Pl's text 'John came, who baptised in the wilderness and preached.' But surely the revised text is correct. ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ must go with ἔρχετο (see Mk. 1:1) which cannot mean 'came' (παρεγένετο), and the view that ὁ βαπτιστὴς is a synonym of ὁ βαπτισμὸς (Mk. 1:21 f. 22) is most improbable. The article slipped in through the influence of the familiar phrase ὁ βαπτισμὸς.

² No other exegesis seems reasonable; Jos., as we have seen, sanctions it. The true baptism is spiritual (Ps. 51:7; 13). But it needs an outward symbol, and John, remembering Ezek. 36:25, and having prophetic authority, called those who would know themselves to be purified to baptism. It is no doubt true that baptism was regularly required of Gentile *proselytes* (see BAPTISM, § 1), but John's baptism had no connection with ceremonial uncleanness.

³ Neub. *Gloss.* 31.

⁴ See BETHANY, 2; SALIM. Schick (*ZDPV* 22:1 ff. [90]) actually thinks that the 'wilderness of Judea' where John preached was the traditional spot, near the hermit's fountain (Ain el-Habis). He also accepts the traditional birthplace of the Baptist (*Mos zakarya*).

⁵ See HUSKS.

⁶ Does 'camel's hair' mean the tough, harsh cloth woven from the rough hair of the camel (cp Jerome)? Or does *ἄγρις*, like (perhaps) *ἄγρις* in 2 K. 1:4, mean the skin with the hair? D in Mk.

JOHN THE BAPTIST

According to Lk. he adapted, not indeed his stance, but his practical requirements, to the different circumstances represented in the multitude before him. Certain meaning of the primitive tradition was not that an who liked might receive the symbolic rite; a certain teaching is presupposed (cp Lk. 3:7). False ideas to be corrected. The true and the false children of Abraham had to be distinguished. The true Messianic doctrine had to be made plain. The relative imperfection of the highest spiritual gifts at present attainable had to be inculcated.

The relation of John's ideas to those of his contemporaries is considered elsewhere (see ISRAEL, § 92; JESUS, § 1).

3. Relation to Jesus.

What we have to do now is to grasp the peculiarity of this great teacher and his relation to Jesus. On both these subjects John himself will enlighten us. But something we gather from the recorded fragments of his sermon which all may be, and of which the most important must be, his own; something too from the scanty details of his history. 'Fragments' is the word which criticises us to use. The sermon given in Mt. 3:7-12, even more devoid of unity than the Sermon on Mount. Let us pause a moment to see where we stand. Exhortation, if not also individual teaching, must we have seen, have preceded the symbolic act of plunging his converts individually into the stream of Jordan. But if Matthew is to be followed, the exhortations, which follow the record of the baptisms, were addressed 'many of the Pharisees and Sadducees' (Mt. 3:7); how, 1, is impossible.

For these reasons 2, 11 (except indeed καὶ ἡμεῖς) is out of company with 1, 2. Verses 11, 12, must once have been independent; Mk. 1:7, 8, evidently gives a more original form. Verses 8, 9, are also not free from difficulty. Verse 9 must have come from another context (cp Lk. 3:17); vs. 8, 9 may have stood together as an address to Pharisees (cp Mt. 23:17). The addition καὶ ἡμεῖς in 11 (not in Mk. 1:8 Acts 1:9) is evidently the assimilation of 11 to 1, 2, and 12 by the editor. It was found in his text of Mt. by Lk. (3:10), but this only proves the antiquity of the alteration.

Artless as simplicity, then, characterised John's teaching. Jesus too was simple, but in another sense. He had a natural art in the expression of his thought. This simplicity corresponded to the fundamental note of John's character; he was too untrained to see far into the complexities of character. He knew himself to be a 'voice' of God, and this was enough; but he did not know that to represent God fully a prophet must understand human nature. Easily therefore could John rise above the fear of man. He does not hesitate to exasperate the Pharisees by his plain-speaking. Why he more reticent or respectful towards Antipas? We may well doubt this. That the tetrarch considered him a dangerous demagogue (Jos. *Ant.* xiii, 5:2) was hardly the whole reason for John's arrest and subsequent execution in the fortress of MACHABEUS (p. 2). The story was probably some personal offence as well, though the story told in the primitive tradition (Mt. and Mk. 3) not free from chronological and other difficulties (see CHRONOLOGY, § 49; HERODIAN FAMILY, 2), and might be merely what a later generation (accustomed to the figure of John as a second Elijah) substituted for history.

May we believe that Jesus of Nazareth was numbered among the disciples of John? An affirmative answer has been given;² but it is as unlikely as the connective view that the baptisms of John were private ceremonial instructions (cp Mk. 7:1-8). Primitive tradition (Mt., Mk., Lk.) said that Jesus came to John for baptism. Certainly this appears plausible; if John.

² See *Teils eröbnetes begehre neuphau*, 'clashed with camel's skin' omitting the *neai*, which Juchler and Nestle approve.

³ See Bakhuyzen, *Toetsing van de conjectural-critiek* 119 f. (89).

⁴ Mt. 11:4 and Mk. 6:20 differ. The former passage states that Antipas would have put John to death, were it not that John was revered by the people as a prophet; the latter that Antipas himself revered John, and was unwilling to put him to death. Mt. seems to draw from two sources.

⁵ Brandt, *Die Evangelien*, Gesch. 438 f.

and his standard, different classes. Certainly the not that anyone took it course of false ideas had false children of the true Messianic, the imperfectly attainable had to

those of his time (Mt. 23, 37). It is to grasp the teacher and his with these subjects nothing we can of his sermons, a important part scanty details which criticism in Mt. 37-42 is sermon on the where we stand, hing, must, as the act of plung- ean of Jordan, orts, which e addressed to (Mt. 37); this

is out of have been inde- original form, se must have 23-42 may have 42, 43, 44. The is evidently due the editor. If this only proves

1. Johanan's another sense; his thoughts, mental note of to see far into himself to be but he did not must under- could Johanan not hesitate to eaking. Was Antipas? We considered him 22) was hardly and subsequent 27, 28]. There ll, though the and Mk. 12 is iticulties (see 2), and may ined to think ed for history, ws numbered imative answer he connected private ereative tradition Johanan for ; if Johanan

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sage states that ere it not that but, the latter, as unwilling to sources,

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was a true prophet, how could Jesus absent himself from the gathering of those who had turned to God and who revered his messenger? That Jesus had seen and heard Johanan is probable from the clear impression which he had of the great prophet's character and from the prophet's message of inquiry to Jesus. That Jesus, however, whose views of truth were so much deeper than Johanan's, gained any fresh insight into the will of God from his 'forerunner,' is altogether incredible.

At any rate, Jesus saw in the Baptist a great character and an unrivalled prophet. We have gained much already by limiting our view to the

4. Jesus's references to him. best attested traditional statements; we may gain still more by steeping ourselves in those sayings of Jesus which bear the most distinct marks of genuineness. The highest authority shall tell us what Johanan was, and how he stood related to Jesus.

a. Mt. 11:2-6 Lk. 7:17 ff. 21. The authenticity of this saying of Jesus is proved by Lk's failure to comprehend it (see NAIRN). It is certain that Jesus claimed to be the forerunner of the kingdom of heaven; certain too that he rested his claim on such works as these—the blind receive their sight, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the glad things brought to them; and that he conceived it possible that moral marvels of this sort would not seem to all to be adequate credentials. Further, it is probable that the occasion assumed for the utterance of this speech is on the whole correct; the only strong doubt can be as to the words 'in prison' (Mt. 11:10, which imply a freedom of intercourse between Johanan and his disciples not likely to have been granted by the suspicious Antipas). If, however, we omit these words¹ (which are responsible for a good deal of erroneous speculation respecting the weakening effect of confinement upon the character), all is plain. The prophet Johanan (before his imprisonment) sends an embassy to one in whom he recognises a spiritual superior, and whose answer he will regard as final. He has heard of the wonderful works of Jesus, which mainly consist, as Jesus himself has said, in the conversion of sinners (Mt. 9:13), and asks, Does Jesus, on the ground of his unparalleled success in this holy work, claim to be the Messiah? The answer virtually is, 'I claim to be what I am; and what I am my works show.' Jesus is more anxious to 'do the works of God' than to receive any official title; he lays bare an infirmity of the time, from which even Johanan has not escaped.

The difficulty of the harmonistic point of view (which recognises all references to Johanan in our four Gospels as equally authoritative) comes out very clearly in the following passage from Ep. Elliott:—'The exact purpose of this mission will perhaps remain to the end of time a subject of controversy, but it has ever been fairly, and, as it would seem, convincingly urged, that he whose eyes, scarce sixteen months before, had beheld the descending Spirit, whose ears had heard the voice of paternal love and benediction, and who now again had but recently been told of acts of omnipotent power, could himself have ever really doubted the truth of his own declaration, that this was indeed "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world"' (*Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 8193, 1862). Ep. Elliott agrees with Cyril of Alexandria that the primary object of Johanan's mission was fully to convince his disciples of the Messiahship of Jesus.

b. Mt. 11:7-10 Lk. 7:24-27. c. Mt. 12:39-42 Lk. 11:29-32. Among those who complied with the call of Johanan were both Pharisees (Mt. 3:7) and common people. The former were repelled by Johanan's teaching and by the want of a sign in corroboration of his statement that the Messiah was at hand; the latter recognised Johanan as a prophet. So 'all the people that heard him, and the tax-collectors, recognised God's claims, being baptised with Johanan's baptism, whereas the Pharisees and men of the law frustrated the counsel of God concerning themselves, being not baptised by Johanan' (Lk. 7:29 f.).

1. Why does not Johanan come himself? Because he has no leisure to leave his sacred work. So apparently Dehlermacher and Bleek; on the other side, see Keim, *Jesus von Nazareth*, 2354 n. 3.

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Jesus has a telling word for both classes. To the common people he says, 'Verily, verily, ye have been rewarded. The sight of Johanan was worth a journey. Not the real like Jonah, but the thunder prophet Elijah was his symbol. Verily, he is the second Elijah, the messenger who is the Lord's precursor' (Mal. 3:1 cp. 4:5 [32]). To the Pharisees: 'Have ye, then, seen no sign? The fruit is yours; the sign, the only permitted sign, has been given. For as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so shall also [Johanan] be to this generation' (Lk. 11:30, see below). The Ninevites will prove the guilt of this evil class—the Pharisees—for they turned to God at the preaching of Jonah, and surely a greater than Jonah is here. The queen of Sheba will prove the guilt of this evil class, for she came from afar to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and surely a greater than Solomon is here.' (The reader will be on his guard; we have had to go behind the traditional text. But even the best of the current explanations of that text [see JOHANAN, § 8] is not perfectly satisfactory, and there is some probability that a testimony to John has been converted by the reporters of tradition into a testimony of Jesus to himself. That 'Jonah' and 'Joannes' or 'Johanan' may be identical, is clear from Mt. 16:17 (see BAR JOXA), also JOHN, SON OF ZEPPHAI, § 11.)

The special advantages of this theory—which, except the interpretation of *ἐν ὄντι* in Mt. 12:31 Lk. 11:29 is due to Brandt, *Levang. u. d. d. g.* are (1) that it accounts for the reference to the queen of Sheba as well as to the Ninevites, (2) that it makes the 'sign' a *signe*, and (3) that it relieves Jesus from the appearance of self-laudation. The play upon the names *Ἰωάννης* and *Ἰωνᾶς* is in the familiar Hebrew style. Note also that 'Jonah' and 'Solomon' in (1) correspond to the 'reed' and 'those luxuriously clad' (cp. Mt. 12:41, 42).

d. Mt. 11:13 Lk. 7:33 16:6. A still more decisive word on Johanan, spoken some time after his martyrdom. A prophet has hitherto been the highest style of man, and there has been no greater prophet than Johanan. Since his days, however, a change has taken place. The prophets and the law lead up to the second Elijah—Johanan; and in Johanan's person the old order of things passes away. Then comes a difficult saying—especially difficult in Mt's form. Already for some time the 'kingdom of heaven' has been the prize of spiritual athletes; the 'violent take it by force.'

But can Jesus have meant this? Surely not. Nor can he refer to blameworthy acts of zealots. The passage can be amended with certainty by the aid of Lk. *ῥῆσις, ἐπιχειρήματα* for *βλασφημία*, and continue, *καὶ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνων* (cp. Lk. 11:14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). How the scribe's errors arose is obvious. The sense is, 'Every one hopes for a share in the Messianic blessings, but without having listened to John's call to repentance, no one will be admitted to it.'

Resch supposes that the original word was *ῥῆσις*, but if so, *βλασφημία* should correspond to *ἐπιχειρήματα*, and so we arrive at the sense 'the law-breakers take it by force.' Marshall (*Crit. Rev.* 1843, 1844) accepts this only. Arranging the passage, but is it at all likely that Jesus would have been understood to mean the publicans and harlots?

e. Mt. 11:13 f. Lk. 7:33 f. Johanan kept a perpetual fast (cp. Mt. 9:15 Mk. 2:18); Jesus abstained from fasting. It was said of Johanan that he had a *δαίμωνιον* (see DEMON), i.e., that his inspiration was of questionable origin, that he was a false prophet.

f. Mt. 17:12 Mk. 9:13. After Jesus had definitely assumed the Messianic title, he threw a fresh light on the prophecy in Mal. 4:5 by explaining Elijah to be a symbolic term for Johanan. Nor need any wonder at the abrupt termination of the second Elijah's ministry. If the 'son of man' must suffer many things, 'as it is written of him,' the forerunner could not hope for a better fate. But his work is not yet finished. Before the 'son of man' comes again, 'Elijah verily will come, and will restore all things.' Which Elijah? Or shall it be a greater incarnation of zeal and spiritual energy than either the first or the second? Cp. Rev. 11:3 (the 'two witnesses').

g. Mt. 21:31 (not in Mk. or Lk.). The Pharisees paid no heed to Johanan's insistence on righteousness of life, but the tax-collectors and harlots turned to God

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and will enter his kingdom (cp HARRILL, Cp Lk. 7.29 f. (quoted already)).

It is plain that Jesus felt a greater sympathy with John than with any other of his contemporaries. The probability is that the latter was much the older; it was therefore too much to expect that within the narrow limits allotted to the activity of each, John should come over to the side of Jesus. For both, a martyr's death was indicated by circumstances. Though neither of them favoured the violent plans of zealots and revolutionists, secular rulers could not help suspecting them, and the spiritual rulers hated them for their hostility to formalism.¹ It was to each doubtless a comfort to know that the other existed and was doing the 'works of God'. Primitive tradition rightly accentuates the inferiority of John to Jesus, and the later Johannine recast of tradition still further emphasises it. Between these two versions of tradition stands the beautiful narrative of Lk. 1.5-8, which honours the forerunner only less than the Saviour himself is honoured in the still more exquisite and infinitely suggestive story that follows it.

The study of the non-primitive traditions of the life of John belongs to another department (cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 17). We should do a great injustice to the idealising historian of the Fourth Gospel if we separated his statements respecting the forerunner from the rest of his gospel, and contrasted them with earlier traditions. An idealised picture may give much food for thought, and only the coldest of rationalists could disparage it; nor need we admit any idealisation in the words of Jn. 5.35 'He was a burning and a shining lamp'. See JESUS, § 27.

We hear of disciples of John in Mt. 9.14 (Mk. 2.18 Lk. 5.33), 11.2 (Lk. 7.33 f.), 11.12 (Mk. 6.23), Jn. 3.25. They seem to have followed his strict mode of life, and to have been his faithful assistants, as Elisha was to Elijah. According to Jn. 3.25 RV, 'there arose a questioning on the part of John's disciples with a Jew about purifying';

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but the statement is very obscure, and the text seems to be in confusion.

Hentley proposed to emend 'with a Jew' (μετὰ Ἰουδαίου) in 'with those of Jesus' (μετὰ τῶν Ἰησοῦ). But 'of Jesus' may more easily be obtained from 'purification' (καθάρσις) than 'A Jew' (Ἰουδαίου). (καθάρσις is perhaps a corruption of beyond the Jordan (πέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου), words which intruded by accident from 7.26. If so, we should read simply 'There arose a dispute between John's disciple and those of Jesus.' (Transposition and corruption of letters go together.

In Acts 18.25 19.2 f. we also appear to meet with disciples of John; but they are there represented as having become believers in Jesus the Messiah (note μαθηταί and πιστεύσαντες). One of them is the Alexandrian Jew Apollos, and one may assume that their presence at Ephesus was connected with the arrival of Apollos at the same city. We are not told that Apollos was rebaptized by Paul's companions; but we may infer this from the fact of the rebaptism of the other Johannine Christians (if we may call them so) related in Acts 19.5. What can have led Paul to ask the strange question, 'Did ye receive the holy spirit when ye believed?' which drew the not less strange answer 'Nay, we did not even hear that there is a "holy spirit"?' That disciples of John knew nothing of the 'holy spirit', in the strict sense of the word, is of course impossible (see Mt. 3.11). 'Holy spirit' (πνεῦμα ἅγιον) must here be used in a 'pregnant sense,' as in Jn. 7.39; it means the abiding presence of the Spirit, which was accompanied by special gifts for the individual, and the mediation of which was an apostolic privilege (Acts 8.14-16). It is difficult not to see here a disposition on the part of the author of Acts to magnify Paul at the expense of Apollos and his companions. The original report respecting Apollos which was used in Acts 18.24-28 may have been without the closing words of Acts 18.25 ('knowing only the baptism of John'). See APOCAL. A reference to the later sect of disciples of John is quite out of place.

Cp Volter, 'Die Apokalypse des Zacharias,' *Th. Z.* 30 [96], pp. 244 ff. T. K. C.

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¹ A report appears to have been current that the Baptist had risen from the dead in the person of Jesus (Mt. 14.2 16.74). The people therefore were more struck by the resemblances of the two than by their differences.

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Instead of the form ΙΩΑΝΝΗC WH everywhere,

except in Acts 14.13 Rev. 22.8 give ΙΩΑΝΝΗC.
1. Name. Besides the MSS, especially B, WH rely on Christian inscriptions (App. 159; p. 166 in ed. of '66). As

text seems to

of Jesus may (καθ' ἑαυτὸν) overlaps a corruption, words which would simply, and those of go together.)

with disciples as having note μαθηταί. Alexandrian presence of Apollon at Apollon was may infer of the other (so) related in the strange rit when ye age answer, 'holy spirit'?' 'holy spirit' is impossible must here 19; it means was accom- and the village (Acts position on Paul at the The original Acts 18 24-28 of Acts 18 25 e Apollon, of John is

nas, Th. T. F. K. C.

55.

44.

ped, § 19.

everywhere, (καθ' ἑαυτὸν) H. n. h. on (196). As

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against these, however, we can cite, at least, one inscription from Harran of 508 A.D. which has 'Iωαννης' (i.e. Bas. Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* 23 [Asia Mineure, etc.], no. 2464). The Hebrew name is יְהוֹנָתָן (see JOHANAN) or, as the case may be, יְהוֹנָתָן—a spelling which makes no difference for the Greek translation. The LXX with literal fidelity, sometimes in all the MSS, sometimes in at least several good MSS and rarely in L. alone, gives Iωαννης (2 K. 25 23; also 6 times in Ch., 8 times in Ezra-Neh., and 14 times in Jer. 40 43 (LXX 47 50)).

As variants we find: in 2 K. Iωαν [B], Iωαν [L]; in 1 Ch. 6 9 f. Iωαν [BA]; Iωαν in 6 9 A is to be regarded as the accusative; in 1 Ch. 3 24 Iωαν [V]; cp. Nabau, Kacau, Lk. 3 31 37, etc.; see Winer¹, § 5 272; Iωαν [L]; in 2 Ch. 28 12 Iωαν [B]; or more probably Iωαν; what we have is the gen. Iωαν; in 1 Ch. 12 12 Iωαν [A], Iωαν [B]; defective; in Ezra 8 12 Neh. 6 10 Iωαν [BL], in Ezra 10 6 Iωαν [B] 4 L.; in 1 Esd. 9 1 (Ezra 10 4) Iωαν [B]; in 1 Esd. 8 35 [41] (Ezra 8 12) Iωαν [A], Iωαν [B]. In Jer. in all 14 places, especially in A and Q, sometimes also in R¹, Iωαν, as also 47 [40] 15 Iωαν [Q], 47 [40] 8 Iωαν [B], 50 [43] 1 Iωαν [R¹]. In 1 Ch. 26 alone Iωαν does not occur at all, but only Iωαν [A] or Iωαν [B]; in like manner in 1 Esd. 9 20 (Ezra 10 25) only Iωαν [BA], Iωαν [L]. In 1 and 2 Mac. Iωαν is invariably found (not Iωαν, as in 11 these two books are wanting).

In the NT Iωαν is found in Lk. 3 27. The same name (Iωαν), however, underlies not only the NT Iωαν, but certainly also the Iωαν of Mt. 16 17, since in Jo. 1 42 (or in another numeration 1 43), 21 15 17 we find Iωαν for the same person the father of Simon Peter.

Of the various equivalents Iωαν comes nearest the most original form (Iωαν) so far as the consonants, Iωαν so far as the vowels are concerned, whilst the second *v* has disappeared in the Græcising of the termination. The same thing has happened also in the forms Iωαν and Iωαν, in which, moreover, by the coalescence of the vowels the distinction between this name and that of Iωαν, Jonah, has disappeared. The variant Iωαν for Iωαν (in 1 Acts 1) is a transliteration of Iωαν: Josephus gives the same name as Iωαν (Ant. viii. 12, and often; cp. Jo. 1, 6, col. 2468. Iωαν is in strict analogy and the form is therefore possible.

James is, however, but an artificial Græcism, and we have various indications that the Jews inclined to retain the doubled *n* in names derived from the root *pn*. So, especially, in the feminine 'Αρα (1 S. 12 etc.), and also in the masculine 'Αρα (1 K. 32 Jn. 18 14 24 Acts 4 6), for which Josephus gives 'Αραρος; also in the variants Iωαν and Iωαν in Jer. (the last also in TR of Lk. 3 27 and in the marginal reading of TR to Jn. 21 15 17); again, in the variant 'Αρα which 1 Ch. 11 43 [8], Jer. 42 [35] 4 [8], and 1 Esd. 5 30 [A] (Ezra 2 46 Neh. 7 49) give for 'Αρα (Iωαν), and 1 Ch. 19 14 [8], 2 f. [1] for 'Αρα (Iωαν); and, lastly, in the variant 'Αρα which B gives in 2 S. 10 1 4 for Hanun ('Αρα, A, in 17 3 f.). It is thus, to begin with, extremely improbable that the feminine Iωαν of Lk. 8 3 24 ought to be written with a single *v* as is done by WH, for the biblical Iωαν is an abbreviation of this name (Dalman, *Gramm.* 142, n. 9). This consideration gives a corresponding probability to the spelling Iωαν, which is found also in Jos. (Ant. x 94, § 168, and often).

Dalman (*loc.*) conjectures even that Iωαν had already come to be pronounced 'Iωαν, Johannan (cp. Jerome in Jer. 8 14; *Johannan*). Of the shortened Aramaic form Iωαν adduced by Kautsch (*Bibl. aram. Gramm.* 10) Dalman tells us that it occurs only in the Babylonian Talmud.

A.—JOHN THE APOSTLE AND JOHN THE ELDER IN HISTORY AND IN LEGEND

The call of the two sons of Zebedee to the discipleship is related in Mk. 1 19 f. Mt. 4 1 f. Lk. 5 10 f. (GOSPELS, § 137 a); in the Fourth Gospel it is usually conjectured that John is meant by the unnamed companion of Andrew

who from being a disciple of the Baptist joins the company of Jesus (1 34). In the Synoptics John (with his

¹ According to Blass (*Philol. of the Gospels*, 75-77) D gives to Iωαν in Mt., Jn., and Mk. the same degree of preference which it acquires to Iωαν in Lk. and Acts, although in D Mk. stands between Lk. and Acts. The exemplar he used for the writings of Lk. must therefore have been different from that which lay before him when he copied Mt., Jn. and Mk.

brother James) takes next to Peter the place of greatest prominence among the disciples.

These three alone are witnesses of the transfiguration of Jesus (Mk. 9 2 Mt. 17 1 Lk. 9 28). According to Mk. 5 37 Lk. 8 51 at least, they alone were present at the raising of Jairus' daughter; according to Mk. 11 11 Mt. 26 37, also, they alone were in close touch with Jesus at Gethsemane. It is only Mk. (1 20 13) who tells us that these three were present along with Andrew at the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, and that it was they who, as they looked at Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, asked Jesus the question as to the time of the destruction of the temple. It is Lk. only (22 2) who relates that the arrangements for the Last Supper were entrusted to Peter and John. Mk. 10 35-41 records that the two brothers asked of Jesus that they might sit, one on his right hand and the other on his left hand, in his glory. In Mt. 20 20 this request is attributed to their mother, who is conjecturally identified with the Salome named in Mk. 16 40 16 1 (see CROISS, § 7). In Mt. 20 24, however, the indignation of the ten against (κατὰ) the two brothers; the mother would seem therefore to have been introduced by Mt. to exonerate them. According to Mk. 9 38 Lk. 9 49 it is John who reports to Jesus the attempt of the disciples to forbid the man who was casting out devils in the name of Jesus without being a follower. With James, according to Lk. 9 54, John would fain have called down fire from heaven upon the Samaritan village which would not receive Jesus as he was journeying to Jerusalem.

Interpreters are very ready to bring into connection with the incident in Lk. 9 54, just referred to, the name 'Sons of thunder.' According to Mk. 3 17, this name had already been given to the two brothers on their call to the discipleship. In that case, however, the bestowal of the designation would have been anticipatory, just as Simon in like manner, according to Mk. 3 16, received the name of Peter at his call, although his confession at Caesarea Philippi offers a more fitting occasion. Mt. (16 18) alone, however, transfers it to this period, connecting it with an incident that is certainly unhistorical (GOSPELS, § 136). On the real obscurity of the designation of the sons of Zebedee see BOASERGES.

Of all the incidents in the Synoptic Gospels enumerated above, only the last three (brothers' request; man casting out devils; fire from heaven) can be regarded as throwing light on the character of John; and the third of these is recorded only by Lk., in whom some critics have been disposed to see a certain prejudice against the original apostles (GOSPELS, § 144). None of the three traits can be said, however, to be inconsistent with the most trustworthy of all the references to John which we possess. According to Gd. 26, John was one of the three 'pillars' of the church at Jerusalem, Peter and James the brother of Jesus being the other two. John must thus in any case be reckoned as supporting the Jewish-Christian view of things, although we have no means of knowing whether he was of the stricter school of James or of the milder one of Peter (see CORNILL, § 3). According to Acts 3 1-11 he and Peter healed a lame man, according to 4 1-19 the same two made their defence before the synedrium, according to 8 14 they both went to Samaria to put the apostolic seal upon the mission work of Philip here. This last statement, however, as well as the healing of the lame man, is not without its difficulties (see Acts, §§ 4, 10).

Since the time of Irenæus ecclesiastical tradition has been unanimous in holding that after Paul's departure from Asia Minor John the apostle took

3. Sojourn in Ephesus.

up his abode in Ephesus, where he held a leading position throughout the whole church of Asia Minor. Irenæus himself confines for this in many places: in 33 [223]; in 1 2 [134, v. 30 133 f.; fragm. nos. 2 and 3; to be found also in Eus. *HE* iii. 23 3; v. 84-6; vi. 11 17; v. 21 17 20 48. In the last-cited passage (the letter to Florinus) Irenæus appeals expressly to the fact that in his youth (as παῖς), in his early youth, πρὸ τῆς ἡλικίας, according to 3 4 he had heard his teacher Polycarp in Smyrna tell much about the apostle John who in turn had been Polycarp's teacher. Besides Polycarp he names also Papias the companion (ἐταῖρος) of Polycarp as having been a hearer of the apostle.

¹ The references to Irenæus in this article are, in the first instance, to Harvey; those in square brackets are to Massuet, the edition current in Germany.

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The same apostle is intended also by Polykrates of Ephesus when in his letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, about 196 A.D. (Eus. *III*: iii. 31.3 v. 213) he relates of John who lay on the bosom of the Lord, and wore the high-priestly *petalon*, that he was buried in Ephesus. Even Justin must have held the Ephesian John to be the apostle of that name if he assumed, or remembered, that the Apocalypse (which he ascribes to the apostle), must, on account of the authority over the churches of Asia Minor claimed by its author, have been written by a distinguished church-leader of that province. Yet the *παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου* (*Dial.* 81) with which he introduces the apostle John designates him merely as a Christian—the contrast being with a psalmist—and implies nothing as to the place of his residence.

The testimony of Papias (see GOSPELS, §§ 67 ff.), bishop of Hierapolis in Asia is, as we understand it,

4. Counter-evidence from Papias. this: 'But as many things also as I once well learned from the mouths of the elders and well committed to memory I shall not hesitate to set down [or commit to writing] for thee, together with the interpretations [appropriate to them], guaranteeing their truth. For I took pleasure not, as the many do, in those who speak much, but in those that teach the things that are true; nor in those who bring to remembrance the foreign commandments, but in those who bring to remembrance the commandments that were given by the Lord to faith and have come to us from the truth itself. But if anywhere anyone also should come who had companied with the elders I ascertained [first of all] the sayings of the elders [as to this]: not, 'to wit' what Andrew or what Peter had said, or what Philip or what Thomas or James or what John or Matthew or any other of the disciples of the Lord [had said] and [secondly] what Aristion and John the Elder the disciples of the Lord say. For I supposed that the things [to be derived] from books were not of such profit to me as the things [derived] from the living and abiding utterance.'

(a) According to this declaration Papias himself had once spoken with the 'elders.' Otherwise the third sentence ('But if anywhere,' etc.) would only be an otiose repetition of the first; moreover the 'from the mouths of' (*παρὰ*) in the first sentence denotes direct intercourse. Besides speaking with them he spoke also with their disciples (or the disciples of others)—at a later period, of course, when he was separated by distance from the elders themselves.

(b) The elders may indeed be officials of the church; but if they are, it is not in virtue of this attribute that they come into Papias's consideration; for their official position does not as such in any way qualify them to make valuable communications relating to events of the life of Jesus. For this function the persons best qualified would be apostles; but these are excluded. It would be arrogance on the part of Papias were he to undertake to guarantee the truth of any communications of theirs. It will be necessary, furthermore, to pay due attention to the distinction implied by Papias when he used 'he had said' (*εἶπεν*) in the one case and 'they say' (*λέγουσιν*) in the other. He means by it that of the nine persons named only the last two were still alive, the first seven, namely the apostles, were not, and this applies not merely to the time of his writing, but also to the time when he was collecting his notes (cp. 'I ascertained'). Lastly, we have in Irenaeus a very close analogy to guide us to what we ought here to understand by elders. Irenaeus says (v. 33): *quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt qui Johannem discipulum domini viderunt*;¹ v. 51 *ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθηταί*;² v. 36: *presbyteri apostolorum discipuli*;³ iv. 12: [271] *even. quemadmodum audivi a quodam presbytero, qui audierat ab*

his qui apostolos viderant et ab his qui didicerant. Thus 'elders' must be taken to mean persons advanced age who may or may not have been elders of the church, but in no case were apostles, and who were a guarantee for correct tradition only in virtue of their years. Cp GOSPELS, § 71.

(c) From this it follows that the third sentence of the fragment under discussion must not be interpreted as it meant 'I asked the companions of the elders as to the words of the elders, to wit what Andrew, etc., had said;' but: 'I inquired of them about the sayings of the elders as to what Andrew, etc., had said.' Thus we have to distinguish four steps: the apostles, the elders, the companions of the elders, Papias.

(d) John the Elder is distinguished by Papias from John the Apostle, to whom, if we are to judge by the place assigned to him in the narrative, Papias cannot have attributed any special importance. It is difficult to understand how any person can be bold enough to deny this distinction. Some indeed who formerly did so are now in point of fact beginning to see how impossible it is, but as a consequence allow themselves to be led to a step which is just as audacious,—the deletion, namely, of the words 'or what John' (*ἢ τί Ἰωάννης*). So Haussleiter (*Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, '96, 465-468), on the ground of a casual conjecture of Renan's (*L'Antéchrist* 562); Zahn (*Evsch.* 6145 f.) is almost inclined to agree. No plausible ground whatever can be alleged for such a step.

It is said that the three words destroy the symmetrical enumeration of the apostles in pairs. But there are only two pairs; at the beginning Andrew and Peter as being brothers, and at the end precisely John and Matthew, the 'what' (*τί*) being repeated before *Ἰωάννης* while it is omitted before *Ματθαῖος*. Were this not so, James and John would, as being brothers, constitute a pair, and this would be again a reason why *Ἰωάννης* should not be regarded as breaking the symmetry. Over and above all this, however, it is by no means certain whether Papias intended to give the names in pairs at all.

(e) It is difficult to come to any satisfactory conclusion regarding this John the Elder. If 'elder' as applied to him has the same meaning as elsewhere, we should be compelled to say that he had enjoyed no personal acquaintance with Jesus; so also of Aristion, who stands in the same category with him; but this personal acquaintance is claimed for them by the added words 'the disciples of the Lord' (*οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί*). This expression has been used immediately before, in the stricter sense, of the apostles; in the case of Aristion and John the Elder it is clearly used in a somewhat wider meaning, yet by no means so widely as in Acts 9:1, where all Christians are so called; for in that case it would be quite superfluous here. A personal yet not long-continued acquaintance with Jesus, therefore, will be what is meant. Such acquaintance would seem to be excluded if Papias as late as 140 or 145-160 A.D. (at which date according to Harnack he wrote his book; cp § 48e) had spoken with both. This, however, he does not say; his expression may quite well be taken as referring to an earlier time. This is not precluded by the fact that he inquires of other men as to the utterances of these two also; this was only to be expected if he was no longer able to meet them personally at the later date even if he had heard them at the earlier.

It would effectually simplify matters if we might with Edwin Abbott (*Exp.* '95, 133-134); previously, Renan, *Antéchr.* 345, n. 2) read 'the disciples of the Lord's disciples' (*οἱ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν μαθηταί*) or with Bacon (*IBL*, '98, 176-183), 'the disciples of these (*οἱ τούτων μαθηταί*) or if, as in GOSPELS, § 70 (1), we were to delete *οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί*. Such a course, however, must be admitted to be bold, and it does not seem too difficult to suppose that Papias in his youth had spoken with two personal disciples of Jesus and yet, even while they were still alive, had received further utterances of theirs from their disciples. By this supposition we avoid conflict with the statement of Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39) that Papias called himself a hearer

¹ As the elders recalled, who saw John the disciple of the Lord.

² The elders who were disciples of the apostles.

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of Aristion and John the Elder, although it is permissible to doubt whether Eusebius took this piece of information from any words of Papias other than those already quoted above (GOSPELS, § 70).

(f) On the other hand, owing to this difficulty it seems preferable to take the words *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων λέγουσιν* as directly dependent on *ἀνέκρινον*, so that they do not mean 'I sought to learn of the disciples of the elders the words of the elders as to what Aristion and John the Elder said.' On this last construction we should have two intermediate links between these two men and Papias, as between the apostles and Papias. The other interpretation is therefore preferable: 'I sought to learn of the disciples of the elders the sayings of Aristion and of John the Elder which they had personally received from them.'

(g) At this point the assumption, that Papias in his youth knew the apostles also, as well as Aristion and John the Elder, becomes tempting. In that case, however, he would have referred expressly to them and not have spoken thus vaguely about 'elders.'

(h) In a MS of the *Chronicle* of George the Monk (= Georgios Hamartolos) iii. 134 it is stated that 'John the apostle after he had written his gospel suffered martyrdom, for Papias in the second book of the *λόγια κυριακά* says that he was put to death by the Jews, thus plainly fulfilling along with his brother the prophecy of Christ regarding them and their own confession and common agreement concerning him.'¹ Mk. 10:38 f. is here intended; it is in fact cited immediately afterwards in the MS, which proceeds to state that Origen also in his commentary on Matthew says he has learned from the successors of the apostles that John had been a martyr. When this passage was first brought into notice by de Muralt in his edition of Georgios ('59, p. xvii f.) and afterwards more widely by Nöldeke (*Tab. Quartalschr.*, '62, p. 466), critics were severely censured for accepting as true a statement coming from the ninth century while they rejected so many that came from the second. The statement in the Georgios Hamartolos MS, however, found some confirmation when the following words from an epitome, dating from the seventh or the eighth century and probably based on the *Chronicle* of Philip of Sidé (circa 430 A.D.), were published by de Boor (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, v. 2, '88, p. 170): 'Papias says in his second book that John the Divine [i.e., the apostle] and his brother James were slain by the Jews' (*Πάπιας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀνθρώπων*).

(i) It has been attempted in a great variety of ways to weaken the force of this passage.

Lightfoot (*Ess. on Supernat. Rel.* 211 f.) supposed that what Georgios actually wrote may have run in the original somewhat in this way: 'Papias says that John was condemned by the Roman emperor (and sent) to Patmos, for bearing witness (to the truth) while James was slain by the Jews.' Harnack (*Gesch. d. altchr. Litt.* ii. [Chronologie] 115-117) concurs; the words interpolated by Lightfoot must have been omitted by an oversight, and the mention in Georgios of the brother of John rightly suggested to some later copyist that something was missing, but he wrongly supplied the omission in the way we read in de Boor. Zahn (*Korsch*, 6147-151), on the other hand, points out that in Georgios the complete passage on John's martyrdom and on Papias occurs only in a single MS; in twenty-six others its place, from the words *μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται*, is taken by the expression *ἐν εὐρήνῃ ἀπελευθέρωται*. He regards it therefore as an interpolation. Whether written by Georgios or by an interpolator, however, the exact citation of the second book of Papias shows that there was at least some warrant in Papias for the statement. So far as Origen is concerned, the passage, if it is true, is incorrect. Origen (*Comm. in Mt.* 164, ed. Delarue, 3719 f.) does not say he has derived his information from the successors of the apostles, but only that 'tradition teaches,' and does not speak of the martyrdom of death but only of that of banishment. What follows from this, however, is only that this excerptor of Origen has not read accurately, not that he

on his own part cannot possibly have written anything about John's death by martyrdom. Zahn expressly concedes that the excerptors (or, if one made use of the other, the older excerptor) had found in Papias that John was put to death by the Jews; but maintains that Papias was here certainly referring to the Baptist. It must be admitted that Papias would not have used the expression 'the divine' (*ὁ θεολόγος*) here; according to Zahn it was not applied to the apostle earlier than the fourth century. On the other hand, it is hardly conceivable that in Papias the expression could have allowed a confusion of the Baptist with the apostle.

(k) A more serious question is this—whether Papias was speaking of John of Asia Minor or of John the apostle (if we assume the two to be distinct). Now, the tradition that John of Asia Minor did not suffer death by martyrdom becomes so firmly established soon after the time of Papias (§ 3) that it is difficult to believe Papias himself can have said the opposite. Moreover, in Ephesus the Jews could hardly have had the power and the courage to put to death a Christian bishop. It is quite another matter, however, if what Papias meant to say was that John the apostle, as distinct from the Ephesian John, was put to death by the Jews somewhere else—say, for example, in Palestine, where this would have been least difficult of accomplishment.

That the saying does not refer merely to John's brother James is made probable also by the vague expression 'by Jews' (*ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων*). If James alone had been in question it would more naturally have run that he was put to death by Herod Agrippa, as of the Baptist it would have been said that Herod Antipas had caused him to be put to death. The vagueness is most easily accounted for if John met his death at the hands of other Jews who could not be further specified. Papias need not have meant, of course, that John's death happened at the same time with that of his brother James.

(l) It must be conceded that the unacquaintance shown by all church fathers down to the time of Hilp of Sidé (or his excerptors) with the statement of Papias now in question is very remarkable. Eusebius, however, who had read Papias with great care, may easily have set it down among the 'things strange' (or 'paradoxical', *παράδοξα*) and 'taking of the legendary' (*μυθικώτερα*) which according to *HE* iii. 398 n he had often discovered in him.

According to Zahn, Eusebius would hardly have allowed it to escape him, as it was fitted to be of service to him in connection with his view that the Apocalypse was written not by John the apostle but by John the Elder. But Eusebius referred the Fourth Gospel and the First Johannean Epistle also to the Ephesian John, and thus the statement in question would have been a very two-edged one if he had employed it against the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse.

Irenaeus, moreover, and others were already so deeply imbued with the belief that the Ephesian John was the apostle that we may with most probability suppose them to have regarded as a mere oversight, and therefore to have passed over in silence, a contrary allegation in Papias whom they in other things valued highly.

For the same reason, we cannot follow Zahn in the further argument against the existence in Papias of the statement as to the death of the apostle—that as early as the second century the fables about the cup of poison and the bath of boiling oil (§ 8 f.) had already been invented in order to supply a fulfilment of the prophecy in Mk. 10:38 f. These fables were current concerning the Ephesian John, whose peaceful death had long been accepted; it was therefore necessary that those martyrdoms by which Mk. 10:38 f. might seem to have been fulfilled should not be represented as martyrdoms to the death. Thus they could not in any way have been rendered superfluous by the statement of Papias; at most, the rise of the legends might have been checked by it—only however, as has been shown, on the assumption, which will not work, that finding them in Papias led to the abandonment of the belief in the peaceful death of John the apostle who was identified with the Ephesian John.

(m) Lastly, the most serious difficulty of all is found in Jo. 21. Here in v. 23 it is presupposed that John, unlike Peter, is not to die a martyr's death. But again the question comes to be, which John is intended. If it be the case that the Ephesian John constituted the centre of the circle from which the Fourth Gospel emanated, it is only natural that in the appendix, chap. 21, his end should be referred to. What we have to ask here is merely how it could have come about that the apostle John should have been indicated in the Fourth Gospel as its guarantor. On this point see § 41.

The result obtained from Papias is strongly supported

¹ . . . μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται. Πάπιας γὰρ ὁ ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος αὐτοῦτος τοῦτο γέγονεν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λόγων φασκεῖ ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνθρώπων, πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περί αὐτῶν παράκλησιν καὶ τῆν ταύτων ὁμολογίαν περὶ τούτου καὶ συγκαταστήσιν.

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by the fact that, apart from the writers named in

5. Silence of all other ecclesiastical writers. § 3. no ecclesiastical writer of the second century betrays any knowledge of a residence of the apostle John in Ephesus. Ignatius in his epistle to the Romans (43) mentions the apostles who had for them a special importance, viz. Peter and Paul; in that to the Ephesians (122) he names only Paul, not John. Polycarp (32.9; 113) speaks of the Philippians only of Paul and the 'other apostles,' not of his teacher John. Justin and Hegesippus in like manner tell nothing about John. In the Muratorian fragment, lines 9-16, John is found in the company of his fellow-disciples (and bishops) in writing his gospel. He thus seems to be thought of as still living in Jerusalem. In Acts 20.29 f. those who were to come into the church of Ephesus after Paul's departure would assuredly not have been designated as evil wolves if the apostle John had been his successor there. The passage may with confidence be taken to be a *vaticinium ex eventu*, and even were it not so, the author of Acts would, in his great regard for the original apostles, certainly have toned it down if he had known that one of them had succeeded Paul. Since the epistle to the Ephesians does not come from the pen of Paul, it is also important to notice that only Paul is mentioned while yet in 2.20 the apostles and prophets as a whole are designated as forming the foundation of the church. So also with the Pastoral Epistles, where Ephesus is touched on in 1 Tim. 1.3 2 Tim. 1.18, and with the epistles of Peter, of which the first is addressed to Asia Minor (1.1) and the second to the readers of the first (3.1). Special mention is due to the Gnostic Heracleon cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 9.71, p. 595). He says that Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others do not belong to the number of those who for their open profession of the Christian faith had suffered the martyr's death. The apostle John is not named here, and yet he would have been entitled to the first place in the list had Heracleon known the tradition as to his peaceful end.

Identity of name has led to confusion in other well-known cases also, with the regular result—in accordance with the tendencies of that age—that a non-apostolic person, held in high esteem in some particular locality, came to be regarded as an apostle. The Philip who

had four virgin daughters endowed with the gift of prophecy is expressly designated in Acts 21.8 f. as an evangelist and as one of the Seven (deacons) of Acts 6.5. Polycrates of Ephesus (*circa* 196 A.D.) holds him for the apostle of that name and states that he was buried in Hierapolis (*ap. Eus. HE* iii. 31 a, v. 242). Clement of Alexandria falls into the same confusion (*Strom.* iii. 652, p. 535), only adding that Philip gave his daughters in marriage. Even Eusebius, who yet himself clears away the error of Irenaeus that Papias had personally known John and other apostles (*HE* iii. 39.5-7), affirms in the very same chapter (§ 9) not only that this Philip was the apostle (so also iii. 312) but also, further, that Papias knew him personally (for another view see *GOSPELS*, § 72, n. 1). The elder whom in iv. 422 [271] Irenaeus has designated as a disciple of the disciples of the apostles (for the text, see § 4 b) he soon afterwards (iv. 491 [321]) calls a senior, apostolorum discipulus. The James who in Acts 15.13 takes part in the Council of Jerusalem he takes to be (in 12.18 [15]) the same as the son of Zebedee whose death has been already recorded in Acts 12.2. For further instances of the same sort, see § 49 b.

In view of such gross carelessness on the part of the leading authorities for ecclesiastical tradition, the less hesitation need be felt in giving expression to the result which has been gained with ever-increasing security from the continued examination of their utterances.

7. Conclusion as to John of Asia Minor.

When set forth in 1840 by Lützelberger (*Die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes*), and even at a later date by Keim and Scholten, it was treated as hypercriticism and was resisted even by such critics as Hilgenfeld and Krenkel (*Der Apostel Johannes*, 71, 133-178). It is now maintained by Bousset (see *APOCALYPTIC*, § 15 f., and cp Meyer's *Kommt zur Apokalypse*, 96, pp. 34-48) and by Harnack (*Gesch. der altchristl. Litt.* ii. 1 [= *Chronologie*] 1 [97] 659-662), who yet are so conservative as to attribute the contents of the Fourth Gospel, at least in part, to reports of an eye-witness, or even of the apostle John himself (§ 55 b c).

(a) There were two Johns—the apostle and the Elder. The name 'elder' attached to the person of the latter in a pre-eminent degree. In the circle of his adherents he was named 'the Elder,' *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, perhaps so much so that his proper name, John, was even found superfluous. He was a 'disciple of the Lord' (*μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου*) in the wider sense of the word (§ 4 e). It was he who, towards the end of the first century, acquired the leading position in Ephesus of which we read, and he it was that was heard by Polycarp, who spoke of him to the youthful Irenaeus. In speaking of him Polycarp was wont to call him a 'disciple of the Lord.' This is the expression which is responsible for the misunderstanding of Irenaeus that he was an apostle.¹ This conjecture, however bold it may appear, is confirmed by the fact, also established by Zahn, that Irenaeus regularly calls this John 'disciple of the Lord' while yet he always applies the word 'apostle' to Paul. Similarly Polycrates, the other chief witness for the Ephesian residence of the apostle John, designates the latter not as 'apostle' but only as 'witness and teacher' (*μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος*) (cp the passages of Eusebius cited in § 3).

Eusebius in his *Chronicle* (ad annum Abrah. 2114; ed. Schöne, ii. p. 162) still copied the error of Irenaeus, that Papias had been a disciple of the apostle John. Had he not subsequently noticed it as he was composing his *Ecclesiastical History* and preserved for us the most important words of Papias, we should have been for ever condemned to remain under the dominion of this mistake.

(b) Eusebius, however, did not draw the further consequence which follows for Polycarp also, from his discovery of the error of Irenaeus. Irenaeus calls Papias the hearer of John and companion of Polycarp. Now, as he regards Polycarp also as a hearer of the apostle, it cannot be open to doubt that he regards the two as companions for the reason that both were hearers of one and the same master. What has now been ascertained as regards Papias will in that case hold good for Polycarp also; his master was not the apostle, as Eusebius still (*HE* iii. 361) assumes, but the Elder.

(c) Confusion was introduced into the question by Dionysius of Alexandria, who (in *Eus. HE* vii. 25.5) took the statement that two graves of 'John' at Ephesus were spoken of as basis for the conjecture that therefore two prominent men of the name of John had been contemporaries in that city (in reality of course there may very readily have been two places to which, according to different traditions, the grave of the one John was conjecturally assigned). By the one John he understood the apostle, by the other some John of Asia Minor. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39.5 f.) carried the hypothesis further, that this second John was John the Elder. The conservative theologians, also, are rightly agreed in pronouncing against the contemporary presence of two Johns in Ephesus, inasmuch as the contemporary activity of two men of such outstanding rank is nowhere affirmed, and indeed is excluded by the universal tradition of one Ephesian John. All the more remarkable is their error in declaring the one Ephesian John to have been the apostle, and in eliminating the Elder alike from the words of Papias and from history. Both Johns existed; but this established fact can be harmonised with the leading position of the one in Ephesus where he brooks no rival only on the hypothesis that the apostle carried

¹ How little need there is for scruple in attributing to Irenaeus a misunderstanding even of the words of Polycarp is taught by the following circumstance: the one detail which he gives as from the mouth of Polycarp about John (the encounter of John with Cerinthus, see § 5), Irenaeus on his own showing had not himself heard, but had come to know it indirectly.

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on his labours, and closed his life, elsewhere. But in this case it is by no means difficult to suppose that he died a martyr's death. As regards most of the apostles, we know nothing either of their later activities, or of the manner in which they came by their death. The sooner the veneration of the church concentrated itself upon the John of Asia Minor, all the more readily could the son of Zebedee pass into oblivion.

In proportion as this confusion gained currency does it become easy to understand how an abundance of tradition should gather around the name of John, by which essentially the John of Ephesus was understood.

8. Other later traditions.

(a) Irenaeus is our earliest authority for the statement that John lived in Ephesus down to the reign of Trajan (98). He further records (iii. 34. 1), *ap. Eus. H.E. iii. 286-iv. 146* that John, when he went to take a bath in Ephesus, and saw Cerinthus within, rushed away from the room without bathing, uttering the words 'Let us flee, lest the room should indeed fall in, for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within.' Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dicit, saec. 2*) also *ap. Eus. H.E. iii. 235-19* is our authority for the pretty story that John had converted a certain youth, and, after he had relapsed and become a robber, won him back by allowing himself to be made a captive by the robber-band and thus coming into touch with him again. We owe to Jerome (on *Isa. li. 1*) the story that in advanced age John was still able once and again in the congregation to say, 'filii, nunc alterutrum.'

(b) The most important of the remaining traditions are these: John remained a virgin till his death; when he intended marrying, or when his father wished him to marry, he was warned against it by a divine voice. He was compelled to drink a cup of poison, and was plunged into a cauldron of boiling oil, but in both cases passed the ordeal unharmed. After one or other of these experiences he was banished in the reign of Domitian to the island of Patmos; under Nerva he was allowed to return to Ephesus. A large number of miracles of most various kinds are ascribed to him. At last he caused a grave to be dug for himself, laid himself down in it and died. On the following day his body was no longer to be found.

Lipsius (*Apocr. Apostelgesch.* 1348-542, '83, and elsewhere) refers all the traditions enumerated in § 8 b to a

9. Credibility of these traditions.

work that still survives in fragments (or catholic redactions),¹ the *Acta Johannis*, which formed a part of the *περίοδοι τῶν ἀποστόλων* ('Wanderings of the apostles') ascribed to Leucius (Charinus), of Gnostic origin, and dating from somewhere between 160 and 170 A.D. Zahn, who in his edition of the *Acta Johannis* in 1880 had sought to establish the year 130 A.D. as its date, had already in his *Gesch. d. Kanons*, 2856-865, '92, accepted the view of Lipsius as to the date, and after the publication of further portions of this text² has also conceded that it had its origin in the school of the Gnostic Valentinus (*Forsch.* 614-18, and already in *Neue kirchl. Zeitschr.*, '90, pp. 191-218).

For the spirit in which this work is conceived we may perhaps point to the story to the effect that John once in an inn found his bed swarming with vermin. He ordered them out of the chamber for the night. To the great astonishment of his companions, who had ridiculed him, on the following morning they saw the whole band of banished inmates waiting before the chamber door till John should allow them to return.

In the case of several of the other stories the manner of their origin is very transparent. Lifelong virginity is the ideal of manhood in the Apocalypse (Rev. 14), of which 'John' is the author. A martyrdom was foretold for him as well as for his brother James by Jesus according to Mk. 10. 38 f. = Mt. 20. 22 f. To the figurative 'baptism' of which Jesus here speaks the baptism in boiling oil corresponds in a literal sense as exactly as possible, just as the 'cup' corresponds to the draught of poison. Of John's drinking of that cup without harm tradition preserved a precedent in what was related of Justus Barsabbas, regarding whom Papias told a like story (*ap. Eus. H.E. iii. 39 q*). The banishment to Patmos is open to very grave suspicion

¹ In the ecclesiastical redaction, the miracle of the boiling oil was, according to Lipsius, transferred from Ephesus to Rome; that of the cup of poison, on the other hand, from Rome to Ephesus.

² James, *Texts and Studies*, v. 1, 27, pp. 1-25; pp. 144-154, as also *Acta apost. apocr.* ed. Lipsius et Bonnet, B. I, '98, pp. 160-216.

that it arose out of a misunderstanding of Rev. 19. The words 'I was on the Isle of Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus' by no means necessarily imply a banishment; it is also possible that they may be intended to describe a voluntary journey either in flight after having freely declared the word of God and the testimony concerning Jesus, or for missionary purposes.

B.—AUTHORSHIP OF THE APOCALYPSE

Coming now to the question whether the apostle John (or, on the other assumption, the Elder) was the author of all the five NT writings ascribed to John, as regards the Apocalypse we must in the first instance proceed on the assumption that the book is a unity.

(a) On this assumption the spirit of the entire book can be urged as an argument for the apostle's authorship: its eschatological contents, its Jewish-Christian character, its view of the Gentiles who are becoming Christians as proselytes who are being added to the twelve tribes of Israel (7. 9-17) while yet the whole people of God continues to be represented as numbering twelve times twelve thousand (14. 1), its violent irreconcilable hostility to the enemies in the outside world (11. 18-14. 166 186-8) as well as to the false teachers within the churches (2. 14 f. 20-22). The fiery prophetic utterance which the writer employs need not surprise us in an advanced old age, in a man who, we are to suppose, had cherished thoughts like these all his life long. We need wonder at his calling himself not an apostle but only a minister of Christ and a prophet (1. 22 q); for an apocalypse, it is only these last two attributes that come into account.

(b) On the other hand, the reference to the sojourn in Patmos (1. 9) must not be taken as positive evidence for the apostle's authorship (§ 9). The technical erudition manifested not only in an intimate acquaintance with the contents of the OT, but also in bold applications of these to new conditions, and in an arrangement of the entire apocalyptic material in a manner which may not indeed be exempt from criticism, but yet certainly is everywhere skilful, is not easily accounted for in the case of one who had formerly been a fisherman, and who in Acts 4. 13 is described—and certainly correctly—as 'an unlearned and ignorant man' (*ἀνθρώπος ἀγράμματος καὶ ἄσολος*).

(c) But, all in the case of an eye-witness of the life of Jesus one would have expected a livelier image of the personality of Christ than the Apocalyptic offers.

The Apocalypse designates Jesus on the one hand, it must be conceded, in the genuine manner of primitive Christianity, as the faithful witness (1. 5 14), which, in accordance with 2. 13 17, we may interpret as referring to his martyr-death (cp 3. 21), although it also remains possible that the word denotes his witness to truth by oral revelation; it calls him the Holy and True (3. 7 14 19 11); it alludes to his Judean origin and Davidic descent (5. 5 22 1); it claims for him that he has the Holy Spirit, only in the form that he possesses the seven spirits of God (3. 1 5 6) into which the spirit of God is divided according to 1. 4 5 6; and in 14. 14 f. it represents him in his exalted state as an angel, not as any higher being. On the other hand, it not only ascribes divine honours to him after his exaltation (1. 5 14, etc.)—which need not surprise us;—not only praises him in a doxology which is comparable to those given to God (1. 6 12 f. 7. 12 12); it also assumes his pre-existence as a matter of course and in that pre-existence it gives him the predicate, Α and Ω, which is given to God himself (2. 2 13, cp 1. 7 28 as also 1. 8 21); indeed in the very same verse (3. 14) in which it assigns to him the humblest attribute, it also gives him the highest—that of 'the beginning of the creation of God' (*ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ*). Even if this is to be taken passively, in the sense that he is the first creature created by God, it represents a high claim; but it can also be meant in the active sense, thus designating him as a self-active principle in the creation of the world, as in 1 Cor. 8. 6 Col. 1. 16-18 Heb. 1. 2 and elsewhere. The figures under which the author represents the appearance of Christ are partly taken from the OT (as 1. 13-20), and partly dependent on NT theological theories (as 5. 6). In order to realise how little the author was in possession of any concrete living image of the personality of Jesus we have only to look at any picture professedly based on 1. 13-20, or try to visualise to our own imaginations what is described in 5. 6 f. 6. 1 f.—how a

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lamb standing as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, comes and takes out of the hand of God a book and opens the seals thereof.

(d) Finally, the Apocalypse speaks (18:20) of the twelve apostles in a quite objective way, without any hint that the author himself is one of them, and in 21:14 it describes them as the foundations of the Church of the latter days in a way which does not speak for the modesty of the author if he himself was of their number.

(e) Most of these difficulties, however, disappear as soon as we think of the Elder, not of the apostle, as the author of the book; and the attitude of authority towards the churches of Asia Minor assumed in 2f. also speaks for the former—always on the assumption that it was he, not the apostle, who held this position there.

If, however, it has to be conceded that the Apocalypse is not a unity—and it is hardly likely that it will long be possible to resist this conclusion—then

11. Of parts. the question alters itself to this; whether the apostle or the Elder was the last editor of the whole book or the original author of any portion of it. Here all that can be said is that the John of Asia Minor, by whom, as we have seen, it is easier to suppose the Elder than the apostle to be meant, comes into consideration first of all as possible author of the Epistles to the Seven Churches in 2f. These, however, have only a loose connection with what properly forms the body of the book which contains the prophecies concerning the last times (11:2-22); it is only with 21:1-22:5 that they show observable contact in some isolated expressions. That they should have arisen separately is hardly likely, for in that case all the seven would not have been written—as we must nevertheless suppose them to have been—in one corpus, but each one would have been addressed to its proper destination. They become more intelligible when regarded as a preliminary writing prefixed to the rest of the book after it had been completed, and designed to introduce to a particular circle of readers the more strictly apocalyptic book. If this be so, we do best in assigning them to the redactor of the whole; but in that case we must be all the more cautious how we attribute to him definite portions of the rest of the book—to attempt which, moreover, we have no means at our disposal. But, further, not even the Epistles to the Seven Churches can with certainty be ascribed to the Elder; they may have been written by another in his name.

The one question left, if we take into account what is said under APOCALYPSE, is as to whether the author of the Apocalypse may be identical with the author of the Fourth Gospel and of the Johannine Epistles. The answer to this question becomes important in our investigation of the Apocalypse if the authorship of the Gospel and

12. Author of Apoc. also author of Gosp. and Epp. ?

(a) General.

Epistles is more easily determined than that of the Apocalypse, and *vice versa*. A glance at the four possibilities here will be instructive. Apart from theologians who feel themselves bound to the strictest conservatism, B. Weiss stands alone in attributing the Gospel and the Epistles as well as the Apocalypse to the apostle; the Gospel and the Epistles, or at least the First Epistle, but not the Apocalypse, are attributed to the apostle by the 'mediating' school, as they formerly were by the rationalists; the Apocalypse, but not the Gospel and the Epistles, by the earlier representatives of the Tübingen school down to Hilgenfeld and Krenkel (*Der Apostel Johannes*, 71); by all the later critics not one of the Johannine writings is given to the apostle, the Apocalypse even having been already assigned to another author before its unity had been given up. We find a critic of so early a date as De Wette writing "In NT criticism nothing is more certain than that the apostle John, if he was author of the Gospel and the Epistles, did not write the Apocalypse, and conversely." The same thing had already been argued by Hieronymus of Alexandria (*ap. Eus. HE* 7:25) in a manner that,

when we consider his time, must be regarded as notably scientific. The authorship of the Apocalypse is in this case, however, prejudged to a certain extent only when the Gospel and the Epistles are attributed to the apostle, and conversely.

The difference between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel so far as language and style are concerned can hardly be stated too strongly.

13. (b) Language.

Grammatically, the Greek of the Gospel, if not particularly good, is at least from the point of view of that period not open to positive objection; the Apocalypse on the other hand exhibits the most flagrant solecisms. For example, the apposition to any case whatever is given in the nominative,¹ and there is no hesitation in adding the article to a verbal form or in making a nominative dependent on the preposition *ἀπὸ* (*ἀπὸ ὧν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, 1:4). The Gospel displays a Hellenizing character only in the syntax of its sentences (simple co-ordination), the Apocalypse to a very much greater extent. As for the vocabulary we single out only a few expressions: the Gospel has *ψεύστης*, the Apocalypse *ψευδής*; similarly the Gospel and Apocalypse have, respectively, *ἰδὲ, ἰδοὺ*; *κόσμος, οἰκουμένη*; the Gospel has *ἀρχὴν τοῦ κόσμου* or *πρώτος* for the devil, while from the detailed enumeration of all the predicates of the devil in Rev. 12:9, these two expressions are absent; the Gospel has *πιστεύειν* (almost 100 times) and *ἀπολογεῖται*, the Apocalypse *ἐκτείνῃ τὴν μαρτυρίαν* (*ἡσίου*). Equally worthy of notice is the absence in the Apocalypse of certain particles which are of very frequent occurrence in the Gospel: *καθώς, μὲν, μέντοι, πάντοτε, πρῶτον, ὡς* in the temporal sense, *ὥτα* referring back to a demonstrative (as Jn. 1:12). Withal, the difference between the spheres of thought in the two writings is vividly illustrated when it is noted how favourite ideas in the one are totally absent from the other—such ideas as 'Lord God Almighty' (*κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*), or 'patience' (*ὕπομνησις*) in the Gospel, *φῶς* in a secondary meaning, *σκοτία, ζωὴ αἰώνιος, ῥήματα, θάνατος, μένειν ἐν τῇ, ἀπολύσθαι* (said of men) in the Apocalypse.

This observation, however, must be extended much more widely. Even where it cannot be traced in the mere vocabulary, the thought-substance in the two writings is in many ways fundamentally different.

14. (c) Sphere of Thought.

(a) So, for example, in what is the main thing so far as the Apocalypse is concerned—the eschatology. It is only in isolated passages, and these moreover not free from the suspicion of interpolation, that the Gospel still shows the conception—so familiar to the Apocalypse as to the whole of primitive Christendom—of a general judgment at the end of time, and a bodily resurrection (§ 28b). On the other hand, special features of the Apocalypse, such as those of the detailed events before the end of the world and those of the millennium, are in the same degree foreign to the Gospel as is the doctrine of the return of Christ with a heavenly host for the destruction of his enemies in battle (19:11-21), and the presupposition that the state of blessedness will be established upon earth—if even upon a renewed earth (Rev. 20:4-6 21:1-10)—which is directly contradicted by Jn. 14:2f., where this state is to be looked for in heaven. The First Epistle comes a degree nearer to the expectations of primitive Christendom (§ 59); but the main idea of the Apocalypse, that a definite personality will come forward as Antichrist, is even there (1 Jn. 2:18-22 4:3) mentioned only for the purpose of saying that the prediction has been fulfilled by the rise of gnosticism, in other words the idea is gently set aside.

(b) The Universality of salvation is for the Gospel a matter of course (§ 27). In the Apocalypse, on the other hand, one can still clearly perceive how the Jewish people continues to be regarded as the chosen race, and the believing Gentiles are ranked with it, not on principle but only in consequence of their having acquitted themselves also as good Christians under persecution (7:14f., § 10a). 'Jew' in Rev. 20:39 is a name of honour, in the Gospel it carries some note of depreciation (§ 10).

(c) As regards the Person of Christ the metaphysical expressions cited in § 10c approximate the point of view of the Fourth Gospel; but this approximation is not

¹ E.g. 2 Jn. 3:12 3 Jn. 14:12. By this the *Ἀνατολή* of 21:5 instead of *Ἀνατολῆς* is shown to be the correct reading. Cp WH, App.

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nearly so great as to amount to equivalence. The difference lies not merely, as might perhaps be suggested, in this that the Gospel has to speak for the most part of Christ on the earth whereas the Apocalypse is speaking of him as exalted in heaven. Even as regards the pre-existence of which both speak it has to be remarked that the Apocalypse has here only adopted certain expressions without allowing them to have any very noticeable effect upon the general view of things, whilst the Gospel is completely dominated by the idea of the Logos.

Great importance has been attached to the fact that in Rev. 19:13 Christ is expressly called 'the word of God' (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ). Even if this fact is to be recognised we must not forget that it by no means necessarily involves full coincidence with the thought of the Gospel. Such coincidence would even in fact be very unlikely, since elsewhere in the Apocalypse we do not find the faintest trace of Alexandrian ideas. Here accordingly it might seem necessary to resort in the first instance to the explanation which we are constrained to reject in the case of the Gospel (§ 31)—namely that the expression 'the word of God' is taken from the OT or the Palestinian theology. Only, even where they were not prepared to give up the unity of the Apocalypse altogether scholars ought long ago to have perceived that 19:13 and his name is called 'The Word of God' is a gloss. Immediately before we are told (19:12) that no one knoweth his name but he himself. How could the author proceed immediately to give his name? But nothing could have been more natural than that an old reader who believed himself to be in possession of the name (possibly from the Fourth Gospel) should have written the answer to the riddle on the margin; the next copyist took it for an integral part of the text that had been accidentally omitted and accordingly inserted it. Indeed, we must perhaps go even further. In 19:11 also we find a name of Christ: 'the Faithful and True,' in 19:16 another: 'King of kings and Lord of lords'; of this last we are expressly told that it was written upon his mantle and upon his thigh. This does not harmonise with r. 12 and must probably also be regarded as an interpolation.

(d) Among the various points of connection, therefore, which in spite of all differences we are able to trace between the Apocalypse and the Gospel the use of the name 'logos' cannot be reckoned as one. Nor do those which are left by any means amount to a proof of identity of authorship. In both writings Christ appears as the lamb; but the Apocalypse invariably uses *ἀρνίον*, the Gospel invariably (except in 21:15) *ἀμνός*. In the New Jerusalem (Rev. 21:24 22:1 f. 5) bread, water, and light are mentioned as the highest blessings; in the Gospel (Jn. 6:48 4:14 8:12) Christ himself is represented as bread, water, and light; and so far as light is concerned Rev. 21:23 has already led the way in this. Baur found himself able to speak of the Gospel as the spiritualised Apocalypse. Thoma could call it the Anti-Apocalypse (*Z.H.T.* '77, pp. 289-341). By this is not meant that the two writings as regards their inner substance are actually very near one another; the long journey that has to be travelled in clearing up the lines of connection and effecting this spiritualisation of ideas shows only how far apart the two really are.

The attempt even to carry the Gospel and the Apocalypse back to one and the same circle or one and the same school, though suggested by the tradition which assigns them

15. Conclusion. to one and the same author, is therefore a bold one. It will be much more correct to say that the author of the Gospel was acquainted with the Apocalypse and took help from it so far as was compatible with the fundamental differences in their points of view. On account of the dependence thus indicated it will be safe to assume that the Apocalypse was a valued book in the circles in which the author of the Gospel moved, and that he arose in that environment and atmosphere. So far therefore it is possible for criticism to recognise in a qualified way the justice of the tradition as to the origin of the two writings in a common source; but the complete difference in trend of thought must on no account be lost sight of.

Of those who still maintain oneness of authorship for the two, the least favourable position is taken by those who hold them to have been written more or less contemporaneously; but hardly less favourable is that of those who, in order to be able to maintain the date 95-96 A.D., assigned by Irenaeus to the Apocalypse,

think of the Gospel as the earlier of the two. The only relatively conceivable hypothesis is that which postulates the other order and a transition from the ideas of the Apocalypse to those of the Gospel. As, however, it is impossible to assign the Apocalypse to any date earlier than 68, the Gospel must on the assumption of apostolic authorship belong to a period after the author's sixth year—a period within which the acquirement of unobjectionable Greek, not to speak of so revolutionary a change in the whole world of ideas, even if conceivable in his earlier years, becomes a psychological impossibility.

C.—THE FOURTH GOSPEL

The question whether the Fourth Gospel was written by John the apostle, which we shall here, for convenience

16. Method of enquiry. sake, in accordance with the accepted phraseology, call the question of its genuineness (although the apostle's authorship is claimed for it only by tradition), cannot be determined apart from the question of its historicity. It would be utterly unscientific to begin by confining ourselves to a proof that the tradition of the Johannine authorship was not open to fatal objection and then—supposing this to be made out—forthwith to claim for the contents of the Fourth Gospel a strictly historical character throughout without further question. Even defenders of the genuineness have conceded the possibility of more or less serious lapses of memory in the aged apostle (§ 55 d). The question of the historicity, therefore, is ultimately the more important of the two, if we bear in mind what must be the final object of all enquiry into the gospels, namely the elucidation of the life of Jesus. As a matter of fact there have been scholars who have maintained that the Fourth Gospel was not the work of the apostle and yet is trustworthy throughout, or that it rests upon communications received from the apostle or some other eye-witness and therefore is partly trustworthy partly not (§ 55 b c). The question of historicity becomes, on any such hypotheses as these last, not merely an end in itself but also a means of determining the authorship. The same remark applies when the complete genuineness is under consideration. Unimportant deviations from historicity, on the view just mentioned, do not make belief in the genuineness impossible; but serious deviations do.

As regards the historicity, our most important line of research is that of comparison with the synoptists. In proportion as tradition concerning the authorship is uncertain, must we rely all the more upon this means of arriving at knowledge. Of course we must not begin by postulating for the synoptists the higher degree of historicity any more than by making a similar claim for the Fourth Gospel. The immediate object of the comparison must be to ascertain what the differences are; if any of these are found to be irreconcilable, we shall then have to ask, in the first place, which of the two representations deserves the preference, and then, next, whether the less preferable can have come from an eye-witness. At the same time, it is obvious that the comparison must not in the main deal with details merely, for in every single detail some error may well be regarded as excusable; rather must it pass in review the plan and character of the two sets of writings viewed broadly and as a whole.

Such a comparison will, at the very outset, disclose a fundamental divergence in the picture presented of one of the most prominent subordinate figures in the gospel narrative. In the synoptists

17. The Baptist. John the Baptist is a personality of real interest even quite apart from his relation to Jesus. Brief as are the synoptists' notices concerning John, they still contain a complete life-history full of dramatic crises. It is not his tragical death alone that compels the reader's sympathy; we are interested in him quite as much by reason of his uncertainty as to whether or not he ought to recognise in Jesus the Messiah (Mt. 11:2 f.). See JOHN THE BAPTIST. That he was reluctant to baptise Jesus is plainly an addition of Mt.

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(314 f.); Mk. and Lk. know nothing of it. According to Mk., John did not, even in the very act of baptising, receive any revelation of the exalted dignity of Jesus (GOSPELS, § 137 a, end); and this is undoubtedly the true state of the case, for no one would have invented such a representation, if the descent of the Holy Spirit and the heavenly voice as described in Lk. and even in Mt. had been noticeable to every one.

In the Fourth Gospel, however, it is precisely the representation of Mt. that is fundamental; in fact it is essentially heightened. From the very first John knows not only the high dignity of Jesus and his destiny to become the redeemer of the whole world (127 29), but even his pre-existence (1530). The title of Messiah is implicitly offered to him, in order that he may refuse it in the most categorical manner (119-23 328). The effect is a diminution of John's personal significance to such an extent that the only function left him is that of bearing testimony to Jesus (16-8 15 23). Even his baptising work is felt to be important, not as being of value to those who sought baptism, but as being a means of making Jesus known (126 31). Of his preaching of repentance absolutely no mention at all is made. Yet in his baptism Jesus receives nothing which he did not previously possess; on the contrary, it is not related at all, and there is a good reason for the omission (§ 26). The descent of the Spirit is alone mentioned, yet not as a divine gift bestowed on Jesus but only as a token for the Baptist whereby he is able to recognise Jesus as the Messiah (132 f.). His question at a later date, whether Jesus really be the Messiah (Mt. 112 f.), is in the Fourth Gospel impossible. In short, in place of the personality—powerful, yet limited in its horizon and therefore exposed to tragic conflicts (and in all these respects a personality that cannot have been invented)—whom we have in the synoptists, we find in the Fourth Gospel nothing more than a subsidiary figure introduced to make known the majesty of Jesus—a figure endowed with supernatural knowledge indeed, but always monotonously the same and historically quite colourless.

Turning now to what we are told concerning Jesus himself, we are struck first by the difference between

18. Scene of public life of Jesus.

the synoptists and the Fourth Gospel as to the scene of Jesus' public activity. Whilst in the synoptists Jesus does not come to Judæa save for the Passover at which he suffered, in the Fourth Gospel Judæa is the scene of by far the greater part of his ministry. Into Galilee he makes only comparatively brief excursions (21-12 44-51 61-714). Indeed, according to 44, when fairly interpreted, Judæa, not Galilee, is represented as his home. If indeed, especially in view of Mt. 2337 Lk. 1334, it cannot be definitely said that the synoptists leave no room for earlier visits of Jesus to Jerusalem, what has just been stated seems to admit of the explanation that the Fourth Gospel is designed as a supplement to the synoptists. This view, however, cannot be carried out. To begin with, the Fourth Gospel does not confine itself to giving supplementary matter; it repeats synoptic narratives such as those of the Feeding of the Multitudes, the Walking on the Sea, and the Healing of the Nobleman's Son (another version of that of the servant [or son] of the centurion at Capernaum [§ 20 c]). Further, so long a sojourn of Jesus in Judæa as is depicted in the Fourth Gospel is in no way reconcilable with the representation of the synoptists, and still less is the representation that before his last passover Jesus had stayed in Jerusalem at least from the preceding winter onwards (1022).

No less divergent are the representations of the synoptists and the Fourth Gospel as to the order of the principal events in the public life of Jesus. The cleansing of the temple, which, according to the synoptists, was in his closing days, is placed in Jn. (213-22) at the beginning of his ministry. It

is thus quite divested of the importance it has in the other accounts as bringing the hatred of the authorities to an explosive point; it has no outward consequence. Nor is the harmonistic expedient of any avail—that the cleansing happened twice and with quite opposite results on the two occasions. The conflict of Jesus with the Jews arises, it is true, in Jn. at the very beginning of his ministry; but all attempts to lay hold of him prove failures, without any explanation being given beyond the very vague and general one that the hour was not yet come (7 30 44 8 20 59 10 39 12 36). The representation, however, that thus between Jesus and the Jews—i.e., not only the ruling classes but also the ordinary Jewish audiences—a relation of complete antipathy subsisted from the outset, does not harmonise with what we gather from the synoptists. Jn. alludes to the hearers of Jesus as 'the Jews' (218 20 5 16 6 and often) as if Jesus were not himself one sprung from their midst; he speaks of feasts of the Jews (213 51 6 72 1155); he represents Jesus as saying 'your law' (817 10 34, cp 15 25), as if Jesus had nothing to do with either feast or law; and as early as 111 the full condemnation of the entire people is already pronounced, and so again 821 24 12 38-40. Nor is this cancelled though it is repeatedly said that many believed in him. Jesus could not otherwise have found opportunity to carry on and develop his message.

As regards Jesus' relations with his disciples, the confession of Peter (Jn. 668 f. Mk. 829) is wholly deprived of its importance as a new discovery and as an achievement if Jesus already at the calling of the first disciples (141 45 49) or even earlier still by the Baptist himself (16-8 15 23 26 29-34) had been acknowledged as Son of God. Finally—to confine ourselves only to points of first importance—the Raising of Lazarus brings into the narrative of John, as compared with that of the synoptists, not only a wholly new event, but also a wholly new reason for the persecution of Jesus (1145-53) which resulted in his death. In the synoptists the immediate cause of his arrest and condemnation was his triumphal entry into Jerusalem and his cleansing of the temple.

(a) As compared with the miracle narratives of the synoptists, those of the Fourth Gospel are essentially enhanced. None of the sick mentioned

20. The Miracles.

by the synoptists as having been healed by Jesus is recorded to have lain under his infirmity for thirty-eight years (Jn. 55). The blind man who is healed has been blind from his birth (91). Jesus walks across the whole lake, not over a portion of it only (621). Lazarus is not raised on the day of his death, like the daughter of Jairus or the son of the widow of Nain, but after four days have elapsed.

This last point has a special significance. According to Jewish belief (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* and Wettstein [both on Jn. 11 39]) the soul of the departed lingers about the body for three days, ready to return into it if possible; on the fourth day it definitely takes its departure because it sees that the countenance has wholly changed. For the same reason the identification of the body of a person whom one has known in life is held to be possible only for the first three days; after that the change is too great to admit of it. A further testimony to the prevalence of this view coming from a time very near that of Jesus, but unknown to the scholars mentioned above, will be found in the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*, 9.1 This is also the reason why

1 97-11: 'As Jeremiah was standing in the temple he became as one that gives up the ghost. Baruch and Abimelech (his companions) wept... and the people saw him lying dead... and wept bitterly. Thereupon they would have him buried, when, behold, a voice was heard, 'Hurry not him who is yet alive, for his soul will again enter into his body. And... they remained near his body for three days while they spake of this thing, and remained in uncertainty as to the hour at which he should arise. But after three days his soul came into his body and he lifted up his voice in the midst of them all and said 'Praise ye God,' etc. 'Thus the Greek text in Harris (*Rest of Words of Baruch*, 90). The Ethiopic text (Dillm. *Christ. arch.*, 66, German by Prætorius [ZIT], 72, pp. 230-247), and by König (S.V. u. K.V. 77, 318-338) concludes more briefly: 'they remained about him for three days until his soul returned for, should it not enter his body. And a voice was heard in the midst of them all "Praise

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Jesus on receiving word of the sickness of Lazarus does not hurry to his side at once, but lingers for two whole days. Thus his love for Lazarus and the sisters of Lazarus is displayed not by the speed with which Jesus hastens to their relief, but contrariwise by the delay which gives room for the working of a special and seemingly impossible miracle.

(b) No satisfactory explanation can ever be given as to why the synoptists should have nothing to say concerning this greatest of all miracles (§ 37*a*), or yet of that which is expressly described as the first of his miracles at Cana, or of the healing of the man born blind, or of the miracle at Bethesda. The presence of all the disciples is expressly mentioned, both at Bethany and at Cana. On the other hand it is quite easy to understand why many miracles related by the synoptists are absent from the Fourth Gospel. The latter offers only one example of each class of miracle; its aim is accordingly directed towards a careful selection. Healings of demons, however, are wholly left out—in other words, precisely the kind of miracle which, according to GOSPELS (§ 144), could most confidently be ascribed to Jesus and which in point of fact are alone ascribed to him by criticism.

(c) The selection of miracles, notwithstanding the fact that Jesus is stated in 2:23 6:2 7:31 11:47 20:30 to have wrought very many miracles, becomes intelligible most easily if each of the miracles particularised be held to have a symbolical meaning. Such a meaning is expressly assigned to the raising of Lazarus (11:25*f.*), to the healing of the man born blind (9:5, 39), and to the feeding of the five thousand in the eucharist in 6:26*f.* 30-63, where it is interpreted as having a veiled reference to the eucharist. With this clue it is no longer difficult to see that the miracle of walking upon the water which comes immediately afterwards is intended to signify that exaltation of Jesus above the limitations of space which is necessary in order to render possible the presence of his glorified body at every celebration of the eucharist. That the wine of Cana as compared with the water is intended to symbolise the superiority of the new religion over the old is equally plain. The thirty-eight years of the sick man at Bethesda show that he is an emblem of the Jewish people who had to wander for thirty-eight years in the wilderness (Dt. 24); the five porches can without difficulty be interpreted as meaning the five books of Moses. Cp § 35*b-e*. Lastly, in the case of the nobleman (4:46-54) the symbolical meaning of the narrative becomes evident as soon as attention is directed to its divergences from the story of the centurion of Capernaum in Mt. (8:5-13) and Lk. (7:1-10), which by almost universal agreement lies at its foundation (see GOSPELS, § 17*B*).

The centurion of the synoptists is a Gentile who excels, and puts to shame, the Jews by his faith. The nobleman of Jn. is

ye God," etc. Jeremiah's return to life is, it will be seen, not directly stated here; the words 'Praise ye God,' etc., are not, according to this account, attributed to Jeremiah but to a 'voice.' It is not till § 19 that the Ethiopian text, in agreement with the Greek, names Jeremiah as the speaker. Which of the two texts is the more original it is not quite easy to determine, because the passage beginning with the words 'Praise ye God' is, or at least contains, a Christian interpolation, whilst the rest of the book, containing as it does no Christian ideas of any kind, but on the other hand laying stress on such Judaic conceptions as the removal of non-Jewish women, and that of the sacrifice at Jerusalem, must be held to be Jewish. Yet it will not be too bold to conjecture that the Ethiopian translator would hardly have passed over the bringing back to life of Jeremiah if he had found it in the text before him, and thus we may venture to hold that here, as in other places also (Harris, 29*f.*), he represents the more original form. We find him, then, giving quite explicit expression to the belief that for the space of three days the return of the soul to the body was considered possible. But even the Greek text does not bear the interpretation that this limit can be exceeded. 'After three days' merely indicates the extreme limit within which the return to life could possibly be expected.

Those critics who do not regard the resurrection of Jesus as an actual fact cite 2 K. 20:5 Hos. 6:2 Jon. 2:11 11:17 as explaining why the resurrection was assigned to precisely the third day after the death of Jesus. It is not impossible that these passages may have had their influence also on the Jewish belief with which we are now dealing.

in the service of Herod Antipas, and must therefore be regarded as a Jew, since the contrary is not stated. He also is distinguished by his faith, not, however, as being a heathen, but as being one who trusts the word of Jesus without looking for signs and wonders. At the outset, even he is reproached by Jesus as unable to believe without these. He has given no occasion for such a reproach. If, therefore, the reproach is not to be held to be unjust he must be taken as representing the Jewish people, who really deserve it. He clears himself, however, of the reproach. This being so, he represents, not the entire nation, but only those better members of the nation who intercede for the (spiritually) diseased portion of their people. In the days of the fourth evangelist, in which it was no longer possible with one's own eyes to see miracles wrought by Jesus, belief in the bare word of the Christian preacher came to be of the greatest importance, and an example of such belief is therefore here put forth. By the son of the centurion, then, we are to understand the spiritually and religiously diseased part of the nation. This is the reason why the sufferer is not as in Lk. called the servant (δοῦλος) of the intercessor, but his son—a point which had been left doubtful by the ambiguous expression (παῖς) of Mt.

(d) The individual miracles (2:11 4:54 6:24 9:16 12:18), and indeed the miracles of Jesus as a whole (2:23 3:2 7:31 11:47 12:17), are expressly spoken of as 'signs' (σημεῖα), though the Jesus of the synoptists is represented as having declined on principle to work 'signs' (GOSPELS, § 140*f.*). In Jn. 2:23 6:30 Jesus is asked, as in Mk. 8:11 and parallels, to work miracles to attest his mission; in Jn., however, he does not decline as in the other case, but on the contrary promises (2:19) precisely the miracle of his resurrection. Belief that rests on mere miracles he often deprecates (4:48, etc.); but in 5:26 6:24 10:25 38 11:1 he actually attaches to them a decisive importance.

One of the most important differences between the synoptists and Jn. is that relating to the date of the crucifixion.

(a) According to Mk. 11:12-16 Mt. 26:17-19 Lk. 22:7-15 the Last Supper of Jesus was the Jewish Passover meal

21. Date of Crucifixion. which was partaken of on the evening of the 14th of Nisan. In strict Jewish reckoning this evening belongs to the 15th of Nisan with which the Feast of Unleavened Bread began. Since, however, the heaven was removed from Jewish houses during the day-time of the 14th of Nisan, we can easily understand how it is that Mk. 14:12 Mt. 26:17 (cp Lk. 22:17) have come to speak of the 14th Nisan as being the first of the days of unleavened bread. It is equally certain that, according to Jn., the Last Supper was on the 13th of Nisan (13:1 29 18:28 19:14 31). If the synoptists are to be brought into harmony with the Johannine reckoning, the day on which the paschal lamb was wont to be slaughtered (Mk. 14:12 Lk. 22:7) must have been the 13th, not the 14th of Nisan. If on the other hand Jn. is to be brought into harmony with the synoptists, then at the eating of the paschal lamb the feast can not yet have begun (13:1 29) and 'to eat the passover' (18:28) must be taken as meaning the meals taken during the seven days to the exclusion of that at which the paschal lamb was eaten. The incredibly violent attempts that used to be made to bring about a reconciliation between the two representations no longer call for serious argument.

(b) Some notice, however, must be taken of two attempts still made by scholars of repute to maintain the Johannine reckoning while conceding its inconsistency with that of the synoptists.

According to B. Weiss and Beyerling the date of the Last Supper was on the 14th of Nisan, but nevertheless it was held as a passover meal. It is argued that since the afternoon of the 14th of Nisan did not give time enough for the slaughter of the many lambs (in 6:5 A.D., according to Jos. B. vi. 9:3, § 424, there were 250,000 of them), some portion of them were slaughtered on the afternoon of the 13th, and thus it was possible for Jesus to keep the passover a day before the regular time. This theory, however, about the slaughtering of the lambs is not only in flatest contradiction to the express words of Mk. 14:12 Lk. 22:7, according to which there was only one day on which the lambs were slaughtered, but also rests upon pure imagination. The slaughtering of the lambs was not the business of the priests; it was the duty of the representative of each passover-guild (Philo. *Vit. Mos.* 2:22, and *Deal.* 20, ap. Mangey, 2:123 and 206). Each such representative had thus only one lamb to slaughter, and all that the priests had to do was to receive the

blood in a bowl and pour it out by the altar. Moreover, time enough was secured on 14th Nisan by beginning the work of slaughtering it a towards sundown as [L. 16] explained, but in the afternoon – about 3 or 4 o'clock according to *Jahrb.* 49:10, 12, Jos. II, 2:9, 10, 423; cf. *Ant.* xiv. 4, § 65, or, according to later Jewish authorities, even so early as from 12:30 or 1:30. Apart from this, however, an anticipatory participation in the paschal meal would have been a direct violation of the law according to which no one who was unable to take part in the feast on the appointed day was bid to postpone it till the following month (*Nr.* 2:10, 13, cf. 2 Ch. 30:21-22). So far, moreover, as Jesus is concerned, such an anticipatory would be intelligible only on the assumption that he knew beforehand quite definitely that he would not live to see the legally appointed evening (cf. *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1899, pp. 143-144).

(C) According to Spitta (*Evangelienkommentar* 1:221-229) the passage of Mk. on which the reckoning of the synoptists is based (14:12-16) is a later interpolation. According to 14:2, he contends, it was the intention of the authorities that Jesus should be made away with *before* the feast. As we are not told that this scheme failed, Mk. must have followed the Johannine chronology. It is, however, quite sufficient that Mk., in fact, informs us that nevertheless Jesus was not put to death *before* the feast. This tells us really all that Spitta needs lacking. Spitta on better ground when he argues that Mk. 14:17 does not mean that Jesus, 16:26—that Jesus could not come with the twelve if two of the twelve sent on before to make ready the passover. As a matter of fact we cannot avoid supposing that the two had in the interval returned to report that the preparations had been made. Over and above this, Spitta has to assume that the interpolation in must have dropped in *before* Mt. and Lk., and further that there of Jesus was described in *John* I, a leaf in which the Last Supper (13:21) was, and, conversely, Spitta has to drop Jn. 6:51-59 as a later insertion. So many are the changes required in order to make his hypothesis work.

As the discrepant accounts do not admit of reconciliation, it remains that we should choose between them. Now, according to the synoptists the crucifixion occurred on the first day of the seven-days' feast, and this first day was in sanctity almost equal to a Sabbath.

22. Difficulties of synoptic chronology.

(41) A judicial process in solemn form involving a capital charge could not, according to the Mishna, be begun on a day before a Sabbath, and thus also could not have been begun on the 14th of Nisan, for between the first and the second sitting, if a condemnation was to be arrived at, a night had to intervene. Any formal sentence of death, however, was beyond the competency of the *synedrion*, as the power of life and death lay in the hands of the Roman procurator. Brandt, one of the most acute and the most learned of the opponents of the synoptic (and the Johanneine) chronology, who admits as historical nothing more than the bare fact that Jesus was criticised about the passover season, has conceded in his *Evangelische Geschichte* (pp. 55, 303, '93) that, legally considered, the proceedings before the *synedrion* would be unexceptionable if they were regarded merely as a preliminary enquiry to prepare the case for Pilate's hearing. And it must further be taken into account here how urgently time pressed. The project to make away with Jesus before the feast having failed, it was all the more necessary to get rid of him at the beginning of the feast before the people should have had time and opportunity to declare in his favour. Of Pilate one could rest assured that even on the feast-day he would not hesitate to repress any tumult. If he desecrated the day by an execution, the responsibility would not lie on the *synedrion*.

(b) That Simon of Cyrene came 'from the country' ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, Mk. 15:21 Lk. 23:26 by no means implies that he had been working there. Many passover pilgrims, to the number of whom he would, as a Cyprian, appear to have belonged, spent the night outside the city and simply came into it 'from the country.'

(c) The burial of Jesus would always have been more lawful on the 15th of Nisan than on the following Sabbath, which was held to be of superior sanctity; but in any case it was unavoidable, in accordance with Dt 21²² f.

(d) The prohibition against leaving the festal chamber

on the night of the passover (Ex. 12²²) was, from that we can gather (see Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Naz.* 349 f.) no longer observed in Jesus' time. Very many pilgrims had their lodging during the feast outside the walls of Jerusalem. The prohibition in question therefore could no longer be enforced. With reference to certain other inconvenient passover precepts also rabbinists found a way of escape by deciding that they were enjoined only for the passover in Egypt, not that in Palestine.

(c) That the women prepared ointments is stated only by Mk. (23:56); according to Mk. (16:1) they bought ointments only after the Sabbath was ended. Joseph is true, according to Mk. 15:46, bought a linen cloth. What we have to ask, however, in case such a purchase was forbidden by traditional prescription, whether in the synoptic tradition recollection must to this account have gone wrong altogether as to the day of the death of Jesus, or whether it is not easier to suppose that a narrator who was no longer acquainted with the enactments of the law on the subject, fell in error on a single point—that of the purchase effectuated on a feast day.

(f) The question as regards the swords carried by the company who arrested Jesus is similar (Mk. 11:41-43 Mt. 26:47-55 Lk. 22:52). According to the Mishna (*Sabbath* 103a B24) it was unlawful to carry on the Sabbath day (although, also, certainly, on the day of the passover breastplate, helmet, greaves, sword, bow, shield (sling) or lance. It is equally certain, however, that the exercise of police functions on Sabbath, especially among the crowds present at the passover, was not allowed to be suspended in any such prohibition. It is not said that no kind of weapon whatever was to be allowed. Here also, no doubt, Rabbinical casuistry was equal to the occasion. Is it then imperative that we should suppose the statement about the swords to be correct and therefore that about the day to be incorrect? Or is it not, in point of fact, quite easy to imagine that a narrator who was not accurately acquainted with the precepts of the Jewish law inadvertently gave to his true account of an armed company having been sent such a turn as implied that they were armed with swords?

(g) It is directly attested that the disciples of Jesus had swords among them (Mk. 14:47 Mt. 26:51f. Lk. 22:49f.). We may venture to suppose that they have provided themselves with these on the preceding days, already seeing cause to fear danger for Jesus and themselves. It was certainly not without reason that Jesus, according to Mk. 11:9 Mt. 21:7 Lk. 21:37 passed his nights, not in the city, but (presumably) in various places outside its walls—for otherwise his betrayal by Judas would hardly have been necessary. There is nothing to surprise us if the disciples did not lay their swords aside on the day when the danger was greatest. After having learned in so many other points to claim emancipation from the law, they can hardly have felt themselves bound to follow it with slavish literality, precisely on this particular occasion.

23. Explanation which underlies it. It is indicated of the Johannine in Jn. itself.

23. Explanation of the Johannine date

(a) In 1936 it is said that the reason why the bones were not broken was in order that a scripture might be fulfilled. The scripture in question (Ex. 12:6 Nu. 9:12) has reference to the paschal lamb. Jesus then is presented as the anti-type to the paschal lamb in such a manner that this precept finds literal fulfilment in him.

(b) But not this precept only. According to 1914 Jesus is at midday still before Pilate; his death thus takes place in the afternoon, exactly at the time when (see § 21 *b*) the paschal lambs were wont to be slaughtered. However tempting it may be to suppose that the discrepancy with Mk. 15:25 arises from a mere

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oversight, the Γ of Mk., which denoted the third hour, being instead by Jn. for a Ϝ representing the number six, or conversely (Goossens, § 140), it loses, when taken in connection with the other divergences of Jn. from the synoptists, all its attractiveness.

(c) The amounting of Jesus happened, according to Jn. 12:1, six days before the passover, according to Mk. 14:1=Mt. 26:2 at most two days before it. This discrepancy also is significant. According to Ex. 12:1 the paschal lamb must be chosen on the 10th of Nisan. The evening on which it is eaten belongs, according to Jewish reckoning, to the 15th of Nisan. The 10th of Nisan is thus the fifth day before the passover. Now, the turn of expression in Jn. 12:1 (EV, 'six days before the passover') is Roman—*πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα*—according to the analogy of *ante diem tertium Calendarum Martii*. The Latin phrase of course denotes the 29th of April, both the first and the last days being included according to the Roman mode of reckoning. Applying the same principle to Jn. 12:1 we find that the 10th of Nisan is indicated. Here again, accordingly, Jesus is seen to be the antitype of the paschal lamb. For Greek examples see Winer, § 61 c end.

(d) The synoptists do not mention the lance-thrust, just as they pass over the omission to break the bones of the crucified Jesus. In Jn. (19:34) the lance thrust also is mentioned as a fulfilment of a scripture: 'they shall look on him whom they have pierced.' The meaning of the quotation is not at first sight plain, nor yet its connection with the statement that blood and water flowed from the wound. In spite of all efforts, no one has yet been able to show that blood and water actually do flow from a wound of this kind. But blood and water are mentioned together also in 1 Jn. 5:6, where it is said that Jesus Christ came by water and blood. By the water here, so far as the person of Jesus is concerned, we can hardly understand anything else than his baptism; by the blood the atoning blood which he shed on the cross. The sequel in vv. 7-9 shows, however, that what is being spoken of is not merely the experience of his own life, but also that which he brings to believers. In that case the water denotes their baptism, and the meaning of the blood is best found in Jn. 6:51-56. It is the eucharistic blood. Jesus comes (1 Jn. 5:6) by the two sacraments which signify, partly reception into the Christian church, partly the continual renewal of a Christian standing. Now, the reference to water does not come into connection with the idea of the paschal lamb; but that to blood does. The reference to water thus carries us beyond the suggestions connected with the paschal lamb, indeed, but only shows all the more clearly that the account of the history is here dominated throughout by ideas.

(e) That the Last Supper as related in the Fourth Gospel cannot have been a paschal meal is self-evident, and would not of itself give occasion to any doubts regarding Jn.'s chronology. Serious doubts, however, must arise when it is observed how the evangelist connects the interpretation of the Supper with his narrative of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (6:1-63) and thus makes it to have been given a year earlier than the date at which the event happened according to the synoptists.

How impossible this version of the facts is can best be seen from the attempts to render it harmless. Many deny that the eucharist is intended at all in chap. 6; but in view of the words in vv. 51-56, and of the allusion, otherwise quite pointless, to thirst as well as hunger in v. 35, such a denial is quite useless. Spitta, accordingly, would delete vv. 51-59 (§ 21 c); but v. 35, which he leaves untouched, raises its protest against such a critical proceeding. Arthur Wright (*A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, '96) assumes that Jesus instituted the ordinance of the Supper as early as the first passover of his ministry, at the second gave the exposition now found in Jn. 6, and at the third and last only added perhaps the command to continue its celebration. This is logical enough, but so gratuitous as to require no refutation.

The next surprising thing in this connection is that Jn. reports absolutely nothing regarding the celebration

at the last supper. Spitta supposes the dropping out of a leaf which contained the missing account so exactly—neither more nor less—that the hiatus arising from want of connection remained unperceived. Not only is this hypothesis very bold; it wholly fails to meet the case. One must go further, and confess that it is impossible to point to the place where the missing leaf ought to have come in. Jn. introduces in place of the celebration something quite new, namely the foot-washing. This is not accidental; it is a manifestation of love, and the action takes place in the course of the meal. The meal thus takes the character of a love-feast, in *ἀγάπη*; and thereby becomes an excellent substitute for the supper, in the primitive church, it is well known, *ἀγάπη* and Eucharist went together. When the matter is viewed in this light there is no further occasion to seek for a place in the gospel where the account of the institution of the Eucharist may originally have stood.

(f) Thus we may take as lying at the foundation of the whole representation in the Fourth Gospel the idea which is thrown out by Paul only casually (1 Cor. 5:7): 'as our passover Christ was sacrificed,' *τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐρίθη Χριστός*. Jn. carries it out in all its details. The more completely the precepts relating to the paschal lamb could be shown to have been fulfilled in Jesus, the more perfectly could it be held to have been demonstrated that the religion which rested on the passover as its foundation had been, by the will of God, set aside and its place taken by another.

It may perhaps be matter of surprise that the 'pneumatic' evangelist should attach weight to so literal a fulfilment of the Old Testament. Yet this is what he does also elsewhere. From Ps. 22:19 we find that Mk. 15:24, Mt. 27:35, Lk. 23:34 have taken only the one detail that the soldiers divided the tunic of Jesus amongst themselves by lot. It is only Jn. (19:23 f.) who not only cites the passage *verbatim*, but also finds in the two members of the verse two separate facts, —viz., the dividing of the upper garment, and the casting of lots over the seamless undergarment. So also it is he who brings Ps. 69:22 into connection with the fact stated by the synoptists (Mk. 15:36, Mt. 27:48, Lk. 23:36) that they gave Jesus to drink on the cross, and who expressly signifies the act as a fulfilment of a scripture (19:28).

It is he too (2:17) who quotes from the same Psalm—the 69th—a citation not found in any of the synoptists, claiming that it found its fulfilment in Jesus, and gives four other citations, also not met with in the synoptists—in each case, moreover, with Mt.'s formula, 'that it might be fulfilled,' etc., *ὅτι πληρωθῇ ἡ γρ. α.* (12:38, 13:18, 15:25, 17:12), as in 19:24, 29. It is he, too, who (without having been preceded by the synoptists) sees a type of Christ in the Serpent in the wilderness (3:14), a type of the Eucharist in the manna (6:31 f., 43 f., 58), as also indeed he finds a type in Sileah (9:7), translating it by *ἀνίσταμαι* (cp. GOSPELS, §§ 43, 56).

The position of the question, then, is this. In the case of the synoptists no one has ever yet been able to suggest any reason why they should have wished to change the date of the death of Jesus. The utmost that has been said has been this—

24. The synoptic and Johannine date confronted.

that the disciples had no longer retained a precise recollection of the day. It is difficult to understand how any one who adopts such a view can possibly attach any credence whatever to anything the synoptists say. This view, so damaging to the synoptists, is not at all the result, as such a view ought to be, of careful examination of their work or of appreciative consideration of the position of the authorities on whom they relied—on whose memories nothing surely could have inprinted itself so indelibly as the events of those last days. It owes its origin simply and solely to preference for the Fourth Gospel. Only in one case would it be compulsory to adopt it—if the synoptic date were proved to be impossible. But this it is far from being; the difficulties on which emphasis is laid are in part only seeming, and in part admit of explanation by a very excusable error of tradition (§ 22). In the Fourth Gospel on the other hand it can be shown, point by point, that the representation of the history had to be given exactly as we find it there if it was to serve to set forth the given ideas. The sole question,

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therefore is whether we shall set up our minds to recognise that this is what the Fourth Gospel does. This decision we must, however, make, unless the synoptic representation is to remain an insoluble riddle. Nor is such a decision, in view of the entire character of the Fourth Gospel, in the least difficult. Elsewhere also it devotes itself to the representation of ideas (see § 20-1), and as regards the date of the crucifixion the coincidences with the precepts regarding the paschal lamb are so strong that on the assumption of literal historicity the position of Hengstenberg is inevitable—that God, or Jesus, with conscious intention, so ordered the events as to make them literally correspond to those precepts.

The difference in character between the synoptic and the Johannine discourses of Jesus can hardly be overstated.

(a) As regards style the synoptists give short sayings, the Fourth Gospel long expositions. The Fourth Gospel has no parables—not even in chaps. 13 or 14. In 106 the saying of Jesus is called, not a 'parable' (*παράβολον*), but a 'proverb' (*προιούμιον*, see PARABLE). This is very appropriate. That Jesus should be a 'door' is an idea that it is impossible to visualise. If it is expressed—not by means of an image drawn from life, but by means of an artificial thought-allegory—the conception that Jesus, or, more strictly speaking, faith in Jesus, is the only means whereby one can enter into the Church and so into blessedness.

In the Fourth Gospel the discourses of Jesus are distinguished so little from those of the Baptist or from those of the evangelist himself that commentators on such a passage, for example, as 3:27-30 are utterly at variance on the question as to where the one ends and the other begins.

(b) In the synoptics the main subject of the discourses of Jesus is furnished by the question how the kingdom of God can be entered; in Jn., on the other hand, the leading theme is Jesus himself—his person and his dignity, on which in the synoptists he has extraordinarily little to say. Accordingly, in Jn., the expression 'kingdom of God' occurs only twice (3:3, 5). In Mt. 11:25-30, it is true, it has been thought by scholars that we have one passage which partakes of the character of the Johannine discourses of Jesus, and thus guarantees the authenticity of these throughout. This, however, considering its isolated character, the passage in question could not be held to do, even if it really were Johannine in character. Moreover, such a character does not in point of fact belong to it, as becomes apparent as soon as the most ancient reading is taken into account.

All the church-fathers and heretics of the second century, of whose reading of this passage we have any knowledge at all, bear witness wholly or in part to the following text: 'All things have been delivered to me by my father, and no one hath known (ἐγνώ) the father but the son, nor the son but the father and he to whomsoever the son will reveal it.' Even Irenaeus, who severely censures the sect of the Marcionites on account of this reading, himself adopts it twice or (according to the Syriac translation) thrice; we must therefore suppose that so it stood written in his bible.

According to the text just quoted the knowledge of the Father by the Son is not something which is spoken of in the present tense only, so that according to the Johannine manner of thinking it could be regarded as having existed from all eternity; it is something that, as the text indicates, came into being at a definite moment of time, and before this particular moment did not as yet exist. This moment of time is of course to be sought for within the period of the earthly life of Jesus. Further, in the true text the first place is not assigned to the knowledge of the Son by the Father which again in the Johannine theology could be regarded as existing from all eternity; the first in order is this—that Jesus has recognised the Father in God, on which follows the second that the Father has recognised the Son. Of course, however, this does not mean here that mysterious interpretative knowledge which dogmatically theology ascribes to the first person of the Trinity in relation to the second; what it means is simply this: 'No one except I, of his hitherto known that I am the Messiah; you all have not as yet perceived it.' The same thing is very fully expressed in the parallel text Lk.

Mt. 11, in the words 'No one knoweth (better: 'hath known') the Son, that is, that I am the Son. And the final clause in Mt. 11, 'And I, his same sense admirably,' and he to whom the Son will reveal it. What the Son will reveal is, according to the true reading, not at all the essence of the Father, not so to say his own essence, which might again bring us back to the Johannine theology, but simply the knowledge that I am the Messiah.

Peter's confession and the answer of Jesus to it (Mt. 16:13-19) do not come into conflict with this as one might be apt to suppose. Altogether unassisted and out of his own unconsciousness merely, Peter could never have reached the intuition that Jesus was the Messiah; some hint he must have received from Jesus himself. Or, since Jesus forbade his disciples to make known the confession of Peter, it is open to us to suppose that he uttered the words of Mt. 11:27 somewhat later and in presence of another audience to which Peter did not belong.

Taken in this sense the passage not only does not contain the Johannine Christology; it is simply a purely synoptic representation of the rise of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. In the course of his earthly development he arrived at the knowledge that God is not the austere god of the Old Testament law but a father such as is presented to us in the prophets (Is. 63:16), the psalms (Ps. 86:100-11), and other later writings (Ezekiel 34:23, Wisd. 2:1-11 to 14) etc. In his relation to the divine Father Jesus feels himself to be a son of God; in the first instance in the Old Testament ethical sense, inasmuch as he submits his will in all things to that of the Father. But in this respect he found himself so isolated in the circle of his contemporaries that he saw himself to be called to the responsibility of leadership. Thus it was that he felt himself to be the *ωὐρανίου ἡγεμόνα*.

As for the text itself, no coelest, however old and good, can be a silent witness against the extra-canonical reading, since even the oldest of them is some two centuries younger than it. The attempt has been made to discredit the reading as being a falsification of the Gnostics, who denied that under the Old Testament men had possessed any true knowledge of God. This is certainly the view of Irenaeus. That very fact, however, serves to make it intelligible how churchmen should have altered the extra-canonical reading, as seeming to favour heresy, into the canonical, an alteration which seemed to them in point of fact to have its full warrant in the Johannine parallels and particularly in 10:15. That orthodox persons deliberately altered the NT text is expressly attested by one of the most orthodox of them all—Epiphanius (*Haereticus*, 31) who tells us that, dreading a too human view of Jesus, they deleted Lk. 22:42. The converse possibility is all the more improbable in proportion as the uncanonical text is seen to befit the Jesus of the synoptists better and in proportion as it does not deny to the men of the Old Testament all knowledge of God as the Father. For it was not in their case that Jesus was at all concerned to deny such knowledge; it was in the case of his contemporaries that he did so; this was sufficient foundation for the unique claim he made.

Finally, we must point out that the opening words of Mt. 11:27=Lk. 10:22 'All things . . . father' must not be explained according to Mt. 28:18. There stands expressly the word 'power.' In our present context, however, *power* would be quite unsuitable, for we are concerned only with the *knowledge* that God is a father. The yoke of Jesus in Mt. 11:29 is contrasted with the yoke of the Law, the yoke of the Pharisees (cp. Mt. 23:4) and the expression *υγιαινετε* in the Apoc. Bar. 41:1 they are the 'wise and prudent' from whom according to 11:25 God has hidden what he has through Jesus revealed to infants, namely, the fatherhood of God. Now the doctrine of the Pharisees is called 'tradition of the elders' (*παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*) in Mk. 7:8-11 etc., and in this we have explained how anything that Jesus taught was said to be delivered to him. In this way vanishes the last appearance of there being in our passage Johannine ideas.

(c) The occasion which leads to the prolongation of the discourses of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is often some misunderstanding of his words on the part of the listeners. Such misunderstanding may sometimes seem intelligible in some degree—as for example when Jesus speaks of himself as the bread which came down from heaven (6:41 f.), or says that he will give them his flesh to eat (6:52), that Abraham had already seen him (8:56 f.), and the like. But it would be difficult to understand how Jesus by such disquisitions can have won over to himself the lowly ones among the people or comforted the weary and heavy-laden. This he did by preaching (according to the synoptics) that the divine compassion is great and that all that God demands is a pure heart, not by disquisitions of the kind referred to or metaphysical questions in a language that cannot be called popular. In other places the misunderstandings of the hearers are hardly comprehensible (see, for example, 8:12-27). It may, in fact, be almost generalised as a prevailing law for the Fourth Gospel that at the begin-

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ning of a discourse or a portion of a discourse Jesus utters a saying meant to be taken in a spiritual sense but expressed in an intentionally ambiguous form which is understood by the hearers in the physical and so made unintelligible (e.g. 2:13-17; 1:1-13; 11:2-13; [§ 30A] 10 [§ 20d] 12-13; 11:2). But it is not easy to suppose that this was invariably what actually happened.

(b) Nor is there any help in the conjecture that the Fourth Gospel reproduces the style of the discourses of Jesus as they were during the later period of his ministry, the synoptics that of earlier ones. Not only does such a theory directly conflict with the actual text, where in Jn. we have characteristic discourses which are assigned to his earliest period and in the synoptic discourses equally characteristic belonging to his latest, the discrepancy in character between the two kinds of discourse is so great, that a transition from the one to the other by the same speaker is psychologically unthinkable. A consciousness of approaching departure may very well have influenced the tone and character of the discourses of the last days; but if that had led to a sudden communication of things never treated before, surely this would at least have been made in the hearing of the disciples alone, and not, as we are expressly told, in the Fourth Gospel, in the presence of the people.

(c) One of the most striking phenomena of the discourses of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is that their themes, which are few to begin with, are repeated on the most diverse occasions to the point of tedium. The monotony is probably felt by every reader. It is carried so far that a discourse which had been left unfinished on a certain occasion is continued on another to other hearers. In 7:21-24 Jesus justifies himself at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the autumn, for having healed on the Sabbath-day the sick man at the pool of Bethesda (5:1-6) more than half a year before, at a feast before the preceding passover (5:1-6). In 10:20-23 at the Feast of Dedication he continues the discourse about his sheep which he had begun at another time in 10:1-16.

The attempt has been made to account for such phenomena by supposing that the order of the several parts of the gospel had been lost by copyists; e.g. for example Bacon, *JHJ*, 24, pp. 64-79; Strasser and Lünner, *JFH. Studien*, 1900, pp. 117-140 and 171-7. Such attempts have a certain justification when they seek to remove the difficulty that after the change (14:11) 'Arise, let us go hence' Jesus utters discourses that all happen 15-17; but even here the attempts at rearrangement are by no means convincing.

Much more hopeless are such attempts elsewhere. It has been suggested that 7:13-24 should follow directly on 5:47. But at 5:47 the subject of the Sabbath has been dropped for some time; at 5:47 it is passed from with a clearly marked transition ('not only . . . but also'). Immediately after 5:19, therefore, would be the place for the passage from chap. 7, and the passage must be not 7:13-24 but only 7:19-24 (cf. Herding, *St. Acta*, 80, pp. 351-353). Even, however, if a better order were obtained at one place by transpositions we should furthermore have to inquire how the original order came to be disturbed. If one could venture to suppose that a leaf which accidentally began and ended exactly with a complete sentence became detached from the papyrus roll to which it had been fastened and was then inserted at a wrong place, the hypothesis becomes of course impossible as soon as it is found necessary to apply it to a series of cases. To obtain a better order, however, 7:11f., e.g., should be contiguous with 13:31-32, or 7:17f. with 4:10-14, or 6:12 with 12:43, or 8:13 with 12:47, while the intervening verses 8:13f. are the continuation of 5:11f. These are but a few examples out of an almost endless mass. There hardly remains anything, therefore, but to attribute this state of things to a peculiarity in the author.

The representation of Jesus throughout the entire Fourth Gospel is in harmony with the utterances of the Johannine Christ regarding his heavenly origin (§ 25b).

26. The figure of Jesus, apart from the Prologue.

(a) His baptism is not related (1:2f.). Because it seemed to interfere with his dignity; so also his temptation in the wilderness, his prayer in Gethsemane, and his forsaken cry on the cross are passed over in silence. The place of the prayer in Gethsemane is taken by the words spoken at a much earlier period (12:27), which, however, cannot be worse misinterpreted than they are when punctuated (as in Ti., Treg., and WH): 'Now is my soul troubled,

and what shall I say? Father, give me from this hour to the Father, for deliverance from death could never have suggested itself. His son of his life is in fact solitary (1:13). The accordingly is 'Shall I perdition, say . . . me from this hour?' It is only thus that the son comes in with any appropriateness. Not for this cause came I into this hour, therefore will I rather say 'Father, glorify thy name'; by this, that thou sufferest me to go to my death (cp 18:11). Some trace of a weakness in the crucified one might perhaps be discerned in the words (19:30) 'I thirst', but it is expressly observed that they were spoken only that a scripture might be fulfilled. His prayer at the grave of Lazarus is uttered, according to 11:4, only on the people's account. He shows his omniscience in 1:7, 2:24f., 10:14, 6:6, 7:11, 11:14, 13:11, 18:1. Jesus addresses to Philip the question, 'Whence shall we buy bread? (6:5f.) only to try him.

(b) His enemies cannot lay hands on him, as often as they set about his arrest (7:30, 8:20, 10:12, 12:19) or seek to slay him (8:10, 10:7, 12:1, 13:7, 18:10, 18:14), the attempt fails. The expression (*rapedon*) which we read in 8:20, 12:19 must, in view of his dignity, be interpreted not as meaning that 'he hid himself,' but as meaning that he became invisible in a supernatural way (cp GOSPELS, § 30, n. 10). At his arrest the entire Roman cohort falls to the ground (18:6). Of his own initiative he gives himself up. Judas has no need to betray him with a kiss, and stands doing nothing. Of his own initiative, by dipping the sop and giving it to Judas, Jesus had already brought it about that Satan entered into Judas, and had charged him to hasten his work (13:27). Jesus acknowledged to Pilate that he was King, not of the Jews, but of something higher, of Truth (18:37). There is no need for Simon of Cyrene to carry the cross; Jesus carries it himself (19:17).

(c) Immediately after his resurrection Jesus will not allow Mary Magdalene to touch him (20:17) as she and the other Mary touch his feet in Mt. 28:9; he does not taste food as in Lk. 24:42f. (nor yet in Jn. 21:14f.); on the contrary, he enters by closed doors (20:19-26) and imparts the Holy Spirit (20:22), which according to Acts 2:1-4 was first poured out on the disciples at Pentecost. According to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus can impart the Holy Spirit because he and the Holy Spirit are one, because his *going* and *coming* is identical with the *coming* of the Holy Spirit (§ 28 a), and because that *coming* became possible at the moment of Jesus' glorification (7:39). In short, to the Christ of the Fourth Gospel the saying of the Epistle to the Hebrews (5:7), that he learned obedience through the things that he suffered, has become inapplicable; so even that of the Epistle to the Philippians (2:7), that he emptied himself of the divine, what applies to him is the saying of the Epistle to the Colossians (2:9), that in him dwelt the whole fullness of the Godhead bodily.

(d) Over against this we find hardly any really human traits, and such as do manifest themselves are intended in another sense than at first sight appears.

What is principally relied on as evidence of truly human characteristics in the Johannine Christ is his weeping at the grave of Lazarus (11:35). From the very fact that the Jews are said to have seen in his tears a proof of his love for Lazarus, the reader might have been led to conjecture that this is not the author's view of them, for the Jews are always represented as understanding Jesus wrongly (§ 25 c). The evangelist has taken further measures, however, to obviate any such misunderstanding. Even in 7:33 he insists that Jesus was moved with indignation in the spirit because he saw Mary weeping and the Jews also weeping with her. And again in 7:38 Jesus is moved with indignation in himself at the words of the Jews, 'Could this man not have caused that Lazarus also should not die?' It is clear, then, that the tears of Jesus as well as his anger were caused by the unbelief in his miraculous power.

We turn now to some leading points in the doctrine of Jesus as recorded in Jn., with a view to comparison with the synoptics. Salvation is spoken of as destined for all men (10:26, 11:52, cp 3:16, 4:42, 6:27). In the

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synopists this doctrine is brought into the mouth

27. The universality of salvation.

of Jesus only by later insertions (see GOSPELS, §§ 109*a* & 112*b*): it was a doctrine to the defence of which even Paul had to devote the whole of his converted life. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, it presents itself as a matter settled from the very beginning without possibility of dispute. It had made use of the Samaritans in order to set forth the relations of Jesus with non-Jews, or, in other words (according to his view), with heathen (GOSPELS, § 109*a*). It not only does the like (11:42; in particular, 15:18 are not confined to Samaria); he goes farther, representing Greeks also as coming to Jesus (12:20-32). He does not state what passed at the interview, or what the result was; the narrative closes abruptly. This makes it all the more clear that the interview is simply to show that Greeks had so come; the passage thus may be regarded as pointing to the spread of the gospel among the Gentiles. The counterpart of this is that Jesus hardly at all comes into conflict with his opponents as regards the validity of the Mosaic law in any of its precepts. To him it is simply the law of the Jews (§ 10). All this shows to what a height the Johannine Christ has risen above those difficulties with which Jesus, Paul, and even the synopists had still to contend.

(2) The Christ of the synopists speaks of the final judgment as one completed act to take place at the end of the present dispensation; the Johannine Christ says (5:21) 'he that believeth

28. Eschatology.

shall not come into judgment'. He regards the judgment, where he really speaks of it, as a process which is accomplished in the course of man's life on earth; he takes the word 'judgment' (*apante*) in an etymological sense, according to which on the one hand it means a decision by which the individual makes his choice whether he is to choose Christ or turn away from him (3:19); on the other hand, as a separation between men who do the one thing and those who do the other (12:31; cp substantially, 1:11 f.). Whilst the Christ of the synopists, moreover, announces in a quite literal sense his coming again with the clouds of heaven, the Johannine Christ identifies his second advent with the coming of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of believers (14:16-18 16:7-11).

(3) It must not be overlooked that alongside of this the synoptic view also is met with. Passages like 11:12 16:22 are capable of being so taken, and so also as regards the final judgment the synoptic representation is quite clearly expressed in 5:28 f.; only we must not regard such expressions as the decisive ones, since they can easily be merely the prolonged effect of the older view. So much is certain that the spiritualised representation which is characteristic of the Fourth Gospel could not have been possible to the Jesus of the synopists. So strong is the contradiction between the two that many find the only possible solution in the supposition that 5:28 f. is a gloss.

A like supposition can hardly be upheld with regard to those passages in which the second advent is described in synoptic terms. Here the only supposition open to us is that the evangelist has retained the old form of expression but imported a new meaning into it, and made the new meaning secure against misunderstanding by means of a variety of expressions in which he formulates his own view. As regards the resurrection of believers, we find it expressed in 5(25?) 28 f., 6:39 4:44 4:46 5:46 quite in the manner with which the synopists have made us familiar. These passages, however, admit with particular facility the assumption that they are glosses. In their present connection they are in part superfluous, in part even disturbing to the sense, being attached to sentences that state the very opposite.

(4) Alongside of the second advent passages just referred to we find a spiritualised view, according to which resurrection is an event happening within the earthly life of the believer: 'he who believeth . . . hath already passed (*μεταβήκεν*) from death into life' (5:24 cp 8:51 f.). The same view is met with also among the gnostics. In 2 Tim. 2:18 we find quoted

as theirs the declaration that the resurrection is past already. By this they meant that the resurrection in the case of each individual is when by the revelation of which Christ is the means he reaches the intuition that his soul is of divine origin and his body only a prison of the soul, and when, in accordance with this, as a true gnostic, he despises what is earthly and cherishes the consciousness of his divine origin. John has given no specially gnostic expression to his view of the resurrection, and in the other leading passage (11:25 f.) it is possible that there is nothing more than an expression of the doctrine of immortality: 'He that believeth on me, even though he die, shall yet live, and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die.' Only, in this utterance, the last words have already ceased to speak of the physical death which is the subject of the first. That any one would escape physical death the author could not possibly affirm. Nor would the proposition have had any interest for him. What is important for him is the conception of a life which begins already upon this earth and is endowed with such intensity that it cannot be interrupted by the circumstance of physical death. If he calls it 'eternal' he means by that word not merely its endless duration, but before and above all, its unextinguishable power even already upon earth. Its opposite is a condition of the soul which is also to be met with in the course of man's earthly life—that of spiritual death. This idea of life is quite remote from the sphere of thought of the Christ of the synopists.

(5) The fact, however, that in order to set forth the Johannine idea of 'eternal life' the raising of Lazarus from a physical death (used, was told to one of the novelty of the idea from theologians. In reality the raising of Lazarus is quite unsuited to express that idea. It is not Lazarus' faith in Jesus which gives him the inward strength to continue his life in fellowship with God and with Christ; on the contrary, for his resurrection one of the most stuporous of physical maladies is required; and this resurges from it if it does not guarantee him an endless continuance of his physical life, but sooner or later he must, it need hardly be said, die a second time without the prospect of a new miracle being raised by Jesus.

(6) The Christ of the synopists has already placed Satan over against God; but in the Fourth Gospel this

29. Dualism. antithesis is made much sharper (8:44). Moreover, it is of much wider reach. Over against one another stand the things that are above and the things that are beneath (*πάνω* and *κάτω*, 8:21), in other words, heaven and earth (*οὐρανός*, 3:11, or *κόσμος* 8:23 15:19 17:14 16). The same antithesis is denoted by that between light and darkness (1:5 3:19 f.), truth and error (14:17), life and death (6:51 53 f.). It subsists accordingly, not between two personalities merely, God and the devil, but between two worlds, the higher and the lower, and in the passages quoted it is conceived as absolute. It recurs again in the world of men as the antithesis between 'spirit' (*πνεῦμα*) and 'flesh' (*σὰρξ*) (3:6). The important point to notice is that in a number of passages one class of men is regarded as belonging to the one order and the other class to the other, and a transition from the one to the other seems to be excluded. Chap. 36 has no meaning unless it is intended to convey that what is born of the flesh is and remains flesh, and what is born of the spirit is and remains spirit. In accordance with this view are the extraordinarily blunt sentences (8:41), 'Ye cannot hear my word' (because ye are of your father the devil), cp 3:27 6:44 65 12:37-40, as also 17:9 'I pray not for the world.' It only such sentences as these were met with in the Fourth Gospel, it would be a gnostic book; for they embody the separation of mankind into two classes—the 'pneumatic' on the one hand, and the 'psychic' on the other—and the declaration, made only by the gnostics, that none but the pneumatic can attain to salvation. This view, had it gained the upper hand, would have been the death of the Christian church, for it excludes from her pale all the intellectually weak.

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¹ Cp. Vollmer, *Die alttestamentl. Citate bei Paulus*, 1895, pp. 81-83.

it is superfluous to ask whether it be a person at all, for it belongs to the essence of the Logos that at one and the same time as a power working on the world it possesses a distinct existence over against God and yet in accordance with its original meaning it remains an impersonal idea of God. When, however, the Logos-idea came to be brought into connection with Christianity it was inevitable that Jesus should be identified with the Logos; for in Christianity Jesus has the position of a revealer of God, the position which in Philo is assigned to the Logos. In this a quite fundamental modification of the Logos-idea is involved. But from this fact the proper conclusion is, not that the earlier form does not lie at the foundation of the later, but rather that there is all the less reason why we should not recognise the fact in proportion as the modification which Christianity has wrought upon the Logos-idea has been profound.

One might suppose it to be self-evident that the evangelist in his prologue had the intention of propounding the fundamental thoughts which he was about to develop in the subsequent course of his gospel. The view of Harnack (*Ztschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1802, pp. 189-231) — that the prologue is not the expression of the evangelist's own view but is designed merely to produce a favourable prepossession on behalf of the book in the minds of educated readers — is in itself remarkable enough.

But, apart from this, Harnack, in working it out, has to interpret the Gospel itself, apart from the prologue, in a way which does not correspond with the facts. Thus, he maintains that Jesus is presented in the gospel as mainly ideally, not really pre-existent; that in so far as he is presented as really pre-existent, it is on the ground not of his being son of God but of his being Messiah; that Jesus is son of God only in the ethical, not in the metaphysical sense; the figure of Jesus presented is an expressly human one and shows at no point divine features inconsistent with this character (see, as against this, §§ 29-30). Further, he draws from the facts unsound conclusions.

Harnack rightly holds that where Jesus is represented as son of God he is not only one with God, but also subordinated to him (e.g., 1:29), but he infers from this that his sonship is to be understood in the ethical, not the metaphysical sense. To this it must be replied that even a son of God who from all eternity has been begotten in a supernatural way remains from the very nature of the case subordinate to the father. Precisely this generation before all time is held by Harnack; it is true, to be excluded by reason of the fact that it is the earthly Christ who is called 'only begotten' (*μονογενής*) (1:14 is 3:16-17). It is self-evident, however, that this title could not be withheld from the earthly Christ if it had belonged to him already before his earthly existence; for the earthly Christ shows in the Fourth Gospel the same attributes of Godhead as we should ascribe to him in his pre-existent state (see § 29).

Nor is it any more to the point to say that the prologue, for its part, does not intend to describe the essence of Jesus in his pre-existence, because at its conclusion it makes the transition to something lower, namely, to the historical person of the 'only begotten' (*μονογενής*). It is only on the assumption of Harnack alluded to above that 'only begotten' (*μονογενής*) is something lower than 'word' (*Λόγος*).¹ Lastly, it is in appearance

¹ Still less would this be the case if in 1:18 'an only begotten God' (*μονογενὴς θεός*) were to be read, as in fact Harnack himself would read. The external testimony is indecisive as between this reading and 'the only begotten son' (*ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*). On philological grounds the first reading would require at least to have the article prefixed, as indeed it has in extracts from Theodorus in Clem. Al. p. 663 in a statement about the Valentinians, in *κ*, and in the minuscule codex 33, further in many (though not in all) places in Clem. Al. (p. 695, ed. Patten; Orig. (48249, ed. de la Rue), Didymus Alex. *ap. i. contra Paul. Samosat.* in *Bibliotheca Patrum antiquarum*, ed. Fromm-Ducatus, I, Paris, 1824, p. 101, Dikymus (*de trinit.* 126 25), Epiphanius (pp. 612-817, ed. Petav.), Gregor. Nyss. (*de trinit.* 1, ed. Morel, Paris, 1819, 2447, and in Migre's *Patrol. grecque*, vol. 44, pp. 335a-1043d, vol. 45, pp. 469d-491a 340c 521b 722d 772c 801a1 841d), Basil (*de spir. sancto*, 814, p. 12, ed. Garner), Cyril. Alex. (*comm. in Joh.*, pp. 104c 107d, ed. Aubert, Paris, 1638, pp. 101c in Pusey's ed.; *thesaur.* p. 137b; *dial. quod unus*, p. 768; *adv. Nestorium*, p. 90d, *ὁ μονογενὴς θεός λόγος*; and in *Const. apost.* vii. 17 vii. 43 (in the

merely that 1:1 'the Logos was made flesh' seems to have little importance for the author since the thought never recurs, and that the prologue thus stands apart and aloof from the proper contents of the gospel itself. The entire gospel is nothing else but an elaboration of the thought, 'we saw his glory.' Thus the incarnation of the Logos must be one of its weightiest thoughts; if we are not to deny the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ to the gospel altogether.

The only fact worth noting is that pointed out by Harnack that apart from the prologue the word *logos* occurs in its quite usual sense, eight times of the speech of other speakers, nine times of an individual utterance of Jesus, eleven times of his preaching as a whole, in addition to the seven times where it is used in the expression 'word of God' (*λογος τοῦ θεοῦ*) meaning the tidings of salvation. This also, however, admits of explanation. As soon as the narrative passes over from the pre-existence to the earthly life of Jesus the place of the title *logos* must be taken by those designations (Jesus, *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, and the like) which are fitted to express his human manifestation. In this part of the book, therefore, it can cause but little confusion if the word *logos* is used in its ordinary meaning. We too are in the habit of continually using one and the same word, now in its ordinary and now in its technical sense, as soon as we are sure we shall be understood. In the Fourth Gospel no passage can be pointed out where uncertainty as to the sense in which *logos* is used is possible; everywhere it is made clear by some addition such as 'this word, 'my' word, 'his' word, or the like.

The perception that the prologue is deliberately intended as a preparation for the entire contents of the

gospel has reached its ultimate logical result in the proposition that the entire gospel is a conception at the root of which lies neither history nor even tradition of another kind, but solely the ideas of the prologue. Upon this proposition rests the brilliant analysis of the gospel by Baur, with which, significantly enough, theologians so strictly dogmatic as Luthardt and Hengstenberg find themselves in accord — these two, however, we must hasten to add, in the belief that the artificial arrangement which is rendered necessary by the carrying out of that central thought is at the same time in accordance with history. — God, or Christ, having so ordered the history that it should subserve the expression of those ideas. In setting forth these ideas the division into triads is used as a principal means. It manifests itself partly in single sentences such as 1:1 or 1:2 (GOSTELS, § 49), partly in the manner in which the various parts of the book are grouped as a whole. Already, however, it has come to be very generally

latter place twice. Hort (*Inscr. Diss.*, 76) has laid no weight upon this question; nor yet has Harnack. It is nevertheless a very important one. Hort (p. 18) renders: 'An only-begotten who is God, even He who is God.' Harnack (*Theol. Lit. Zeits.*, 56, p. 545) has: 'einen Gott hat Niemand je gesehen; ein eingebornen Gott . . . hat Niemand gebracht.' It is not permissible, however, to supply the indefinite article to *θεός* here (a god), if it is remembered how often elsewhere the word, in spite of the absence of the definite article, denotes the One God. It would in the present case be equivalent to denying altogether the anterior possession of the Christian belief in God, if we held that he admitted even in thought the possibility of there being other gods, and that he placed them on a level with the true God with reference to their invisibility. But even apart from this from a linguistic point of view also, the antithesis between *θεός* without qualification and *μονογενὴς θεός* is quite inappropriate and unintelligible. Instead of the *θεός* without qualification some more precise designation was needed. Such designation, however, is not met with anywhere in the Johannine writings.

The final determination lies in the consideration that the thought of 'an only begotten God' (*μονογενὴς θεός*) is not Johannine, and that whether with or without the article. In 1 Jn. 5:20 we find 'the true God', *ὁ ἀληθινός θεός*, as a designation of God (not of Christ; the meaning is: being in his son Jesus Christ, we are in the True; this [last] is the true God, etc.). To designate God, however, in contradistinction to this designation of Christ, 'the true God' (*ὁ ἀληθινός θεός*, 1 Jn. 5:20) would not be at all a good antithesis. 1 Jn. 20:28 ought not to be referred to in this connection, for the reason that when Thomas there addresses Jesus with the possessive pronoun as 'My Lord and my God' the expression says much less than it would without the pronoun. Thus the highest intimation regarding Jesus to which the Fourth Gospel anywhere rises is in 1:1 'the word was God' (*θεός ὁ λόγος*). But this does not mean more than that the Logos was of divine essence; the passage, therefore, gives no warrant for designating Jesus as 'only begotten God' (*μονογενὴς θεός*), by which designation he would become a 'second God' (*δεύτερος θεός*) in the sense of the Alexandrian church-fathers.

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acknowledged that it is impossible to explain in this way the arrangement of the entire gospel.

It may perhaps be enough to point out that chaps. 2-6 are arranged according to the following scheme:—chap. 2, two narratives (the miracle at Cana and the cleansing of the temple); 3, 1-142, discourses of Jesus which serve to interpret these narratives; 4, 1-56, two miracles of healing; 5, 1-47, a discourse of Jesus on the healing of the Jewish people; 6, 1-21, the feeding of the five thousand and the walking upon the water (on the connection see § 20 c); 6, 22-71, the discourse relative to this on Jesus as the bread of life. In 7, 2-144 the arrangement is in two respects the opposite of this; we have always one narrative, not two, and the interpretative discourse precedes instead of following. Thus 8, 12-59 treats of Jesus as the light of the world, in chap. 9 the narrative of the healing of the man born blind follows; 10, 22-42 treats of Jesus as the life of the world (p. 17, 29); in 11, 1-44 the raising of Lazarus follows. If we could regard as well-founded Hausrath's conjecture (*NTliche Littegesch.* iii. 603 f. and ed. iv. 424), that in the place where we now find the story of the woman taken in adultery there originally stood a miraculous narrative, similar to those in chaps. 9 and 11, to which 7, 2-52 was the introductory interpretation, then we should have in chaps. 7-11 a trial of narratives associated with interpretative discourses. We cannot, however, be sure of this.

Moreover, it has to be pointed out that chaps. 17-27, 101-21 do not admit of being taken up into this scheme, and that a similar method of grouping is still less applicable to the other parts of the gospel. The evangelist, therefore, has at many points been working with material lent to his hand, and has utilised it to give expression to his ideas, but has not been purely creative.

A perception of this fact leads to the question how far the material which lay before the evangelist goes back to authentic tradition. If one cannot claim this for the whole of the material (see §§ 35, 37), the next expedient is to search for details that are trustworthy.

(1) Sayings of Jesus such as those in 7, 17 or 13, 17 would cause no difficulty if we read them in the synoptic gospels. It does not necessarily follow from this, however, that they are authentic. They might also conceivably be summings up, by which the evangelist attributes to Jesus that which in reality is for himself the product of his own reflection and rebirth in the contemplation of Jesus. In other passages an explanation of this kind is at once suggested by the Johannine phraseology. The Jesus of the synoptists, instead of 11, 52 or 15, 26, would be much more likely to have said 'if ye love me, keep God's commandments,' or perhaps even 'for ye love the father, keep his commandments.' It might be regarded as a real word of Jesus when he is made to say (5, 19) that he can do nothing of himself or (3, 35, 20) that he has nothing save what the father has just given or shown him. This, however, can equally well be merely an expression for the metaphysical oneness between God and the Logos, and indeed the expression 'show' points directly to this. It is very conceivable that in actual fact there arrived in the life of Jesus such a moment as that described in chap. 8, when he became convinced that Jerusalem had no response to make to his demand for faith. This same thought, however, is equally inevitable if the history of Jesus be conceived of purely in accordance with Johannine ideas, for it simply carries out what is said in 1, 11, and Jerusalem is of course the central point at which it had to be decided whether Jesus was to find faith or not.

(2) The supposition that precise statements about some particular event having occurred or some particular discourse having been pronounced on a definite day (1, 29, 35, 43, 21, 44, 45, 6, 22, 7, 14, 37, 12, 12) or even at a definite hour (1, 10, 16) could only have come from an eye-witness is very tempting. Many scholars, therefore, give precedence to such passages in their consideration, and then propose to extend to the whole gospel the conclusion based upon these—that it is an eye-witness who is speaking throughout. After what has been said in preceding sections this is, however, indefensible. It has also to be observed, further, that the evangelist himself will sometimes be found in one place to contradict his own quite precise statements. According to 7, 47 the people know

whence Jesus is, according to 9, 29 they do not. In 5, 31 Jesus says that if he bear witness of himself his witness is not true; in 8, 14 he says the opposite. In 3, 26 we read that all the people flocked to Jesus, in 3, 32 that no one received his testimony. According to 3, 22-26, 4, 1 Jesus baptizes; according to 4, 2 only his disciples do so. In the instances just cited we learn something of the evangelist's method of composition. What would we expect of an ordinary author who wished to avoid saying anything out of place at, when he came to write (say) 4, 2, he found that in 3, 22-26 he had erroneously stated that Jesus himself had baptized? Unquestionably he would go back upon these passages and alter them. This is not what Jn. does. Thus he does not attach importance to the literal exactness of what he says. In order to be able to contrast Jesus and John and compare the waxing influence of the one with the waning influence of the other he thought it fitting in 3, 22-26 to represent both as baptizing.

(3) In 1, 39, 15 f. the mention of a particular day is coupled with the statement that the Baptist declared Jesus to be the Lamb of God that bears the sin of the world, in 1, 42 it is coupled further with the three other statements that Andrew and another unnamed person had transferred themselves from the discipleship of John to become disciples of Jesus, that Simon was led by Andrew to Jesus, and that he forthwith received from Jesus the name of Peter. All four statements are irreconcilable with what we read in the synoptists (§ 2, Mk. 1, 29-30). It cannot, therefore, be said to be too bold a conjecture if we suppose that these precise statements of day and hour were for the evangelist only a mode of representation adopted in order to break up a narrative or discourse into connected parts, the individual parts being attached to different points of time (so, especially, 1, 29, 35, 43, 21, 44, 22, 12, 12, 14, 21). The sixth hour in 4, 9 has perhaps a symbolical meaning (GOSPEL, § 5, 5). The statement that at the time of the feeding of the five thousand the passover was at hand (6, 4) was necessary in order to call attention to the fact that the interpretation of the eucharist was to be connected with this narrative. The view, therefore, that this verse is a gloss is just as mistaken as the other view that it contains an authentic statement of historical fact.

(4) How little importance the evangelist attaches to details of the sort is shown for example also in such a matter as this, that in 6, 1 Jesus again goes up to the mountain which he has not left since 6, 1 (the first verse corresponds to the beginning of Mt. 8, 2 and the narrative of feeding, the second to the close of his first [11, 52, 14, 21, Mk. 6, 4] or this, that at the close of a discourse which, according to 6, 4, 7, 2, was taken by the sea-shore (perhaps in Capernaum) and not interrupted, we are told in 6, 59 that it was spoken in the synagogue at Capernaum).

Even if such detailed statements as we have had under consideration fail us on examination, it is yet held to be possible to discover true historical data in other portions, which, as compared with the synoptists, are either new or even deliberately at variance with the synoptical account.

(5) The attempt to do so may well be made, for the entire contents of the gospel do not admit of being derived from ideas alone. In that case, however, we must be specially on our guard against the error of supposing that a tradition, because different from that of the synoptists, is *eo ipso* historical. The true use of a recourse to Johannine tradition lies rather in this, that it may enable us to see how in the course of oral transmission the mistaken statements found in the Fourth Gospel could have arisen.

(6) Should, for example, to take the most pregnant instance—the evangelist have freely invented the whole narrative of the raising of Lazarus in order to give expression to his idea of the life-giving power of Jesus, he is by no means open indeed to the charge of unveracity in the moral sense of the expression (for his right to use an allegorical method of expressing his thoughts cannot be gainsaid when we remember the character of

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his writing), but certainly his procedure in this direction cannot but seem very bold. The difficulties which this view might suggest are almost completely obviated if we suppose that the story of Lazarus had taken shape in successive stages so that the evangelist himself had only a few touches left to add.

Bruno Bauer long ago perceived that the story is a development of the parable of Lazarus in Lk. 11:19-31. Following this clue we can imagine that some preacher, after relating that parable, in order to open it up to his hearers, may have added the remark: 'This Lazarus actually did rise from the dead' (cp GOSPELS, § 109/8). A hearer of this sermon—so let us further suppose—gave the notes of it in a shorter form to a third person, who gathered from it as a statement of historical fact that Lazarus had risen. UP LAZARUS. And so in further transmission piece after piece might be added to the narrative, until at last but little remained for the evangelist to do. (CP GOSPELS, § 59.)

(c) In somewhat similar fashion we picture to ourselves the rise of the story of the sick man of Bethesda. Some preacher or other likened the Jewish people to a man who had been sick for thirty-eight years (the duration of the wandering in the wilderness, Jt. 2:19). The house in which he lay, he might add, had five 'porches' (the five books of Moses), but healing, nevertheless, he was not able to find. As often as the water which possessed the healing virtue began to move, there was no one to help him to go down to it, till Jesus came and asked: 'Wilt thou be made whole?'

(d) If, further, a preacher was discoursing upon a healing of the blind recorded in the synoptists, and interpreted the blind as representing the Jewish nation, it could easily occur to him to say: this blind man was blind from his birth. In this very manner the discourse of Stephen in Acts 7 seeks to show that the Jewish nation from the first had misknown the will of God. A slightly inattentive hearer might readily infer from such a mode of speaking that Jesus had on one occasion literally healed a man born blind. Now, in Mk. 8:23-25 we have a narrative which tells us how a blind man was made to see by Jesus, not all at once, but gradually. In expounding this, a preacher might easily say: those who are spiritually blind come only gradually to a recognition of Jesus their healer. This thought finds its expression in Jn. 9:17-19 in this form: he who has been made whole in the first instance takes Jesus merely for a prophet and a good man sent from God, and only in the end does he reach the intuition that he is the Son of Man. A further point of connection with the narrative of Mk. 8:23-25 is to be found in the fact that in Jn. 9:9a Jesus makes use of saliva. All that is new is found in the use made of the saliva, and in the washing in the pool of Siloam.

(e) The synoptists supply us with no parallel that can be immediately taken as foundation for the narrative of the marriage at Cana. If, however, the view set forth under GOSPELS (§ 142) be upheld, that synoptical miracles can sometimes have originated in parables misunderstood, the same can, without any difficulty whatever, be also maintained here. The time of the Messiah's coming resembles a wedding (Mk. 2:19; Jn. 3:29 Rev. 19:7). At such a time there is no fasting; the Messiah brings wine instead of water (Mk. 11:25). By the wine was understood the new religion which he substituted for the old. Already in Mk. 2:22 we find it likened to new wine. Here, again, Philo (*Leg. Alleg.* 3:26; ed. Mangey, 1103) presents himself most appropriately. The Logos which appears under the form of Melchizedek brings wine instead of water, and gives drink to souls so that a divine intoxication befalls them. By the number of Jesus, on this interpretation, we may understand (in accordance with Rev. 17:5) the community of the people of God. It recognises that in the old religion it finds no wine; that is to say, that it fails in spiritual power, and, if unable itself to remedy matters, it knows at least this much, that in such a situation it must turn to Jesus.

(f) Let us take one other example—that of the foot-washing. In Lk. 22:26 f. we read that Jesus immediately after the last supper said to his disciples, 'I am among you as he that serves.' This a preacher could very easily amplify to some such effect as this: 'Yes, Jesus did a usually wait upon his disciples; instead of remaining at table as would have befitted his exalted dignity he arose and washed their feet.' The expression in such a case was meant figuratively; but the figure was particularly apt because the washing of the feet is the lowliest service. This made it all the more fitted to edify, and made it all the more easy to believe as a literal fact when someone thought he was to understand it so.

(g) In other cases the author must be assigned a larger share in the construction of his narratives (cp. e.g., § 20 c. end). It must not be forgotten, however, that even in the cases discussed in the preceding paragraphs the author of the gospel, even when a narrative of the kind had reached him in almost a finished state, always gave it its last touches and adapted it so as to subserve the expression of his thought. It will never be possible to learn with absolute certainty how far he treated materials presented to him with freedom, and how far he himself framed narratives or portions of narratives in

order to give his thoughts pictorial expression. The interpretation attempted above must, however, in any case, be welcomed, if the desire is felt to avoid imputing to the author any larger degree of arbitrariness in free invention than is absolutely necessary. In what we will it will never be possible to say these narratives were to the author not vehicles for conveying spiritual truth but unadulterated histories; indeed, how far he himself may have regarded them as narratives of actual occurrences remains one of the most difficult of questions, in fact, strictly speaking, insoluble.

(h) There remain some Johannine narratives for which we cannot indicate any basis in the synoptics. The Nathanael incident (145-50), that of Nicodemus (31-24), of the Samaritan woman (41-42), of the Greeks at the feast (1220 f.), of the beloved disciple and Jesus' mother at the cross (19:26 f.), of the beloved disciple and Peter at the grave (20:2-10), not to mention less important points, are by many regarded as historical.

After so many things peculiar to the Fourth Gospel have been found to be untrustworthy, however, one should really hesitate to maintain the narratives just enumerated, all the more when they fall in with a tendency that could easily have led to their rise. Now the story about the Greeks not only contains no concrete touches, but also serves a purpose that can be recognised with great clearness. Such a purpose can be recognised also in the story of the Samaritan woman in as far as the Samaritans represent the Gentiles (§ 27). In completeness, on the other hand, the story of the Samaritan woman is as far from being lacking as, for example, that of the raising of Lazarus. It would be a great mistake, however, to see in this a guarantee of historicity. A painter who sets himself to give expression to an idea by depicting an event is not blamed but praised when his lively imagination lays on the colours as strongly as possible. A writer who does the same will be praised in like manner; but his narrative will not on that account be regarded as historical. Nicodemus is a representative of a very large class of men. They are interested in Jesus; but their belief in him rests mainly on his wonderful works; for the deeper things he has to offer they have very little understanding. The preference given to the beloved disciple over Peter at the grave corresponds exactly with the tendency that finds further expression in 21:15-21 (§ 43). Jesus' committing to him the care of his mother serves the same purpose. The attempt to identify Nathanael with one of the twelve disciples is hardly likely to succeed. It has even been thought to find in him a veiled representation of the apostle Paul.¹ In that case proof that he is not historical would be needless. However that may be (see NATHANAE), it is further to be considered that the story of Nathanael is connected with an account of the call of the first disciples which cannot be harmonised with that of the synoptists (§ 34 c); and for all the narratives mentioned above it is necessary to bear in mind the significance of the silence of the synoptists. That silence will occupy our attention in a two-fold respect (§§ 36-37).

The evangelist's acquaintance with the synoptists, here presupposed, needs no proof here. Illustrative instances are given in § 34 a, d, and in abundance in GOSPELS, §§ 20, 32, 36, 44.² It is also conceded on all hands, even by the most conservative theologians, who further declare that John's intention was to supplement the synoptists. It will be enough here to say in a single word how impossible it is to take the matter the other way. A story like that of the sick man at Bethesda, or that of the man born blind, or that of Lazarus, going so far beyond the synoptists in respect of the greatness of the miracle involved, those writers could by no possibility have passed over; just as little could they have passed over such an incident as that of the foot-washing, the theme of which is actually touched on in Lk. 22:27 (§ 35 [f]), or the scene at the cross between the

¹ The arguments that can be adduced in support of this are the following: Like Nathanael Paul refuses to believe in Jesus till he is convinced miraculously. Paul was an Israelite in the fullest sense (Gal. 1:13 f.). He disclaims guile, for example, in 2 Cor. 12:16-18 and in 1 Thess. 2:1 even with the word *δόλος* itself. He was marked out to be an apostle from the mother's womb (Gal. 1:15). The name Nathanael (= 'God has given') is explained as the counterpart of Saul (= 'asked').

² See, further, especially, Holtzmann, *Ztschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 60, pp. 62-85, 155-178, 446-456; Weissäcker, *Untersuch. über die Evangel. Gesch.*, 64, pp. 278-284; Thoma, *Genesis des Joh.-Evangel.*, 32; Jacobson, *Untersuch. über das Joh.-Evangel.*, 82; Wernle, *Synoptische Frage*, 99, pp. 234-248 and 253-256.

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beloved disciple and the mother of Jesus, or that at the grave between the beloved disciple and Peter and between Jesus and Mary Magdalene. That Jesus, too, from the very outset had been recognised as the Messiah would have been exactly what, in their veneration for Jesus, they would have wished to be able to say. The first step in this direction is, in fact, taken by Mt. himself, when he makes Jesus appear as the Messiah even before the confession of Peter (GOSPELS, § 143*f*).

The considerations just mentioned, however, carry us still further.

(a) We shall be safe in asserting not only that the synoptists cannot have been acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, but also that they were not aware of the existence of other sources, written or oral, containing all these divergences from their own account which are exhibited in this gospel.

In the case of the Lazarus-narrative, to confine ourselves here to a single instance, among the explanations of the silence of the synoptists which have been boldly offered are the following: that among the multitude of the other raisings from the dead they could easily have forgotten this one, or that they were not acute enough to perceive its outstanding importance in its bearing upon the life of Jesus, that they felt themselves waiting in the delicacy and keenness of feeling that were required for the right telling of it or that they felt themselves insufficiently informed on the details, that they kept silence out of regard to the still surviving relatives of Lazarus, that, as having happened before the arrival of the Galilean pilgrims to the feast, or as having already become in Jerusalem so well known as no longer to be talked about, they had never heard of it, that their plan of writing, apart from the events of the week of the crucifixion, allowed them to include only Galilean incidents, or even that in view of a later gospel to be written by another evangelist (John) they confined themselves to these. A glance at this series of explanations is sufficient to show how hopeless is the task of those who seek to establish the superiority of the Johannine gospel to those of the synoptists in historical accuracy.

(b) In all points, then, which in substance are common to all the four gospels, the synoptists everywhere excel in simplicity, naturalness, intelligibility.

Although one might be tempted to give the preference to the fourth as regards the scene of the activity of Jesus, one is precluded from doing so as soon as it is perceived how by the action of Jesus in Jerusalem the conflict with the Jewish authorities is brought on at a much earlier period than is historically conceivable. Although, as regards the miracle-narratives, one might say on the authority of 20*30f*. that Jn. seeks only to supplement those given by the synoptists, it must still be conceded that the relations of Jesus with the demoniacally-possessed—relations nowhere touched on in Jn.—are yet, historically, the best attested of all, and enable us best to conceive how actual wonders of healing sick persons might be wrought by Jesus. Beyond all doubt, the character in which the Johannine miracles are brought forward—assigned (§ 20*d*)—would render quite impossible, if the miracles were historical, the rise of a tradition that Jesus had expressly refused to work any signs, and that he had forbidden the miracles he actually wrought to be made known (GOSPELS, §§ 140*c*, 141, 133*d*). Had Jesus really possessed that exalted consciousness of his pre-existence and divine dignity which is attributed to him in the Fourth Gospel, the declaration that blasphemy against him was capable of forgiveness (Mt. 12*31f*, Lk. 12*10*) could never have been attributed to him.

(c) As regards Jesus' discourses, nothing is more natural than that their popular character, often taking concrete shape in the form of parables, should have won for him the love of the people; on the other hand, the constant repetition of metaphysical propositions concerning his own person, of imperious demands for the faith of his hearers could never have done so, and in point of fact, according to the Fourth Gospel, they actually had the opposite effect, so that one is really at a loss to understand how, in spite of it all, so many should have turned to him—which nevertheless is certainly historically true, as the triumphal entry into

Jerusalem proves. If Jesus had actually proclaimed the universality of salvation as we find it in Jn. 3*16f*, 10*16*, it would be an insoluble mystery how any could be regarded as disciples of his who affirmed they had been forbidden by Jesus to go in the way of the Gentiles or enter a city of the Samaritans (Mt. 10*5*), and who persisted in raising such formidable opposition to the mission of Paul to the Gentiles. If Jesus expressed himself in such highly spiritualised terms as we have seen (§ 28*a*) regarding the final judgment, his own second coming, and the resurrection of his followers, we should be irresistibly forced to treat as grave errors those reports by the synoptists according to which he predicted all these things in his literal sense. So far as the date of the crucifixion is concerned, Jn. by reason of the inherent probability of his date seems to come into consideration as a witness of equal or even higher authority than the synoptists, yet even here the date he gives is explicable only as a deliberate divergence from that of the synoptists, not conversely.

But we have said enough and more than enough. A book which begins by declaring Jesus to be the *logos* of God and ends by representing a cohort of Roman soldiers as filling to the ground at the majesty of his appearance (18*6*), and by representing 100 pounds of ointment as having been used at his embalming (19*39*), ought by these facts alone to be spared such a misunderstanding of its true character, as would be implied in supposing that it meant to be a historical work.

If Jn. 1*1*, 3*23*, 4*3*, 6*59*, 7*53*, 8*12*, 9*5*, 10*40*, 11*51*, 12*1*, 13*31*, 14*19*, 15*26*, 16*29*, 17*13*, 18*20*, 19*42*, etc., have never yet been satisfactorily identified (see special articles), the fact ought not to be urged as necessarily proving defective information on the part of the author.

38. Geographical and historical correctness.

Neither ought exception to be taken to the name *Chalchatha* (19*13*). The evangelist, too, has unquestionably given correctly (18*1*) the name of the *naiab* between Jerusalem and the Mt. of Olives ('brook Kidron'; *χειμαρὸν τοῦ Κεδρῶν* in spite of his copyists and the whole body of approved modern editors (see Kitto's)). The forty and six years of 22*6* rest upon sound reckoning inasmuch as the building was begun by Herod the Great in 20-19 *b.c.*. There are therefore nineteen years before and twenty-seven years after the beginning of our era. The passover at which Jesus is represented to have entered the words in question will be, if the forty-sixth year was not yet ended, that of 27 *a.d.* if it was ended, which suits the expression better, that of 28 *a.d.*, and Jesus' death, since in the Fourth Gospel two *passovers* follow (64 *12*), that passover in 30 *a.d.*—a date by many supposed to be correct. Also the statement that during forty years the building continued in process can be justified. All this, however, weighs but little against the serious mistake by which in 11*40* 18*1* Canaphas is called the 'high-priest of that year' (GOSPELS, § 132). This of itself betrays unfamiliarity on the part of the evangelist with the conditions subsisting in Palestine in the time of Jesus (cp § 53, also GOSPELS, § 46).

Notwithstanding this, the writer may still have been a Jew. He alone makes use of the Aramaic names *Messias*, *Πατριάρχης*, etc., and rightly explains *Σαββαν* (a distortion of the Heb. שַׁבָּת) as meaning *ἀποκαλύμνος*.

39. Nationality of the evangelist.

However small the weight he attaches to the Mosaic Law on its enacting side, and however depreciatory the words he attributes to Jesus in this regard (§ 19), all the more noteworthy is the deference with which he regards it as a book of prophecy. It is in this aspect that he says of it (10*35*) that the scripture cannot be broken; on this view of it depends his citation of predictions and types—even of such as he did not find in the synoptists (§ 23 [7])—and his declaration

¹ Cp the passages in Jos. collected by E. A. Abbott (*Class. Rev.*, 24 pp. 22-25), who, however, prefers to explain them of the temple of Zerubbabel.

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tion (3.10) that the scriptures testify of Jesus whilst the Jews diligently search them (*deperare* is indicative) in the belief that in them, if understood in the Jewish way, eternal life is to be found. From the historical point of view, he recognises also that salvation comes from the Jews (4.22). In this attitude—partly of acceptance, partly of rejection—towards the OT, the evangelist occupies much the same position as that of Paul or of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. A born Gentile would not easily have attached so great a value to the prophetic significance of the OT. This consideration, taken in combination with the author's defective acquaintance with the conditions in Palestine in the time of Jesus, points to the conclusion that he was by birth a Jew of the Dispersion or the son of Christian parents who had been Jews of the Dispersion.

Before passing on to the direct utterances of the author regarding himself, it will be necessary to take account of chap. 21. As 20.30 f. constitutes a formal and solemn conclusion, 21 is beyond question a later appendix. We may go on to add that it does not come from the same author with the rest of the book.

The appearance of the risen Jesus is the third (21.14) only if that to Mary Magdalene (20.11-17) is not included in the reckoning; but originally it was certainly meant to be included, the number three playing a great part in the Fourth Gospel. Further, the narrative of 21.1-14 is governed by the intention to do justice to what is said in Mt. and Mk. according to which the appearances of the risen Jesus were in Galilee. The writer of chap. 20 on the other hand is plainly, with deliberate purpose, following Lk., who restricts those appearances to Jerusalem. The phraseology indeed shows dependence on that of chaps. 1-20 at many points (e.g. for example, by *oñe* and the *analeita*); but it shows divergences also, such as *ōraion* with the infinitive and *ēgerthē* *anō* instead of *ἀποκαθῆναι* and other alternative synonyms (e.g. 1); *πρωία* instead of *πρωί* (v. 4); *παιδια* for *τεκνία* (v. 5); *ἰαχὴν* for *δυνασθῆα* (v. 6); *ἔβραθεν* for *ἔρωσαν* (v. 12); *ἐγερθεὶς* for *ἀνέστης* (v. 14); *φεύγει* for *ἀγρευ* (v. 16), and the like. Peter appears in the character of a fisherman, as in the synoptists; in 13.14 he is a disciple of John. Among the seven disciples who are present (v. 2) are numbered 'the (sons) of Zebedee'—an expression that never occurs elsewhere in the gospel. The parousia of Jesus is expected in v. 22 in a literal sense (as against 1.29a). That Nathanael belonged to Cana (21.2) is certainly the result of a false combination of 1.45 and 2.1. The purpose of the second half of the chapter is to bring the dignity of Peter into somewhat greater prominence than it had received in the gospel. The unnamed disciple indeed is always placed even higher than he; but the purpose of rehabilitating Peter is plain. This circumstance also makes against the identity of the author of this chapter with the author of the rest of the book.

The second half of the chapter has, however, a second main purpose—that, namely, of accrediting the gospel by v. 24 f. This cannot be an independent appendix to v. 1-21, else these verses, until they had received this addition, would have been without any proper close. Now the testimony is given by more than one person, and must, in the eyes of the critic, for that very reason lose the importance which in the intention of its writer it is designed to have. A witness whose testimony in turn requires to be attested cannot be regarded as a very authoritative person.¹ The fact is here betrayed that doubt has been thrown on his testimony. The same thing is betrayed also in the Minatorium fragment (L. 14 f.), where it is said that, after consultation on the part of John with his fellow-disciples and bishops, and after a three days' fast together, it was revealed to Andrew that John should write the whole 'recognoscimus cunctis suo nomine.'

Chap. 21.24 f. points back (a) to 19.15. The elaborate investigations that have been made on the question

41. Testimony of author of 1-20 regarding himself. whether any one can designate himself by *ἐγώ* ('that') are not only indecisive as regards any secure grammatical result; they do not touch the kernel of the question at all.

Once it has been said, 'he who saw has testified and his testimony is true,' there is nothing surprising when the sequel runs 'and that one knows that he speaks true' even when in all these

words the author is meaning himself. The question that ought to have been discussed is not as to whether the author could (or would) intend to denote himself or another by *ἐγώ*, but as to the person whom he intended by 'he who saw' (*ὁ ὁραψας*). If he meant himself, then the present tense would have been more appropriate than the perfect 'has testified' (*μαρτυρῆς*), in the sense, 'I who saw it now bear witness to it hereby, that I write it.' Yet also the perfect is defensible in the meaning 'he (i.e. I) has testified it, and with this you must rest satisfied.' It would have been appropriate also to say 'he who witnesses has seen' (*ὁ μαρτυρῶν ὁραψας*); but this was not necessary in order to express the meaning that the writer was an eye-witness. The 'knows' (*οἶδεν*) seems to indicate that the author really wishes to be regarded as an eye-witness, otherwise the preferable phrase would be 'and that man *ἀκούει* that he speaks true.' At the same time, *οἶδεν* has a mode of expression would be too tautological or even too obviously a weakening when coming immediately after the words 'and his testimony is true.'

Thus we obtain nothing from this central passage except this, that we must leave quite undecided the question whether the writer is intending to present himself or some other person as the eye-witness. Indeed, this very vagueness seems to be intentional on the author's part. We must seek to arrive at a definite conclusion by some other road. Here is one. For every one who grants that at the spear-thrust blood certainly but not water could have flowed from the pierced side, it is also firmly established that no eye-witness could actually have seen the circumstance attested. If, therefore, the author's intention is to point to himself as such a witness, he presents himself in a much less favourable light than if he were merely reproducing information derived from another which he had received in good faith. He is therefore spared a reproach if he is supposed to be reproducing. Such a reproach need not in itself hinder us from supposing him to present himself as an eye-witness; in view of the mysteriously allusive character of the entire book absolute freedom must be allowed the writer in this matter, especially as we are dealing with a point the central importance of which, in the eyes of its author, is evident from the very circumstance of his offering a special attestation of it at all.

(b) But the supposed other testimony to himself—the designation of the unnamed disciple as the disciple whom Jesus loved (13.23, 19.26, 20.2, cp 21.7, 20, 24)—speaks quite decisively against the view that it was written by the person who is intended by that expression. One can hardly understand how it is possible to have sympathy for a writer who claims for himself such a degree of superiority as is implied in this designation. The designation is quite intelligible on the other hand when coming from the pen of one of his admirers. Our research then has brought us thus far at least that there are great disadvantages in regarding the apostle as the author of the gospel. On the other hand, so far as it has gone, it has given us no assurance as to whether the actual writer intends to inform us regarding the beloved disciple and the eye-witness as if he were a third person, or whether he does not desire to produce the appearance that he himself is the person.

(c) Should this last be the actual fact, no charge of moral obliquity is involved, such as might seem to be implied if the principles of modern law as to intellectual and literary property were to be invoked. Classical antiquity furnishes us with a great number of examples of cases in which a pupil published his works not in his own name but in that of his master, and the 1st Pythagorean Iamblichus (c. 300 A.D.) to cite a single instance, expressly commends the Pythagoreans—for whose writings, some sixty are still known which were falsely attributed to Pythagoras and other ancient masters of that school—in that, renouncing the desire for personal fame, they were willing that all the praise of their work should go to their master. The presbyter of Asia Minor who in the second century had composed the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* in Paul's name, when he was challenged for this explained that his motive was his regard for Paul (*ὡς ἀγαπῶ Πάυλόν*); and Tertullian's remark (*de Bapt.* 17) implies depreciation indeed yet no moral censure: 'quasi titulo Pauli de suo cunctis'—the reason he gives for the deposition of the author being his contradiction of 1 Cor. 14.34 in having introduced Thecla as teaching and baptizing.

(d) A definite reason, however, for assuming the same thing for the Fourth Gospel would be found only if 21.24 f.

¹ Although the phrase in 3 Jn. 12 is almost identical it is there not open to criticism.

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had come from the author of the rest of the book. As we have not to suppose this, it remains open to suggest that the author of the appendix by this addition intended to go yet one step further than the author of chaps. 1-20 himself had gone. At the same time the vagueness with which the author has expressed himself in 19 is worthy of remark. It can very well be due to the purpose of saying what was capable of more than one meaning, so that one reader might believe that the author was speaking of the eye-witness as a third person, whilst another might believe he had himself in his mind. The fact that the name of the beloved disciple and eye-witness is not mentioned anywhere throughout the entire gospel is, on the other hand, not decisive. The suppression of his name would be just as natural as a consequence of the delicacy due to the person of the author, distinct from him, introduced him as a mysterious magnitude, as it would have been if he himself had written the book.

The external evidences for the Fourth Gospel constitute that portion of the field in which conservative theology has hitherto believed itself to have gained its securest successes. It has deemed it practicable to preclude all discussion of internal reasons against the genuineness merely by showing how early an attestation the gospel received. Careful examination shows how mistaken this belief is. As, however, a full discussion of the leading passages would carry us too far into detail, we must content ourselves here with merely giving results, on all points upon which some measure of agreement has been attained.

We must make a strict distinction between testimonies expressly favourable to the apostolic authorship and those which only vouch for the existence of the Fourth Gospel without conveying any judgment as to its authorship. The only authors belonging to the first category (apostolic authorship) down to the end of the second century (in the third century this view becomes a matter of course) are Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria (who, moreover, appeals to *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι πεποιθότες*), Tertullian, Theophilus *ad Autolycum*, and the Muratorian fragment (which still, however, deems it necessary to give a circumstantial justification for its recognition of the gospel; see § 40). Earlier than any of these church fathers, namely about 170 A.D., we must place the expression of Claudius Apollinaris in the *Chronicon Paschale*, *συντάξεν δοκεῖ τὰ εὐαγγέλια* ('the gospels seem to contradict one another'; the reference is to the date of the crucifixion; see § 54 b). Here, although the name of John is not mentioned, we may presume that there is implied a recognition of the Fourth Gospel as being on a level with the synoptics with which it is not in agreement about the date in question, and thus as being genuine.

Coming now to testimonies to recognition of the gospel, though the author is not named, we find the Fourth Gospel taken into account in Tatian's *Diataxaron* (roughly, between 160 and 180 A.D.) as on a level with the synoptists. Yet this very attempt to bring together all the four gospels into a single whole even of itself shows to how small an extent each individual gospel was regarded by this author as authoritative. So also when gnostics make use of the Fourth Gospel. Moreover, it cannot be asserted of Valentinus himself (who flourished from 135 to 160) that he does so, but only of his school (so Irenaeus, iii. 11 [7]). In the *Philosophumena* the citation-formula is often '[he] says' (*φασί*); so, e.g., 6.14 f., 7.25 f., alongside 16.6-20.801; but it has been shown that this expression has the collective meaning and has no different force from '[they] say' (*φασί*).¹ Athenagoras, the epistle to the church of Lugdunum (ap. Ius. *HE* v. 15) (both about 178), the epistle to Diognetus (later), go, in like manner, no further. In 2 Pet. 1.4 Jn. 21 is already

presupposed; but 2 Pet. cannot be dated earlier than the close of the second century, since it already reckons the Pauline Epistles as part of holy scripture (3.15 f.), and has no testimony to its own existence earlier than the third century.

As for evidence to the existence of Jn., without any further judgment being pronounced, mere quotations from the Fourth Gospel are enough, if the passages are such as cannot possibly have been derived from some other source. But the two cases, in which the book is cited as an authoritative writing, as in § 43, and in which it is not cited as such, are very different. In the latter case, it is not only possible but probable that the author making the quotation did not regard the book as authoritative. The ecclesiastical writers incorporate in their writings passages from a multitude of works which never gained ecclesiastical recognition. Thus, even those works which ultimately did gain this recognition need not necessarily have already been in enjoyment of it at the time at which they were used by the writers in question.

This remark applies, according to a now fairly general consensus of opinion, to the case of Justin (*circa* 150). Alongside of more than one hundred quotations from the synoptists, he has only three which offer points of contact with the Fourth Gospel (for the actual words, see Gos. 1.15, §§ 101-104). But in no case is the verbal coincidence with it so exact as to exclude the possibility of their having emanated from another source, which, if we choose, we may suppose to have been accessible to the evangelist also. Yet, even apart from this, we cannot fail to recognise that the Fourth Gospel was by no means on the same plane with the synoptics in Justin's eyes, and that his employment of it is not only more sparing but also more circumspect. This is all the more remarkable since Justin certainly designates one of his leading conceptions (the Logos-idea), lays great weight upon the 'Memorabilia of the Apostles', and expressly designates the Apocalypse as a work of the apostle (*Dial.* 81, *Apoc.* 10.7, etc.).

So also with the *Acta Johannis* referable to Leucius (§ 27). Corssen² sought to show that the *Acta* did not make use of the Fourth Gospel, but that, on the contrary, the gospel made use of the *Acta* or at least was acquainted with the traditions contained in it; and Hilgenfeld³ inclines substantially to the same view even after James⁴ had published new fragments and sought to prove from these the acquaintance of the author of the *Acta* with the Fourth Gospel. Even if we grant this, Corssen still will be right in his assertion that the *Acta* diverge from the Fourth Gospel in the freest and most far-reaching manner, and thus by no means give it a position of authority.

Here also belong the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* (end of second cent.), and Celsus (*circa* 175).

Most of the early Christian writings which were held to bear testimony to the Fourth Gospel—and of these precisely the oldest and therefore most important—in reality do not justify the claim based upon them.

(a) They show manifold agreements with Jn.; but these consist only of single, more or less characteristic words or formulas, or other coincidences which might equally well have passed into currency by the channel of oral tradition. The great number of such agreements does in very deed prove that the Johannine formulas and catch-words were very widely diffused, and that the Johannine ideas had been, so to speak, for decades in the air. We run great danger of allowing ourselves to be misled if, however, merely because it so happens that such phrases and turns of expression first became known and familiar to ourselves through the Fourth Gospel, we were at once to conclude that the writers in question can have taken them from that source alone. The true state of the case may very easily be quite the opposite; the words and phrases circulated orally; as they circulated they received an ever more pregnant, pointed, memorable form, and the writer of the Fourth Gospel, not as the first but as the last in the series of transmitters, set them down in a form and in a connection which excelled

¹ *Monarchianische Prologe zu den 4 Evangelien* (= *Texte u. Unters.* k. xv, D. 11; 1. 14).

² *ZWZ* 1899, 100, 2-62.

³ *Texts and Studies*, v. 1, 167, 1-25, pp. 144-154 and ix. xxviii; cp. *Acta apoc.* edd. Lipsius et Bonnet, II. 1, 98, pp. 170-216.

⁴ Cp. *Fah. Theol. Jahrb.*, 1853, pp. 148-151; *JBL*, 1892, pp. 133-159; Bentley on *Hor. Sat.* 1. 3. 7 f.

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that of the others, and thus his work came to appear as if it were the source of the others.

(b) To the class of early Christian writings here referred to belong the two epistles of Clement of Rome (the first probably 93-97 A.D., perhaps not till 112-117, at the latest 120-125; the second, roughly, 160-180), the Epistle of Barnabas (130 or 131; see ACTS, § 16), the Shepherd of Hermas (about 140), the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (between 130 and 160), the Apology of Aristides (probably under Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D.), as also the so-called Oxyrhynchus Logia, the Coptic Gospel-fragment discussed by Jacob (GOSPELS, § 156, *a* and *b*), and the Gospel of Peter (see PETER).

(c) Also the seven epistles of Ignatius. The question as to the genuineness of these need not be gone into here since even Harnack (*op. cit.*, p. 396, n. 3) does not regard it as probable that Ignatius had read the Johannine writings even though, in itself considered, the thing seems to him very easily possible.

(d) A single word of comment is required only in connection with the saying of the elders cited in Iren. v. 36.1: 'it was on this account that the Lord declared, "In my Father's (domains) are many places of abode"' (*διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηλάναι τὸν κτίριον, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου μοῖσιν εἶναι πολλὰς*). Even if we abstain from remarking that here the saying is quoted in proof of the doctrine that in the state of blessedness there will be various degrees, it has at any rate to be observed that it by no means coincides verbally so closely with Jn. 14.2 as necessarily to be a quotation. But what is chiefly to be noted is that in its substance it is so well adapted as a 'winged word' to pass from mouth to mouth that we cannot refrain from thinking Harnack far too precipitate in basing upon this word alone (no other can be pointed to) the proof, regarded by him as secure, that these elders were acquainted with the Fourth Gospel (see § 43 [f]). As to who these elders were, see *ibidem*.

How doubtful was the recognition of the Fourth Gospel is shown

46. Denials of genuineness.

with most clearness by the fact that within the church an entire school could regard it as not genuine and even attribute it to Cerinthus. Two theologians in so many other respects so divergent in their views as Zahn and Harnack are agreed that the 'Alogi,' who assigned the work to Cerinthus from 160 or 170 onwards are identical with the unnamed gainsayers of the genuineness who are mentioned in Iren. iii. 11.12 [9], and that in other respects their standpoint was a correct churchly and catholic one. On the similar attitude of Gaius of Rome as late as the beginning of the third century see GOSPELS, § 82, last footnote.

For those who hold 1 Jn. to be later than Jn. an evidence of the existence of the gospel is found where-

47. Polycarp as indirect witness.

ever the existence of the epistle can be shown. This appears to be the case in the Epistle of Polycarp (71): 'For every one who does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is an antichrist' (*πᾶς γὰρ, ὅς ἀν' μὴ βουλογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν*). This has points of contact with 1 Jn. 4.2 f., as also with 2 Jn. 7, in neither case, however, is the verbal coincidence so close that the passage can be regarded as an actual quotation. Immediately after the words quoted Polycarp adds two parallel sentences of his own. Here again, moreover, the expression partakes so largely of the nature of a 'winged word' that there is no necessity for regarding it as having been taken from a written source at all, not to speak of the Johannine epistles. It is certainly very significant that Eusebius notes indeed of the Epistle of Polycarp that it contains quotations from the First Epistle of Peter, but makes no similar statement regarding the Johannine epistles. This makes it all the more strange that Harnack (*op. cit.*, 618), relying upon the fact we have mentioned, makes the claim that thereby the existence of the epistle can be securely established.

He even goes so far as to say 'securely even for the close of the reign of Trajan.' In fact he assigns the epistle of Polycarp approximately to the year 115 A.D. Even should the seven Ignatian Epistles be genuine and of this date, it would by no means be thereby proved that the Epistle of Polycarp must have been written so early. According to a very probable reckoning Polycarp died on 23rd Feb. 155. Moreover the meagre, mainly ethical, character of the contents of the Epistle of Polycarp is so little in harmony with the central thought of the Ignatian Epistles—directed as they are to the glorification of martyrdom and of the episcopate, as also to the elaboration of christological ideas—that the separation of those parts of the Epistle of Polycarp in which the Ignatian epistles are recommended (chaps. 9-13 along with a few other sentences)—a separation which has been proposed from the most various quarters—seems to be in the highest degree plausible.

Here also Papias stands on the same level with Polycarp. (a) According to Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39.1,

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Papias 'made use of testimonies from the First Epistle of John, and likewise from that of Peter' (*ἐκ χρηστὰς δ' αὐτὸς μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρος ἐπιστολῆς*). We know what 'made use of testimonies' (*ἐκ χρηστὰς μαρτυρίας*) in Eusebius means. He uses the same expression in iv. 119 with reference to Polycarp's quotations from 1 Pet. In the Epistle of Polycarp we can control the statement by observing that the name of Peter is not mentioned there. We have therefore no ground for supposing that Papias used the name of John either. Moreover, we can hardly set aside the doubt whether in Papias we have to do with quotations at all and not rather again with 'winged words,' such as have been spoken of in §§ 45 d 47, which prove nothing so far as the present question is concerned. Cp GOSPELS, § 72, n. 2.

Even assuming, however, that they prove Papias's acquaintance with 1 Jn., we must all the more on that account take exception to the proposition of Harnack (*op. cit.*, 652), that 'Papias's acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel must be clear to every one who looks upon 1 Jn. and the gospel as a unity.' Such a statement would be justified only if the two writings in question had constituted a single book. The theory, however, that the epistle was written at the same time as the gospel and was incorporated with it as an appendix, has long since been abandoned. If the two existed only in a separate state, no acquaintance with the one is no proof at all of acquaintance with the other.

(b) We have, moreover, the strongest evidence to show that Papias never wrote in his work anything with reference to the Fourth Gospel.

Eusebius (*HE* iii. 3.3) pledges himself in his history to mention without fail which of the disputed biblical writings the ecclesiastical authors of each period had made use of and what they said about the acknowledged writings and all that they said about those which were not such (for the original text, see GOSPELS, § 66). As regards the acknowledged writings—among which he reckoned the Fourth Gospel—he dispenses himself accordingly merely from the duty of collecting the quotations from them, not from that of collecting the sayings of the church fathers concerning them. This programme he has carried out with great care. In Papias, whom he read with special attention, he did not find any saying of the kind indicated either regarding Mk. or regarding Jn. But as Papias did make such a statement regarding Mt. and Mk., and as he made use of the gospels as well as of oral communications for the preparation of his work, it would be exceedingly remarkable if he had made use of 1 Jn. and Jn. and yet nowhere expressed himself regarding the character (cp GOSPELS, §§ 67, 74, 82 [1]).

(c) The case would be different, it is true, if a Latin prologue in Wordsworth, *NT Latine*, 1491, were correct:

Evangelium Johannis manifestatum ei datum est ecclesiae a Johanne adhuc in corpore constituto; sicut Papias noster Hierapolitanus, discipulus Johannis carus, in exotericis, id est in extremis quinque libris retulit.

We may rest assured, however, that this mention of Papias proceeds upon an error; for otherwise Eusebius would certainly have told us of it.

Moreover there would still remain the question whether by the John whom he would thus have designated as the writer of the

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gospel we should understand John the apostle, which for the writer of the prologue was a matter of course, or the John of Asia Minor—in that case certainly John the Elder.

(d) A similar question must be raised in connection with the statements of Antemian writers to the effect that Papias was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel.

In what Conybeare cites in *The Guardian* of 18th July 1894 (p. 1123), Papias is expressing himself regarding the nature of the *aloe*; but that he is here dealing with the *aloe* met with in Jn. 19:39 does not appear from the words of the Armenian writer.

(e) Even if all that has been alleged as to Papias's acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel were indisputable, his testimony would not carry us beyond what has already been long known and recognised from other sources. According to a fragment published by De Boor (§ 48), the work of Papias contained the statement that the individuals who had been raised from the dead by Christ survived till the reign of Hadrian (*ἔως Ἀδριανῶν ἔζον*, l.c. 170). As there is no reason why the attribution of this statement to Papias should be disputed, Papias must have written it not earlier than between 140-160 (Harnack, *op. cit.* 357). At that date, however, the Fourth Gospel was known to other writers also, and Papias's acquaintance with it would add nothing to what we previously knew.

(f) The case would be otherwise only if Harnack were right in what he says about the 'elders' of Irenæus (*op. cit.* 333-340).

Harnack (i) asserts that Irenæus had not personally heard the elders whose sayings he quotes, and (2) conjectures that Irenæus has taken all of these sayings from the writing of Papias. The first assertion has a certain probability by reason of the vagueness with which Irenæus speaks of those 'elders'; the conjecture, on the other hand, is mere hypothesis. The sole passage which we can control even speaks to the contrary effect. In v. 33 1/2, Irenæus first introduces the saying about the great grapes-cluster of the blessed days to come in the following terms: 'quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt qui Joannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis dicebat dominus et dicebat.' After telling what they had said, he proceeds, 'these things, moreover, Papias also, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, a man of the older time, testifies in writing in the fourth of his books' (*ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Πάπιας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεννητός, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐκτεμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τεταρτῇ τῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίων*). Harnack is of opinion that the *καὶ* here and the *ἐκτεμαρτυρεῖ* 'certainly ought not to be pressed'; but it is not permissible, in favour of an hypothesis, to ignore the force of these words which plainly distinguish the written communication of Papias from an oral communication that had reached Irenæus. Harnack, however, pursues this forbidden path still further, and asserts that Irenæus had taken the formula which he uses in citing the elders *verbatim* from the work of Papias. By this means Harnack arrives at the result that these elders had already presented themselves to the mind of Papias as invested with those dignified attitudes of venerable antiquity which they undoubtedly had to judge by his language, for Irenæus. According to this, we should have to carry their date as far back before 140-160, the time at which Papias lived, as we should have to carry them back, according to the text of Irenæus, before 135, the approximate date of Irenæus's work.

This supposition, however, of a borrowing by Irenæus from Papias *verbatim* is a mere hypothesis: and yet this supposition, and its application to the presumed quotation from Jn. 14:2 (§ 45 d), is, along with what has been adduced (§ 47) from Polycarp, the sole basis on which Harnack rests his proposition (*op. cit.* 680) 'that the gospel was not written later than *circa* 110, is an assured historical truth.'

(a) If we were dealing with a book attributed to an unlinguistic man, such as, for example, the epistle of Jude, it could not be held to be very surprising that proofs of acquaintance with it do not emerge until some considerable time after its production. The case is very different, however, with a gospel written by an eye-witness. Papias noticed defects in the gospel of Mk.; the third evangelist noticed them in the writings of all his predecessors (cp. Gospt. Ls., §§ 65, 153). The writing of an eye-witness would immediately on its publication have been received with the keenest interest, however violently it may have conflicted with the gospels hitherto known. It would at least by these contradictions have attracted attention and necessarily have given occasion to such remarks as that 'the gospels

seem to contradict one another' of Claudius Apollinarius (*ἀσπασίδειον ὁμοῦ τὰ ἐκαστῶν*) (§ 42 and 546). No mention of the Fourth Gospel which we can recognise as such carries us back further than to 140 A.D. As late as 152 (*Alend*, 1st Feb. 1896, p. 98), Justin, who nevertheless lays so great value upon the 'Memorial of the Apostles', regards Jn.—if indeed he knows it at all—with distrust and appropriates from it but a very few sayings. Therefore, notwithstanding the fact that conservative theology still cherishes the belief that the external evidence supplies the best possible guarantee for the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, we find ourselves compelled not only to recognise the justice of the remark of Reuss that 'the incredible trouble which has been taken to collect external evidences only serves to show that there are really none of the sort which were really wanted,' but also to set it up even as a fundamental principle of criticism that the production of the Fourth Gospel must be assigned to the shortest possible date before the time at which traces of acquaintance with it begin to appear. Distinct declarations as to its genuineness begin certainly not earlier than about 170 A.D. (§ 42).

(b) Furthermore, it is not usually remembered how small is the value which all such testimonies possess.

According to Irenæus (i.c. 333 [225]) 'the gospel and all the elders personally acquainted with John in Asia' bore witness that Jesus, at the time of his teaching, was more than forty years old—and this as a tradition from John, some of them also giving it as a tradition from other apostles. This can rest only on Jn. 8:57. It is irreconcilable with Lk. 3:23. In iii. 82 [3], Irenæus asserts that Clement of Rome had enjoyed personal intercourse with the apostles, although he might have learned from Clement's own (first) epistle (442 f.) that the opposite was the case. In iii. 11 [18] Irenæus, too, finds the rationale for the 'four' gospels in the fact that there are four quarters of the globe and four winds (*quatuor*); since, further, the church extends over all the world, while its 'pillars and grounds' and 'spirit of life' (*spiritus sanctus*) are the gospel, it is fitting that she should have four pillars, breathing out (*proferas*) immortality on every side, and vivifying men afresh. Such is the sort of verbal trilling with which he favours his readers in place of history. The Muratorian fragment calls the book of Acts 'Acta omnium apostolorum,' and John, in respect of his seven epistles (Rev. 2 f.), the 'predecessor Pauli' (ll. 34-48). Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 543, p. 761 f.) quotes the apostle Paul as saying: 'Take also the Greek books, read the Sibyl as she reveals one God and the future; and, taking Hystaspes, read and ye will find the son of God much more clearly described.' In *Strom.* v. 14 [104, p. 711, Clement cites with entire belief the book of Zoroaster, in which, after his resurrection from the dead, he reports what he had learned in the underworld from the gods. Justin (*Apol.* i. 35-48) is able to tell his readers that the *Acta Pilati* contained the partition of the garment of Jesus, his healing, and his raising of the dead. Tertullian (*Apol.* 21) adds to these the eclipse of the sun, the watch at the grave, the resurrection, the forty days in Galilee, and the ascension, and closes with these words: 'causam super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tum Tiberio nuntiavit.' Compare § 6.

It is surely unnecessary to multiply examples. When the church fathers bring before us such statements as these, no one believes them; but when they 'attest' the genuineness of a book of the Bible, then the conservative theologians regard the fact as enough to silence all criticism. This cannot go on for ever. Instead of the constantly repeated formula that an ancient writing is 'attested' as early as by (let us say) Irenæus, Tertullian, or Clement of Alexandria, there will have to be substituted the much more modest statement that its evidence (not genuineness) is attested only as late as by the writers named, and even this only if the quotations are undeniable or the title expressly mentioned.

If no trace of the Fourth Gospel can be found earlier than 140 A.D., there cannot be the slightest difficulty in

doing justice to its relations with Gnosticism. According to Hoggins (*ap. Eus. H.E.* iii. 327 f.) peace reigned in the entire church till the reign of Trajan; but after the sacred choir of the apostles had died out and the race of the immediate hearers of Christ had passed away, the godless corruption began through the deception of false teachers who now with unabashed countenance dared

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to set up against the preaching of truth the doctrines of gnosticism falsely so called. There is no reason for disputing the date here given. A personal disciple of Jesus certainly can hardly have survived to see it. But the gospel shows clearly how profoundly the gnostic ideas had influenced its author. Neither is the position of the case as if he had started from the churchly point of view and then found himself on the road to the gnostic; on the contrary, we find him on the return path from gnosticism to the churchly view. Cp § 29*b*. In addition to what is said there, attention may be called to the high value Jn. places on knowledge (17*j*).

It might at first appear as if Jn. were not yet in open antagonism against gnosticism and thus that gnosticism has not yet attained any great development. If, however, we view the matter so, we shall mistake the task which was set before him. The first epistle gave room for direct polemic against gnosticism, and he uses his opportunity in the most distinct manner. But when a gospel had to be written, polemic methods could be employed only under some disguise. Nevertheless they are recognisable enough. Against the gnostic division between pneumatic and psychical persons are levelled such sentences as 3:16*f*; so also against the dualism between God and the world; against the one-sided emphasis laid by gnosticism on the importance of knowledge is directed the insistence upon faith; and against the docetic view that Christ was merely in appearance stress is laid (14) on the doctrine that the Logos was made flesh and that his glory could be beheld. Indeed, the great importance given in 19*j* to the attestation of the flowing of water and blood from the wounded side appears, although the water and blood have also a symbolical meaning (19:23*d*)—at the same time and indeed primarily to have its reason in the desire to combat the view that Jesus did not suffer really but only seemingly.

All that must be conceded is that no traces can as yet be found in the Fourth Gospel of the great and elaborated systems such as were developed by Valentinus and others after 140 A.D. The ideas of light, and the like, out of which those later gnostics formed their pairs and their ogdoads of aeons are still touched upon in the gospel only comparatively lightly. Ch. 8:44 does not speak of the father of the devil, but only says, by a somewhat lax construction, that the devil is a liar and the father of (the) lie (Winer⁸¹, § 18, n. 30; 22*g**d*).

With Montanism the case is otherwise. The Fourth Gospel shows an indubitable contact with it in the idea of the Paraclete. Here, however, the priority must be assigned to the gospel, since Montanism, according to one ancient source, first came to manifestation about 156 or 157, according to the other even as late as 172 (cp Harnack, *op. cit.* 362-370). In actuality the idea of the paraclete is further developed in Montanism than in the Fourth Gospel. In the latter the ruling conception is that Jesus is identical with the Paraclete, that is to say that his second coming consists in nothing other than the coming of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of believers (§ 26*c*). In Montanism, on the other hand, a sharp distinction is drawn between the age of Christ and the age of the Holy Spirit, and a much higher value is given to the latter.

If on independent grounds some period shortly before 140 A.D. can be set down as the approximate date of the production of the gospel, then new importance attaches to one particular passage upon which, apart from this, we could not venture to base any hypothesis as to date. In 5:43 Jesus says: 'I am come in the name of my father and ye receive me not; if another will come in his own name, him ye will receive.' This prophecy of another Messiah was fulfilled when in 132 A.D. Barchochba arose and incited the Jews to the great revolt which in 135 ended in the complete extinction of the Jewish state. It is very tempting to think that 5:43 contains an allusion to this. At all events, as compared with this supposition the hypothesis of Bousset (*Antichr.*, 1895, 108) has no superior claims—that by the pseudo-Messiah here predicted the Antichrist is meant, and this because 'thus almost all the church fathers interpret, and in this region these are the authorities from whom we have to learn.' Bousset, in conformity with this

interpretation, supposes that such apocalyptic ideas have great importance for the evangelist, notwithstanding the fact that his entire book shows no trace of this, rather the opposite (§ 28). Compare further, § 65.

Asia Minor is almost universally regarded as Fourth Gospel's place of origin. It is on this assumption that we can most easily explain

53. Place of Composition.

how the Gospel could be ascribed to the John living there, to whom Apocalypse, or at least the seven epistles therein contained, are assigned with still greater probability. Alexandrian as well as gnostic ideas can with difficulty be traced in those regions. It has even been attempted to account for the mistake by which Chnap is called 'high priest for that year' (§ 38) by the fact that in Asia there was a high priest (*ἀρχιερεύς*) for the whole province who changed from year to year (Mommesen, *Röm. Gesch.* 5:318; *ET Provincien*, 1345). It may, however, be affirmed once for all that these proofs have no decisive value; but neither does the question as to place of origin possess any fundamental importance.

Very important inferences, however, can be drawn from the paschal controversies of the second century.

54. The Paschal Controversy.

(a) In Asia Minor the celebration of Easter was always held on the 14th of Nisan by those who afterwards were called Quartodecimans; elsewhere it was celebrated on the first Sunday after the Spring equinox. The difference of usage first came to light on the occasion of a visit of Polycarp of Smyrna to Rome during the bishopric of Anicetus (therefore in 154 A.D.). On that occasion Polycarp, according to the report of Irenaeus (fragm. ep. Iren. v. 21*h*), appealed on behalf of the Asiatic celebration to the authority of John the disciple of the Lord, and of the other apostles. Similarly, in the third stage of the controversy, Polycrates of Ephesus in a letter to the Roman bishop Victor about 196 A.D. (*ibid.* v. 242-8) made a like appeal to the authority of John, Polycarp, Melito, and a large number of famous names.

Of the reasons for this usage we have been apprised in the second stage of the controversy, about 170 A.D., in which its supporters came into conflict with Rome but with men in Asia Minor itself.

(b) In order to escape the conclusion that the Jews appealed to by the Quartodecimans could not have been the writer of the Gospel, some theologians say that the men of Asia Minor, and John among them, had observed the 14th of Nisan in commemoration of the death of Jesus. This would fit in with the Fourth Gospel admirably, only it is opposed to the explicit statements of Hippolytus and Apollinaris (*Chron. Pasch.* ed. Paris, p. 6*a* 6*d*; ed. Dindorf, pp. 12*f*. and 13*f*.) according to whom the commemoration intended was that of the institution of the Lord's Supper by Jesus. That this was only the opinion of a minority cannot be maintained.

(c) Others sought to attain the same result by supposing that the Quartodecimans without any reference at all to events in the life of Jesus had simply, in accordance with the Jewish calendar, observed the day upon which the Jewish passover fell. Such a mechanical conformity with the Jewish law, and such a degree of indifference towards remembrances of occurrences in the life of Jesus would be very remarkable if observable in any Christian, and most of all if observable in one who had actually been an eye-witness of the last days of Jesus. It is, however, expressly set aside by the statement of Apollinaris (*l.c.*) that the Quartodecimans claimed—as on their side,—on the point, namely, that Jesus had eaten the paschal lamb with his disciples on the 14th Nisan and had suffered on the 15th. Apollinaris infers from this that in their view the gospels seem to be at variance

¹ The most thorough discussions are those of Hilgenfeld, *Paschastritt*, 1860, and of Schürer, *Der jüd. u. christ. Passah*, Leipzig, 1899; in German in *Zeichn. f. d. hist. Theol.*, v. pp. 182-284.

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as to this (§ 42). He himself is on the side of the Fourth Gospel, and thus, as he himself admits no variance, interprets the First Gospel wrongly in the actual sense of the Fourth, the Quinterdecimaries, however, appealed not simply to the Jewish calendar but also to Mt., and that too to Mt. properly understood.

(d) A last resort remains, that of Schürer, who thinks they did this only in a late stage of the controversy. This also, however, is very improbable. We shall do well to attribute to them at least enough continuity of view for them to be always aware what it was that they were maintaining.

(e) In this failure, then, of all the suggested views we have no alternative left but to acknowledge that the John to whose authority the Quinterdecimaries appeal cannot have been the author of the gospel. If then this John of Asia Minor was the Elder, the apostle's authorship of the gospel remains so far as the practical controversy is concerned, a possibility. The assumption, then, must be that the gospel was written by the apostle, though at the same time he was not head of the church at Ephesus. This assumption, however, is one that has been resorted to by but few, for the tradition says only of the Ephesian John that he wrote the gospel.

After what has been said, only a very brief recapitulation as regards the 'genuineness' will be required.

55. Conclusion as to author.

(a) Even when the Apocalypse has been assigned to another writer, the apostolic authorship of the gospel remains impossible, and that not merely from the consideration that it cannot be the son of Zebedee who has introduced himself as writer in so remarkable a fashion (§ 41), but also from the consideration that it cannot be an eye-witness of the facts of the life of Jesus who has presented, as against the synoptists, an account so much less credible, nor an original apostle who has shown himself so easily accessible to Alexandrian and Gnostic ideas, nor a contemporary of Jesus who survived so late into the second century and yet was capable of composing so profound a work. On this ground are excluded not only the son of Zebedee but also every non-apostolic eye-witness, including even John the Elder, although the last-named seems to be recommended by the Asian tradition so far as this does not make for the apostle.

(b) Harnack, who holds the Elder to be the author, with incorporation also of reminiscences of the son of Zebedee in his work, so that the gospel might appropriately enough be called 'Gospel of John the Elder according to John the son of Zebedee' (εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ Ἰωάννην τοῦ Ζηβεδαίου), is compelled not only to place the date at a much earlier period than is justified by the evidence (§ 42 f.), but also, notwithstanding this, to understand by a 'disciple of the Lord' (which the Elder was) one who perhaps had seen Jesus only once in earliest childhood without really entering into personal relations with him; and all this over and above the further necessity for imputing so many incredible things to the author, if the credibility of the synoptists is not to be reduced to zero. Further, Harnack's hypothesis must be characterised as incapable of being discussed so long as the continuation of his work gives him no occasion to state quite frankly whether he regards as historical such statements for example as those regarding the foot-washing, the spear-thrust, the falling to the ground of the Roman cohort in Gethsemane, and the two pounds of ointment at the anointing of Jesus.

(c) The same remark holds good as regards Bousset who (*Apokalypse in Meyer's Commentar*, 5th ed. 1896, p. 13-51) maintains that the Ephesian John, that is to say, the Elder, in his youth belonged to the train of Jesus at such times as Jesus was in Jerusalem, and that from his mouth one of his scholars has given us, so far as the activity of Jesus in Jerusalem is concerned, 'an

¹ As we write we take from his *Byzantine Christentums*, 1908, p. 11 (ET *What is Christianity?* 1908) the following: 'The Fourth Gospel which does not come from the apostle John, and does not profess to do so, cannot be used as a historical source in the ordinary [i.e., customary] sense of those words. The author acted with autocratic freedom, transposed events and placed them in an unwonted light, composed discourses at his own will and illustrated lofty thoughts by imagined situations. Hence his work though not wholly wanting in the elements of a genuine if hardly recognisable tradition, can hardly at any point be taken into account as a source for the history of Jesus, it is but little that we can take over from him and even that only with circumspection.'

account that, as compared with the synoptists, is independent and in many points to be preferred.

(d) To what degree the thesis of the authorship of the gospel by a son of Zebedee for indeed any eye-witness can be maintained only at the cost of the very credibility which yet it is proposed to support by this assumption, is well seen in what B. Weiss has to say regarding the discourses of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel. He grants that the misunderstandings of these discourses by the hearers are 'often in reality merely attempts on the part of the evangelist to account for the continuance of the discussion, that the evangelist is well aware that he is not giving his readers the discourses and conversations with literal accuracy, that 'not only the original words, but also the concrete historical context of the word of Jesus are often obliterated, the evangelist concerning himself only for the enduring significance of these and their value for edification in the sense of his own conception of the person of Christ,' that even in the narrative parts 'the connections in detail have often disappeared, the historical colouring has been lost and the representation of occurrences has been manipulated in accordance with the meaning which they had acquired to the mind of this narrator.' No critic, however severe, could express himself much more not favourably with regard to the Fourth Gospel than this defender of its genuineness has done.

(e) As compared with such a line of defence, there is a positive relief from an intolerable burden as soon as the student has made up his mind to give up any such theory as that of the 'genuineness' of the gospel, as also of its authenticity in the sense of its being the work of an eye-witness who meant to record actual history. Whoever shrinks from the surrender can, in spite of all the veneration for the book which constrains him to take this course, have little joy in his choice. Instead of being able to profit by the elucidations regarding the nature and the history of Jesus promised him by the 'genuineness' theory, he finds himself at every turn laid under the necessity of meeting objections on the score of historicity, and if he has laboriously succeeded (he thinks) in silencing these, others and yet others arise tenfold increased, and in his refutation of these, even when he carries it through—and that too even, it may be, with a tone of great assurance—he yet cannot in conscientious self-examination feel any true confidence in his work.

(f) With the other view the case is quite different. We have to deal with a writer from whom we neither can demand strict historical accuracy, nor have any occasion to do so. Just in proportion as this is frankly recognised, however, we find in him a great and eminent soul, a man in whom all the ruling tendencies of his time meet and are brought together to a common focus.

A philosophical book, indeed, would not have been difficult for him to write, yet would have received but little attention; for all that at that time was recognised as divine was held to be seen in the person of Jesus.

Thus the task this man deemed to be laid upon him by the nature of the circumstances was that of giving expression to his deep ideas in the form of a life of Jesus. We become aware that this implied many restrictions upon his freedom, and one is astonished all the more at the ease of movement with which he has carried out his work. In short, one discerns in the gospel the ripest fruit of primitive Christianity—the ripest, it also at the same time the furthest removed from the original form. We shall return to a consideration of this subject with somewhat greater detail (§ 62) after we have glanced at the First Epistle which in this respect is closely related to the gospel.

Before proceeding to this, however, a word must be given to the 'partition'-hypotheses. (a) We have postponed notice of them until now, because to have brought them up at an earlier point would have tended only to obscure the issues.

A whole series of earlier 'partition'-hypotheses have shared the common fate of being withdrawn by their own promulgators. Least hopeful of all is a hypothesis of interpolations. Not that the existence of interpolations in Jn. is impossible; on the contrary, it is affirmed even by the most outspoken critical theologians (§ 28 4). But if it is proposed

¹ *Lehrb. der Einleitung in das NT*, § 517.

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...elucidate every difficult passage as having been interpreted very little indeed of the gospel will be left at the end of the process. Theoretically the case is somewhat better with a sources hypothesis which simply maintain that the last author did not introduce mere interpolations into the exemplar before him without touching the text itself, that he dealt with it very much as the synoptists dealt with their sources. Even so, however, no great advantage is gained.

(4) I mention only the latest advocate of a hypothesis of this sort. Wendt holds most of the miracle narratives, and some of the elaborations of the discourses as well as of the occasions assigned to them, to be additions of the last author. The main point, however, is that his fundamental principle, in itself worthy of all acceptance, is that passages are to be held to be later insertions, not on account of their contents, but only when they break the connection. There is much reason to fear, however, that distrust of the authenticity of the substance often causes an interruption of the connection to be imagined where in reality there is none. Many passages of the same sort as others which give Wendt occasion for the separating process, are left by him untouched, when the result would not be removal of some piece held to be open to exception in respect of its content; the ground for exception which he actually takes, on the other hand, is often altogether non-existent.

Thus, for example, it ought not by any means to be regarded as breaking a broken connection when (11 c), at the words of Jesus, 'Let us go into him [Lazarus]', Thomas says to his fellow-disciples, 'Let us also go that we may die with him.' That the sequence of these sentences does not demand the interpretation that Thomas wishes to die with Lazarus is self-evident, for Thomas is speaking to his fellow-disciples about a word of Jesus in which he had implicitly said that he was going to his death. It is therefore not permissible to conclude that, in the source, *π. 16* followed immediately upon *π. 15*, and that accordingly the announcement of the raising of Lazarus contained in *π. 17-18* is an addition by the evangelist. Moreover, *π. 19* in strictness fits on to *π. 18* no better than it does to *π. 16*. In *π. 20* where Jesus says to Martha, 'said I not unto thee that if thou wilt believe thou shalt see the glory of God?' Wendt with justice finds a reference back to *π. 21-22*, but considers that they rest upon a misinterpretation of these verses which speak, not of a bodily resurrection, but of the imparting by Jesus of an inward eternal life even here in this temporal sphere. This is essentially correct; but it presents only one side of the matter. The word is purposely ambiguous (*π. 23 c*), and in its literal sense is fulfilled by the raising of Lazarus, which nevertheless is itself only a figure for the impartation of that inward eternal life. Wendt proceeds therefore upon a misapprehension of the distinctive character of the Fourth Gospel when he comes to the conclusion that in the source all that was related was that Jesus heard of the sickness of Lazarus, but, although no delay in his journey occurred, did not arrive until after his death; on his arrival he comforted Martha by pointing to that inward eternal life which can be lived in the temporal, went with her to the grave, and wept there. What availed Martha this pointing to the inward eternal life when her brother had just quitted this temporal, and what point has it in presence of the assurance of Jesus (*π. 24*), 'thy brother shall rise again'? It cannot be a continuation of this assurance, neither if with Martha we understand *π. 25* to refer to the last day, nor if we interpret it in a spiritual sense, for resurrection and communion in life are different things. That it was, on the other hand, anything lighter than what is said in *π. 24* is excluded by the simple fact that after the apparent death of Lazarus it was not practicable.

(5) Wendt attributes his assumed source to the apostle John. The eye-witness Peter, on whose communications in Wendt's view the gospel of Mk. rests, knows that on his last evening Jesus held the sacrament of the Supper with his disciples; John the eye-witness that he washed his disciples' feet. Peter the eye-witness knows concerning Jesus that he expected the Final Judgment on a definite day at the end of the present world, John the eye-witness knows that he spoke the words contained in 11:5 f. and 5:14, and proves by this that the representations which agree with the report of Peter (*e.g.*, 5:28 f. and the closing words of 6:12-13, 44-54, 12:43) were added by the evangelist in contradiction of the source written by the eye-witness John. The eye-witness Peter transmits an account according to which Jesus had not any consciousness of his pre-existence, the eye-witness John

knows that he spoke the words, 'Before Abraham came into being I am'—glorify me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was' (8:58 [73]), and wrote the prologue with exception of the verses (6-8) about the Baptist.

(6) As for the miracle narratives, according to Wendt *e.g.*, did not heal the man born blind but only beheld him, took him as text of his discourse on the healing of the spiritual blindness of the world; in the case of the sick man at Bethsaida Jesus in healing him laid his hand upon him somewhat in manner indicated in Mk 7:33-35, so that the action can be regarded by the Jews as a violation of the Sabbath-law.

(7) What has been said may perhaps suffice to show that little fitted is this latest attempt at separation of sources.

However superior to kindred efforts of the same sort to supply 'a really satisfactory solution of the Johannine problem.' Its indications of difficulties the connections are valuable; but these will have to be explained by the writer's carelessness about the matter has been done in § 34 A, 1. In the end we shall have to content in the judgment of Strauss, that the Fourth Gospel is like the seamless coat, not to be divided, but to be taken as it is.

D. FIRST EPISTLE

What distinguishes the First Epistle from the gospel most obviously is its express polemic against the teachers. These, to speak generally, are gnostics; this appears (24) in expression 'he that saith, I know'.

(6) *Ἀγνοῶν ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτῶν* (18:7), is also that *terminus technicus* of gnosticism 'seed' (*σπέρμα*) which signifies the individual seed-grains of the origin scattered throughout the world of matter, to the souls of gnostic persons, and in the declaration these persons that they have no sin (1:8-10).

Next, precisely, the false teachers declare themselves to be deicides. Their assertion (2:22) that Jesus is not Messiah finds its explanation in 4:2 f. (cp. 1 in 7), according to which they deny that Jesus Christ is come in flesh, and in 5:6 ('this is he that came by water and blood'). While holding this teaching they give themselves over to libertinism, according to 2:18 f., 3:10-14, which passages must certainly be taken as referring to them. The case is not met by supposing the reference to be to Cerinthus, the oldest of the gnostics, who, as all his gnosticism was still a Jewish Christianity; for forms must be intended even although we are not in position to state more precisely what they were. The purpose of the epistle, then, is to combat this tendency with as much directness (2:26-37) as it is combated indirectly in the gospel (§ 30). The writing can be called a letter only in a remote sense (cp. *First Epistle*, LITERATURE, § 91). The writer addresses his readers as little children, or beloved, or brethren; but in the expressions he is addressing all Christendom.

In all his controversy with gnosticism the author is at the same time strongly influenced by its ideas. Take

58. Contact with gnosticism. The great antithesis between God and the world (2:16-17 f.), or God the devil (3:8-14), or truth and falsehood (2:22-23) analogy with 1n 3:6-8, etc., in 1n 5:19 also the mutually exclusive alternatives that one must either be of God or of the world which 'lieth in the wicked one' (*ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται*). The claim to know to have known, all things is made by the writer himself and for his readers (2:14 f., 20 f., 27-28) as just as any gnostic could make it; the expression 'seed' (*σπέρμα*) he applies in similar manner to himself and them, and asserts sinfulness for both (3:9-10).

In the ideas just indicated, as well as in respect of language, the agreement with the gospel seems so strong that the identity of authorship of both writings is often regarded as self-evident. Holtzmann, however (*First Epistle* V.7), enumerates fifteen German theologians by whom it is denied, and he himself

¹ *Das Johannes-Evangelium*, 1900, and previously in *Die Lehre Jesu*, I, 1896, pp. 271-272.

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White later than that of the gospel is very strong, suggested by the only passage which directly indicates any time relation at all, namely 2:12-13. The three things of which the writer here begins by saying, "I write them unto you," he repeats with the words, "I have written unto you," he seems to be referring to the gospel. If it is going so he identifies himself with the author of the gospel, we must not judge of the fact otherwise than we do when we find the evangelist writing in the name of the apostle; fiction of this kind was regarded as perfectly permissible (cf. 4:11). As to the bearing of this question of date upon the question of attestation, see § 47. External evidence does not forbid the supposition that the first edition

(A) Of supreme value, not only for that age but for all time, is the full assurance of its faith in the truth of Christianity (14.834 f. xi.1633 xi.1n.54). The idea of God is apprehended with a depth that is nowhere approached elsewhere in the NT. A philosopher may dispute the propositions both that God is spirit and that God is love (14.222-4 xi.14.616), but he cannot surpass them in simplicity of scientific expression. The first basis of the religious life, the feeling of dependence, cannot be expressed with greater depth than in the gospel (15.27), the essence of sin with greater depth than

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in 1 Jn. 13:1-20, prayer with greater depth than when it is represented as an asking in the name of Jesus (15:16), which again in turn cannot be better expounded than it is in 1 Jn. 5:14 as an asking according to God's will. All objections based upon pernicious results which might be supposed to follow from the prominence given to knowledge are disarmed at the outset by the declaration, 1 Jn. 2:1, that the verification of knowledge lies in the keeping of the commandments of God. Truth is not only seen; it is done (1 Jn. 3:21; 1 Jn. 1:6); and this doing of the truth is again made equivalent to the doing of righteousness (1 Jn. 2:30). Any one-sidedness of mere intellectualism is guarded against from the outset by the depth of the mysticism which comes to its finest expression in the Johannine theology (14:23; 15:4-7; 17:23), without, however, leading to any vague idea that man must be absorbed in the divine essence. If we discern in Christ not only the historical individual but also at the same time that summing up of all that is divine which the author of the gospel saw in his individuality, in a word, the ideal of a child of God, then, in spite of all that criticism has to say in the exercise of its own proper functions, we can still echo with full conviction the words in which the author has expressed his unique appreciation of Jesus, as in 15:3; 14:6; 3:16 or 16:3 f.

(6) The spiritualisation of the concrete conceptions of primitive Christianity has led to ideas such as it would be impossible to express in a more modern way. The person who finds himself no longer able to believe that the redemptive significance of Jesus lies only in the fact of his death finds the opposite view—according to which his work of redemption was achieved by his message and only confirmed by his death—already laid down for him in the prologue to the gospel 1:1-13 and also in 8:12; 17:3, etc.

So far as this is concerned, the gospel, in virtue, so to say, of the principle that extremes meet, even comes round again to the original historical point of view such as we find it in the synoptists. Paul had transferred the redeeming significance of Jesus from his life to his death. But at the same time he had also thought of him as pre-existent. When John developed this later thought into the Logos-idea he was compelled to the name of it to place the redeeming work wrought by Jesus not any longer in his death, which for the Logos would only mean a return to his previous condition, and thus have value only for himself and not for mankind; he had therefore to seek it in the revealing work of Jesus, and this work Jesus could perform upon earth only by declaration of his pre-existent message.

Any one who finds himself unable to accept the dogma of the Trinity here finds that which can justify him in his attitude in the declaration (7:39) that the Holy Spirit had no existence before the exaltation of Christ, being in fact according to 2 Cor. 3:17 identical with the exalted Christ (§ 29 c). Any one who finds himself unable to believe that Jesus needed to legitimise his claims by means of miracle has only to take his stand on 20:29, 'Blessed are they who have not seen and yet have believed.'

Any one who finds himself no longer able to think of the second coming of Christ as destined to happen in bodily form finds opened for him in 14:19-28 the way by which he may think of it as spiritual. Any one who finds himself unable to think of a bodily resurrection and a final judgment once for all on the last day has only to take his stand on 11:26; 5:24. Any one who finds himself unable to regard the value of the sacrament of the Eucharist as an absolute one has on his side the explicit utterance of Jesus (6:51), 'It is the spirit that quickeneth alive; the flesh profiteth nothing,' a principle which Paul in 2 Cor. 13:16 made use of with reference to the Old religion, but not as yet with reference to any of the positive institutions of Christianity. Indeed this fundamental principle, taken along with 13:15 and 13:24, is in itself a sufficient counteractive against any one-sided or exaggerated exaltation of the figure of Christ as portrayed in John. On the other hand, the Johannine theology can claim the most unreserved and absolute acceptance for the highest which it has to offer, the place which it assigns to love. This is

the central idea of the first epistle (2:7 f.; 3:23; 4:7-21), and equally central is the saying in the gospel in 13:34 f.; 15:1. It has indeed been the achievement of Christ to bring this new commandment of love into the world and to give the world his own example in this (13:15)—even if the foot-washing never occurred in a literal sense.

E. SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES

The 'elect lady' (ἀλεκτάρης) in 2 Jn. 1:13, especially in view of 7:13 and of the change between 'the children' and 'these' in 4:7 f., a church. 63. Address. is designated as 'lady' perhaps because (Eph. 5:31 f.) of the marriage relation with Christ the 'lord' (κύριος), the predicate 'elect together' (συνεκλεκτῆς), only with the substantive 'church' (ἐκκλησία) understood, is applied also to the church in Babylon in 1 Pet. 5:13. This interpretation of 'lady' (καρία) becomes quite obvious if 3 Jn. 9 refers back to the second letter which is not improbable. Now, in 2 Jn. 13 the church addressed is greeted by a sister church. This sister church, we may be sure, that to which the writer belongs. The church addressed need not, however, on this account be also an individual church; there is a possibility that any church whatever may be intended. In the case the second epistle, though individual in form, will be in reality as catholic as the first.

The case of the third epistle is different. Gaius is an individual, and neither can Diotrophes and Demetrius (1:10; 4:12) be divested of their individual character. One Gaius is named in Acts 19:29, a second in 20:4, a third in 1 Cor. 1:14; Rom. 16:23. The last named has affinity with the Gaius of this epistle in so far as hospitality is predicated of both. That the two are identical there is nothing further to show. We may perhaps rather assume the name to have been chosen in order to recall the other hospitable Gaius.

If we direct our attention to what is most distinctive peculiar to the two epistles we shall have to say this:

64. Purpose. then, purpose, first and foremost, has reference to church polity. The new thing in the second epistle is not a theoretical refutation of false teachers but the exhortation (7:10 f.) not to receive such persons under one's roof and not even to salute them. Although this does not refer to the case of persons living in the same place, but only to that of passing travellers, it in any case represents an effective step in the direction of the exclusion from church fellowship of these adversaries who in 7:9 are designated as 'progressives' (ἀπρωγάτοις), in 7:15 as doctores.

The stringency with which this is demanded seems to find its explanation in 1 Jn. 9 f., according to which Diotrophes, an opponent of the writer, refuses to receive not only his letter but also the brethren who adhere to him, and expels from his own community those members who are willing to receive these brethren. At the same time it is perfectly plain that the case of this refusal of excommunication is in the third epistle different from what it is in the second. In the third there is a word of false doctrine, but great emphasis is laid upon the personal ambition of the adversary and upon the claim of the part of the writer to unconditional authority. The two travelling brethren are spoken of in both letters ought not to be allowed to disguise this difference. Now the directly expressed purpose of the third epistle is that Gaius should give a friendly reception to the adherents of the writer on their travels. A Demetrius is mentioned immediately before the close of the epistle, and a good testimony is expressly given with regard to him, he has been regarded as the bearer of the epistle, which thus was at the same time a letter of introduction to 2 Pet. 1:12. The interesting hypothesis, as to an important turning-point in the history of the most ancient form of ecclesiastical organisation, which Harnack (*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 1905) has connected with the third epistle, will on account of its wide scope be most conveniently considered under MIXISTRY (7:24).

In this place, on the other hand, a word is still demanded by the second purpose which, over and above that of church polity underlies at least the second epistle. This epistle condones with its polemical against false teachers a recommendation of the ideas of the gospel and of the first epistle, and in this respect stands on the same level with the first epistle itself, whether it be that the second epistle is less than the first.

JOIADA

JOIADA (יֹדָדָה, 'Yah knows', an abbreviation of יְהוָה יָדָא, see **JEHOIADAB**).

1. IAW. Ichikawa, b. Pasah, mch. of wall, builders (see NICHIMIAH, § 12); ICHA, m. § 10 (1), 15 (2) D, Nch. 3. (cawā 11); ICH, mch. a. 81, cawā, A. cawā 11.0.
11). Son of Ichikawa, the high priest, in pedigree of builders (I CHA, m. § 6 1. cawā) cawā with NICHIMIAH, Nch. 12. 1/2. (cawā 11) and mch. 14. 1/2. cawā 11, cawā 11, cawā 11.0.
12). ICH, A. 13.0 cawā 11.0. ICH, cawā 11.0.

JOIAKIM (יְחִיָּאִים), cp. JIHIAKIM, ben. Joshua,
high priest, Neh. 12:10-12, 20; **IOIAKIM** [BNAI.]

JOIARIB [277], 100013 [185-101] 101016 [101]
[185-101-101] 100013 [185]

- See LITERATURE.

יֹקְדָם / יֹקְדִי יֹקְדָם [13]. יִשְׁלָאֵם [14]

JOKDEAM (יִדְעָם יִדְעָם [13], יִדְעָם [1])
 14:30 in the full context of Isaiah, mentioned

YEREN (Yp.), in the north-east of the Sudan, is identified with HATHA and JERED (Joshi 1950: 1). The name of YEREN is probably a corruption of YERKEM, a clan-name of the Hamar place-name in 1:11:24, belonging to the SWC, and identified with Hebron, and to be identified with RIKEM. The place-name intended by YERKEM and RIKEM is probably the same as the intended YERMIT (1892), and the common original of all these forms is probably JERHUM (1892: 100). The Hamar place-names do not confine themselves to the Negro-

SEPTEMBER, 1964 T. K. C.

JOKIM (D⁵⁰, # 31) a descendant of SUELA (1 Ch 12). The name might conceivably be mis-spelled for JERUASIM (עֲרֻסִים), but cf. JASHT B. 1610M.

JOKMEAM (C²22; as if = 'let the [divine] Kinsman
sing; rather, perhaps C²22; 'the Kinsman' (2) tak

vengeance, cp. *ḥam*, 'Levitical' city in Ephraim (1 Th 66 [sc. 1000] [B], 1000 [A]), m [L. mentioned with Shechem, Tazer, and Beth horon, the parallel list of Levitical cities in Josh 21, KINZ is the name given (e. 22, *καρσάριον* [A], om. B, *καρσ*

[L.]). This form, however, seems to be an old corruption of *Jokneam* (עִקְנֵאָם from עִקְנָא [L.]). *Jokneam* is also mentioned in 1 K 4:12 (Αὐκκὰ [B; S precedes], ἄαακ [A], οἰκκὰ [L.]), but the reading rendered 'as

as beyond jokingness" (so RV, and similarly the Gene Bible, but AV, by a printer's error, substitutes jokingness is probably corrupt, substitute "as far as the word of Meholah" (עַד כְּלָמַת מְחֹלָה). See ZARITIAN.

[illegible]

JOKNEAM (Jokneam) father of the king of the Philistines (1 Sam. 31:2). The name is derived from the Hebrew *Yokneam* (Yokneam) which means 'the (old) man' (1 Sam. 31:2) or 'the (old) man' (1 Sam. 31:2). The name is also found in the Hebrew Bible (1 Sam. 31:2) and in the Septuagint (1 Sam. 31:2).

A town of Ashmun Wash Br., near

reckoned by Pliny to be of the class of *μαλακ* [10], *μαλακ* [A]. It was also a variety of the Tamaunites (12) *ταμαυν* [10], *ταμαυν* [I], *ταμαυν* [A]. Theophrastus claims to have taken it in his victorious campaign

against the Upper Kintana (WMM 1, *in Eo*, 30). The day was situated in the Carmel district (1222). The 1 of a torrent valley (877, 1911). We

probably identify it with the *CYAMUS* [] of Isidore, and both with the *P. in Armeniæ*, on the basis of Wulfech-Müller's opinion. This is it enters the plant of

direction to which Hauschild and Jerome refer as *adagio* *romantico* (see CMMN). The position is consistent and important, commanding the main pass from

western portion of Israhon to the more south-
 plain (Kod) on 'Joknem' in K. Iz. AV.
 JOKME SM.

2. The Japanese reflex of *ts* above is called by way of distinction, 'Jokōan to (Carnot)' (J sh 12.22). It follows that any Jokōan must have existed elsewhere. Initially it lay on hill country of Judah, J sh 15.4 (see 11.10 below) – the third letter.

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JONADAB

JOKSHAN འཇོག་ཤར།, IEKAN, BD and m. Ch. I.; 1
Gen. 25: 2 A (see Swet.), m. 7; 3 Ab D (IEKAN [A°])
IEKAN [A m 1 Ch], IEKTAN [E and L in Gen.],
son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25: 6 [1], 1 Ch. I.).

Interpreted as a tribe *Yaberi* in Yemba's Arabian genealogists (see Olsander, 1977: 101), *Yaberi* (Yabari, 24) compares names like *Yabbarim* S. Arabia. *Yabari* (identical with *Jokim* (cf. n. 102)) is attractive, but the change of *y* in *y* is hard to explain.

JOKTAN (יֶזְעָן; **YEKTAN** [AFL] יֶזְעָן, young son of Eber, and father of thirteen sons: proper, Amalek, Sheleph, Hazarmavet, Jerah, Hebam, Iph, Esbek, Chul, Elsal, Amnah, Shai, Ophir, Havilah, and Iph, c. 1920-21 A. H. 1-2-3-4). Probably there were originally only twelve, the last Iph-Esal, Ishmael, and see **GESEK** (10-11, 12, 13, 14, 15).

Joktan is the assumed ancestor of the older Arabic tribes as distinguished from the later tribes which were more closely related by origin and perhaps language to the Israelites. The Arab genealogists identify the name with that of Kathan, an ancient southern Arabian title well known to themselves (*GENEALOGIES*, § 24). But this identification has historical value. The name Joktan may indeed simply be an artificial name devised for the younger son of Eber. When we look at the names of the Joktanites we notice that two of them (Sheila and Haylah) occur in the list of Cushites. This simply arises from the fact that the names of the Cushites and the Joktanites come from different documents (I and J respectively), reflecting, perhaps, different political circumstances and tribal relations. It is difficult to explain all the Joktan names. The very first (ALMODAT) is among the most obscure; the name seems Sabean. The limits of Joktanites (*Gen.* 10) are also matter for discussion (see *MISHA, SUPPL.*).

JOKTHEEL יִתְהַלֵּל, for attempted explanations
 of the name of God, *Isaiah* 48:17; *Qolsh. / R 6:41*

1. A city in the lowland of Judah, mentioned between Mizpah and Beth-lehem, Josh. xviii. 25; either unwritten for Ethech, corruption of Jerusalem, from which is derived Ethech, may come (see *καρναία* [1]), but *ΑΙ. (καρναία)*. Cf. *JEKUTH*.

2. The man given by AMANAH (9.7) to a place in 1 called 'the Cliff' (צֶסֶת) which he had captured, זֶכֶּר. *tsəṣəṭ* [H], *tsəṣəṭ* [AD]: it is the rock, or cliff of Kariakuma which is meant. Halley seeks to illustrate 1.2 Ch. 20.4, where Amanah is accused of having bowed to before the gods of Edom, and extorted from it the name 'Yak' is God' (*Exoter deduxit a M. et Dr. Paganus*).

No such Pomeranian place as Yaki is, however, known to me (except 'Yakheh' should probably be Jerusalem for the battle was in the valley called 'Yakheh' for Jerusalem) (see SAU, VALLEY 61). On the rugged sparsely forested mountain range, there must have been a fort named Kadesh, and named Jerusalem, because of the name note, which he had received. It is true, the name is commonly (see e.g. Kautz, *ibid.* 272a), identical with P. but this must be an error as he in his own narrative, has shown SAU.

JONA (1) **ANAY** [WILL] **ANAY** [L1]. Ju 142
John S. JOHN, sons of ZEBEDEE. # 1, also
BAR JONA

JONADAB יְנָדָב §§ 27.44.4'. **יְנָדָב** [18x]
 Jndary from יְנָדָב. Val weismut-front, cp Nedā
 Mardab. Mardabadi

1. Son of Shemosh and nephew of David displayed his sublimity to David's liege sons. Although to entrap his liege sons, $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 12 = 66$ gives 1 (John 1:1), $66 + 66 = 132$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $132 + 132 = 264$ gives 4 (John 1:4), $264 + 264 = 528$ gives 8 (John 1:8), $528 + 528 = 1056$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $1056 + 1056 = 2112$ gives 3 (John 1:3), $2112 + 2112 = 4224$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $4224 + 4224 = 8448$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $8448 + 8448 = 16896$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $16896 + 16896 = 33792$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $33792 + 33792 = 67584$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $67584 + 67584 = 135168$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $135168 + 135168 = 270336$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $270336 + 270336 = 540672$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $540672 + 540672 = 1081344$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $1081344 + 1081344 = 2162688$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $2162688 + 2162688 = 4325376$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $4325376 + 4325376 = 8650752$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $8650752 + 8650752 = 17301504$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $17301504 + 17301504 = 34603008$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $34603008 + 34603008 = 69206016$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $69206016 + 69206016 = 138412032$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $138412032 + 138412032 = 276824064$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $276824064 + 276824064 = 553648128$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $553648128 + 553648128 = 1107296256$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $1107296256 + 1107296256 = 2214592512$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $2214592512 + 2214592512 = 4429185024$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $4429185024 + 4429185024 = 8858370048$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $8858370048 + 8858370048 = 17716740096$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $17716740096 + 17716740096 = 35433480192$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $35433480192 + 35433480192 = 70866960384$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $70866960384 + 70866960384 = 141733920768$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $141733920768 + 141733920768 = 283467841536$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $283467841536 + 283467841536 = 566935683072$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $566935683072 + 566935683072 = 1133871366144$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $1133871366144 + 1133871366144 = 2267742732288$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $2267742732288 + 2267742732288 = 4535485464576$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $4535485464576 + 4535485464576 = 9070970929152$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $9070970929152 + 9070970929152 = 18141941858304$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $18141941858304 + 18141941858304 = 36283883716608$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $36283883716608 + 36283883716608 = 72567767433216$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $72567767433216 + 72567767433216 = 145135534866432$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $145135534866432 + 145135534866432 = 290271069732864$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $290271069732864 + 290271069732864 = 580542139465728$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $580542139465728 + 580542139465728 = 1161084278931456$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $1161084278931456 + 1161084278931456 = 2322168557862912$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $2322168557862912 + 2322168557862912 = 4644337115725824$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $4644337115725824 + 4644337115725824 = 9288674231451648$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $9288674231451648 + 9288674231451648 = 18577348462903296$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $18577348462903296 + 18577348462903296 = 37154696925806592$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $37154696925806592 + 37154696925806592 = 74309393851613184$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $74309393851613184 + 74309393851613184 = 148618787703226368$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $148618787703226368 + 148618787703226368 = 297237575406452736$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $297237575406452736 + 297237575406452736 = 594475150812905472$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $594475150812905472 + 594475150812905472 = 1188950301625810944$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $1188950301625810944 + 1188950301625810944 = 2377900603251621888$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $2377900603251621888 + 2377900603251621888 = 4755801206503243776$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $4755801206503243776 + 4755801206503243776 = 9511602413006487552$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $9511602413006487552 + 9511602413006487552 = 19023204826012975104$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $19023204826012975104 + 19023204826012975104 = 38046409652025950208$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $38046409652025950208 + 38046409652025950208 = 76092819304051900416$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $76092819304051900416 + 76092819304051900416 = 152185638608103800832$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $152185638608103800832 + 152185638608103800832 = 304371277216207601664$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $304371277216207601664 + 304371277216207601664 = 608742554432415203328$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $608742554432415203328 + 608742554432415203328 = 1217485108864830406656$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $1217485108864830406656 + 1217485108864830406656 = 2434970217729660813312$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $2434970217729660813312 + 2434970217729660813312 = 4869940435459321626624$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $4869940435459321626624 + 4869940435459321626624 = 9739880870918643253248$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $9739880870918643253248 + 9739880870918643253248 = 19479761741837286506496$ gives 6 (John 1:6), $19479761741837286506496 + 19479761741837286506496 = 38959523483674573012992$ gives 6 (John 1:6), 389

2. Set of Reducible and presumed authors of the
which had the Reducible. Let $\alpha \in \mathcal{P}$, $\omega \in \mathcal{A}$
 $\alpha \in \mathcal{P}$, $\omega \in \mathcal{A}$, $\alpha \in \mathcal{P}$, $\omega \in \mathcal{A}$.
Let $\alpha \in \mathcal{P}$, $\omega \in \mathcal{A}$, $\alpha \in \mathcal{P}$, $\omega \in \mathcal{A}$.

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JONAH

identity this Jacobid with 3. The true father of the Rechabites, however, was id α her late. See RECHABITES.

3. I V. HIRONAKA, h. Kodai h, an abelter of John in his travel to Yahuw. 2 K. 19:11-12. The clasping of hand (h) is a common metaphor in the measures which follow of the HANP, though there are differences in the narrative. See III. FRANK, § 34. RETURNING.

4. The name of Saul's second son, according to **Q** 18:31 (see A. 1940A). There is a similar coin. in m **Q**s title (cf. Ps. 71) **Q** 76] *αἰωνάδω* [48] *αἰωνάδω* [R]). See J. J. VAN DER LINDEN, *op. cit.*

JONAH יֹנָתָן, § 98 above, originally according to Robertson-Smith [*J. Z. S.* p. 1.], connected with totemism, but many such names in modern Syria at all events are certainly due to Lamey and early corruption from יֹנָתָן is possible, יֹנָתָן (BAM) in the title יֹנָתָן.

1. A prophet, son of Achish, ¹ of GATH, in the reign of Achish, who prophesied the deliverance of Israel from the Syrian oppression (2 K 14: 2). The reference to Jonah

in Tob 14.4, BA followed by FA is probably due to a scriber's error. ² See Naomichi Nishimura in *ibid.* When we compare 2 K 13.6, it seems probable that Jonah delivered his prophecy in the time of Jehoshaphat, the father of Jeroboam II (Klost.). Jonah seems to have spoken of a deliverer who would bring the Israelites out of the grasp of Aram (סֹרֵק וְצִדְקָתָא אֲרָמִיָּהּ), so that they would dwell in their tents as beforetime. The 'deliverer' is not the Assyrian king Ramman-nirari III (Drucker). Whitehouse in *OT* 2.1.1, W. *OT* 1.1.1, though as a matter of history the victory of that king over Syria must have been a great relief to Israel, but Jeroboam II. There is no probability that the Deuteronomistic writers of 2 K 13.6–9, 11.25–7 knew anything of Ramman-nirari; but it is beyond doubt that they wished to do honour to Jeroboam. ³ *Op. Stude. ZH* 1.1, 38, p. 296. Hitzig and Renan think that the prophecy of Jonah is still extant in Is 13.7, but this is most improbable. See also [Joh. vi] [Book].

JONAH [BOOK]. It is by a strange inconsistency that the Book of Jonah ranks among the records of the

1. **Post-exilic.** Twelve Prophets, for the only oracle of Jonah which it professes to give is comprised in five words (chap. 3:4, Heb.). Obviously it must be compared, not with the accompanying prophetic books, but with narratives of episodes in the lives of prophets, such as are found in 1 K. 17-19, 2 K. 4, 6, and 18, 7, 16, 20, 34-39. The narratives referred to are based on traditional material, and time and place sometimes written. Can we hope to find such in the Book of Jonah? Unfortunately we cannot. The heading East of the story, the journey of an Israelite prophet to Nineveh, is so surprising that only on good pre-exilic testimony could we be excused for receiving it. Such testimony, however, is wanting. No part of the book is pre-exilic; indeed, except in glosses and in the psalm ascribed to Jonah there is no trace of more than one hand.⁷

↑ Winkler AOF 2 has suggested that the words 'ben Amri' in *z K* are a misreading of *ben l-¹*, but the double description is unobjectionable (see *z K* 194).

2 I argue that most of the arguments have been examined in American Rabbinic literature, and that the Book of Job, which he thinks that I have disengaged from the additional matter, was much slierter than the present text, and that it may have been "of the age of Jeremiah" (K. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835,

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The writer is representative of people in glory who is opposed to the trials of people in sorrow, from the works of Amos, Hosea, and Habakkuk. He himself states that his desire was to be brought to the suffering people, but as an external, as they were to Zechariah. Don't let it irritate his purpose, which is still the same purpose, to represent a church as suffering, to exalt his mission, but I should not live in this had he lived in the age of Amos and Hosea. (The story of the disobedient prophet in Mark 13 is also representative to be precise.) It is a miracle that this "how" have been surprised at the manifestation of a people in a sense which there is no reason to suppose, so the result was, I am awakened in Hosea, though certainly if a prophet would have been very much surprised at the conversion of the ancient Assyria.

4. The writer explicitly mentions the conception of religion and morality (p. 101) with P. 300s. 301 and in harmony with the people of the eight century.

4. This imitative stress is equally striking; cp. e.g. 3*q* with 1*st* 2*st* 4; 1*2* with 1*st* 2*st* 1 and 1*st* 3*st*; and the story of Jonah under the *š-l* *š-q* (see below, § 2) with that of Elijah under the brown plant in the desert (1 K. 19.4*ff.*).

3 d), with details implying that the readers did not know much about it, is significant.

6. Not to allow the patent improbabilities of the story. A prophet of the future, Jehonab, banishes himself from Vahwe's land in order to preserve himself of his prophetic character to protect

[illegible]

The Book of Death, then, being just alive, to what class of literature does it belong?² Obviously it is a

2. **Class of Literature** — Jewish literature in imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture, especially a dialogue or lament, exposition, or an edifying religious story. *Exodus* and *Seder Simchat Torah* are universally admitted to be such Midrashim. Much should be added to the list. As such is not deprived of value for historical purposes. For, as Kauten long ago pointed out,¹ the Books of Jonah and Ruth are records of a contest of thought among the Jews opposed to that identified with the time of their. That great reformer and the men of his school based their action on the recognition of a real and permanent difference between Israel and the heathen, and even pessimists of the post-exilic period spoke sometime of the "nation" who "necessarily wicked became non-Israelites." Again, the author of *Jonah* was a Jew. The scene of the prophet under the *kalash* is specifically introduced to the Jewish

(2) 'Nachtigall' (to denote the flock of 1 night, see Lechhorn's *Die mittelhochdeutsche Nachtigall*, 9th ed., 1931, Berlin: H. v. S. 24-25); and (3) Klemm (*op. cit.*), who is willing to admit that a later writer (*cf. Hoffmann's* *Freddie*) may have based his account on two distinct traditions of narratives.

¹ See, e.g., *SWIG* for *SWIG* in [24], but this is hardly the best critical construction.

² Both words are plainly corrupt. Read for the former **ספתי** (I **ספתי**), and for the latter **נפתי** (I came to pass away).

where $\sin \theta = c$ and

$$1 - \int_{\sin \theta}^1 \frac{f(t)}{t^2} dt = \frac{p(W)}{f(c)} + 227 f'(c) \log \theta \text{ (mod } \theta^2).$$

arrogance, and the whole course of the previous story leads to a fairer view of 'the nations.' Indeed, the writer partly explains the non-fulfilment of prophecies against the heathen (which doubtless puzzled some of his contemporaries) by the readiness of the heathen to repent. One might even infer from the story that he placed the heathen morally and religiously above his own people. Jonah begins by stifling the voice of conscience, and afterwards both expects and desires Nineveh's destruction. No epilogue tells us of any change in the prophet's feelings towards the heathen.¹ The Phœnician mariners, on the other hand, fear the great God of the Hebrews (Jon. 1.9 f.), and the people of Nineveh at once repent on hearing the prophetic announcements (Jon. 3.6-9). We are reminded of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, and of a more ancient and venerable story (the Good Samaritan).

This theory has excellent points; but it does not do justice to the entire problem. If the hero of the story is merely a type of the too exclusive contemporaries of the writer, why is he called Jonah? why is he made a prophet? and why is he swallowed up by a fish? These questions are to a large extent answered by the symbolic theory.

1. The hero of the story is called Jonah, not primarily because an early narrative mentions a person of this name, but because a custom was springing up of calling Israel, symbolically, a dove. The earliest trace of this is in Ps. 144.11, where the people of Israel, delivered by its God from the powerful kings of Canaan, and enriched with their spoil, is called a dove² 'whose wings [God] will cover with silver and her feathers with gold.' Elsewhere the faithful community personified wishes for itself the wings of a dove, not for their beauty, but for their swiftness and for the unerring instinct which leads the doves to their retreats (Ps. 55.6-8 [7-9]).

2. Jonah is made a prophet, because Israel was called upon to prophesy. The Prophecy of Restoration said that all Zion's children would be Yahwe's disciples (Is. 54.13; cp. 50.4) and that the duty of the prophetic 'servant of Yahwe' was to make known the true religion to the nations (Is. 42.4-6), for which purpose he was specially endowed (Is. 49.1; cp. 50.4). It is true, there was a historical Jonah who prophesied, and who, by an interesting coincidence, is called 'Yahwe's servant' (2.22, 2 K. 14.25; cp. Jon. 1.9 ὁ δούλος κυρίου Ἰϋνα Ἰωνᾶ); but this was not the fundamental point with the late narrator, whose mind was absorbed in symbolism. It is also to be observed that, according to II. Isaiah, the 'servant of Yahwe' would not 'draw back' from his work (Is. 50.5). The psalmists, too, being Israel's deliverance into connection with the spread of true religion (see Ps. 22.26 [27. 96-100]), and one of them makes the true Israelite promise to speak of God's precepts (like Jonah) before kings (Ps. 119.45).

3. Jonah is swallowed up by the sea because this was a common poetical phrase for the danger of destruction which repeatedly beset Israel (see Is. 33.2, Ps. 18.15 [17. 32], 42.7 [44. 12], 69.1 [71. 1-3], 124.4 [Lam. 3.4]). And the purpose of the whole story, according to the symbolic theory, is, that Israel, called to preach to the nations (cf. preceding antedatum, cf. II. Isaiah's revelation), evaded its duty, that God punished Israel by exile, but turned the punishment to Israel's good, and that Israel afterwards took up its neglected duty, but in an unloving spirit which grieved its patient teacher, the all-merciful God of the whole human race.

The theory here described is a great advance upon the preceding one, and much credit is due to Khamert

4. The great fish. (1868) and J. S. Bloch (1876) for applying the key of symbolism to the narrative more fully than any previous writers. But the hesitation of critics to adopt it indicates that there is some serious defect in it. Where it fails is

1. The omission of an epilogue was every way advisable. (1) If Jonah was symbolic, it is unkind to be seen whether those who were symbolic would amend their ways or not. (2) Epilogues are apt to weaken the effect of a work of art (as in the case of Job).

2. Symbolical designations of peoples are in the manner of this psalmist (see Ps. 68.30 [31]).

3. Bona ^{בֹּנָה}, and for ^{בֹּנָה} ^{בֹּנָה} read simply ^{בֹּנָה} (Che. 1.5).

4. In later times Jonah or 'Dove' became a standing title for Israel. Both ^{בֹּנָה} and ^{יֵג} recognise the people or the congregation in the ps. of Ps. 56.1. Cp. Talm. Bab. *Gitin*, 45a, etc., and the Mishnah on Cant. 2.14.4, also the *Tikkun* in the Jewish Passover service based on the midrashic explanation of the Song of Songs (especially the first, *Festival Prayers*, de Sola's ed., 1.97).

in its treatment of the story of the great fish. It is a mistake to say that 'Jonah's adventure in the sea is but a very subordinate feature' (Kahsch, *Bible Studies*, 2.209). On the contrary, it is the turning point of the whole narrative; Yahwe 'prepared' the great fish to be an instrument not only of preservation but also of moral discipline to the disobedient prophet. We must therefore supplement the key of symbolism by that of mythology.

The earlier critics (e.g., Eubhorn) were not wrong in seeking for parallels where they could at the time most easily be found, viz. in Greek mythology. That Andromeda was in peril from a sea-monster on the rocks of Joppa, gives, however, no real help; the myth may rather be regarded as an ætiological one for Joppa (Joppa, § 3); and only very moderate requirements can be satisfied with the parallel of the story of Hesione, F. C. Haur went to the right quarter when he took a hint from Heracles (Orantes); but Jonah neither was, according to the story, nor could conceivably have been, represented as a fish-god, which is also an objection to Eubhorn's original use of *Diogenes* [p. 7.] and Orantes in *JBL* 11 (92), Pl. 1. Quite recently Ball (*PSB.D.*, König (Hastings' *DB* 2.7476), and some less accredited writers, have supposed a connection between the mention of the 'great fish' and the fact that the Assyrian ideogram for Nineveh implies the explanation 'fish dwelling' (Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 57; but cp. Hommel, *PSB.D.*, 99, 'Assyriological Notes', § 42).

Apart from other objections, however, (1) there is no trace of the writer of Jonah having (1) a man of learning, and (2) criticism should group, not isolate, narratives, phrases, or other data which may refer to folklore. We have many references to the dragon-myth in the OT, and it is quite easy to regard the 'great fish' as a degenerate dragon; whereas fish-myths are, naturally enough, unrepresented. König even illustrates the sojourn of Jonah in 'the belly of the fish' by the descent of the 'dove' Semiramis from the 'fish-woman' Atargatis or Dereto.

That critics should look everywhere except in the right place for the origin of the Jonah story is one of the many proofs that the reproaches addressed to us by Winckler are not wholly unjustified.

Tylor saw much more clearly than most contemporary critics when he pointed out that the whalely-spread nature-myth of the dragon lies at the root of the apologue of Jonah.¹ But it was left for the present writer, in 1877, to combine the theory of Bloch with that of Tylor, and to show how indispensable each was to a due comprehension of the narrative. In details both theories admitted of improvement, by the help partly of biblical exegesis, partly of Assyriology. The writer also pointed out that the myth of the dragon or sea-monster is preserved, not only in the story of Jonah, but also in fragmentary allusions to Rahab, the Leviathan, and the *tannin* in the Books of Job and the Second Isaiah (cp. DRAGON). The only error (an error into which G. A. Smith seems to have fallen in *Twelve Prophets*, 252) was in not distinguishing sufficiently between the dragon of the subterranean and the dragon of the heavenly ocean. It is the dragon of the subterranean ocean which (at Yahwe's command) for he has been subjugated by Yahwe² swallowed up Jonah — to pass from the myth to its application, it is the all-absorbing empire of Babylon which swallowed up Israel—not, however, to destroy it, but to preserve it and to give it room for repentance.

The present writer also indicated the link between the story of Jonah and the original myth.

That link is to be found in Jer. 51.34.44—'Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon has eaten and discomfited me (i.e., Israel); he has set me as an empty vessel, he has swallowed me up as the Dragon² (1.102), he has filled his belly with my dainties; he has cast me out. "And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and bring forth that which he has swallowed out of his mouth." Of course, it is only a shrivelled-up myth that we have before us. Bel, who in the Babylonian story is the opponent of the dragon, has now become identified with that monster, and (as the destroying dragon) is for a time successful. Bel, or the dragon, has in fact, as we have seen already become a symbol of the Babylonian

¹ *Primitive Culture*, 1.90; cp. *Early Hist. of Mankind*, 3.67; Wailly, *Anthrop.*, 1.670; de Guérin, *Zoological Mythology*, 2.390.

² Or 'as a dragon.' Mythical dragons (plur.) are referred to in Ps. 74.17 Job 9.11; 'helpers of Rahab.' The singular, however, is more obvious. ³ ^{בֶּרֶךְ}, 'belly' occurs only in Jer. 51.34; cp. ^{בֶּרֶךְ}, 'her (Tiamat's) belly,' in the account of the fight between Tiamat and Marduk (Del. *Weltgesch.*, 44.12).

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empire and of its head, Nebuchadnezzar, who thought to bring Israel under his own power, but whom Jeremiah (27-33) distinctly calls Yahwe's servant (i.e., commissioned agent). For another instance of a story ultimately based on mythology, we may venture to refer to ESTHER (q.v.).

It is strange that Simpson (*The Jonah Legend*, 1902), though he refers once to the Babylonian Talmud legend, should completely miss its significance as to make the steering out of the slain monster's skin support his theory that the story of Jonah sprang out of a ceremony which was acted at a rite of initiation (perhaps into a priesthood). Criticism and an ideology seem here to be parted.

The story of the wonderful plant, which contrasts with Elijah's perfectly natural desert plant in 1 K. 19:4,

5. The plant. has quite a different origin, being obviously the product of the fancy of an individual. The name $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$ is probably connected with the Assyrian *kukkinium* (1:22), this designates some garden-plant, the precise nature of which is unknown (for another such Assyrian plant name in Hebrew see HABAKKUK). If the mention of the 'booth' (1:4) belongs (as it probably does) to the original narrative, we can hardly help agreeing with Tristram that some kind of gourd is meant, gourds being commonly used for shading arbores. It, however, the narrator mentioned only the plant, we may not unreasonably fix upon the *Khinus communis*, L. (see GORDON). In either case, the growth of the plant has been supernaturally fostered.

We may compare the plant with the carob-tree (see HICKS) which bore no fruit for seventy years as a sign to Heli Hamiel that he had really slept seventy years, and which served to him the credibility of Ps. 126 (see LAMM, *Bab. Talmud*, 210).

On the other hand, folklore is certainly present in the story of the voyage.

Jonah, revealed by the lot as the guilty cause of the ship's danger, and thereupon thrown into the sea, is the counterpart of Mittavindaka, the son of a merchant of Ikenares, who is put out of the ship in which he has embarked as the spoiler of its luck, but not so roughly as Jonah. He answers equally to the merchant in the Roman tale of the Pot of Gold and the same traditional idea is at any rate presupposed in the Jewish passages (e.g., Horat., *Id.* 32-33) quoted by Kabisch (*Röm.* 37, 210, n. 2). Primitive superstition has also supplied a detail to chap. 3. The Persians are said to have made their horses and draught-beasts join with them in the rites of mourning for Masius (Herod. 224). But the Assyrians in Jonah go beyond the Persians; they make their animals abstain from food like themselves to propitiate Yahwe. This may imply the Jewish idea of the deprivation of animal nature (Gen. 1:26; cf. 1:16-18). For this Whitley Stokes has produced a parallel in medieval Irish literature.⁵

Into the question of editorial alterations we cannot enter at length. The attempt of Bohme to distinguish four strata in the Book of Jonah has been already referred to (col. 2561, n. 2); it carries us beyond the evidence. But a few minor interpolations or insertions may safely be allowed, in addition to the great one in 2:10.

That chap. 4 has been touched by scribes or editors, is obvious (see especially WILKINSON, *10P* 274-75). It is not impossible that the detail of the booth (2:3) is an addition, and that it is connected with an alteration in the prophetic announcement of Jonah (so K. Kohler). According to the MT

of 84 Jonah 'cried and said Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.' But, however, gives three days instead of forty as the interval allowed, and though this reading may conceivably be an error produced by the mention of 'three days' journey' in 3:1, it is also possible that it may be correct. The story is constructed for effect, and the wonder of the repentance of the heathen Ninevites would be still greater if only three days were allowed as an interval than if there were forty.⁶

¹ 'Jonah c. 1 u. J3k. 48a,' by E. Hardy (*ZDMG*, 50 (1896)). In the Buddhist story it was not a storm, but another unknown power which hindered the progress of the ship. The guilt of Mittavindaka was caused by his disobedience to his mother. In almost the same words as those of Jon. 18, the mariners obeyed the law of self-preservation. Mittavindaka was put out upon a raft, and the ship put out its course.

² See Miss Bask's *Folklore of Rome*, 17-18. In this case the hero of the story is not actually thrown overboard.

³ *Lebar Firce*, 250, cited in *Dead.*, 15th Aug. 1896, p. 155.

⁴ The compound divine name Yahwe Elohim (4:2) is due to an editor. His object was to show that the Yahwe who prepared the 'gourd' was the Elohim who prepared the worm (4:7). It is true, this was very unnecessary with the clear statement of 1:10. Cf. Gen. 2:4-5 as we now have it.

⁵ Kohler, *Theol. Rev.*, 79, pp. 142-143.

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A later editor, however, might prefer forty days, and alter the text accordingly, at the same time introducing the booth (see below) as a shelter for Jonah for the remainder of his time. This suggestion will seem to most not very probable. It was at any rate an editor that inserted the psalm in chap. 2, which is largely composed of reminiscences of the canonical psalms (31, 42, 55, 107, 115, 120, 142). It is, it is faithfully interpreted, not more connected with the story of the prophet Jonah than the psalm of Hannah is with that of Hannah; for it describes how pious David, when in danger of extinction, struggled with its despondency. Not improbably the editor found a connection, apart from the purely external one, in the phraseology of 2:26 (out of the belly of Sheol, etc.). He may also have known that the Jonah of the book was, like Jon. (q.v.), a $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$ or similitude.

Three questions now occur. (1) Why was the book placed in the Twelve ($\delta\omega\delta\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\omega\nu$)? (2) Was it previously an independent literary work?

7. Other problems. and (3) What is its date? A brief answer must suffice. (1) The probability is that the closing words, assigned to God himself, brought the book into the prophetic canon. (2) Budge (*ZATW* 124-25, [42]) conjectures that the Book of Jonah was originally a part of the Midrash (RV 'commentary') of the Book of Kings, on which Chomelos is based (2 Ch. 21:27). The introductory 'And it came to pass' (2:1), and the absence of the descriptive statement 'who was of Gath-hepher' (1:1), appeared at first sight to favour this. But the difficulty of imagining a reference to Assyria and still more to the destruction of Nineveh, has been well pointed out by Winckler (*10P* 260), who would prefer to give the Book of Jonah a place in that Midrash where the reign of Manasseh was treated. The Midrashic narrative of Jonah explained, according to WILKINSON, why the prophecy of Nahum was not strictly fulfilled. WILKINSON also thinks that the Jonah of the apocryphal is not the Jonah of Gath-hepher (see JONAS, n.). (Cf. Smend, *10P* 400; König, *Theol.* 777, p. 379.)

(3) The book is apparently referred to in Tobit (14:4); but see JONAS, n. and earlier still its existence is presupposed by the mention of the Twelve Prophets in Eccles. 49:1 (see the Hebrew text). The considerations mentioned above justify us in assigning the narrative, without the psalm, to the half-century which followed the arrival of Ezra. The psalm, however, was probably written much later—as late perhaps as the 7th c. ('prayer') in the appendix to Ecclesiasticus (51:1-12). If so, it is an interesting fact that the symbolic interpretation of the book should have held its ground so long. Of later references to the book three have a special claim to be mentioned, viz., two passages in the Talm. and one in the NT.

In *Talm.*, 150, we are told that, in times of drought, it was usual for one of the leaders of the congregation to expound the teaching of Jonah, and in *Meg.* 16a, that Jonah was used as a lesson for the Day of Atonement (a usage which still obtains in the liturgy of the synagogue).² The growing importance of the doctrine of repentance naturally sent Jewish teachers in search of illustrations to the Book of Jonah (see Brüll, *Jahrb. f. jud. Gesch.* n. 1.11.315).

The third passage is Mt. 12:39-41, which occurs again in a simpler and more probable form in Lk. 11:29-32. 'The sign of the prophet Jonah' means the striking fact that an Israelite prophet proclaimed the punishment of God in a heathen city, and Jesus' statement is that the men of Nineveh will 'rise up' as witnesses (cf. $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, Ps. 55:11, 28) against his own 'generation' and prove them guilty ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ looks like an inaccurate rendering of the Aramaic equivalent of $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$; cf. 18:30-31, where 'condemn' is an impossible rendering). What the Ninevites testify is that they had not been repelled by the foreign garb and manners of Jonah but had believed him, and turned to God. The divine Judge will then condemn the Jewish contemporaries of Jesus because they

¹ *10P*, 127.

² Jonah himself too is treated in this liturgy with a view to edification. His prayer 'out of the belly of the fish' makes him an example of Gath (*Festive Prayers*, de Sola, 515).

³ It may be regarded as critically certain that Mt. 12:41 is a later insertion. It is the explanatory comment of an editor who required a 'sign of Jonah' more marvellous, more overwhelming than that which Jesus actually offered. The true 'sign of Jonah' must have been one which the Ninevites at once recognised. Cf. Sanday, *Samson's Life on Inspiration*, 419 ff. 435; L. A. Smith, *op. cit.* 2507 ff.

JONAN

did not report at a still greater 'sign'—the appearance among them of a more exalted personage than Jonah. It may be safely assumed that by the time of Jesus the symbolic character of Jonah had been as completely forgotten as that of the great Samarian must have been by those who first pointed out the traditional site of the 'mini-TLS' in 1934.

The post-biblical legends respecting Jonah are uninteresting (see ps. 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

9. Literature, etc.

believe, Jonah delivered addresses to the people of Nineveh, to the king, to the people, to the city. Nor must we omit to notice that Jonah is a favorite subject for the artists of several times in the Christian paintings in the catacombs at Rome.

For a full conspectus of works on Jonah see K. H. B. *Jonah*, 2^d ed., 1904; *The Book of Jonah*, 741 Chapman; *Jonah*, Smith's *DB*; or K. H. B. *Jonah*, Hastings' *DB*, vol. 2. Pusey's comment should be read on the 'inservative side'—a side which is now seldom represented. K. H. B. *Jonah*, 2^d ed., 1904, is of use for the linguistic argument, and his article, just referred to, comprises a rich collection of facts. Though condensation would greatly have improved it, Mr. A. Smith, on the other hand (*Under the Prophet*, 2^d ed., 1904), gives much in a small compass, and is very judicious. Mr. D. S. 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000.

JONAN, RV Jonam (יֹנָתָן [J. WH]) a name in the genealogy of Jesus, Lk. 3. See *GENEALOGIES* II, § 37.

JONAS (יוֹנָס) [J. WH] 1. RV Jonam (יֹנָתָן) 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

JONATHAN (יֹחָנָן) 7, 8, 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477,

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that the dragon was actually slain, others that he was merely confined below the sea (cp DRAGON, § 4).

Jaffa is beautiful when viewed from the sea, beautiful also in its surroundings. The orange gardens are modern; but fruit has always been grown in abundance on this rich soil. All the Jaffa fruit has a high reputation, and, as agriculture and viticulture spread, other parts of SW. Palestine will vie with Jaffa. Antiquities are wanting. Dean Stanley's defence of the supposed house of Simon the Tanner (*Simon and Pal.*, 277 f.) is at least eloquent and chivalrous.

JORAH (יֹרֵחַ); *Eürst*, 'harvest-born,' cp יֹרֵחַ, 'early' (i.e., autumn) rain; but see below; יֹרֵחַ [B], יֹרֵחַ [A], -יֹרֵחַ [1-], a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II, § 9, § 8c), EZRA 2:18 = Neh 7:24 (HARPHI) = 1 Esd. 5:16 (AZETHURITH, RV ARSITHURITH).

'Harvest-born' (cp יֹרֵחַ, 'autumn') for Jorah and Hariph is certainly wrong. The forms are parallel to Haroch and Hariph in 1 Ch. 2:41 f., both of which like REAIAH and possibly HIR-JOREPH come from Jerahmeel. In *apocryphos* [H] of 1 Esd. 5:16 (see HARPHI) *apocryphos* Hariph, and *apocryphos* Hariph, a variant to Hariph. See, however, further on EZRA-Neh.; E. Meyer, *Entst.* 144.

JORAI (יֹרֵי), a Gadite; 1 Ch. 5:13 (יֹרֵי [B]), יֹרֵי [A], יֹרֵי [1-]. 'Jorai' occurs among other corruptions of tribal names. See JORAH.

JORAM (יֹרָם), shortened from JEHORAM, q.v. Pinches and Hommel, however, compare Al-rammu, an Edomite royal name read by Schrader and Bezold *Mahk-rammu* [*Taylor* *Cat.* 234], it being viewed by them as = יֹרָם; cp *Del. Par.* 163 f. It is a question whether all these three names have not arisen out of Jerahmeel.

1. Son of Abiah; see JEHORAM, 1.
2. Son of Jehoshaphat; see JEHORAM, 2.
3. A Levite, 1 Ch. 26:25 (27), יֹרָם [B.A.I.].
4. A doubtful reading in 2 S. 8:10; see HADRAM, TOI.
5. One of the 'captains of thousands' in 1 Esd. 10 (יֹרָם [B.A.], יֹרָם [1-]), corresponding to JIZABAD (q.v., 5), 'chief of the Levites,' in 2 Ch. 35:9.

JORDAN (יַרְדֵּן), for יַרְדֵּן [Osh. § 215], יֹרְדָנִים [6]; also יַרְדֵּן, -יַרְדֵּן, -יַרְדֵּן [Jos. 1], the chief river of Palestine. (See maps to GILEAD and EPHRAIM.)

The name was felt by the Hebrews to be an appellative; hence in prose it almost always has the article.

1. Name. It is most probably of Semitic origin (though W. dissents), and may be connected with Syr. *yārdā* 'a lake,' Ar. *warāda* 'to go down to water' (of cattle), *warāda* 'watering-place'; and hence we may explain יַרְדֵּן as 'watering-place,' 'ford.' ¹ *Iapdāros* was a river in Crete (Hom. *Il.* 7:136, *Od.* 3:302).

See further *Ew. Hist.* I 243-257; W. *AT* *Inters.* 186, *ATF* 422. Of the two traditional explanations, one—that from יַרְדֵּן, 'to descend' (cp OS 169-203 90)—has found much acceptance, but we should expect rather the 'swift' or 'sinuous' stream to be the title of the Jordan. The other, from יַרְדֵּן and יַרְדֵּן, as if יַרְדֵּן = יַרְדֵּן meant either 'river of Dan' or 'the river which has two sources, for and Dan' (cp. on Mt. 13:11; cp DAN II, § 2), needs no refutation, though it is perhaps implied by *W.* *Iapdāros*. By a coincidence the current Arabic name of the Jordan (*al-Jazīra*) means 'the watering-place,' or 'the ford' (another *Serā'a*, from which the Jordan is sometimes distinguished by the addition of *al-Khāra* 'the great,' is the Yarmūk, see § 6). The name *al-Urdunna*, however, is also known (see Kamppmeyer, *ZDPV*, 92, p. 27).

1. We now understand how P can use the expression יַרְדֵּן, 'the Jordan of Jericho' (Nu. 22:1 26:1 31:15).

2. References. Josh. 13:12, etc.), apparently with a reminiscence of its original use as an appellative ('ford'). Probably the famous fords in-

¹ Since the above was written, the author has found that this explanation was first proposed by Seibold, *JDDP*, 56, p. 107, 261.

² AV gives 'Jordan by (also, near) Jericho'; RV 'the Jordan at Jericho' (cp *W.* *Iapdāros*). Kamppmeyer (*HS*) supplies 'gegenüber' ('opposite'). But in *Genium* 125 h he recognises that the genitive (יַרְדֵּן) is added to indicate a particular part of the Jordan. Dillmann paraphrases, 'that part of the Jordan which touches the domain of Jericho.'

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mediately opposite Tell es-Sūlān are meant. In adopting the expression once, and once only, the Chronicler (1 Ch. 6:61 [78]) is conscious that it needs a paraphrase; he therefore adds 'on the E. of Jordan.'

2. Another expression which may now become plainer is יַרְדֵּן, EV 'the plain (lit. circle) of Jordan,' Gen. 13:10 f. (see 10 f.), 1 K. 7:46 (see ADAM, ZARATHAN), 2 Ch. 4:17, or simply יַרְדֵּן, EV 'the plain' (Gen. 13:12 19:17 25:28 f., Dt. 31:3 2 S. 18:21), to which corresponds the phrase *ἡ πεδιάς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* in the LXX and in Mt. 3:5 Lk. 3:3. The Hebrew phrase means, according to Hahl (*Pal.* 112), 'the middle and broader part of the Jordan valley from the S. end of the Dead Sea to about the Wady 'Ajlūn' (see GILEAD). This view is based on a comparison of Dt. 31:3 ('the circle, even the Plain of Jericho [the city of palm-trees], as far as Zoar') with 2 S. 18:21, 1 K. 7:46. In Dt. 34:1, however, the phrase 'the Circle' (יַרְדֵּן; cp PLAIN, 4) certainly appears to have a narrower reference, and the words יַרְדֵּן in 2 S. 18:21 and יַרְדֵּן in 1 K. 7:46 are with good reason suspected of corruption (see MAHANAIM, TEBAH). The primary meaning of the phrase 'the Circle of Jordan' was probably the district between Jericho and Zoar (q.v.). This suits not only Dt. 31:3 but also Mt. 3:5, where the phrase 'all the region round about Jordan' (*πᾶσα ἡ πεδιάς, τ. Ἰορδ.*) seems to mean 'the country near Jericho and the Jordan.'

3. In Job 10:23 'Jordan' has been thought to be used as an appellative. Most critics (e.g., Dillmann, Davidson, Dahm) render, 'He is careless though a Jordan break forth upon his mouth,' explaining 'a Jordan' to mean 'a violent outbreak of water.' Considering that the context points to the Nile, this is hard doctrine, and if 'Jordan' were used as an appellative, it should mean 'ford.' Hence Ley and Budde propose to omit יַרְדֵּן as a gloss, and Winkler emends it into יַרְדֵּן 'Nile' (but whence comes יַרְדֵּן?). Certainly the Nile, not the Jordan, is to be expected, and perhaps we should read thus, יַרְדֵּן יַרְדֵּן יַרְדֵּן, 'he is careless though GILION (i.e., the Nile, יַרְדֵּן, i.e., the Euphrates) overflow'; for 1. 24 see (*cf. Bib.*).

4. In Ps 42:6 ('from the land of Jordan and the Hermonites' is commonly thought to mean 'the neighbourhood of Dan (Tell el-Kādi) or Casarea Philippi (Banias), where the Jordan rises from the roots of Hermon' (Kirkpatrick). This view of the text places 7: 6 (7) in a very pleasing light, and adds a fresh and interesting association to the picturesque scenery of the Upper Jordan, but it is of very doubtful accuracy. See HERMONITES, MIZAR.

5. On Jer. 12:5 'the swelling' (AV RV¹⁸, *Ew.*); or 'the pride (RV) of Jordan,' see § 6 and cp FOREST, 3 (c).

6. Josh. 3:15. Whether the passage of the Jordan was represented in the earlier form of the tradition as having occurred opposite Jericho, or at a point farther N., such as the ford *al-Nimrah* (some 16 m. above the ford near Jericho), need not be discussed again (see JERICHO, § 4, 1). The latter view fits in better with the story of Jacob's migration as it now stands (Gen. 32 f.) and with the direction given to Moses in Dt. 11:29 f. (see GERIZIM, § 1 f.). Still, whichever theory we adopt, it remains true that, if the reported passage of the Israelites occurred 'at harvest-time,' it must have synchronised with the overflow of the Jordan. The circumstance that this river overflows the narrow strip of vegetation on each side of its channel at harvest time (i.e., at the latter end of March, cp 1 Ch. 12:15, Eccles. 21:6), is recalled to the mind of the reader that he may duly estimate the marvel which tradition has reported.²

7. Passing over the references in the lives of GILGON, DAVID (cp FORD, ELIJAH, and Elisha), we pause at

¹ See Keim, *Jesus von Naz.* 1 404 (ET 231 f.). In Lk. 3:3, however, a wider reference is possible.

² On the legendary character of the narrative cp W., *Gesch.* 2 c. f.

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the deeply interesting scene of the baptism of John in Jordan. It was to the reed-covered banks of this river that the one religious teacher of his time whom none, as Jesus implies (Mt. 11:7), could compare to a reed, summoned his penitents. To a modern observer, indeed, the scenery of the Jordan near Jericho seems the most appropriate that could have been chosen for those solemn events.

At the same time we must not be too sure that Jesus' baptism occurred there. That John baptized at the great ford near Jericho is likely enough. But that he also baptized at Beth-nimrah (the probable original of the readings 'Bethany' and 'Bethabara' in Jn. 1:28; see BETHANY, § 2), and 'at Enon, near Salim' (Jn. 3:23; see SALIM), are facts by no means difficult to accept, considering that the new Elijah must have travelled about like the old. And we may reasonably suppose that the scene of Jesus' baptism was in some district more convenient than that of Jericho for Galilean pilgrims.

Without such inquiries as these, a critical geography of Palestine is impossible; but the historical interest of the Jordan in spite of the want of great events in political history connected with it is not seriously affected by them. To us, as well as to Flisla, the Jordan is far more than 'Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus,' more even than 'the great river, the river Euphrates.'

T. K. C.

The physical interest of the Jordan is hardly inferior to the historical. It has been well said, 'There may be something on the surface of another planet to match the Jordan Valley; there is nothing on this. No other part of our earth, uncovered by water, sinks to 300 ft. below the level of the ocean. But here we have a rift more than 160 m. long, and from 2 to 15 broad, which falls from the sea-level to as deep as 1292 ft. below it at the coast of the Dead Sea, while the bottom of the latter is 1300 feet deeper still.'¹ It was supposed by Burckhardt that the waters of the Jordan originally flowed down the whole course of the depression from the Lebanon to the Gulf of Akaba. This view, however, has been rejected by Lartet and disproved by Prof. Hull (see *PEEQ*, '86, pp. 145 ff.).

'I am disposed to think,' says this eminent geologist, 'that the fracture of the Jordan-Arabah valley and the elevation of the tableland of Edom and Moab on the E. were all the outcome of simultaneous operations and due to similar causes, namely, the tangential pressure of the earth's crust due to contraction—the contraction being in its turn due to the gradual cooling of the crust.' 'As the land area was gradually rising out of the sea (at the close of the Eocene period), the tablelands of Judaea and Arabia were more and more elevated, while the crust fell in along the western side of the Jordan-Arabah fault; and this seems to have been accompanied by much crumpling and fissuring of the strata.' 'From this time the basin of the Dead Sea must have been a salt lake, the level of which, however, must have varied greatly at different times. In evidence of this we find a succession of terraces of Dead Sea deposits extending around the basin of the sea and far up the Jordan valley.' 'The present level of the waters of the Dead Sea having been reached at the close of the Miocene or the commencement of the Pliocene period, no material change can have occurred in the course of the Jordan during historical times.' Cp *DEAD SEA*, § 2.

The valley of the Jordan may be naturally divided into three parts: (a) the Upper Jordan from the Hāshām to Lake Hūleh; (b) from Lake Hūleh to the Sea of Galilee; and (c) from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea.

4. Upper Jordan.

(a) The reputed sources of great rivers in antiquity were often not the real ones. Though supposed to take its rise at Tell-el-Kādi⁴ (see *DAN*) and Baniās⁵ (see *CESAREA*, § 7), the highest perennial source of the Jordan is in the bottom of a valley at the W. base of Hermon, a short distance from the small town of Hasbeyā (2203 ft.) and 12 m. N. of Tell-el-Kādi.

The fountain is in a pool at the foot of a basaltic cliff; the

¹ *GASIM*, *116* 4-8.

² *PEEQ*, 'Geology,' 108 ff.

³ *Downon, Egypt and Syria*, 1-6.

⁴ The source at Dan is mentioned by Jos. (*Ant.* v. 31, viii, 84) as being that of the Little Jordan, ἡ ἄνωτος Ἰορδάνου, τοῦ μικροῦ Ἰορδάνου.

⁵ For the source of the Jordan at Baniās, cp Jos. *Ant.* xv. 103, *BJ* i. 213, iii. 107.

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stream from it, called *Hāshām*, flows through a narrow glen into the plain, and falls into the main stream about a mile S. of the junction of the Leddan and Baniās. The relative size of the three streams Robinson thus estimates: 'That from Baniās is twice as large as the Hāshām; while the Leddan is twice if not three times the size of that from Baniās' (*RA* 3195).

The river then flows southward through the marshy plain for 6 m., and then into Lake Hūleh.

Besides the streams mentioned a considerable stream comes down from the plain of Hon, W. of the Hāshām; and two large fountains (called Baid, and Mēllāh), burst forth from the base of the mountain chain of Naphtali. The Rikket er-Rām (i.e., the ancient Phiasa), which Josephus (*R/ni* 10:7) asserts to be the source of the Jordan, is at the bottom of a deep basin resembling an extinct crater. According to local tradition, it occupies the site of a village which was submerged to punish the inhabitants for their inhospitality to travellers (cp *SODOM AND GOMORRA*). With regard to the morass above Lake Hūleh it is enough to refer to J. Macgregor's entertaining narrative, *Red Kay on the Jordan*. That the Lake is not the Mē-Meron (Josh. 11:47), as used to be supposed, may be taken as almost certain (see *LITERATURE* 252 345 f.; and cp *MIRON*, *WATERS* 602).

(b) On issuing from Lake Hūleh the river flows in a moderate current for about 2 m. On passing through *Jisr Benat Ya'kūb* ('bridge of Jacob's daughters,' see § 7), however, the banks suddenly contract and become steep. The

river now dashes along over a rocky bed in sheets of foam. Here and there the retreating banks have a little green meadow, with its fringe of oleanders (a characteristic plant) all wet and glistening with spray. Thus it rushes on, in its serpentine course, till, breaking from its rocky barriers, it enters the rich plain of Battha, where on the left bank stand the ruins of Bethsaida (BETHSaida). The river now expands, averaging some 20 yards in width. Across its channel here and there extend bars of sand, at which it is easily forded. At length the turbid stream reaches the still bosom of the Sea of Galilee, where, for a considerable distance, it is still visible. This gave rise to the Jewish legend (*Ber. rabba*, 4) that its waters and those of the lake do not intermingle. The fall of the river between Jisr Benat Ya'kūb and the lake (a distance of only 7 m.) is not less than 689 feet. The total length of the section between the two lakes is about 11 m. as the crow flies.

(c) The Jordan between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea flows through a deep depression (65 m. long) called in Arabic the *Ghōr* (i.e., 'bottom, depth, cavity, valley'), the ARABAH (*q.v.*).

6. Lower Jordan.

of the Hebrew Bible and the *arabā* of Greek writers (e.g., *Diocl. Sic.* ii. 489). The Ghōr is 3 m. wide at its northern end, but gradually expands till it attains a width of upwards of 12 m. at Jericho. Down this broad valley the Jordan has worked out for itself a bed about 20 ft. deeper at the northern end, and 200 ft. towards the Dead Sea; this bed varies from a quarter of a mile to two miles in breadth, and is known as the Zōr. Along its banks is that jungle of semi-tropical trees known in the O.T. as the 'Pride of Jordan.' The Ghōr itself is to a large extent of exuberant fertility.

On the E. side, N. of the *Zerki* (see *JAMOK*), where streams abound, the productivity is great, and the traces of ancient canals S. of that river show that the land was in ancient times well cultivated. And why should not the desert once more 'blossom as the rose'? A number of the authors of the Jordan would lend themselves admirably to the purposes of irrigation. It is only at the southern end of the Ghōr, for a few miles N. of the Dead Sea, that the soil is really sterile, being covered with a white nitrous crust, like hoar frost, through which not a blade of grass can possibly spring.

The Jordan issues from the Sea of Galilee, close to the hills on the western side of the plain, sweeping round the little peninsula. The fall of the river is at first 40 ft. per m.; but on entering the plain of Baisan it becomes only 10 or 12 ft. per m.; and farther S. only 4 or 5 ft. A short distance down are the remains

¹ The statement is quite groundless.

² See *GASIM*, *116* 433. 'The Jordan itself runs in too deep a channel to be easily useful for irrigation.' But cp Merrill, *PLAQ*, 79, p. 120.

JORDAN

of a Roman bridge, whose fallen arches obstruct the stream, and make it dash through in sheets of foam. Below this, says Molyneux, who surveyed the Jordan in a boat in 1847, are several weirs, constructed of rough stones, and intended to raise the water and turn it into canals, so as to irrigate the neighbouring plain. Five miles from the lake the Jordan receives its largest tributary, the *Sari at el-Menderekh* (the *Hieromachos* of Ptolemy, the *Yarmuk* of the Talmud), which drains a large section of Bashan and Gilead. This stream is 130 ft. wide at its mouth. Two miles farther is the quaint structure (Saracenic, according to Porter) of the bridge of el-Mujam'a. Here Molyneux found the river upwards of 100 ft. broad and 4 to 6 ft. deep.

As described by Porter, the ravine now inclines eastward to the centre of the plain, and its banks contrast. Its sides are bare and white, and the chalky strata are deeply furrowed. The margin of the river has still its beautiful fringe of foliage, and the little islets which occur here and there are covered with shrubbery. Fifteen miles S. of the bridge the Wady Yabis (see JABOT-GIT-AD) falls in from the E. A short distance above it a barren sandy island divides the channel, and with its bars on each side forms a ford; on the western bank, in a well-watered neighbourhood, the site of Succoth [7.2.] has been placed.

About 9 m. lower down, and about half-way between the lakes, the Jabot [7.2.], the only other considerable tributary, falls into the Jordan, coming down through a deep wild glen in the mountains of Gilead. After this the jungle of cane, willow, and tamarisk along the banks grows denser, and the plain above more dreary and desolate.

As the river approaches the Dead Sea, the mountain ranges on each side rise to a greater height, and become more rugged and desolate. The glen winds like a serpent through the centre, between two tiers of banks. The bottom is smooth, and sprinkled on the outside with stunted shrubs. The river winds in endless coils along the bottom, now touching one side and now another, with its beautiful border of green foliage, looking all the greener from contrast with the desert above. The banks are of soft clay, in places 10 ft. high; the stream varies from 80 to 150 ft. in breadth, and from 5 to 12 in depth. Near its mouth the current becomes more sluggish and the stream expands. Where the Wady Heishan falls in, Lynch² in 1848 found the river 150 ft. wide and 11 deep, 'the current four knots.' Farther down the banks are low and sedge; the width gradually increases to 180 yards at its mouth; but the depth is only 3 ft. Lynch adds that the extraordinary fall in the Jordan is accounted for by its tortuous course. 'In a space of 60 m. of latitude, and 4 or 5 m. of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 m. . . . We have plunged down twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides a great many of lesser magnitude.'

The four main affluents are the Yarmuk and the Jabot on the E., and on the W. the Jabb passing Beisan, and the Larta rising not far from Shechem. The supply of these and other perennial streams, however, scarcely balances the loss from evaporation of the river. It is difficult to compute the total number of the fords. According to *THEM* 279.225 ff. 3179 there are 45 fords in the 42 m. of stream above *Jar Danek*, and only 5 in the 25 m. below. Some of them have been historically important, e.g. 'Abra near Beisan (according to Under, i.e. Bethelara of Origen), Dimch on the road from Shechem to Gilead, and the ford of el-Hajja (see below). The bridge called *Jar Benit Ya'kub* may also be mentioned (see § 5); it was long the leading pass from Western Palestine to Damascus.³ It is first mentioned in 1450 A.D., but as early as the Crusades a

¹ This name is derived from the Bedawin tribe called el-Menderekh. *Saria* being the Arabic word for ford or watering-place, etc.,—who graze their flocks in its valley and cultivate its slopes (Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 6).

² Lieutenant Lynch made an adventurous boat-voyage in 1848 to survey the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea.

³ Robinson, *RK* 241; *IASin*, III, 427-428. The origin of the name is unknown (but see Ritter, *Pal. u. Syr.* 269, f.). Not far off is a khân now named after the pit of Joseph.

JOSABAD

Food of Jacob (*Udum Jacob*, Will. 131. *Hist.* 18 c) is mentioned. The bridge was probably built during the Hittite century, when the caravan road was constructed from Damascus to Egypt. At Makhalet el-Hajja, opposite the Roman Jericho, the annual bathing of the pilgrims takes place (see *Tristram* vi and *ep. Stanley*, *Syn. and Pal.* 114 ff.). There are two fords, one above and one below the bathing place. They are much deeper than those higher up, and when the river is swollen they become impassable. On the bridges, see Merrill, *PAE*, 79, p. 148 f.

The Jordan valley is a tropical oasis sunk in the temperate zone. It is possible to pass in the depth of

8. Climate. Jerusalem to a delightful summer atmosphere (60-80 Fahrenheit) at Jericho. In summer the heat is equatorial. The climate of the shores of the Sea of Galilee, though enervating, is less trying; Josephus's panegyric of the natural products of Gennesaret is well known (see *Tristram* I, § 4, end).

Josephus, however, does not mention the graceful populus (*Populus euphratica*) which flourishes, not only in the marshes of the Nile, but also on the W. shore of the Sea of Galilee. Here too we find the *rose or dove tree* (*Asiaphus spina christi*), a tropical tree, which abounds all about the river-course of the Jordan. Below the Sea of Galilee it is in flower, and many trees unknown elsewhere in Palestine. And the river-banks, in the five oases of the Dead Sea region many products of the tropic zone, including the *sakban*, or false hahn of Gilead (*Salicaria Egyptiaca*), the gorgeous scarlet *Levanthus*, the henna (see *Catechism*), and the *Asiaphus persica* abound. Balsam (see *Palmyra*, § 2) has long since disappeared; but in the crusading age sugar was still grown at Jericho. On the 'rose of Jericho' (*Anastasia*) see *Tristram*, *Alb.* 477. The plant does not grow any longer at Jericho, but is found at Masada.

To boat voyagers the jungle of the Jordan affords a delightful spectacle of luxuriant vegetation (see *FOREST*, and *ep. Lynch*, *Narrative*, 211-215). Varied not seldom by tokens of the presence of wild animals.

'At one place,' says Lynch, 'we saw the fresh track of a tiger on the low clayey margin (of Jordan), where he had come to drink. . . . At another time a wild boar started with a savage grunt and dashed into the thicket; but for some moments we traced his pathway by the shaking cane and the crashing sound of breaking branches.' Evidently, however, it was a cheetah, not a tiger, that the voyager observed. The jackal, fox, hyena, bear, lion, leopard, and cheetah (the two latter both probably called *ḥayy*, see *LEOPARD*) may in fact easily be met with in the Jordan Valley.

How wonderful, too, is the bird-life of the Jordan Valley! One often notices there Indian, and still oftener Ethiopian species. The butterflies, too, which hover over the flowers in winter are, like the flowers themselves, many of them of Nubian and Abyssinian types. What a garden all this favoured land must have been not merely in the time of Jesus but in the more remote age when the Yahwist (J) wrote the eulogistic description in Gen. 13.10!

Literature. See *Survey of Western Palestine*, 'Flora and Fauna' (Tristram, 39), Molyneux, *Narrative and Official Reports* (47); Lynch, *Narrative of the U.S. Expedition* (40); J. Macgregor, *Arab Roy on the Jordan* (7-9); Neidauer, *Ged. 22*, 34; Warren in Hastings' *DB* iii.; works of Robinson, Porter, Tristram, G. A. Smith. § 1 f. T. K. 1.

JORIBAS (יוריס) [BA]. 1. *Est.* 844 = *Ezra* 810 JARIB. 2. RV has *Joribus* (80 EV in 1 *Est.* 919 = *Ezra* 1018 JARIB. 3).

JORIM (יורם) [Ti. WH], a name in the genealogy of Jesus. Lk. 3.29. See *GENEALOGIES* ii, § 3 f.

JORKOAM, or rather, as in RV, *JORKEAM* (יורקם), grandson of SHEMA (7.7.1), one of the sons of Hebron (1 Ch 24. in 6 MT יורקם); see *REKIM*, 3). The readings of *Θ* (ιακκάν, iek. [B], iepakán [A], iepakam [L]) suggest that this is the same name as that which MT of Josh. 15.56 (cp *Θ*⁶) gives as JORDAM (7.7.1). There is no satisfactory explanation of Jorkeam ('pallor populi,' Ges. *Theol.*), may serve as a warning to etymologists; and the name is most probably a corruption of יורם (see *JERAMEEL*, § 4). T. K. 1.

JOSABAD. 1. 1 Ch 124 (יֹסָבָד) AV. See *JOZABABAD*, I.

2. 1 *Est.* 861 (יֹסָבָד) [AB]. See *JOZABAD*, 6.

3. 1 *Est.* 929 (יֹסָבָד) [AB]. See *ZABAD*, 1.

JOZAK.

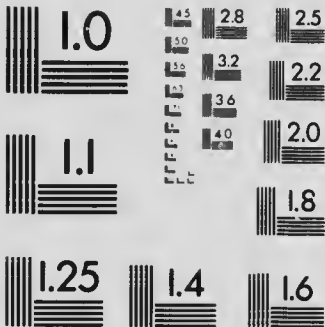
using the $100\% \pm 2.5\%$ rule.

Like Jacob, Joseph has also a mythological significance. As son of Shechem he is the Bial-herth of the northern confederation, and represents the sun-god to whom the moon and the



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JOSEPH [in OT]

ever that may be, there is certainly a tendency to equate Joseph and the Ephraimite kingdom. The case of Benjamin, however, requires special study (cp BENJAMIN, MANASSEH). Whatever may be the real facts of the earlier history of that tribe,¹ it appears that in later times it seemed unnatural to regard it as forming part of the same whole as Ephraim and Manasseh.

If, as is frequently supposed, Joseph was an old name for all the clans that settled in EPHRAIM (J. 1. § 1), this will account for its not being mentioned in the 'Song of Deborah': it is represented by its constituent parts. It seems not improbable that Joseph and Ephraim are simply two names, older and younger, tribal and geographical (see EPHRAIM, § 1), for the same thing (cp also RACHIN).

We have suggested that Ephraim was a younger name than Joseph; but only as the name of a people.

3. Other points. As a geographical name it may have been much older. The question arises accordingly, Were there Israelites in Ephraim before Joseph settled there? We are hardly entitled to find a hint of a theory that this was so in the story of the sons of Leah² dwelling by Shechem (Gen. 37.14), or tending their flocks in the plain of Dothan (2.17, E) before Joseph joined them; this may as easily belong to the Joseph-tale. There is more chance of there being a legendary trace of such a theory in the story of Gen. 31 (see DINAH, SIMON, LEVI, EPHRAIM, § 7 n.; cp W. G. 2.351).

Nor would it be safe to interpret of the tribe what we are told in J of Joseph's having an Egyptian wife.³ In this respect Joseph stands with Jacob and the other heroes of legend, in whose case also the name of the wife is given. This is so even if we should incline to follow Marquart in finding traces of Egyptian names in Josephite clans. The point that the names of Joseph's sons are bestowed not by his wife, as is the custom in the patriarch stories of J and E, but by himself (Gen. 41.51 f., E), may be taken direct from the source that both E and J used (see next article, § 4).

On the notions about the mutual relations as to dignity and status of Reuben, Joseph, and Judah (2 S. 19.43 [44]: with Theodorus, read בְּרֵרָה בְּרֵרָה, with G¹ and 1 Ch. 5.1 f.) see REUBEN. H. W. II.

JOSEPH [in OT] (יוֹסֵף), §§ 33, 79, 84, 'he [i.e. the tribal god] increases,' cp the fuller form יוֹסֵף יְהוָה, יוֹסֵף (passim).

1. Son of Jacob and Rachel and brother of Benjamin (Gen. 30.22-24), the eponym of the tribe of Joseph (=Manasseh and Ephraim). Tradition

connected the name variously with the 're-moving' (יָצָא) of Rachel's childlessness (so E; cp Abiasaph, Eliasaph, Asaph), and with her longing for the 'addition' (יָצָא 'let him add') of another son (so J).¹ If 'Joseph' contains an utterance respecting God, the latter explanation approaches the truth. The multiplication will refer to all the blessings poetically described in Gen. 49.25. Names like Joseph, however, are generally shortened from theophoric names. The analogy of Ishmael and Jeremiah suggests that 'Joseph'

eleven stars bow down. On Winckler's explanation (from the calendar) of the two sons and the advancement of the younger, see MANASSEH.

¹ For a brilliant discussion of the whole question see Winckler *GF II* (*Passim*), where it is argued that Saul, a Gileadite, made himself ruler of Benjamin, which he transformed into a state representing roughly what was later the Ephraimite kingdom (but stretching southwards beyond Ephraim). Cp SATL, JUDAH, and articles referred to there.

² The mention of the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah as being not with the sons of Leah (2), but with Joseph, seems to be due to a late hand (Gen. 37.2). The *Test. 12. Pat.* makes God in particular take great blame to himself for ill will to Joseph.

³ For Winckler's mythological explanation, see *GF* 2.72.

⁴ Cp Mikiasaph (Melkiasaph?) and Baal-asaph (Baal-yasaph?), the one, the name of a king of Gela, in the time of Esar-haddon and Ashurbanipal (*KB* 2.120.211); the other, of an Arvadite prince, in the time of Ashurbanipal (*KB* 2.173).

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was originally Joseph-el (cp Josaphad). There is a Palestinian place-name in the Karnak list of Thutmose III. (19th cent. B.C.) which in Hebrew letters might stand as יוֹסֵף (popularly, Joseph-el), and which, rightly so read (see JOSEPH I., § 1), may have been that of all a clan-name (see *KB* 2.442). Pinches too has discovered on a very ancient Babylonian contract-tablet the personal name Yasup-du (rather Yasup-ilu), which has some resemblance to Joseph-el.¹

As to Joseph-el, a final decision seems far off. See JOSEPH I., § 1, and note that Flinders Petrie reads Yeshphar, and identifies the place with Esch-shir, S.E. of Ashdod (see SATL) while Tomkins (*Life of Joseph*, 65) identifies Joseph-el with Yusuf, in a wady E. of Kefr Harith and Naba Naba (see ISRAELI-STRATA). All most uncertain.

On the ethnic use of the name which in pre-exilic prose means the same as 'Ephraim' in prophetic language—i.e., the tribes of N. Israel (2 S. 19.40 [21] 1 K. 11.20), see JOSEPH I., § 2.

In Jos. c. 1.1 (290) Chaeremon, an Egyptian Greek writer, is said to have spoken of Joseph under the name Ηερεσηφ, and it is plausible to hold that Mantho simply distorts the name 'Joseph' when he speaks (Jos. c. 1.1. 126.2-3) of the leader of the lepers (see § 11) as Οσαρηφ or Οσαρηφ. The name Osarsiph is properly a divine name (=Osar-sapi); it denotes Osiris as god of the underworld.² It is possible to interpret Πετεσηφ 'he whom the god Saph has given' and to suppose another distortion of Joseph. Still it is very possible that Ηερεσηφ may be a mere clerical error for Ηερεφση, the Græcised form of the name of Joseph's father-in-law.

The traditional story of Joseph in Genesis (we omit the meagre post-exilic abstract of P) presents a very different aspect from that of Abraham.

2. Traditions. Isaac, and Jacob. The hero is no doubt idealised; but the details of his life are such as, in a more recent biography, we might accept as to some extent an approach to truth; even in such a point as the age of Joseph at his death (Gen. 50.26) the biographer does not overstep the bounds of possibility. How Joseph came to be regarded as the 'son' of Jacob, and how it was that the stream of tradition flowed so much more abundantly for biographers of Joseph than for those of the first three patriarchs, we must consider later (§ 4).

It is evident, however, that, though more credible in its details, the story of Joseph cannot be accepted as genuinely historical, since it comes to us in two forms which do not altogether agree, and neither of the two narratives can be presumed to be on the whole earlier than the ninth or eighth century B.C. It was the hero of the founder of his people that the Israelite writer or writers called E had to relate; how could we expect even a moderate degree of what moderns are pleased to call historical impartiality? It would be hardly less absurd to expect a narrative of well-sifted facts from the Judahite writer or writers known as J. The working of popular prejudices, and the plastic influence of the popular imagination, which delights in find anticipation of later historical facts, can readily be discerned, and who that has any sympathy with antique modes of thought could desire it to be otherwise?

In fitting the Joseph-traditions into the general narrative, it was necessary to give some idea of the relationship of the ages of Joseph and his brethren. Two different views were taken.

3. J and E. ages of Joseph and his brethren. Two different views were taken.

It follows from E's account of the births that Joseph was born not long after the sons of Leah, and at most only twelve years after Reuben (Gen. 31.17.41). The fragments of J in Gen. 3, however, leave it open to us to suppose that the interval between

¹ Cp Sayce, *Int. Pal.*, Prof.; Hommel, *IHT* 66. Elsewhere (*CP*, c. 112) Hommel compares the name Yasup-ilu with the Arabian name Yasup (from Yasup-ilu), which he explains (p. 24) as 'He (God) regards'.

² Cp Stier, *Studien zur Rel. u. Spr. Geschichte*, etc., 1. 47.

³ As if Joseph were a syncretistic name 'Yahweh-Seph'.

⁴ Ebers, *Durch Aegypten zum Sinai* (2), 361; Tomkins, *Ancient Egypt*, Sept. 1, 1883.

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the births of Joseph and Zelulim was longer than the fragments of E would incline us to suppose. At any rate, the extracts from the Joseph-story of J represent Joseph as born to Jacob in his old age (37:3-11). The notice that he was seventeen years old when he was sold into Egypt (7:2) comes from P, and is due to learned but not authoritative calculation.

This difference of view helps to explain the first chapter in Joseph's composite biography. The two narrators agree that Joseph's brethren conspired together to kill him; but the reason for this step given by E (37:26-27) is the more intelligible the older we suppose Joseph to be. J simply states that the brethren of Joseph hated him because of the partiality for him shown by his father Israel, who had provided him with a 'long tunic with sleeves' (see LXXII), such as befitted one born to greatness and not to hard toil (37:3, J). Thus the mischief is traced in J to an act of Jacob; but in E we find it accounted for by an act of Joseph, viz., his communication of ominous dreams. In neither case is the act blameworthy according to the writer; it conduces to the accomplishment of Yahwe's great purpose, which is the exaltation of Joseph for the good of his whole family and for that of the country where the Israelites are to sojourn.

The other differences between the two narratives in chap. 37 need not long detain us. That according to J Joseph is sent from Jacob's abode to Shechem is merely a consequence of the statement in Gen. 35:16-21 (J) that Jacob had settled in the neighbourhood of Ephrath (or perhaps Beeroth; see EPHRAIM); 'the vale of Hebron' (עֲרֵב 37:14, should be 'the vale (or plain) of Beeroth.' Of course, E's account is the more accurate; but J does not alter the tradition that the brothers were at DOTHAN [7:1], N. of Shechem, on the caravan-route from Gilead to Egypt, when they got rid of their ambitious brother. Nor is the discrepancy between J and E as to the ethnic designation of the merchants who convey Joseph to Egypt (Ishmaelites from Gilead, J; Midianites, E) as important as two other differences: (1) that the spokesman of Joseph's brethren and the avenger of Joseph's death is Reuben in E, but Judah in J;² and (2) that, according to E, Joseph was stolen (by the Midianites) out of the waterless eastern into which he had been cast, whilst, according to J, he was sold to the merchants (Ishmaelites) by his brethren. The difference as to the spokesman is of interest as suggesting the N. Israelitish origin of the story as given by E; J's version is, in its present form, not less distinctly of southern origin. The difference as to how the passing caravan obtained Joseph shows the superior skill of E as a narrator. It was important, he considered, to show that Joseph was not rightfully used as a slave.

Chap. 39 is mostly due to J. Joseph is sold as a slave to an Egyptian,³ who perceives his worth and places him over his household; but his master's wife casts her eyes upon the young man, and makes proposals from which he can escape only by flight. Falsely accused to his master, he is cast into prison. Yahwe, however, gives him favour with the governor, who in his turn sets Joseph over his house.

This plain story, however, is complicated by being interwoven with passages from E. According to these, Joseph was bought by a *saris* (see EUNUCH) named Potiphar, the captain of Pharaoh's bodyguard, who entrusted him with the care of all that he had. A subsequent passage of E refers to Joseph as being in the prison, not for any real or supposed offence, but to attend on two high officers of the Pharaoh who had been confined for some fault in the prison in Potiphar's house.

Chaps. 40-42 are mainly from E. The chief butler and the chief baker in their imprisonment have strange dreams which only Joseph can interpret. Two years

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later the Pharaoh himself has dreams which, by divine favour, Joseph succeeds in explaining. (Dreams are frequently introduced by E, though it happens that a belief in the significance of dreams was particularly characteristic of Egypt.)¹ Seven years of great plenty are at hand, which will be followed by seven years of famine. Joseph counsels that during the years of abundance a fifth part of the grain should be exacted from the agriculturists and laid up in storehouses. The Pharaoh perceives that a divine spirit is in Joseph, makes him high steward and grand vizier,² and, among other honours, introduces him by marriage into a grand sacerdotal family. Joseph also receives an Egyptian name (41:45, J), and we shall see later (§ 11) that the three Egyptian names in 41:45 have an important bearing on criticism. To the two sons of Joseph, however, born before the famine, pure Hebrew names are given (Gen. 41:50-52).

Soon the evil years arrive. Joseph's counsel has been carried out, and the Egyptians come to the Semitic grand vizier to buy grain, till their money is exhausted (41:56-47:15, J). By a clever contrivance (the narrative is J's) Joseph obtains for the Pharaoh the proprietorship of the whole land of Egypt, except that which belongs to the priests. Of this, more hereafter (see § 10). Suffice it to remark that though the story in 47:13-26³ can be fitted fairly well into the general narrative (by making it the sequel of the description in 41:55 f.), it shows a new side to Joseph's character which is not altogether pleasing,⁴ and contrasts with the spirit of the fine passage, 'God sent me before you to preserve life' (45:5, E).

Now comes the true turning-point in Joseph's life. His honours were not for himself alone; they were to prepare the way for the friendly reception of his entire family in Egypt. Driven by hunger, all Joseph's brethren except Benjamin come to Egypt to buy corn, and do obeisance to the grand vizier (42:5-7; E, but J at end of 7:7).

Joseph recognizes them, and remembers the dreams of his youth. He affects to regard them as spies. To prove the truth of their story, they must fetch their youngest brother to see him, Simeon remaining in bonds as surety with Joseph. They return home sadly, admitting the justice of their fate (7:21), and with additional anxiety because the corn and the purchase-money were both, unaccountably, in their sacks. They bring the bad news to their father, who querulously answers, 'Joseph is no more; Simeon is no more; it is I (not you) who suffer from these things' (42:36, E). Reuben, however, who has already deserved well by admonishing his brethren (42:22, E), pledges his word that he will bring Benjamin back in safety (42:37, E).

It is only from a few interwoven passages in chap. 42 that we gather that J also gave a version of the same events. Nothing was said in this of the captivity of Simeon, for, at the beginning of the next long passage from J (43:1-13), it is implied that the only fresh trouble of which Jacob is aware is the necessity for parting with his darling Benjamin.

From 42:38-44 all but a few lines from E referring to Simeon belongs to J, whose dramatic presentation of facts attracted the editor. In a family council respecting the famine, Judah (as before) becomes the spokesman of the brothers. Like Reuben at an earlier point in E's account he pledges his word to his father Israel for the safety of Benjamin (43:8). Jacob gives way with an effort, and Benjamin accompanies the others to Egypt.

They bring double money, and a present for the grand vizier, who, frugally as he lived in general (see 43:17), ordered them to

¹ Cf. especially the story of the Possessed Princess of Bakhtan (Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Égypte anc.* 209-224; cp *RP* 43:60; Brugsch, *Geogr. d. Äg.* 627-641; Erman, *Z. f. Äg.* 33, pp. 54-60).

² Gen. 41:40 (E) should certainly run, 'Thou shalt be over my house, and unto thee shall all my people hearken' (עָלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָעוּ וְכָל־עַמִּי יִשְׁמָעוּ).

³ On the analysis of the section see Holzinger, 251 f., who finds traces of both J and E, and holds that the passage has also received later interpolations.

⁴ It may of course be replied that Joseph felt as a Hebrew, and expended all his generosity on his brethren.

¹ Cp C. Niebuhr, *Gesch. des Ebr. Zeit.* 1:150.

² In 37:21 [J] 'Reuben' should of course be 'Judah.' The alteration was made by the editor. See *Oxf. Hex.* 250.

³ The words, 'Potiphar, a *saris* of Pharaoh, captain of the bodyguard' (39:1), are a harmonistic insertion of R.

he received hospitably. So three tables are placed, one for Joseph, one for his brethren, and one for his Egyptian guests, who must not eat with Hebrews (22.32). Joseph lavishes attentions on Benjamin, his mother's son. Then he deliberately subjects his brethren to a fresh trial, though it is as much as he can do to restrain his emotion. To some extent indeed he has prepared them for it. For the mysterious return of the corn money on their former visit, which so much perplexed and affrighted them, was due to an order of Joseph. Once more the astute Hebrew vizier causes the money to be replaced in the sacks, and in Benjamin's sack he has his own silver drinking-cup¹ deposited; by this means he seeks to awaken their consciousness of guilt (44.12, J). Then he sends after them, and on their return accuses them by his steward of theft. The riddle has now become harder than ever. Not many hours ago they had been assured by the steward that the money restored on the former occasion was a gift; indeed, even now no difficulty arises out of the replaced money, but only out of the cup. Judah, the chief of the brothers, makes no attempt at justification. 'God,' he says, 'has found out the guilt of thy servants';² but he tells Joseph how their father's life is bound up with Benjamin's, and how certainly he will die if his child does not return, and offers himself as a bondsman in place of Benjamin.

The recognition scene (45.1-15), to which E is a large contributor, need not be repeated here. Jacob is invited to come with his family and his flocks and herds to the province of GOSHEN (47.7). His sons, including Simeon and Benjamin, return to Canaan with rich presents, and Israel (J) at once resolves to accept the invitation. E, however, gives us a remarkable detail which is passed over by J. The road from S. Palestine to Egypt started from Beersheba, so closely connected with memories of Isaac. There, E tells us, Jacob offered sacrifices, not to Isaac himself,³ but to 'the God (elohim) of his father Isaac' (46.1). For the present nothing more is drawn from this writer.

Naturally enough, it is J who tells that Judah was sent on in advance to give Joseph notice of the approach of his father. The Hebrew text of Gen. 46.28 is not, as it stands, quite intelligible; but with the help of E we can with some probability restore the text thus: 'And he sent Judah before him to Joseph to the land of Jarmuth.'⁴ Jarmuth (see § 11) is mentioned repeatedly in the Amarna letters; it was apparently a district in Lower Egypt, either in the Fayyûm or more probably in the E. part of the Delta, in the neighbourhood of Goshen. Here Judah found the grand vizier, who lost no time in preparing his chariot and going up to meet

¹ Apparently J does not conceive divination to be inconsistent with the worship of Yahwê. שֵׁנִי, 'to divine,' is used again by J in Gen. 30.27 (a speech of Laban). See DIVINATION, § 3 [3].

² We are not to compare Ps. 90.8 [9]. The early sin against Joseph presses on Judah's conscience.

³ In 31.53 we may perhaps trace the earlier form of the tradition, according to which the hero Isaac was himself worshipped (cp Holzinger, *ad loc.*). In 46.1 E carefully adjusts the tradition to later religious ideas.

⁴ MT has וַאֲחֵיהֶוּהָ שָׁלַח לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵי יוֹסֵף לְהָרִידָהוּ, but, as Lagarde, Kautsch, Socin, and Ball have seen, לִפְנֵי, 'to point out before him,' cannot be correct. Ball (96) would read לְהָרִידָהוּ (E σουαρτήσαι αὐτῶν); but the sentence does not tell us whom Judah was to meet, nor does שֵׁנִי, 'to Goshen,' follow naturally. Lagarde (GG.V, 90, p. 119) and, independently, the present writer (in '80) thought that instead of לִפְנֵי E read לְהָרִידָהוּ or the like—i.e., 'to Heroopolis.' Heroopolis, as Naville has shown, is PITHOM (q.v.); 'Heroo' may perhaps come from the Egyptian *ar* (= *ar*) 'storehouse' (*Store city of Pithom*, q.v.). Lagarde accepts this as the true reading; but too hastily. E's version needs a more thorough inspection. It runs thus in A, τὸν δὲ Ἰούδαν ἀπεστείλιν ἐν μυστηρίῳ αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἰωσήφ σουαρτήσαι αὐτῶν καθ' Ἡρώων πρὸς εἰς γῆν Παμεσσῆ. What is εἰς γῆν Παμεσσῆ? It represents שֵׁנִי in MT. שֵׁנִי, however, is nowhere else rendered γῆ Παμ. In spite of Naville's plausible theory (*Goshen*, 17) that γῆ Παμ. may mean a larger district than Goshen, the present writer holds that E must have read something rather different from MT, viz., לְהָרִידָהוּ. Here לְהָרִידָהוּ is to be taken as a correction of לְהָרִידָהוּ (a miswritten fragment), the right reading and the wrong being preserved, as often, side by side. E, however, supposed לְהָרִידָהוּ to mean 'to Ero'—i.e., 'to Heroopolis'—and לְהָרִידָהוּ to be miswritten for לְהָרִידָהוּ—i.e., 'to (the land of) Ramees'. The true reading of 46.28 probably is וַאֲחֵיהֶוּהָ שָׁלַח לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵי יוֹסֵף לְהָרִידָהוּ אֶת־יָחִידָהוּ (E omits εἰς γῆν Παμ. both in 46.28 and in 47.11). יָחִידָהוּ (or יָחִידָהוּ) and שֵׁנִי at the end of 46.28 and in 47.20 are also insertions. In 47.21 'the land of Ramees' should be 'the land of Jarmuth'.

his father. The meeting is described in few but appropriate words (46.29, J), such as that colourless writer P could never have found. If we may give way to the spell of the narrator, and treat the events narrated as historical, we may suppose the meeting to have taken place near one of the Egyptian fortresses on the border of the desert.¹ After this, according to J, the whole party went up to the court, and Jacob and five of his brethren were presented to the Pharaoh² (Gen. 47.2-4, J). A remarkable honour, for we have just been told (46.34) that 'every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.' The Priestly Writer, generally so concise, even gives us a conversation held by Jacob with the Pharaoh (Gen. 47.7-10). The patriarch speaks in the tone of Ps. 90.13 [11],³ and as Jacob goes out, like a superior being, he blesses the Egyptian king.

Both J and E described the last meeting of Joseph and his father. It was specially important to record the blessing of Joseph's two sons (48.19, JE) and the oath exacted by Jacob from Joseph (cp STAFF) that he would bury him, not in Egypt, but in the grave which he (Jacob) had dugged for himself in the land of Canaan (50.5). Jacob on his side promised that Joseph should return to Canaan and occupy the finely-situated hill of SHECHEM (48.22, E). Upon Jacob's death his son performed all the requisite funeral rites (see ABEL-MIZRAIM), both Egyptian and Hebrew, and then returned with his brethren, whom he continued to treat magnanimously till he died at the ideal age of 110 (see § 10).

We have seen that the pre-exilic story of Joseph is made up of portions of two distinct biographies which have been skillfully welded together by a redactor. This is a fact of much importance. Since there are two records, and these (as will appear) are equally accurate in their Egyptian colouring, we may assume that there was a still earlier document from which both J and E drew.

It may be asked, Can we fix the dates of J and E, looking simply at their respective lives of Joseph? (By J and E we mean here members of the schools of writing denoted respectively by the letters J and E.) We may presume that J (or better J₂) lived after the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.), for otherwise, being a Judahite writer, he would not have felt free to treat so elaborately a northern legend aiming at the glorification of Joseph. For the date of E (or E₂) we have perhaps a clue in the name Asenath, and at any rate in the name Potiphera in 41.45. Though a name of the type Potiphera has been shown to occur close upon the Hyksos period,⁴ the name referred to (Petu-baal, 'gift of Baal') is only half Egyptian, and the type first becomes frequently represented in the 26th dynasty.⁵ The name Asenath may also be explained as a specimen of a late type of name. It is generally held to be a Hebraised form of Egyptian *ns-nt*—i.e., 'belonging to [the Saite goddess] Neith'—and if so may indicate that the editor lived in, or shortly before, the period of the 26th or Saite dynasty.⁶ The name, however, is not doubly attested like that of Potiphera (cp 'Potiphar,' 37.36, E), and may not be the form which E₂ wrote. Let us not neglect to be-

¹ So Tomkins, *Life of Joseph*, 75.

² On Gen. 47.5 f., where the text of E is clearly preferable, see We. CH 53, and cp Bacon, *Gen.* 212; Ball, *Gen.* 104 f.

³ Herdsman are caricatured on the monuments as ugly and deformed. A reference to Gen. 46.34 does not lighten this inconsistency, for that narrative has reached its present form by a misunderstanding (see MIZRAIM, § 2 f.).

⁴ Lady Duff Gordon (*Letters from Egypt*) thinks that Gen. 47.9 is just the hollow speech that a Fellah would make to-day to a Pasha. The remark does not at all hit the intention of P.

⁵ Not necessarily MACHTEL. AH [q.v.]; 47.30 seems to have been touched by R, to harmonise it with P (49.29-32).

⁶ See Brugsch, *Gesch.* 107, cp 229; and especially Tomkins, *Adad.*, 31st Jan. 1801; *Life of Joseph*, 183.

⁷ Steindorff, *ZA* 30.41 f. (80), 33.50-52 (92); cp Lag. *Mitt.* 3.226-229 and 228-226; Brugsch, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 50, p. 245; Cornill, *ibid.* 41.

⁸ So Steindorff, *ibid.* Names of this type occur now and then earlier, and are frequent in the 21st (Theban) dynasty.

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warned by the wrongly read 'Egyptian' names, Anu in G. 1 K. 12:47 (Swete), and Tahpeens in MT of 1 K. 11:19 (see HAMAN).

If so, we have nothing to depend upon for the name Potiphara, and this is a very weak basis for a theory. There were learned scribes before as well as after the exile, and such an one may possibly have changed the original name given to Joseph's father-in-law by E₂ into a name of the type which in his own time was more fashionable in Egypt; or perhaps the text may have become indistinct, and the scribe may have corrected the older name in accordance with the fashion of the time.

Next, assuming (as we must) that J and E drew from an earlier Hebrew story, can we form an opinion as to its probable period? This Hebrew story was certainly no mere romance, the scene of which was laid in Egypt. The Egyptian colouring is too profuse, and the details too peculiar, to be altogether ascribed to a Hebrew narrator. We can imagine that a romantic story of the Egyptian sojourn of a Joseph who was merely the eponym of the Hebrew tribe of that name would have presented some Egyptian features. Such a story, however, being mainly a reflection of the fortunes of a tribe, could not have been so deeply infused with Egyptian elements as the existing Joseph-story. It is therefore a reasonable conjecture that that earlier Hebrew story of which we have spoken was based on a still more ancient Hebrew narrative which had no elements of tribal legend and related entirely to an individual, and that those elements in our existing Joseph-story which are most unalienably personal, and by which this story contrasts most strongly with the unhistorical tribal legends of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were present in a purer and of course a more complete form in that ancient Hebrew narrative.

To what extent this most ancient Hebrew tale may have suffered alteration in the course of centuries, it is impossible to say. We may conjecture, however, that it was really based upon facts which, however idealised, were yet truly historical, that it was written not many generations after the events to which it referred, and even that it was derived directly or indirectly from an Egyptian source. The number of Semites in the eastern provinces of Egypt was so large that this Egyptian origin is far from being an extravagant hypothesis. The upper limit of the period within which the Hebrew stories, which seem to have preceded J and E, have to be placed, depends on the date or dates of the events recorded idealistically by the earliest of them.¹

Let us first consider some of the most remarkable phenomena in the Joseph-story (completeness cannot be aimed at) in connection with Egyptian parallels.

5. Egyptian parallels.

a. The close parallelism between Gen. 39:7-23 and the Egyptian tale of Two Brothers has often been remarked. The Egyptian tale is extant in a copy which belonged to Seti II. (19th dynasty), and was probably written early in the 18th dynasty. That such a story could have arisen only in Egypt, it would be too much to assert; in fact, similar stories have been found in perfectly unrelated literatures.² Still, considering that the scene of the tale of Joseph and Potiphara's wife is laid in Egypt, and that the rest of the story of Joseph in Egypt is strongly Egyptian in colouring, it is most plausible to hold that Gen. 39:7-23 is based upon a parallel Egyptian story, though hardly upon the tale of the Two Brothers, for that has to do with peasant life. Such a borrowing would certainly be less surprising than the undoubted fact that in early Christian times an Egyptian monk named Visa, in writing the life of his father Shmudi,

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twice imitates the story of the Two Brothers in some one of its forms.

b. The rise of Joseph the Hebrew from low estate to the second position in the kingdom has many parallels. Semite slaves were common at all times in the Nile Valley.³ Often for their capacity and fidelity, they were raised to high positions, and became naturalised Egyptians. Meri Ra, the armour-bearer of Thotmes III., and his brother the priest User-Min, were the sons of an Amorite. We do not hear that they had been slaves; but there is nothing to prohibit the idea; and the chief point to notice in the rise of Joseph is not his having been a slave but his Hebrew origin. So, too, under the Pharaoh Merenptah the office of 'first speaker of His Majesty' was held by a Canaanite named Ben Matana, and in the Amarna Tablets we meet with two Egyptian officials who appear from their names Dudu (707) and Yahuamu (222) to be of Semite origin.

c. That the honours conferred upon Joseph (Gen. 41:42 f.) are such as a newly appointed vizier might well have received, is undeniable. The royal 'seal-bearer' was the chief government official; he was the deputy of the Pharaoh.⁴ The 'garments of linen' (19:11), if the story is of Egyptian origin, cannot be right; the first narrator may have referred to the royal apron-garment (the so-called *shendi-ti*) which was worn by others as well as by the king under the Middle and the New Empires.⁵ 'Garments of byssus' (42:12, see LINEN, 7) were not exceptional enough; all Egyptians of rank had to wear them. The 'golden collar' was a highly prized Egyptian decoration; Ahmes, the conqueror of Avaris, won it seven times by special acts of valour.⁶

In the Louvre there is a stele on which the investiture of a grandee with a golden collar is represented to the life. Seti I. presides over the ceremony, and while he makes a speech two officers put a magnificent collar round the neck of Hor-hem, who lifts his arms in token of joy (De Rouge, *Notice sommaire*, 41; cp Berret, *RP* 2:105 f.). See also Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.* 420.

Still we cannot lay too much stress even upon this decoration; at any Eastern court such an honour would have been prized (cp Dan. 5:7-20 and see 6. Joseph's NECKLACE). What the meaning of 'he made him ride in the second chariot that he had' (Gen. 41:43) can be, no one has explained.

The text has been injured; we may with some probability restore *ḥḥḥḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥḥḥ* 'in a chariot drawn by choice young steeds.' To both words in this phrase there may have been corresponding Egyptian terms; to the first there certainly was (*ḥḥḥḥḥḥ*); but both were originally Semitic (see CHARLOT, § 1, and cp HOFME, § 1:15).

It is more important, however, to note the titles of Joseph's office. 'They cried before him, Abrech' (Gen. 41:43, J). 'He has made me an *ab* to Pharaoh, and *adon* of all his house' (45:8, J). 'Abrech, if the reading is correct, is possibly the Ass. *abarakku*, a title of a very high dignitary, which like so many other Asiatic words may have passed into Egypt (see ABRECH). More probably, however, the first three letters represent an Egyptian title—viz., friend (ḥḥḥḥ)—and in 45:8 'an *ab* to Pharaoh' should probably be 'a friend of Pharaoh.' Brugsch, it is true, points out that the Egyptian *ab* meant a person who gave orders in the name of the Pharaoh.⁷ A lower dignitary would be called *adon*, though Brugsch has once found the title of 'an *adon* over the whole land' (in connection with the early life of Har-em-hib, afterwards king).⁸ In any case, however, we could not press this. *Adon*, if not also *ab*, is possibly a Semitic loan-word. *Adon* is the natural Hebrew word

¹ Ebers, *Ägypten u. die Bücher Moses*, 204; Erman, 103, 517.

² Flinders Petrie, *Tell Nebesheh*, 16; *Ten Years' Digging*, 66; Ebers, *Smith's DB* 1797; Tomkins, *Life of Joseph*, 47.

³ Erman, *Äg. Fg.* 62, 206, 210.

⁴ Renouf, *RP* 87-101; Petrie, *Hist.* 2:21-23.

⁵ *Äg. Fg.* 257, 245, 246.

⁶ *Gesch.* 169, 252.

¹ See, e.g., Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.* 249-251; E. Meyer, *Got* 1:285; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 209. For translations, see Renouf, *RP* 2:137 ff.; Masq. 10; *Contes de l'Égypte anc.* 3:32; Flinders Petrie, *Äg. Tales*, 236 ff.; cp Erman, 379 f.

² See A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2303-303.

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for 'lord'; so also, according to the lexicons, is *dh* for 'vizier'.¹

For the extent of Joseph's newly given authority we may refer to the descriptions of the two Egyptian feudal lords, Ptah-hotep and Rehnere'.

¹ If Rehnere' does not, like Ptah-hotep, bear the title of royal prince, he was perhaps of even higher rank, since he is called 'the double of the Pharaoh,' animated by his spirit, taking his place in his absence, governing all Egypt like him, addressed by the same titles, and saluted like him by the courtiers. We must not be surprised, therefore, at the royal title given to Ptah-hotep; the prefect of the capital was next to the king the first person in the kingdom.²

Not less remarkable is the abject servility of the letters addressed to Dudu, a high officer of Amen-hotep IV., by Aziri, prefect of the land of the Amorites; it is not easy to decide which is greater, 'the king, my lord,' or 'my lord, my father.'³ Aziri even refers to the king and the grandees collectively as 'my gods' (*iliniya*). Does not this remind us of Gen. 41:40, 'Only in the throne will I be greater than thou'?

⁴ With the viziership Joseph combined the office of director of the granaries (Gen. 41:48 f.). This was

7. Granaries. usually distinct. It was held, e.g., by Beka (19th or 20th dynasty), whose sepulchral stela is now preserved at Turin.⁵ Kings' sons did not disdain to hold it.⁶ We know, however, that Rehnere' (see *c*), who was a vizier, was superintendent of the storehouses, which from time to time he had inspected. This constant supervision is insisted upon by the real or imaginary princely sage, Ptah-hotep, in his famous collection of precepts. So, too, a chief overseer of the granaries, named Am-n-teh, tells us that he never took rest from his responsibilities. Such at least was the ideal. The magazines had to be carefully guarded and replenished, for on this the life of thousands might depend.⁷ This duty, according to Gen. 41:48 f., Joseph, as an ideal vizier, discharged in person. The scene of Joseph's brethren presenting themselves at the granaries may be illustrated by a wall-painting in the tomb of Rehnere' already referred to.⁸

We now come to the seven years of famine (Gen. 41:54 ff.). Famines were sometimes confined to Egypt.

8. Famine. On one such occasion, as the decree of Canopus mentions, the reigning Ptolemy imported grain from Syria and Phoenicia. The story of Joseph, however, refers to one which extended to all the neighbouring lands, natives of which came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn (Gen. 41:57). It used to be thought that a pictorial record of this event was still extant. On the N. wall of the tomb of prince Chnemhotep on the steep height of Beni Hasan can still be seen depicted the meeting of thirty-seven Asiatics with the Egyptian prince-governor. It is not, however, a famine but trade that brings them to Egypt, and they are nomads from Arabia, headed by their prince Abesha (see ABESHA, n. 2), bringing stilbium or eye-paint (see PAINT).⁹

In another of the Beni-Hasan caves is the tomb of Ameni, one of the feudal princes of the Middle Empire. This magnate

¹ But this is extremely doubtful. In Is. 9:6 [5] and 22:21 we should almost certainly read *ḥḥn* (strong one, protector). See *Crit. Bib.*

² Virey, *RP* 3:4; cp 4:3.

³ *Ann. Tab.* 44 f.

⁴ Flinders Petrie (*Tell Nebesheh*, 16; *Ten Years' Digging*, 66) suggests a further comparison with the 'chief of the chancellor,' or 'royal seal-bearer,' who stood at the head of the bureaucracy under the Hyksos kings. We must not, however, base an argument upon this for placing Joseph in the Hyksos period, for the officials at that period were not Semites but chosen from among the native Egyptians.

⁵ Chabas, *TSRA* 5:450-455.

⁶ Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 286.

⁷ Virey, *RP* 3:7 f. (see n. 2, p. 7).

⁸ *RP* 3:310.

⁹ See *Beni-Hasan (Archaeol. Survey of Egypt)*, Part I., p. 69, and cp HORRACK, § 50; MEXIC, § 2. The tombs are of the 18th dynasty.

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is made to relate the chief events of his life, and speaks thus in the conclusion.

'(When) there became years of famine . . . I made to live its inhabitants, making its provision; not became a hungry man in it. . . . When thereafter great rises of the Nile took place, producing wheat and barley, . . . not did I exact the arrears of the farm.'¹ A similar statement is made by a governor named Baba in his sepulchral inscriptions at el Kab (end of 17th dyn.); Baba speaks of 'a famine lasting many years,' and Brugsch has recorded his conviction² that the inscription refers to the identical famine of the Joseph story. Baba at el Kab was under the native king Sakahuri III., while Joseph lived and worked, as Brugsch thinks, under one of the Hyksos kings. Of a third famine which has been brought into connection with Joseph it is enough to say that the style of the monument proves it to be not earlier than the Ptolemies. See Wiedemann, *Gesch. des Alt. Aegyptens*, 68.

We now pass on to the policy of Joseph (Gen. 47:13-26, composite). The statements in 7:7, 20-26 have some affinity to those of Herodotus (2:1-4) and

9. Joseph's policy. Th. Iorus (173), and the probability is that all these stories are the attempts of

later generations to account for the fact that the Egyptians handed over a fixed proportion of the harvest to the king. Erman writes thus:—

'Whatever the details may have been, we may accept as a general fact that Isis and Amonose exterminated the old nobility very much as the Mamluks were exterminated by Mehmed Ali, and as the latter obtained the greater part of all the property in the kingdom by the confiscation of the estates of the Mamluks, so the former absorbed the property of the small princelords. Thus arose those abnormal agrarian conditions found in later Egypt, by which all property, with the exception of the priests' fields, belonged to the Pharaoh, and was rented from the crown by a payment of 20 per cent. In Gen. 47 these conditions are declared to be due to the clever policy of Joseph.'³

The narrator in Gen. 47 is certainly accurate in one part of his statement. The land of the priests was exempt from taxation; no 'inspector of the palace' could enter the sacred domains.⁴ We do not hear, however, that the priests received special 'portions' of provisions from the king; this statement is not confirmed.

One small point alone remains—the age ascribed to Joseph at his death. 'Joseph died, being 110 years old' (Gen. 50:26, J). No Hebrew tale-

10. Joseph's age. writer would have written thus. To reach the age of 110 years was every

good Egyptian's prayer; it was the aim desired by the high priest Bak-en-Honsu (19th dynasty) when he was 86 years of age.⁵ Ptah-hotep, whose collection of maxims has been called (with doubtful justice) the most ancient of books, says that his virtue has brought him to this advanced age, which few were privileged to exceed,⁶ and a strange reminiscence of this Egyptian belief meets us in the life of another Joseph (see JOSEPH III., § 10).

What historical elements are there in the Joseph story? We are prepared by the preceding inquiry to

11. Historical elements. find that there are some, and it will be best to go at once into the heart of the question. Let us notice, then,

(1) that several names possibly of Egyptian origin occur in the families of Moses and Aaron and of Joseph. The name of Moses may possibly be analogous to Ramessu, 'child of Ra (Rē)'; the son of Eleazar, commonly called PHINEHAS (q.v.), and a son of Eli bear, according to the prevalent opinion, the same well-known Egyptian name, of which HOPUNI (q.v.) may be a corrupt variation. Eleazar's father, PUTHIEL (q.v.), and the Korahite clan called Osir (MT ASSIR) also have been thought to bear, the one a partly disfigured, the other a still completely Egyptian name. HUR, too, the companion of Moses and Aaron, may also possibly be added to the list. The present writer probably stands nearly alone in looking elsewhere for the true explanations of these names. But with such an eminent

¹ Ib. 27.

² *Gesch. Aeg.* 245 ff.; cp Tomkins, *Joseph*, 56.

³ *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 103.

⁴ Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II.* (92), 3.

⁵ De Horrack, *RP* 12:115-122.

⁶ *RP* 3:34. Cp also Flinders Petrie, *Ann. Eg. Tab.*, 117.

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authority as W. Max Müller on the other side, he will not be so conscientious as to call the above explanations impossible. Certainly, if correct, they tend to justify the theory that the tribe of Joseph and some part of the tribe of Levi once sojourned in Egypt. Whether the story of the selling of Joseph for a slave may be best regarded as an antedating of the reported subsequent oppression, or as a feature of a once extant biography of a Heliopolis vizier, is an open question. It should be noticed that from *Am. Tab. 55* it appears that the sons and daughters of the Syrians were sometimes sent to Jamnata to be sold for coin.¹ Not only Joseph, but in an earlier form of the story also Simeon and Benjamin seem to have been represented as sold into slavery in Egypt, and it has been already noted as perhaps significant that the name of a traditional grandson of Joseph means 'sold' (see EPHRAIM i., § 1; cp. however, MAHHR).

Passing now to Joseph himself, we find that in Minetho's story of the expulsion of the 'lepers' (Jos. c. 1p. 123), the leader of the 'lepers' is said to be a priest of Heliopolis named Osarsaph (see § 1). The kernel of this story, according to E. Meyer (*GT* 127d) and Marquart (*Chronolog. Untersuch.*), is the virtually monotheistic reform of Amon-aten (Amen-hotep IV.). A similar story is given by Charemon (Jos. c. 1p. 132), who gives the names of the leaders of the 'unclean' as Tisithen and Petesepe. The latter name, in one way or another, may fairly be brought into connection with Joseph (see § 1), and it should be added that Charemon too connects the story with Amenophis (Amen-hotep).

It becomes natural, therefore, to look for light to the Amarna tablets which are concerned with the period of Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV.; and we are not disappointed. We find there an important Egyptian functionary, whose name is apparently Semite, Yanhamu (*i.e.*, according to Marq. 222). He is a *nabihu* or 'general' (?) who has the control of the magazines of grain in the land of Jamnata (see § 3), and superintends the affairs of the Egyptian dominion in Palestine.

When the Syrian chieftains and governors have a request to make of the Egyptian king they often add that he need only ask Yanhamu, who knows the circumstances well. When Rib-Addi of Gebel has grievances against Akhi-Asiri of Amnru, he refers them to Yanhamu (as one of three, 84.34.6), and he asks the king to say to Yanhamu, 'Behold, Rib-Addi is in thy power, and all thing which happens to him touches thee' (61.40.42). Another time Rib-Addi asks the king to bid Yanhamu take the field at once with troops (73.52.4 87.173).

These are by no means all the references. Notice too that Yabitiiri, commandant of Gaza and Joppa, speaks of having been brought by Yanhamu to the Egyptian court while still small (214.24.26). Yabitiiri seems to have been a countryman of Yanhamu; but his name, which looks Egyptian (Ra-hotep?), may have been given to him in Egypt.

The latter circumstance is interesting because Joseph too is said to have received an Egyptian name in Egypt; Marquart thinks (677) that the name intended is Zaphan (זפח), and that זח represents Aton, the name of the god of the solar disk, worshipped by Amon-aten. This is not the present writer's view (see ZAPHNATH-PAANEEM); but the theory from which it springs seems to him likely to be correct. Joseph (whose Egyptian name was perhaps Pa-anhi, or Pi-anhi,² indicating that 'life'—*anh*—centred in the bearer of the name) is probably an imaginative version of some Semitic courtier of the reforming king Amen-hotep IV. The untranslatable passage in Gen. 41.43. אֲנִי חֵן אֶתְּכֶם אֲנִי חֵן אֶתְּכֶם אֲנִי חֵן אֶתְּכֶם 'friend of Amon-aten' (Che. *OLZ*, April 1900; cp § 4), and the name of Joseph's wife may perhaps have been Anhi-

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nes-aten (Am. Tab. 57.7). A daughter of Amon-aten, who had this name, was married to Tut-enkh-Amin, the next king but one after Amon-aten. 'Potaphra', too, should probably be corrected into Meri-Re; this was the name of the high priest of Aton at the king's new capital at Akhetaten (Amarna). We have also found reason to suspect the occurrence of another ancient Egyptian name in Genesis, viz., Jamnata (in Gen. 37; see § 3). Marquart's theory that Jamnata was in the province now called the Lavanu—a natural depression in the Libyan hills, far more fertile anciently even than it is now—seems not quite so natural as the view which places it nearer to Palestine, in the East of the Delta.

Some of the uncertainties as the above seem forced upon us in the light of Egyptian history. As to the names, we must not expect too great exactness. W. Max Müller (*OLZ*, Oct. 1900) objects to 2 as the representative of Kh. But the confusion of 2 and 3 is too common in Hebrew to surprise us. The *an* after 2 is but a scribal second attempt to write Aton. As to the impossibility of choosing the name Amon-aten, the objection would have no force if an Egyptian story were in question.

The ordinary view that Joseph, if historical, is to be placed in the Hyksos period, is acquiesced in by Flinders Petrie. Others, however, who are in agreement with Lepsius, says, 'In the whole section there is nothing which does not exactly fit a Pharaonic court in the best periods of the kingdom, while there is much which can never be reconciled with a Hyksos court, however much Egyptianised.'³ A later date, too, makes it easier to believe in the existence of a true tradition as the kernel of the story. Following Marquart, whose brilliant research⁴ has poured a flood of light on the Joseph story, the present writer places the great Hebrew vizier now called Joseph in the reign of Amon-aten or Amen-hotep IV.

We may now perhaps venture on the statement that there are five distinct elements in our present Joseph story:—(1) the transformed tradition of a sojourn of the tribe of Joseph in Egypt; (2) the tradition, true in essentials, of a Hebrew vizier under Amon-aten; (3) the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, etc. (an imaginative appendage); (4) the narrative (not historical) connecting the changed agrarian law of Egypt with Amon-aten's vizier; (5) the narrative (also unhistorical) of the sojourn of the other 'sons' of Israel in Egypt. All these have been skillfully woven together by several Hebrew writers. There is something more, however, to be mentioned—it is the ideality of the whole narrative. None of the Old Testament biographies attracts such universal admiration as the story of Joseph.

See, in addition to the books cited already, F. Vigoroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, 1896, tom. ii, for archaeology, and the vastly superior article of Driver in Hastings' *DB* 2767-775, the archaeological exactness of which is not less than its careful treatment of the Hebrew text. What has been omitted here for want of space will be found in this very useful article. That there is room for considerable difference of opinion on the difficult textual and historical questions involved will be readily imagined.

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2. In MT, father of Isaac (Nu. 13.7 [PD]); but the real name seems to have dropped out: see JOSEPH i., § 1 n.

3. One of the line Asaph (1 Ch. 25.29).

4. One of the line Bani in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end) Ezra 10.42 = 1 Esd. 9.34, JOSEPHUS (φασμας [B], ιωσφας [A]).

5. A priest, head of the line Shebaniah, temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., §§ 65-11), Neh. 12.14 [om. BR: A].

6. In Zacharias, a Jewish officer defeated by GORGAS (1 Macc. 5.56 ff.).

7. The Maccabee (2 Macc. 8.22 10.19 ιωσφας [A], φασ [V], an ancient fals: reading for ιωσφας); see MACCABEES i., § 2, ad fin.

8. Ancestor of Judith (Jud. 8.1).

1 It depends on the reading and translation of an imperfect passage of one of the Amarna tablets (191.46). To place Jamnata so far away as the Syrian Laodicea (Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, 186) is hardly desirable. The view that it is in the Nile delta is due to the sagacity of C. Niebuhr (*MFG* 1258-212 [186]).

2 *Die Ägypten u. die Fächer Ägypten*, 295.

3 *Chronologische Untersuchungen* (1900), reprinted from the seventh supplementary volume of *Philologus*, 637-720.

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JOSEPH [in NT] (Ἰωσήφ [Fl. VII]). 1 **Joseph of Arimathæa.** The passages relative to this Joseph should first be compared.

As to his description. Matthew says (27:57), 'a rich man of (ἀπὸ) Arimathæa, named Joseph, who himself had become a disciple of Jesus (ἐμαθητεύθη).

1. Description. τῷ Ἰησοῦ.' Mark (15:43), 'Joseph of Arimathæa (ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀρ.) a noble councillor (εὐσχημὸν βουλευτὴς), who also himself was expecting the kingdom of God.' Luke (23:50), 'a man named Joseph, who was a councillor (βουλευτὴς ὕπαρχος), a good and righteous man (he had not given his vote—οὐκ ἦν συνκατατίθεμενος for their counsel and deed) of Arimathæa a city of the Jews, who was expecting the kingdom of God.' John (19:38), 'Joseph of Arimathæa (ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀρ.), being a disciple of Jesus, but a secret one for fear of the Jews.' The Petrine Gospel (3), 'Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord.' Tradition therefore is not entirely unanimous as to the description of Joseph.

In some respects the simplest accounts in our Gospels are those of Mt. and Jn. Both agree that Joseph belonged to the wider circle of Jesus' disciples, and Peter probably means the same thing by the peculiar phrase quoted above; and neither Mt. nor Jn. is aware that he belonged to any Jewish council. Mt. indeed says that he was a rich man, whilst Jn. is silent on this point; but the fact that, according to Jn., Joseph in the first instance undertook the whole of the arrangements for burial, and was afraid of the consequences to himself if he avowed his discipleship, proves that Jn., too, must have regarded Joseph as a rich man. The account in Jn. 19:41 f., however, presents one apparent discrepancy from that in Mt. 27:60. Apparent we call it, because it only rests on an inference; but that inference is certainly a very natural one. It appears from Jn. 19:41 f. that the body of Jesus was laid in the sepulchre adjoining the place of crucifixion only because it was 'nigh at hand'; that Joseph happened to be the owner, would be so remarkable a coincidence that the evangelist would surely have stated it. It is true, Mk. and Lk., as well as Jn., are silent as to Joseph's proprietorship of the tomb; but the presumption is that Joseph, who was evidently, according to them, a man of social standing, and would therefore certainly have prepared his own 'long home,' is to be supposed to have taken the body of Jesus to his own new tomb, which was somewhere near Jerusalem.

Is there also a discrepancy between Mk. (and Lk.) and Mt. as regards Joseph's discipleship? According to B. Weiss (*Das Leben Jesu*, 2:592; *Das Matthäusevangel.* 574) there is. Mk. 15:43 accurately, though indirectly, states that hitherto Joseph, who was a councillor, had kept aloof from the circle of the adherents of Jesus, whereas Mt. 27:57 expressly affirms that he had become a disciple. Weiss also thinks that Mt.'s description of Joseph as a rich man was due to his desire for a fresh fulfilment of prophecy (Is. 53:9). Here, however, there appear to be several misunderstandings.

(1) Joseph was of course not a close 'adherent' of Jesus; but he belonged to that wider circle of disciples which Mt., though less distinctly than Mk. and Lk., presupposes (see Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* 2:222 f.). (2) Joseph was scarcely a 'councillor' in the sense supposed by Weiss. (3) Neither Mt. nor any other early Christian writer thought of Is. 53:9 as a prediction of Christ's burial.

Let us pause here and ask if thus far the accounts are historical. The statements that the person who arranged for the burial of the body of Jesus was

3. Historicity. a member of the wider circle of disciples, a rich man of Arimathæa (see below, § 5), named Joseph, and that the tomb in which he placed the body of Jesus was his own, is questioned by few critics. These were points which tradition was not likely to have invented. The notion of Strauss that the story of the tomb was suggested by Is. 53:9 is refuted by the circumstance that none of the Gospels, nor any subsequent work of the early Christian period,

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refers to that passage, the obscurity of which evidently caused great difficulty to the ancient translators.¹ We may at any rate accept as a historical certainty the ἐταφῆ ('he was buried') of 1 Cor. 15:4.

We now pass on to the statement of Mk. and Lk. that Joseph was a 'councillor.' If by 'councillor' they

4. Meaning of 'councillor.' both mean 'member of the Sanhedrin,' we are involved in hopeless perplexity. That Joseph was not deficient in courage,

is shown by his application to Pilate, for the notion of *Evang. Pet.* 3 that he was a friend of Pilate is clearly a late fancy. If a member of the Sanhedrin, he must have attended on such an important occasion as the trial of Jesus, and must have spoken for him, and have transmitted the knowledge of this fact and of much more important facts to subsequent generations of Christians. The inevitable inference from Mk. 14:64, however, is that no member of the council was absent, and certainly no one can say that the evangelical tradition of the trial of Jesus has the appearance of exactness. Does it not seem to follow from this that Mk. did not, any more than Mt., suppose Joseph to have belonged to the Sanhedrin—in short, that Lk. must have misunderstood the meaning of βουλευτής? No one can say that the epithet εὐσχημὸν—i.e., 'noble'²—as applied to a member of the Sanhedrin, is at all natural. If, however, we interpret εὐσχ. βουλευτής from a Greek or a Roman point of view, it becomes equivalent to 'a man of high social rank' (=a noble senator), and is quite in place in a work intended mainly for Gentile Christians. Lk. and Jn., however, may easily have misunderstood it.³ John shows special thoughtfulness in dealing with it. He considered, apparently, that he had before him a twofold tradition.⁴ According to one version, Joseph of Arimathæa, a rich disciple of Jesus, paid his Master's body the last sad honours; according to another, it was a councillor named Joseph of Arimathæa who did this. He therefore combined the two traditions, only substituting 'Nicodemus' for 'Joseph' as the name of the councillor, for which he had prepared the way by the statement respecting a speech of Nicodemus in the council apparently suggested by the parenthetical remark about Joseph in Lk. 23:51. See NICODEMUS.

Opinions differ (see Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* 3:513 f.) as to the place intended by Arimathæa. Most probably it is the Ramathaim mentioned in 1 Mace. 11:34 beside Lydda. See OS 225:12 (ἀραθαίμ σείφα) and RAMATH. 2. From the fact that Joseph possessed a rock-tomb near Jerusalem, we may assume that he had taken up his abode at any rate for a time in the Holy City, and the fact that nothing is heard of him afterwards justifies the supposition that he may afterwards have left Palestine; possibly he was a merchant. It is a weakness, however, in our position, that we are compelled to speculate.

As to the deed of Joseph. As far as regards the entombment itself, not much need be added to what

6. Joseph's deed. has incidentally been said already. The simplest statement is that of Mt.; it is difficult to think that the earliest tradition referred to Joseph's purchase of 'linen (ἀγροάσας σινδῶνα; see LINEN) for the purpose of enwrapping the body. The mention of a garden in Jn. 19:41 may also be mere amplification; the Petrine Gospel (24) says that Joseph's 'own tomb' was called 'Joseph's garden'—apparently the name of a well-known locality in the time of the writer.⁴ The story of Joseph's interview with Pilate is given very simply by Mt., Lk., and Jn. Mk., in his graphic way, lays stress on the 'cour

¹ On the text see *SBOT*, 'Isa.' Heb., 150, and cp 201, Ad denda; cp also Marti, *ad loc.*

² See Acts 13:50 17:12. 'Of noble bearing' (Edersheim) is surely impossible.

³ So Brandt, *Evangel. Gesch.* 79.

⁴ H. v. Schubert, *Die Comp. des ps. Petri. Evang.* 62.

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age' required for Joseph's act (cf. *Naqaray*), and adds that 'Pilate marvelled if he were already dead, and calling the centurion, he asked if he had been any while dead', and when he knew it, he gave the body to Joseph' (Mk. 15:41-45). None of the Synoptics make any reference to the fact stated in Jn. 19:41 that the Jews had already asked Pilate that the *crucifixion* might be performed (see Cross §§ 4-6), and that the bodies of the crucified might then be removed. Yet this certainly makes the whole occurrence more intelligible (cp. *Living Petr.* 5). It was not usual, according to Roman law, to grant burial for the bodies of the crucified; hence the need of 'courage' on Joseph's part. That Pilate first of all asked Herod for the body (*Living Petr.* 3-5) is an unpalatable fancy; and the elaborate tale of the imprisonment of Joseph, of his miraculous release and of his baptism by Jesus, after which he is taken by the Lord to Arimathaea, are specimens of the inventions of the *Acts of Pilate* (12-15).

For the English legend on which the abbey of Glastonbury is founded, see William of Malmsbury, *The Antiquities of the Abbey of Glastonbury* (1040), and elsewhere; and cp. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail with Especial Reference to the Hypothesis of its Celtic Origin*, 1887.

2. Husband of Mary.—The references in the Gospels must be carefully considered. (a) Seven occur in Mt., but all in chaps. 1-3, a section which stands apart from the rest of Mt.'s Gospel, and has nothing answering to it in Mk. or Jn.

The most important is that in 1:16, because it refers to Joseph as a person well known by name to the reader as 'the husband of Mary.' In 12:46 (= Mk. 3:31) Mt. mentions the mother of Jesus, but not his father. (b) Mk. nowhere, directly or indirectly, refers to Joseph. (c) Lk. also mentions Joseph seven times, but only in chaps. 1-4. It is true that one of these references is outside chaps. 1-3, a section which (if we put aside 22:1-38 and 40-52, which are unique, and 31-22, which corresponds to Mt. 3, and is properly speaking outside the prelude of the fuller traditional Gospel) is in the main parallel to Mt. 1-4. In the two narratives which are here called unique, however, the father of Jesus is twice referred to, without being named (23:33, *ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ*, and 24:46, *ὁ γονεὺς αὐτοῦ* [W], followed by RV). The last reference (Lk. 4:22) occurs in a narrative which has evidently been expanded and is less accurate than the tradition given in Mk. 6:1-6 Mt. 13:54-58, and may perhaps be ascribed to the influence of chaps. 1-3 in which Joseph is referred to by name. 'Is not this the son of Joseph?' in Mk., and 'Is not this the carpenter?' in Mt., and 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' in Jn., Jesus is twice referred to as the son of Joseph (1:45, 6:42), in the latter case with the addition, 'whose father and mother we know.'

Thus the evidence that primitive Christian tradition knew anything about the father of Jesus is very slight, and considering the high probability that the narratives respecting the birth of Jesus in Mt. 1-4, Lk. 1:21-39, 3:21-38 are partly Haggadic or edifying tales like those in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (upon which, indeed, L. Conrady thinks that the infancy narratives are based), partly the offspring of the keen interest which post-exilic Judaism displayed in real and imaginary genealogies (this applies to Mt. 1:1-17 Lk. 3:23-38), it becomes the historical student to confess that the name of the father of Jesus is, to say the least, extremely uncertain.

It would, however, be hasty to assert that there was no element of truth in the expression, 'Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ' (Mt. 1:16).² A hint may perhaps be gained from the two references in Jn. The writer of this Gospel says nothing of the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem.

¹ Cp. GOSPELS, § 22.

² The Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest, however, gives 'Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin.' Cp. GOSPELS, § 22.

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Judah, and apparently does not accept this particular tradition. The canon, however, in regard to the gospel as a whole, have been indifferent to the earthly origin of Jesus. Though Jesus was *παροικητής* (Greek only being often used, yet he made himself at home, and the evangelist makes Jesus invite inquirers to 'come and see where he dwelt' (Jn. 1:43). One of these inquirers (Philip of Bethsaida) seeks out (ἐπιζητεῖ) Jesus, finds after seeking) Nathanael, and says, 'We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.' Elsewhere (6:41 f.) a Greek multitude is represented as murmuring at the great 'Rabbi' (7:29) because he said that he had 'come down from heaven, and given life to the world' (7:33, 35), although he was 'Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know' (7:54). Both these passages suggest that 'Jesus bar Joseph' was a common phrase in some circles of the primitive Christian tradition, and the latter passage suggests the inquiry whether there is not a sense in which Jesus could have been the son of Joseph, although the name of the husband of Mary was unknown. The phrase 'the sons of Jacob and Joseph' (Ps. 77:15 *ap*) does not mean the men called Reuben, Simeon, Manasseh, Ephraim, etc., nor does 'Shallum the son of Jabesh' (2 K. 15:19) probably mean 'Shallum, whose father, in the strictest sense, was called Jabesh.' On the analogy of such passages 'Jesus the son of Joseph' may mean 'Jesus a member of the house of Joseph' (Zech. 10:6). It is true that the Jewish belief in a Messiah ben Joseph, the forerunner of the Messiah ben-David, did not exist as a developed scholastic doctrine in the time of Jesus (see MESSIAH), but some of the germs of it may have appeared even then. The primitive Christians certainly seem to have traced Christ's origin to Galilee (see NAZARETH), and to have quoted Is. 9:1 [8:23] as a prophecy of his Galilean birth (Mt. 2:23 4:14 ff.). Even in the latest of our Gospels we seem to find traces of a division among the Jews in this respect, some affirming that 'the holy one' and 'the prophet' (*par excellence*) could not proceed from Galilee (Jn. 1:46 7:52 f.); others that Jesus was 'the Holy One,' and was spoken of in the law and the prophets, although he was *νόστος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ* (Jn. 1:45, and cp. 7:52).

According to Mt. 13:55 Jesus, when on a visit to his *πατρίς* or fatherland (but Syr. Cur. and Lewis, 'his city'), was called *ὁ τοῦ τέκτορος νόστος*, 'the carpenter's son.' It is true that this was early understood to mean 'the son of Joseph.'

Not only does Lk. substitute this phrase in 4:22, but the Sinaitic Palimpsest does the same in Mt. 13:55. The phrase *ἔργον*, however (*Rabbi Rethra*, 73b), simply means 'a carpenter' = *ἔργον*, and, as Mr. N. Herz has already suggested, the phrase, as used in the tradition, may have meant no more than this (cp. 808). In this case, Jesus himself is the carpenter, a result which agrees with the statement in Mk. 6:3, and is in accordance with what we should expect and desire. The possibility must be admitted, however, that there has been a confusion between two Semitic roots *נָּבָא* and *נָּבָא*. Elsewhere (see GENESARET, NAZARETH) it has been shown that a name for Galilee, or for a district in Galilee, was *נָּבָא* or *נָּבָא*, but that this was also written *נָּבָא* or *נָּבָא*. Now the Aram. *נָּבָא n'isar* (Heb. *נָּבָא*; cp. *נָּבָא*, 'I saw') means 'to saw,' so that 'Jesus the Nazarene' (*Nazarene*?) might be taken to mean 'Jesus, the carpenter.' Possibly, or probably, there was a play upon words. A mere carpenter, said the Jews; yes, a carpenter—one of ourselves, said Christ's poor.

10. Later views. The usual opinion that Joseph died before Jesus' ministry began seems to be based on Mk. 6:3; cp. 3:31 and parallels.

The accounts in the Apocryphal Gospels and similar writings

¹ In Jn. 1:46, for *διναται* *τε ἀγαθὸν* read *διναται* *ὁ ἅγιος*, and in Jn. 7:52, for *προφήτην* read *ὁ προφήτης*. See NAZARETH; GALILEE, § 5, n. 2.

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(*cf.* the *Death of Joseph*; see *Charles Robinson's Joseph: The Egyptian Joseph*, 1909) are not historical traditions at all. See (for dates) *Josephus*, *Ant. 1.10*, 2.10. In the Samaritan apocryphal *Life of Joseph*, which is strongly impregnated with Egyptian ideas, the age of Joseph at his death is fixed at 111 years. The total age for the whole of life in *Exodus* was 110 years (see *Josephus*, *Ant. 1.10*).

1. *Ex. 1.10*, *2.10*, *3.10*, *RV 1.10* (*Ex. 1.10*), and *Ex. 3.10*, names of individuals in the genealogy of Jesus; see *Genealogy of Jesus*, § 1.

2. *Joseph* (*Ant. 1.10*, *2.10*) called *CAIAPHAS* (*Ex. 1.10*).

3. *Joseph* (*Ant. 1.10*) called *BAI-SALAS* (*Ex. 1.10*).
4. *Joseph* whose mother was *Mary*; brother of *James* (*Mt. 13.55*, *AV* *Joseph*, *Mt. 13.55*, *RV* *Joseph*). The reading *Joseph* is supported by *MSB* in *Mt.*, and by *RV* in *Mt.* See *Josephus*, § 4.
5. *Acts 1.10*, *RV*; see *BARNAJAS*.

JOSEPHUS (Ἰωσήφος [A]), 1 *Est. 9.1*, *Ezra 10.12*, *Joseph*, 4.

JOSES *RV* *JOSEPH*, (1) *Mt. 13.55* (Ἰωσήφ [T.W.H.]), *Mt. 13.55* (Ἰωσήφ [T.W.H.]); see *JOSEPH*, § 4. *JOSEPH* (1), (2) *Acts 1.6* (Ἰωσήφ [T.W.H.]); see *BARNAJAS*.

JOSHAAH (יוֹשָׁאָה), § 31, probably a corruption of *JOSHUAH*, a Simonite 'prince,' 1 *Ch. 4.14* (Ἰωσάφ[α] B), 'IAC [A], IOWAC [L]).

JOSHAPHAT (יוֹשָׁפָט), abbrev. from *JHOSHAPHAT* [A]; Ἰωσάφατ [BNAI]).

1. One of David's heroes, probably from *TIMNAH* [A], for we can hardly help assuming a slight error in the gentile, יוֹשָׁפָט, 'the Milinite,' which should be יוֹשָׁפָט, 'the Timnite,' 1 *Ch. 11.41* (i. d. *Bartholomew* [B]), Ἰωσάφατ [BNAI] (i. d. *Bartholomew* [BNAI]), i. d. *Bartholomew* [BNAI]; see *DAVID*, § 11 a. 2. *AV* *JHOSHAPHAT*, a Levite, temp. David, 1 *Ch. 15.24* (Ἰωσάφατ). T. K. C.

JOSHAVIAH (יוֹשָׁבֵב), § 31, probably a corruption of *JOSHUAH*, a name in David's army-list (*DAVID*, § 11 a. n.), 1 *Ch. 11.41* (Ἰωσάφ[α] [BNAI], *IOBIA* [L]).
IOBIA favours the reading, 'Joshaviah his son' (יוֹשָׁבֵב) instead *MT* 'Joshaviah, the sons [יוֹשָׁבֵב] of Elnaam.' Cp *ELNAAM*.

JOSEBESHASHAH (יוֹשֶׁבֶשֶׁשׁ), according to the Chronicler a son of Heman, 1 *Ch. 25.42* (Ἰεζεβεשאσα). *BAKATA* [B], *CEBA KAITAN*, i. e. *BAKATAN* [A], *IECBOK* [L], *IECBOK* [Vg.]; but *HEMAN*.

JOSHEB BASSHEBETH (יוֹשֶׁב בִּשְׁבֶּת), 2 *Sam. 23.8* *RV*. See *JASHEBAM*.

JOSHIBIAH (יוֹשִׁבִיָּה), 'God enthrones' [?], § 31, a Simonite (1 *Ch. 4.15*; *AV* *JOSHIAH*, *IOBIA* [BNAI], *IOBIA* [L]). Cp *JOSHIAH*, *JOSHAVIAH*.

JOSHUA and (*Nu. 13.16*) *Jehoshua* (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ) (*יהושֻׁעַ*) *Dt. 3.21*, *Judg. 2.1*, *1.10*, usually explained 'Yahwé is deliverance'; cp *YAHWEH*, § 27, 24, 20; but see below. In *Nu. 13.16* *Dt. 3.21* we find יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (see *HOSHEA*); but we cannot venture to assume that יְהוֹשֻׁעַ is really a traditional form, *Nu. 23.16* proceeding from *P*, and *Dt. 3.21* being incorrectly read (see *Driver*, *ad loc.*).

1. Son of *NUN* [A], 'attendant of Moses, and one of his young men' (*Nu. 11.28*; cp *Josh. 1.1*), traditional leader of Israel in the conquest of Canaan. He is said to have died at the same age as the tribal hero Joseph (110), and to have been buried in his inheritance at *TIMNATH-SERAH* (*Josh. 24.29*)—or *TIMNATH-HERES* (*Judg. 2.8*)—in the hill-country of Ephraim. In *Nu. 13.16* he is said to have belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and to have been called *Hoshea* (see above), until Moses, on sending forth *Hoshea* among the other 'spies,' changed his name to *Jehoshua*. According to *Buddle*, *Judg. 1.22* states that *Joshua* accompanied the 'house of Joseph' in its invasion of Mt. Ephraim. Verse 102, however, favours *MT*'s reading 'Yahwé,' out of which the reading 'Judah' (Ἰουδας [A], etc.) would easily arise. At any rate, 'Joshua,' if correct, ought in this context to be a clan-name.

2. Whence the name *JESUS* [A]. From the time of the Maccabees onwards the purely Greek name *Jason* [A] was commonly regarded by Hellenizing Jews as an equivalent of *Joshua*.

JOSHUA (BOOK)

Perhaps *Joshua* is another form of *YAHWEH*, which in *1 Ch. 13.16* is the name of the son of *Heazar*, i. e. *Aaron*. *Heazar* and *Joshua* are associated in a signifying, the lands of the two tribes (*Josh. 19.10*), and the burial-places of the two are mentioned in the same narrative (*Josh. 24.29*), are both in *Mt. Ephraim*, and both probably contain the tomb of *Joseph* (see *1 Ch. 13.16*, *1.10*). If so, it was originally a priestly and warlike tribe of Levites that was represented by *Joshua*. His name is a clan-name, and should perhaps be read *Joshua* or *Joshua* (i. e. *Heazar* and *Joshua*), where *Heazar* is probably an obscure divine name (see *SUMER*). This suggests a probable explanation of *Joshua*'s patronymic, *YHWH* (*Nu. 13.16*) as an abridged way of writing *YHWH* (*Nu. 13.16*), which is *Jehoshua* (i. e. *Timnath-heres*).

Even apart from these considerations the historical character of *Joshua* as an individual is doubtful. It was natural to provide Moses with attendants, and to give a name to the chief of these (*Nu. 11.28*), who was in training to become Moses' successor. Nor could such a successor have a more suitable name than 'Jehoshua' (i. e. *Heazar* [A], *Heazar* [A], *Josh. 24.29*), the names of a son of Moses and of a son of Aaron respectively. Naturally *Joshua* would be assigned to the tribe which had the leadership in early times, and if *Joseph* was originally (as *Wt.* maintains) a solar hero, it would not be surprising if details of solar-mythical origin attached themselves to the *Joshua* tradition; note in this connection the name of *Joshua*'s 'inheritance' (see above), if this really means 'portion of the sun'.

At any rate, whether the name 'Joshua' is a purely invention or has its origin in a clan-name, the action ascribed to *Joshua* are purely legendary, unless indeed the work of critics on the narratives which relate them is a failure, cp *St. G. 1.135*; *Wt. 1.116*, n. 1; *Wt. 1.122*. See *ISRAEL*, § 7; *ELIAD*; *EPHRAIM*, § 6; *JABIN*; *JERICO*; *JOSHUA*, § 1.

3. High-priest, *Hag. 1.1*, *Zech. 3.1*; see *JESHA*, § 5.
4. A man of Beth-shemesh ('house of the sun,' cp *1 Tim. 2.8* 'serah' above), in whose field the ark rested, 1 *S. 6.14* (Ἰωσῆ [B]), Ἰωσῆ [L]).

5. Governor of Jerusalem, temp. *Josiah*, 2 *K. 23.8* (Ἰωσῆ [L]).

JOSHUA (BOOK)

Name, etc. (§ 1 f.).	Accounts of settlement (§§ 12-14).
Sources (§§ 1-6).	Ultimate sources (§ 15 f.).
Analysis (§§ 7-10).	Chronology (§ 17).
Redaction (§ 11).	Text (§ 18 f.).
	Literature (§ 20).

In the Hebrew Bible, *Joshua* is the first of the four historical books (*Josh.*, *Judg.*, *1 S.*, *2 K.*) which make up the first half of the canon of the Prophets.

1. **Place in Canon.** and are hence called the Former Prophets (נביאים ראשונים).

In Greek manuscripts, *Josh.*, *Judg.*, and *Ruth* are frequently included with the Pentateuch in a codex (Octateuch); in the Latin Church the same books, with the omission of *Ruth*, are often similarly united (Heptateuch). In all these *Josh.* immediately follows the Pentateuch; but in the Bible of the Syrian Church this place is given to *Job* (as the work of Moses), and *Josh.* stands next in order.

The book of *Joshua*, in narrating the conquest and settlement of Canaan, records the fulfilment of the promises to the patriarchs and the completion of the great movement of which the *Exodus* is the beginning; it is thus the necessary continuation of the Pentateuch, and must once have formed part of the same historical work with the preceding five books. Recent critical investigations, therefore, the first six books of the OT (Hexateuch) are usually taken together; the separation of *Josh.* from the Pentateuch in the Jewish Canon was due to the predominance of the legal point of view; the books of Moses were law ('Torah'), while *Josh.* was only history. It need not be assumed, however, that the Hexateuch ever formed by itself a complete historical work ending with the death of *Joshua*; we know it only as part of a more comprehensive history extending from the creation of the world to the destruction of Jerusalem (Gen.-2 K.), in which *Josh.* is hardly more closely connected with the Pentateuch than with the following books; and the similarity of the redaction, phenomena in *Dt.*, *Josh.*, and *Judg.* shows that the connection is not one of mere sequence.

1 See *CANON*, § 6.

JOSHUA (BOOK)

The book takes its title from the name of the hero, *YOSHUA* (Joshua) [YHWH is his name] (Josh. 1:1).

2. Title and contents. The book of Joshua is not only the hero but the author of the book. It is not merely an inference from the title, but a theory of Hebrew history, graphically set forth by Josephus (Ant. 1.10.1-10.4). The book of Joshua begins, immediately after the death of Moses (Dt. 34), with the command of God to Joshua, who had already been appointed Moses' successor (Dt. 34), to cross the Jordan, and divide the land, and ends with the death of Joshua. The book falls naturally into two parts: the invasion and conquest (1-12), and the allotment of the land to the several tribes (13-24). The first part closes with a recapitulation of the 12 tribes' conquests (1-12) and W. of the Jordan (12); the second, with Joshua's parting charges and admonitions (23-24).

The contents of the book may be summarised thus: crossing of the Jordan; capture of Jericho (1-5); operations against Ai (6-7); successful rise of the Gibeonites (8); victory over the coalition of Canaanite kings, subjugation of the South (9-11); campaign against the king of Hazor and his allies, subjugation of the North (11); recapitulation (12). Division of the land; the trans-Jordanic tribes (13); Caleb (14); Judah (15); Ephraim and Manasseh (16-17); survey and allotment of the remaining territory to the other tribes; Joshua's own inheritance (18-20); designation of cities of refuge (20); Levitical cities (21); dismissal of the trans-Jordanic contingent (22); last exhortations of Joshua (23); assembly at Shechem, and covenant there; death and burial of Joshua (24).

Throughout the Pentateuch, from the first promise to Abraham down to the vision of the dying Moses on Mt. Nebo, the possession of the land of Canaan is kept steadily in view as the goal to which the history is moving. The critical analysis shows that this is true not only of the actual Pentateuch, but also of all its sources, and of every stage in the redaction.

Thus, in JE (J, E, and R), Gen. 12:1-17:14; 22:1-23:19; 24:1-25:11; 26:1-27:14; 28:1-29:14; 30:1-31:14; 32:1-33:14; 34:1-35:14; 36:1-37:14; 38:1-39:14; 40:1-41:14; 42:1-43:14; 44:1-45:14; 46:1-47:14; 48:1-49:14; 50:1-51:14; 52:1-53:14; 54:1-55:14; 56:1-57:14; 58:1-59:14; 60:1-61:14; 62:1-63:14; 64:1-65:14; 66:1-67:14; 68:1-69:14; 70:1-71:14; 72:1-73:14; 74:1-75:14; 76:1-77:14; 78:1-79:14; 80:1-81:14; 82:1-83:14; 84:1-85:14; 86:1-87:14; 88:1-89:14; 90:1-91:14; 92:1-93:14; 94:1-95:14; 96:1-97:14; 98:1-99:14; 100:1-101:14; 102:1-103:14; 104:1-105:14; 106:1-107:14; 108:1-109:14; 110:1-111:14; 112:1-113:14; 114:1-115:14; 116:1-117:14; 118:1-119:14; 120:1-121:14; 122:1-123:14; 124:1-125:14; 126:1-127:14; 128:1-129:14; 130:1-131:14; 132:1-133:14; 134:1-135:14; 136:1-137:14; 138:1-139:14; 140:1-141:14; 142:1-143:14; 144:1-145:14; 146:1-147:14; 148:1-149:14; 150:1-151:14; 152:1-153:14; 154:1-155:14; 156:1-157:14; 158:1-159:14; 160:1-161:14; 162:1-163:14; 164:1-165:14; 166:1-167:14; 168:1-169:14; 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point out the legends of the Ephraimite body places in the poem.¹ At v. 11 even if we should admit that the contribution from Josh 24:14 and the representation in 11:12 is irreconcilable, a Kuhnian thinks, I resist such a homogeneity and consistent work, that such a discrepancy is inconceivable in it. The question can be decided only by the analysis itself. The difficulty of the analysis arises not so much from the intimate fusion of the sources, which are more closely united than in many parts of the text, but from the account of the exodus, for example, that from the fact that the two narratives were originally so much alike and that the younger version of the story is here dependent on the older.

In chap. 1 the deuteronomistic introduction to the book, a kernel of older narrative (1.1) is continued in 1.2-1.10. The deuterono-

7 Analysis
chaps. 1-7.

element. It is to be noted; $1.34 = 0.1124 / 84.62$ dep. on 0.1124 resp. 7.6 ; 12.15 cm. with 0.13120 (not 0.1215), also 12.15 .

In 2, the story of the spies, the words of Rahab 9b-11 are a deuteronomic expansion, with reminiscences of Dt. 1.17 (p. 15. 15) and of 10. 21 (p. 16) also 7. 5b-21, 24 is also deuteronomic. The main narrative (1-3 in part, 6-7 *not* 10-14 14-21) comes from the older work (1); this is confirmed a second account (1-3 in part, 7 15. 7, 22. 7 11); 17 is editorial (R. 10).

31.2 seems to connect immediately with 31.1 (1); the sending of the spies stood in an earlier place, perhaps before 11.6 (Abner), or before 11.7. In the account of the crossing of the Jordan (11.7, 37.14-21, 5.1-6) there is no mistle; 16.7 seems to be later, a connected deictic-onomic narrative (D1) is not to be recognised. The conflation of two sources is apparent; at 31.7 the crossing is completed, or 11.6 the narrative has only reached the same point; in 48.6 p. 24 The stones are erected at Gilgal, whilst according to 4.4, they were piled up in the middle of the river. The fuller narrative is here 11.6-21, remaining 11.6-11.7, 37.14-21, 5.1-6, found in 31.4-5, 1 at 11.13, 14, 15b, 16a, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799

5:2f, 8b) contain an account (probably from F) of the circumcision of the Israelites (cf. 4:7-8a, are an editorial simplification (later than S), designed to remove the natural impression of the original narrative, that this was the introduction of the rite; 10:12 is from P; 13:7 from J (the sequel, a plan for the capture of Jericho, is to be sought in U); 15 was introduced by an editor (2 Kgs 18) for Ex. 3:3, in conformity with the tendency at a certain stage of the redaction to make Joshua the double of Moses.

In 6, the taking of Jeri-ho, Wellhausen's analysis, with slight modifications, is generally adopted; the shorter and simpler narrative, rightly ascribed by most critics to J, is found in 27^a 47^a 47^b in part, to 11^a 14^a 15^a 16^b 17^a to 20^a 20^b 21^a 21^b 26^a. The other version (E) has been heightened and embellished by later hands: to E may be attributed 17^b 20^a 20^b (Ahlstr.) - Rn appears in 15^b, also (?) or Rn in 17^b 18^a; Rn in 27, the unimely horn-blowing in 8 J. 13 is probably still later, cf. Judg. 7.

Traces of post-exilic hands are found in 7.1.12b 25/6a (probably not from P, but merely late variants in J). The remainder of the chapter, which comes from J, exhibits some redundancy (e.g. in 15.7.21-26, esp 26); but these are probably due to repeated redaction rather than to the conflation of parallel narratives: the expansion of Joshua's prayer and the answer (7-12) is also to be ascribed to an editor.

In 8-11 the views of critics diverge even more widely than in the preceding chapters; whilst Hollenberg

8. Chaps. 8-12.

or quite to the exclusion of J, Kuennen and Budd derive it mainly from J (and J_{23}), and Dillmann, Albers and Kittel trace both sources through the chapters.

In 81-20 the analysis has very slight clues to work with, and the results are correspondingly uncertain. The chief source seems to be J; the other (E) may be recognised in 10 (traces 11* 12 14aB 16a 17a 18* 19aB 20b 24* 25 26 28.5). The work of redactors is seen in 1 f. (chiefly deuteronomistic, but not homo-

² On the evidence of a double deuteronomic redaction see at the end of § 10, and § 11.

¹ See below, § 15.

² On the evidence of a double deuteronomic redaction see at the end of § 10, and § 11.

³ See Sta. *Zd Tll* 6132 ff. (36). [The references to pre-
cis circumcision, 'again,' 'the second time,' are probably due
to Rv.]

⁴ Note the variations of Θ in this chapter, esp. in §§. 3-5.

⁵ Budde ascribes this strand in a somewhat different analysis to J.

genealogies, 26^a *gnt*² = 442; 27 (RU Mt) 43 K1 13b are in the latter of Mt 23:13, 23:14, stands in complete parallelism with, introducing the passage after 22, but with no further connection; Josephus and the Samaritan *Joachim* (23:24) put this ceremony where it belongs it is historically correct, after the completed conquest. The verses are a comparatively recent deutero-canonic addition; the look; they have been enlarged and extended by still later hands (23:13, 'the blessing and the curse'), 23^a.

In B, the rise of the /təʊzəns/ in 17-21 % of first-harmonic; a cluster-nominal has been found in 9% (except the /wɪts/, 100% /z/ in pair). There is general agreement that the first vowel in /jəˈz/ is the resemblance to Can. 10% /z/ 85% serve esp. [ɔʊ, ɒ, ə, z], and the relation to /s/ Sam 21 %.

From 10 it appears that E associated that the /təʊzəns/ may have wɪts; traces of this sentence are, therefore, perhaps to be recognised in 34 (% of 8) & 16% /z/, though in themselves these verses might be editorial glosses to /f/.

In the history of the war in the South (chap. 10), verses 1-11 ($\alpha\beta\delta\gamma$) 12-15 ($\epsilon\zeta\eta$) are deuteronomistic; slight traces of priestly redaction are also discernible. Since in 15 the Israel army returns to Gilgal, two (into 16-17) in another half-Kittel and others assign it to 15 to 16 (slight contamination 1-7, 10-13, 16-17 to 15); but the obvious depletion of 16-17 1-11 makes strongly against this partition. Wellhausen regard 16-17 as secondary to 15, Poole as tertiary in 1 (later than 28-30 41). It is a simpler hypothesis that 15, which shows

stand after 27 has been misplaced (Masius, presumably in connection with the intrusion of 12.14).¹ Nothing then stands in the way of attributing 10.27-28 to the author of 1.1-1.14 (F). The initial prayer of Joshua in 12/132 is quoted from the old book of songs;² the setting in which the lines now stand is given them by R¹ or perhaps F₂; whose fondness for poetical *adfectus* has often been remarked; nothing points to 17. 28-39, describing Joshua's further conquests in the South, obviously secondary, and are usually ascribed to F₂ or R¹; there are no decisive indications of authorship – F₂ or R¹ would be possible; an underlying source (I₂) is surmised. Kertel and others; 4.942 are a devoutly non-mystic general summary. It is parallel to the war with Adoni-Belek and his allies is preserved in an abridged form in 14.6 (p. 616, also 6.10).

of an unbroken line in Judg. 14.1-16.1, and from 10.10, related to conquest of Northern Palestine. For the deuteronomic author are attributed 2.7, 12.14-15, perhaps also 2.1, and to his work 2.17-21; 24 are of late origin. The chief source in 1-9 is E₁, fragments of 1's parallel to the war with Jabin are combined with 1's history of the struggle with Sisera in Judg. 4.1-11, 10.20-26 to be a secondary addition to 1-9 (as 10.26-33 is to 10.1-27), probably by E₂ or R₁, subsequently worked over, with the rest of the chapter, by R₂.

Chap. 12 is a *résumé* of the conquests E. and V. of the Jordan; 2-6 depend on 10.39-12.14-17 (cp 1. cp Josh. 13:8-12); the superscription of the following catalogue of cities resembles 11:17. Both parts of the chapter are late and without historical value.

In 13-19 we find some fragments of J; 13, 15, 19, 63, 16 to 17, 11-13, 14-18, 19, 47 (8). These are plan-

9. Chapr.

13-19. and were inserted in their present connect
by a late redactor.

131 was the introduction in Jt. to an allotment such in twice reduced form we have in 182 ff.; 2:12-14 (cp Dt. 1 are deuteronomistic, cp Dt. 3 Josh. 12:6; the description of

unconquered territory in 2-6 is also apparently dictionerionism whether by the same hand as 8 ff., or not (cp. Judg. 3. 1); so probably 7 (cp. 8). Verses 15-32 (with the title 14b 8) are from Nu. 21-31; have been worked over, 14b-5 is from P (cp. Nu. 31, esp. 13-17), probably preceded by a general H which now stands in 18; the corresponding subscription is 51, cp. 13 14a (8) 32; 6-15, in its present form dictionerionism and related to Dt. 119-37, has perhaps a basis of H; (cp. 15, 41a).

15:1-12 defines the boundaries of the tribe of Judah, as enumerates the cities and towns in its several regions; list is probably based on an older (JF) list, traces of which appear here and there.

In 16 f.¹⁶ (the territories of Joseph), 16 to 17.11-13 14.12 are from 1; 16.1-3 17.12 28 *qat8* are at variance with the presumption P₁ and must in substance be derived from JE (E), the remainder is from P₁ with additions by Rp (16.4 17.5.).

The incompleteness and confusion of chaps. 10 compared with 15 (Judah) and 18 (Benjamin), or even with the description of the territories of the Northern Tribes (note the absence of the list of cities in Ephraim and Manasseh), must be attributed to late abridgement.

¹ Note in this chapter also the variations of $\mathfrak{E}$

² See Hollenberg, *St. Kr.* 47:478-481 (74); Kue. *Th. T* 12:322 (78). *Illeg.* § 7, n. 30 f., § 14, n. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, is an exception.

⁴ L. 15 is repeated in 43; it was originally lacking in B places in $\mathcal{B}$; hexaplar MSS introduce it *sub ast.*

³ See [ASHER (BOOK OF), § 1.

⁶ On 17 see Kue. *Th. T* 11484.

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JOSHUA (BOOK)

as a result of the conquest of the Canaanites, which is not mentioned in the book of Joshua. The book of Joshua is a secondary redaction of the Pentateuch, and it is not possible to distinguish between the original and the redacted parts of the book.

Chap. 18, which contains a list of the names of the cities of the Canaanites, is a secondary redaction of the Pentateuch, and it is not possible to distinguish between the original and the redacted parts of the book.

Chap. 19, which contains a list of the names of the cities of the Canaanites, is a secondary redaction of the Pentateuch, and it is not possible to distinguish between the original and the redacted parts of the book. The book of Joshua is a secondary redaction of the Pentateuch, and it is not possible to distinguish between the original and the redacted parts of the book.

Chap. 20-22 are composite. The appointment of the judges of Israel in 20 is from P, supplemented in 21-22 by a very late hand from Dt. 1-2. Chap. 21-22 are composite. The appointment of the judges of Israel in 20 is from P, supplemented in 21-22 by a very late hand from Dt. 1-2.

10. Chaps. 23-24 are composite. The appointment of the judges of Israel in 20 is from P, supplemented in 21-22 by a very late hand from Dt. 1-2. Chap. 21-22 are composite. The appointment of the judges of Israel in 20 is from P, supplemented in 21-22 by a very late hand from Dt. 1-2.

Chap. 23 is the close of the deuteronomistic book of Joshua, and originally followed immediately on 21-22. It not only corresponds in position to the parting exhortations of Moses, Dt. 1-2, but so closely resembles them in thought and diction as to raise the question whether they are not by the same author. Chap. 24 contains the similar conclusion to E's history of Joshua.

This conclusion has reached us only in deuteronomistic redaction, which may most certainly be recognised in 24 (cp. 23-24, 25-26, 27-28, 29-30, 31-32, 33-34, 35-36, 37-38, 39-40, 41-42, 43-44, 45-46, 47-48, 49-50, 51-52, 53-54, 55-56, 57-58, 59-60, 61-62, 63-64, 65-66, 67-68, 69-70, 71-72, 73-74, 75-76, 77-78, 79-80, 81-82, 83-84, 85-86, 87-88, 89-90, 91-92, 93-94, 95-96, 97-98, 99-100, 101-102, 103-104, 105-106, 107-108, 109-110, 111-112, 113-114, 115-116, 117-118, 119-120, 121-122, 123-124, 125-126, 127-128, 129-130, 131-132, 133-134, 135-136, 137-138, 139-140, 141-142, 143-144, 145-146, 147-148, 149-150, 151-152, 153-154, 155-156, 157-158, 159-160, 161-162, 163-164, 165-166, 167-168, 169-170, 171-172, 173-174, 175-176, 177-178, 179-180, 181-182, 183-184, 185-186, 187-188, 189-190, 191-192, 193-194, 195-196, 197-198, 199-200, 201-202, 203-204, 205-206, 207-208, 209-210, 211-212, 213-214, 215-216, 217-218, 219-220, 221-222, 223-224, 225-226, 227-228, 229-230, 231-232, 233-234, 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901-902, 903-904, 905-906, 907-908, 909-910, 911-912, 913-914, 915-916, 917-918, 919-920, 921-922, 923-924, 925-926, 927-928, 929-930, 931-932, 933-934, 935-936, 937-938, 939-940, 941-942, 943-944, 945-946, 947-948, 949-950, 951-952, 953-954, 955-956, 957-958, 959-960, 961-962, 963-964, 965-966, 967-968, 969-970, 971-972, 973-974, 975-976, 977-978, 979-980, 981-982, 983-984, 985-986, 987-988, 989-990, 991-992, 993-994, 995-996, 997-998, 999-1000, 1001-1002, 1003-1004, 1005-1006, 1007-1008, 1009-1010, 1011-1012, 1013-1014, 1015-1016, 1017-1018, 1019-1020, 1021-1022, 1023-1024, 1025-1026, 1027-1028, 1029-1030, 1031-1032, 1033-1034, 1035-1036, 1037-1038, 1039-1040, 1041-1042, 1043-1044, 1045-1046, 1047-1048, 1049-1050, 1051-1052, 1053-1054, 1055-1056, 1057-1058, 1059-1060, 1061-1062, 1063-1064, 1065-1066, 1067-1068, 1069-1070, 1071-1072, 1073-1074, 1075-1076, 1077-1078, 1079-1080, 1081-1082, 1083-1084, 1085-1086, 1087-1088, 1089-1090, 1091-1092, 1093-1094, 1095-1096, 1097-1098, 1099-1100, 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2193-2194, 2195-2196, 2197-2198, 2199-2200, 2201-2202, 2203-2204, 2205-2206, 2207-2208, 2209-2210, 2211-2212, 2213-2214, 2215-2216, 2217-2218, 2219-2220, 2221-2222, 2223-2224, 2225-2226, 2227-2228, 2229-2230, 2231-2232, 2233-2234, 2235-2236, 2237-2238, 2239-2240, 2241-2242, 2243-2244, 2245-2246, 2247-2248, 2249-2250, 2251-2252, 2253-2254, 2255-2256, 2257-2258, 2259-2260, 2261-2262, 2263-2264, 2265-2266, 2267-2268, 2269-2270, 2271-2272, 2273-2274, 2275-2276, 2277-2278, 2279-2280, 2281-2282, 2283-2284, 2285-2286, 2287-2288, 2289-2290, 2291-2292, 2293-2294, 2295-2296, 2297-2298, 2299-2300, 2301-2302, 2303-2304, 2305-2306, 2307-2308, 2309-2310, 2311-2312, 2313-2314, 2315-2316, 2317-2318, 2319-2320,

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116); it is assumed that the region which each is to subdue has previously been determined by lot (Judg. 13), and the order in which they shall invade their several territories is decided by the oracle (Judg. 11 f.). Judg. 1 must, therefore, have been preceded by an account of the crossing of the Jordan by the united tribes and the taking of Jericho, and there is thus no conflict between the oldest narrative in Josh. 1-6 and Judg. 1. The operations against Ai (7 f.) present greater difficulty; for, as that city was in the immediate neighbourhood of Bethel, the war against it would seem properly to belong to the particular history of the conquests of Joseph (cp Judg. 122 ff.). Although, however, the historical probability that the taking of Ai was accomplished by Joseph alone must be conceded, it is a hazardous inference that our oldest source must have so narrated it; in fact, both 7 and 9 show that J represented it as the work of all Israel.

As has been already noted, J in Judg. 1 supposes that their territories had been assigned to Judah and Joseph, at least, before the invasion; it is possible that this source originally contained a brief description of these territories; the enumeration in Judg. 1 (and parallels in Josh.) of the cities which the several tribes were unable to reduce may be thought to presume such a description. Fragments of J's account of the war (of Judah and Simeon) with the king of Jerusalem and of the war (of Zebulun and Naphtali) with the king of Hazor are preserved in Judg. 1 and 4; the conquests and settlements of Caleb, Simeon, and the Kenites in the S., and the taking of Bethel by Joseph, are related in Judg. 1 (cp Josh. 1714-15); and it can scarcely be doubted that this source also contained at least brief and summary accounts of the movements of the northern tribes (cp Judg. 130 ff.). The narrative may have closed with a general statement of the incompleteness of the conquest such as underlies Judg. 2132 (see JUDGES, § 5).

In Joshua, as frequently, the earliest written account has determined all the subsequent presentations.

14. In E. The second chief source of the deuteronomistic history of Joshua is manifestly dependent on the older narrative, whose representation it consistently heightens.¹ Thus, the conquests of Judah and the kindred clans, and of the Galiitean tribes, are ascribed to all Israel in two great campaigns; the gradual subjugation of the Canaanites by the several tribes as it appears in J becomes the complete conquest of Western Palestine by Joshua (corresponding to that of Eastern Palestine by Moses in the same source), and—at least in the later strata of E—the annihilation of the whole native population. For the determination by lot, at Gilgal, of the region to be invaded by the several tribes (J), we have a formal survey, and division of the conquered land, at Shechem, to the seven tribes and a half.² The miraculous element in the history is exaggerated, and takes on a more magical form, as in the crossing of the Jordan (cp JORDAN, § 2 [6]), and especially in the account of the taking of Jericho, where a military stratagem is transformed into a religious procession, and the walls of the doomed city crumble into dust at the blast of the sacred trumpets and the shouts of the people (see JERICHO, § 3). The relation of the younger narrative to the older one here is entirely similar to that which we find in the history of the Egyptian plagues and the crossing of the Red Sea (see EXODUS II., § 3 [ii. iv.]); and this fact strengthens the presumption that the secondary version in Joshua also comes from E. Elements of independent historical value, derived from sources other than J, are not to be discovered in the younger narrative. The special Ephraimite interest appears in the increased prominence given to Joshua.

¹ From the point of view of historical criticism, it is therefore of no consequence whether the second source be E or J₂.

² It is possible that for this last also there was some point of connection in J.

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The redactors naturally adopt E's conception of the history, and exaggerate its unhistorical features, the deuteronomistic author in particular never failing to emphasise the unsparing thoroughness with which Joshua obeys the command to extirpate the Canaanites. The disposition to make Joshua a double of Moses has also been noted.

Behind the oldest account of the conquest (J) lies, as in Gen. and in Ex.-Num., not a specifically Judean tradition, but the common Israelite tradition, the product of a fusion which

15. Ultimate sources. doubtless began in the time of the united kingdom, in which the Ephraimite element naturally preponderates over that which is distinctively of Southern origin. In Josh. 29 the ultimate basis is probably in large part the local tradition of Gilgal (Stade). (The particular Judaean interest is only occasionally to be discerned, as, e.g., in 1513-16). In this tradition the Ephraimite hero Joshua is the successor of Moses and the leader of Israel in the first period of the invasion; all the tribes cross the Jordan at one time and place; Judah and the allied clans enter their territory from the NE.; the Galiitean tribes were perhaps thought of as following in the wake of Joseph and reaching their seats through the highlands of Ephraim.

The question how far this representation corresponds to the actual facts is one for historical criticism. It is not only antecedently more probable that Caleb and his kindred clans, as well as the Kenites, entered the country from the S.; traces of such a tradition seem to be preserved, e.g., in Num. 13 f. Whether the same is true of Judah and Simeon (Graf, Kne., Land, Tiele, Doorn., and others) is more doubtful. The lower ford of the Jordan, opposite Jericho, may have been the place of some memorable passage by Israelite tribes, but it is in the highest degree improbable that they all crossed there. The invasion was not even in its first stage a concerted movement; it was a series of irruptions, with varying success, as the catastrophe which befell Simeon and Levi in their attempt on Shechem (Gen. 34 495-7) proves.

Thus even the oldest account of the invasion cannot be accepted without question as embodying a sound historical tradition; it shows very plainly the working of that process of 'concentration' which is observed in all legend, the tendency to ascribe to one man, one generation, one stroke of arms what was in fact the result of a long development.²

Of the age of J there are few definite indications in Josh. The curse laid by Joshua on the site of Jericho

16. Date of J. (626) is connected with something which happened (see HUEL) in the reign of Ahab (circa 875-851 B.C.; 1 K. 1634); the treaty with the Gibeonites is older than the time of Saul (2 S. 21) and may be probably referred to the period of the southward expansion of Joseph (formation of Benjamin) in the preceding century; the imposing upon Gibeon of the supply of wood for the temple—which was, we may surmise, the original meaning of 923, cp 27—would belong to the time of Solomon, who imposed various charges upon the subject Canaanites (1 K. 920-22); cp Judg. 128 to 33 35, and see GIBEON.

In striking contrast to Judg. the Book of Joshua has no chronological scheme.

We are not told how many years were consumed in the subjugation of the land, nor how long Joshua lived after the end of the wars; in both cases we read only that

17. Chronology. 'it was a long time' (112231). From 1479, it may be calculated that from the crossing of the Jordan to the assignment of Hebron to Caleb (after the conquest was completed) there had elapsed seven years; or, with Josephus, following 2 in Josh. 55, we allow forty full years.

¹ This, it should be observed, was a necessary consequence of the representation in the Pentateuch, in which Moses leads all Israel to the plains of Moab.

² An instructive parallel to Josh. is found in the Greek legends of the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese ('return to the Heracleidae'), partition of the land by lot, etc.

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from the sending out of the spies from Kadesh-barnea to the crossing of the Jordan, five years. Other computations are based upon 1 K. 6:1 (450 years from the exodus to the building of the temple); in this way there were reckoned out for Joshua by the early Christian chronologists 27 years; in *Notae Chron.* 27; by Josephus, 25; by Eusebius, followed by Africanus, 30. More probably the author of 1 K. 6:1 allowed Joshua 40 years; but there is no trace of this system in Josh.

The Hebrew text of Josh. is fairly well preserved. Certain consistent variations in its orthography (אֶל־יְהוָה, Pent. 17:1; אֶל־יְהוָה, Pent. 20:1) show that

18. Text. The text of Josh. was edited by different hands from the Pentateuch. The Greek version of Josh. was not made by the translators of the Pentateuch; it is not conspicuously inferior to that of the Pentateuch either in knowledge of Hebrew or in fidelity of rendering. The Hebrew text from which G was made was not very different from MT; but it was free from some of the latest glosses in MT (cp 5:4-7 6:3-5 20:4-6), and sometimes had an intact text where there is now a *lacuna* in Hebrew (e.g., in 15:50, where the names of eleven cities have fallen out from Hebrew, and 21:6 f. [MT between 35 and 36] where many Hebrew words, and odd, also insert the missing leviathans in Reuben); in variations G not infrequently exhibits the better reading. G's additions at the end of chap. 21 are of some interest, especially the last, which seems to show that the author had a book of Judges which began with the story of Ehud (the same connection is made in the Samaritan Josh. chap. 33).³

The Samaritans possess an uncanonical Book of Joshua in Arabic, professedly translated from a Hebrew original.⁴

It begins with the consecration of Joshua as Moses' successor (Dt. 31), after which is narrated (from Numbers) the story of Balaam and the war upon the Midianites (in which Joshua is the commander of the Israelite army). Then, with a new title

19. Samaritan Josh. (Here begins the Book of Joshua the son of Nun), it relates in its own way the conquest and division of the land, to the death of Joshua, and continues to the death of Eli. Setting aside the great interpolation (Shobek, chap. 25:37), and the appended chapters 45-47 (Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, Adrian), the chronicle is based solely on the biblical narrative, which it sometimes reproduces verbally, often freely embellishes, and occasionally—especially in the history of Eli and Samuel, whom it makes the arch-apostates—wholly distorts.

This Joshua is a mediæval production and its only value is to the student of the Samaritan sect under Moslem rule.

For the titles of works on Introduction, see DEUTERONOMY, § 33. For the history of criticism see HEXATEUCH.

1. Commentaries.—Andreas Masius, 1574, reprinted in *Critici Sacri*; Jo. Clericus, 1708; Maurer, 1814; Kn., 61 (*KGII*), 26, by Di. Deut. Nu. u. Jos., 80; Ke., 64, 27, 74, 75; E. T. by J. Martin, 68; E. R. Fay, 70 (*Lange's Bibelwerk*); E. T. by G. R. Bliss, 72; T. E. Espin, 72 (*Speaker's Comm.*); E. Reuss, *La Bible*, 3, *L'histoire sainte et la loi*, 79; *Das alte Testament*, 3, 23; J. J. Lias, 81 (*Pulpit Comm.*); J. Lloyd, 80; S. Oethli, 93 (*KGK*).

2. Criticism.—C. H. van Herwerden, *Disputatio de libri Josue auctore*, 26 (fragment hypothesis); I. König, *Afliche Studien*, 1, *Authentic des Buches Josua*, 46 (the book a unit; Joshua its author); Himpel, *Einheit und Glaubwürdigkeit des Buches Josua*, in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 74 f.; Kn. Comm., 61; Ew. *GVI*, 212 f. (65); E. Schrader in *De Wette, Einl.*, 69; Nö. *AT Unters.*, 69; Colenso, *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua*, 625-207 343-30 (72); Joh. Hollenberg, *Die deuteronomischen Bestandtheile des Buches Josua*, *St. Kr.*, 47-42-506 (74); A. Kayser, *Das vorexilische Buch u. s. w.*, 100 f. (74); We. *CHS*, 118-110 (80 *IPP*, 76); A. Kue. *Th. F.* 114-7-478 (77); 12-115-121 (78); Bu. *Kl. Sa.* 1-81 (100 = *ZATW*, 37-43); Kl. *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 121-221, esp. 221 f. (88); E. T. *History of the Hebrews*, 122-131; E. Albers, *Die Quellenkritik in Josua*, 1-12 (61); Socin and Kautsch in Kautsch, *HS*, 94 (analysis in the margin); W. H. Bennett,

¹ See Di. *NDI* 419; König, *Einl.* 250.

² See Ekl. *ZWT* 570-60 297-321 (62).

³ On the Greek version of Josh. see Hollenberg, *Charakter der alexandrinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Josua und ihr textkritischer Werth* (Programm), Moers, 76; cp *ZATW* 107 f. (81).

⁴ *Chronicon Samaritanum . . . cui titulus est Liber Josue*. Ed. J. J. Lias, 81.

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¹The Book of Joshua in Hebrew, 65 (*SBOT*); analysis in (Giles). ²The Book of Josh. and the Pentateuch, *JQ*, 10 641 f. (95); G. A. Smith, art. 'Joshua' in Hastings' *DIB* 2:70-71 (90); J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, *The Pentateuch*, 1905.

G. F. M.

JOSIAH (יְהוֹשִׁיָּא) [יְהוֹשִׁיָּא Zech. 6:12], 'God supports' [Giles].

For another derivation see Hommel, *ATF* 83; cp *PAF*, *I* 8302 (May '97); יְהוֹשִׁיָּא. The last king of Judah (639-608) before the rapid decline and fall of the state (2 K. 22 23 24 2 Chr. 34 f.). If the numbers in 21:1 and 22:1 are correct, he was only a boy of eight when 'the people of the land' (i.e., perhaps the men capable of bearing arms) placed him on the throne in succession to his father Amon.

Of the first years of his reign we know nothing. Probably the earlier events recorded in the annals did not, from the redactor's point of view, deserve to be remembered. Of course

1. Early administration. ASSYRIA was no longer troublesome; but we should like to have been informed as to the nature of the cultus in the temple, and as to the Scythian invasion referred to by Herodotus² (1:104-106). In the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, however, something occurred which affected the redactor very deeply; it was not so much the attention given by the king to the fabric of the temple (the royal sanctuary; cp Am. 7:13), as the 'finding' of a book called סֵפֶר הַדִּבְרִים ('the book of direction') in the house of Yahweh. See DEUTERONOMY, § 2 f.

The account of this 'finding' and of the effect it produced on Josiah is very disappointing. The section, 2 K. 22:1-23, contains some passages which were certainly not, as they now stand, in the original narrative; also, it is silent as to various points about which we feel a legitimate curiosity. The next section (23:1-25), which describes the details of the reformation, is much fuller, but by no means free from difficulty. Without an elaborate investigation, we could not adopt from either section more than this—that long after Josiah's accession a revival and development of Yahwistic laws was brought from the temple to Josiah, and that the king adopted it and imposed it by force upon his people, having first of all obtained an endorsement of the authority of the book by a prophetic of high repute (see HUKKAI, 1; HUKKAI).

The thirteen years which followed the reformation were monotonously peaceful. No foreign exactions hampered the industry of the subjects, and the king won the highest praise as a just and God-fearing ruler (Jer. 22:15 f.).

This prosperity, however, arose from circumstances which could not last, and in 608 a storm burst upon the little kingdom. It was the imminent

2. Foreign policy. partition of the Assyrian empire that was the cause. Neco II., the young and enterprising king of Egypt, had not forgotten the glories of Thotmes and Rameses, and started soon after his accession to reconquer Canaan, Phoenicia, and Syria. His first object was to lay his hand on the northern territories; the strong southern fortress of Jerusalem he meant to leave till his return. Josiah also, however, appears to have had political plans of a far-reaching character; he was probably not such a pure enthusiast as he is represented in the Old Testament. The mortal sickness of Assyria may have given him hopes of restoring the old Davidic kingdom; it is said that at the time of the reformation he exercised sovereign rights in Bethel and the cities of Samaria (2 K. 23:15-20). This is not impossible, though fuller evidence would be desirable. We may also presume that he was subject to a sad illusion relative to the earthly rewards of righteousness. He had the courage (alone or with allies) to meet the Egyptian king, and we have two accounts of what took place.

¹ Kinkel, however (*Hist.* 2:379), explains, 'the party of the country people'; he supposes that the murder of Amon was committed by friends of the reform movement, which ultimately produced the original Deuteronomy.

² On this subject and on the possible allusions to the Scythians in the Books of Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel, see JEREMIAH II § 88 (63); ZEPHANIAH, and cp *Chr. Jeremiah's Life and Times*, 30-38; Guthe, *GVI* 215-217.

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The 'father of history' tells us (from Hecataeus) that Neco 'made war by land on the Syrians and defeated them in a pitched battle at *Maydolon* or *Maydolon*, after which he took Kadytis, a large city of Syria' (Herod. 2.159). Herodotus must, however, have misunderstood his informants, for *Maydolon* is obviously the Egyptian *Ḥadit* [גדית], whither Josiah is not at all likely to have gone to seek Neco. Apparently Herodotus confounds Megiddo with *Maydolon*, just as he confounds Cadytis-Gaza with the Syrian Cadytis-Kadesh.

The earliest Hebrew account is in 2 K. 23.29f. It states that Neco was on his way to meet 'the king of Assyria' (see Schr. *CT* 243ff.) at the Euphrates when Josiah went to meet him and fell in battle at Megiddo. The account is strangely short, and is unfortunately not free from corruption.¹ A later writer (2 Ch. 35.20-25), however, gives a fuller narrative. Neco, it is said, sent an embassy to Josiah, explaining that he had no quarrel with Josiah, and that he had been directed by an oracle to go to the Euphrates to battle; Josiah's fate, if he makes opposition, will be due to his own folly. Josiah, however, was bent on war, and though Neco's words were dictated by the true God, he hearkened not to them. A battle ensued in the plain of Megiddo (Jos. *Ant.* x. 51, says *μεδὴν* [v.l., *μηδὴν*]).² The archers shot at Josiah, and wounded him fatally. He was brought in his second chariot to Jerusalem.

An inspection of this narrative of the Chronicler shows that v. 21 f. (down to 'from the mouth of God') are parenthetical, and the analogy of similar passages suggests

3. The account in 2 Ch. 35.20-25, another source. Was that source a trustworthy one? No; it is too clear that the insertion is midrashic and imaginative. The idea of the embassy of deprecation is taken from 2 K. 14.9 f.; that of the oracle is characteristic of the Chronicler and his circle; that Neco should be represented as in communication with God would not be strange in an age which nourished itself on Jeremiah (cp Jer. 27.6), but more probably Neco is supposed to have heard of a prophecy of Jeremiah (see 3 Esd. 1.28), just as Cyrus is supposed to have done in 2 Ch. 36.23. The speech ascribed to the wounded king is modelled on 1 K. 22.34 (see CHRONICLES, § 8).³

What were the exact circumstances which seemed to justify Josiah in encountering the Egyptian army, we do not know.

W. M. Müller ventures on the conjecture that the Assyrian prefect of Phoenicia and Palestine summoned Josiah and other vassal princes to unite their contingents, and meet the Pharaoh (who had reached Philistia) N. of Carmel. But was Assyria strong enough to give such an order? It would be safer to suppose that independently several Syrian and Palestinian princes combined against Neco under the leadership of Josiah, and that on the plain of Megiddo or Esdraelon they tried their fortune. The bare possibility must, however, be allowed for, that the armies clashed at a spot nearer to Mufjil (one of the Migdals, SW. of Yafa and Nazareth), on the N. of Esdraelon, than to *Lejjūn* (Megiddo) on the S.; *Lejjūn* may have been the place where the hapless king died. This allows us to suppose that Herodotus was correctly informed as to the name of the place of the encounter. Keimach's view (*Rev. arch.* 27.36), that the battle of *Maydolon* was a slightly earlier one (the opponents of the Egyptians being neither the Jews nor the Philistines, but the *Suḡoi* [Assyrians]), which transferred the western Asiatic Empire to Egypt, and Winckler's defence (*GF* 1.103, n. 2) of the statement of Herodotus, are on different grounds highly improbable.⁴ Whether Neco went by land or by sea to the neighbourhood of Carmel is disputed; the latter alternative has been generally adopted, but unwisely.⁵ Why Josiah encountered Neco at Megiddo also is doubtful. Probably it was because of the rapidity of Neco's movements, and because he had effected a junction with N. Palestinian allies.

¹ *וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל* is evidently wrong. *וַיִּקְרָא* at the end has been written twice over. We may conjecturally restore *וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל*, 'and they looked each other in the face' (2 K. 14.11) by Megiddo; and they shot at Josiah'. . . The corrupt *וַיִּקְרָא* is partly produced by the neighbourhood of *בָּת* (v. 30).

² *μεδὴν* of course = *μηδὴν*. Josephus, therefore, had before him an incorrect Hebrew text. Cp WMM 'Studien z. vorderasiat. Gesch.' 54, n. 1 in *MPG*, 98, 3.

³ A scribe has already indicated this by the substitution of 'disguised himself' for 'encouraged himself' in 2 Ch. 35.22 (cp 2 Ch. 18.29). See *ibid.* and 1 Esd. 1.28.

⁴ So, too, Hammel, *Gesch. des alten Morgenl.* 152.

⁵ Against Winckler, see WMM *Studien zur vorderasiat. Gesch.* 55 f. (98); against the latter, Prasek, *Forsch. zur Gesch. des A.O.* 23 f.

⁶ On one side, see G.A.S.M. (*HG* 105, n. 2); on the other, Che. *Jeremiah*, 96 (83) (who mentions the other alternative, however, and supports it by the historical parallel of the march of Thutmose III.).

JOTHAM

The scantiness of our information is to be regretted. Few equally tragic events are recorded in the history of Israel. Probably there were circumstances (not those which Josephus [*Ant.* x. 51] imagines) which cut the ancient historian to the heart to mention. Whether the 'mourning of HADADRIAM' (9.12) in the valley of Megiddo (Zech. 12.11) refers to the lamentation for the death of Josiah is disputed. At any rate the Chronicler's statement that lamentations were held every year for Josiah seems to be trustworthy (cp the contrast Jer. 22.10-18), even if we hesitate to believe that Jeremiah composed the first funeral dirge. See LAMENTATIONS, § 12.

2. b. Zephaniah, one of the representatives of the Babylonian Jewish communities who brought silver and gold to Jerusalem, temp. Zerubbabel (Zech. 6.10), according to necessary emendations of those texts). Of the whole passage (Zech. 6.9-15) see ZERUBBABEL.

The words, 'and come thou the same day, and go into the house of have grown out of a single corrupt or illegible word, the original of which was doubtless *וַיָּבֹאוּ*. Several attempts were made to read this corrupt word; these were put together by an editor, and some apparent sense made by the insertion 'the same day, and.' So first Wellhausen, who in *KZ* *Proph.* further tacitly emends the name 'Josiah' into 'Joshua'. His reason must be that *ben Zephaniah* is obviously added, to distinguish the person intended from some well-known living personage of the same name (presumably the high priest Joshua). T. K. C.

JOSIAS (יְסִיָּא), 1 Esd. 8.33 AV = Ezra 8.33 JESIAH, 4. (2) (יֹסִיָּא [BAL]), 1 Esd. 11, etc., Mt. 1. RV JOSIAH [9.2].

JOSIBIAH (יֹסִיָּבִיָּה), 1 Ch. 4.35†, RV JOSIBIAH.

JOSIPHIAH (יֹסִיָּפִיָּה), §§ 27-53, 'Yahweh increases' (יֹסֵף), *יֹסֵף* [BAL], *יֹסֵף* [BAL], a name in one of the post-exilic lists (Ezra 1. § 2, ii. § 15 [1] d), Ezra 8.10 = 1 Esd. 8.36 JOSAPHIAS (יֹסֵף [BAL], *יֹסֵף* [BAL]).

JOTBAH (יֹטְבָה), *יֹטְבָה* [BAL], *יֹטְבָה* [A], *יֹטְבָה* [L], the native place of Haruz, father of Meshu-lemeth; 2 K. 21.19. On the analogy of Jotapata (on *יֹטְבָה*, see Jastrow, *Lev.*) we may safely regard Jotba as a popular corruption of Jiphthah '(God) opens (the womb)'. *JIPHATH* [9.2] was a place in the Shēphēla Josh. 15.43. T. K. C.

JOTBATHAH (יֹטְבָתָה), cp JOTBAH, a stage in the wanderings in the wilderness (Nu. 33.33 f.; *יֹטְבָתָה* [BAL], *יֹטְבָתָה*, *יֹטְבָתָה* [F], *יֹטְבָתָה* [B], *יֹטְבָתָה* [A]; Dt. 10.7, AV JOTBATH; *יֹטְבָתָה* [BAL], *יֹטְבָתָה* [A], *יֹטְבָתָה* [F], *יֹטְבָתָה* [L]). See WANDERING IN THE WILDERNESS OF.

JOTHAM (יֹתָם), perhaps 'Yahweh is perfect (since) *יֹתָם*' (§ 38; cp Gray, *HPV* 154; *יֹתָם* [BAL], *יֹתָם* [L]).

1. (*יֹתָם* [BAL], *יֹתָם* [A] in v. 5), *יֹתָם* [A] in v. 5 (L v. 57). The sole survivor of the massacre of Jerubbaam (or rather Gideon's) sons—of whom he was the youngest—at Ophrah (see GIDEON, § 1); author of a fall (Judg. 9.5-21). Strictly, however, the author of the fable of the trees who sought for a king and the sole survivor of the house of Gideon are different persons: the former (of whose name we are ignorant) being more historical than the latter. The writer who first collected the historical tales about Abimelech, king of Shechem, probably knew nothing about Jotham. The subsequent editor, however, wishing to account for the calamities which befel both the people of Shechem and their king Abimelech, represented one of Gideon's sons as having escaped, and as proclaiming a parable in the hearing of the Shechemites (see GERIZIM, § 2), who had assembled to make Abimelech king. To this edit. v. 5b (escape of Jotham), a popular choice of Abimelech superfluous after v. 4.5d) 7-101 19b 20 f. most probably belong.² His object was to impress upon his readers that the calamities of Abimelech and the Shechemites were a divine retribution, and this he makes still more evident by putting into the mouth of Jotham a curse.

¹ Cp Che. *Jeremiah*, 94 ff.

² That v. 16b 1. a are a late amplification, is pointed out by Frankel, *Comp. des deut. Richterbücher*, 27, and L. (21. 21-22).

JOZABAD

upon both the guilty parties (21. 20). This done, he gets rid of Jotham by making him flee to Beer (an unknown locality) 'for fear of his (half-)brother Abimelech' (21. 21).

It is the fable which interests us; Jotham is a mere shadow. Some scholars (e.g., Moore) think that it was written by the author of 21. 7-21, with reference to the circumstances of Abimelech. The fable, however, is applicable to Abimelech only in so far as such a bad man was sure to bring misery on himself and on his subjects. To do it justice we must regard it as an independent production, and disengage it from its setting. It is no objection to this that 21. 15b forms a somewhat abrupt conclusion (Moore). We must not expect too much harmony in a Hebrew apologue; besides, the true closing words may have been omitted. The proof, however, that the fable is not by the author of its setting is in the imperfect parallelism between 21. 15b and the application in 21. 16a 19b 20. 'If in good faith you anoint me to be king over you, come and enjoy my protection; but if not, beware of the ruin which I shall cause you'; this is the (present) close of the fable. 'If you have acted in good faith and integrity, making Abimelech your king, much joy may you have from your compact; but if not, then beware of the ruin which Abimelech will cause you, and let him beware of the ruin which you will cause him.' The bramble-king is self-deceived; he thinks that he can protect others, and threatens traitors with punishment. Jotham, however, speaks at first ironically. He affects to believe that the Shechemites really trust Abimelech, and wishes them joy of their bargain. Then he changes his tone. He foresees that they will soon become disloyal, and threatens them with punishment, not, however, for their disloyalty, but because they conspired with Abimelech to commit murder. That the fable, moreover, is inconsistent both with 8. 23 and with 9. 2, is also manifest. The idea of 8. 23 is that Yahwe's kingship makes any human sovereign superfluous; that of 9. 2, that the practical alternatives are oligarchy and monarchy, and that monarchy is better. On the other hand, the idea of the fable is that kingship is a burden which no noble-minded man will accept, because it destroys individuality. Each noble-minded man is either a cedar, or a fig-tree, or a vine. By developing his natural powers in his allotted sphere he pleases 'gods and men'; it is alien to him to interfere with others.¹ Compare this fable with that of King Jehoash in 2 K. 14. 9. See ABIMELECH, 2.

2. b. Azariah, first regent (see UZZIAH) and then king of Judah (2 K. 15. 15a 16a [A and 21. 32], 32-38 15a 16a [B and 21. 32], 15a 16a [A 21. 30], 2 Ch. 26. 21 23 15a 16a [A], 27). The only facts derived from the annals are that he built the upper gate of the temple—i.e., perhaps, the upper gate of Benjamin (cp Jer. 20. 2 Ezek. 9. 2)—and that in his time 'Yahwe began to despatch against Judah Rezin king of Aram and Pekah son of Remaliah' (cp ISRAEL, § 31 f., ISAAH, § 3). The Chronicler states that Jotham fortified cities and built castles (see FOREST), and, as a reward for his piety, makes him fight with success against the Ammonites (cp AMMON, § 5). In 1 Ch. 3. 12 15a 16a [B], 15a 16a [A], 15a 16a [L]. On the chronology of Jotham's reign, see CHRONOLOGY, § 35.

3. One of the line Jahdai, belonging to Caleb (1 Ch. 2. 47).

T. K. C.

JOZABAD (יֹזָבָד), *cf.* JEHOZABAD [2. 7]; יֹזָבָד [BNAI].

1-3. The name of a Gederathite (see GEDERATH), and two Manassites, warriors of David; 1 Ch. 12. 4 (JOZABAD [AV], יֹזָבָד [BNAI]); 21. 20 (יֹזָבָד [BNAI], and יֹזָבָד [B], -בֶּת [B], יֹזָבָד [A]); see DAVID, § 11 [2. 11].

4. An over-seer in the temple; 2 Ch. 31. 13 (יֹזָבָד [B], יֹזָבָד [A], יֹזָבָד [L]); perhaps the same as

JUBILEE

5. A chief of the Levites; 2 Ch. 35. 9 (יֹזָבָד [L]); in 1 Esd. 10. 10 (יֹזָבָד [BA]).

6. b. Jeshua, a Levite, temp. Ezra (see EZRA i. § 2, ii. § 15 [2. 15], EZRA 3. 1; 1 Esd. 8. 3 JOZABAD, RV JOZABDUS [2. 7, 62] יֹזָבָד [B], יֹזָבָד [A]).

7. One of the line Jahdai, a priest in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i. § 5 end), Ezra 10. 22 (יֹזָבָד [L]) - 1 Esd. 9. 22 (יֹזָבָד [B], יֹזָבָד [A]).

8. A Levite in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i. § 5 end), Ezra 10. 21 - 1 Esd. 9. 21 (JOZABAD, יֹזָבָד [BA]) perhaps identical with (7) and the two following.

9. Ex. 30. 17 (see EZRA ii. § 13 [L]; cp i. § 8, ii. § 16 [3], § 15 [1] c), Neh. 8. 7 (יֹזָבָד [L], om. BNAI) - 1 Esd. 9. 21 (JOZABAD, 3).

10. Neh. 11. 15 in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA ii. § 5 [L], § 15 [1] c) (יֹזָבָד [BNAI] mg. sup., om. BNAI).

JOZABDUS (יֹזָבָד [BA]; see above).

1. 1 Esd. 9. 21 RV - Ezra 10. 21, JOZABAD, 8.

2. 1 Esd. 9. 21 (יֹזָבָד [B], יֹזָבָד [A]), RV; AV JOZABAD = Ezra 10. 21, ZABAD, 1.

3. 1 Esd. 9. 21 RV, AV JOZABDUS, Neh. 8. 7, JOZABAD, 9.

JOZACHAR, RV JOZACHAR (יֹזָכָר, 'Yahwe remembers'; cp Zechariah; יֹזָכָר, Jozabar [Ginsl.]).

following some MSS and edd.]; יֹזָכָר [B]; יֹזָכָר [AL] b. Shimeath, one of the murderers of Joash (2 K. 12. 21 [21]). In 2 Ch. 21. 26 (ZABAD, יֹזָכָר, perhaps for ZACHAR, יֹזָכָר; cp Ki. SBOT; ZABEA [B, cp ZABAD, 5. 5], -בֶּת [A], -בֶּת [L]); 5. 5 makes Jozachar himself, not his mother, an Ammonite (see SHIMEATH). See JEHOZABAD.

JOZADAK (יֹזָדָק), Ezra 3. 2 etc. See JEHOZADAK.

JUBAL (יֹבָל), Gen. 4. 21, f. See CAINITES, § 11.

JUBILEE, or **JUBILE**, THE YEAR OF. According to Lev. 25. 3-5, at the completion of seven sabbaths of years, the trumpet of the jubilee

1. Principle and procedure. (יִשְׁפֹּר הַרְוּעָה) is to be sounded throughout the land, 'on the tenth day of the seventh month—i.e., on the great day of atonement. The fiftieth year thus announced is to be 'hallowed,'—i.e., liberty (יִשְׁפֹּר) is to be proclaimed everywhere to every one, and the people are to return 'every man unto his possession and unto his family.' The year in other respects is to resemble the sabbatical year; there is to be no sowing, nor reaping that which grows of itself, nor gathering of grapes (Lev. 25. 12).

To come to fuller detail,—as regards real property (Lev. 25. 13-14), the law is that if any Hebrew under pressure of necessity shall alienate his property he is to get for it a sum of money reckoned according to the number of harvests to be reaped between the date of alienation and the first jubilee year; should he or any relation desire to redeem the property before the jubilee, this can always be done by repaying the value of the harvests between the redemption and the jubilee. The fundamental principle is that 'the land shall not be sold so as to be quite cut off, for it is mine, and ye are strangers and sojourners with me.' The same rule applies to dwelling-houses of unwalled villages. The case is different, however, as regards dwelling-houses in walled cities. These may be redeemed within a year after transfer; but if not redeemed within that period they continue permanently in possession of the purchaser. An exception to this last rule is made for the houses of the Levites in the Levitical cities. As regards property in slaves (Lev. 25. 39-46), the Hebrew whom necessity has compelled to sell himself into the service of his brother Hebrew is to be treated as a hired servant and a sojourner, and to be released absolutely at the jubilee (21. 39-41); non-Hebrew bondmen on the other hand are to be bondmen for ever (21. 44-46). The Hebrew, however, who has sold himself to a stranger or sojourner is entitled to freedom at the year of jubilee, and further is at any time redeemable by any of his kindred,—the redemption price being regulated by the number of years to run between the redemption and the jubilee, according to the ordinary wage of hired servants (22.

¹ See Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 64.

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47-55). In addition to these enactments Lev. 27:17-23 gives a supplementary law regulating the price of a piece of land that has been dedicated to God according to the distance in time between the date of the dedication and the jubilee year, and also defining the circumstances in which such a piece of land in the jubilee year either reverts to the original owner or permanently belongs to Yahwē. One further reference to the year of jubilee occurs in Nu. 36:4 in the law as to inheritance by daughters.

As to origin, the law is plainly a growth out of the law of the Sabbath. The foundations of Lev. 25 are laid in the ancient provisions of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21:2 ff., 23:10 ff.) and in Deuteronomy. The Book of the Covenant enjoined that the land should lie fallow and Hebrew slaves be liberated in the seventh year; Dt. required in addition the remission of debts (see SABBATICAL YEAR). These regulations are in Lev. 25 carried over to the fiftieth year and amplified. The choice of the fiftieth to be the sacred year is evidently in parallelism with the feast of Pentecost which is the closing day after the seven weeks of harvest.

As to the date of the law, this much at least has to be observed, that no evidence of its existence has reached us from pre-exilic times. Certainly in Jeremiah's time the law acknowledged by the prophets was that described in Deut. 15, according to which the rights of Hebrew slave-holders over their compatriots were invariably to cease seven years after they had been acquired. This appears to follow from Jer. 34:14; where note that Jeremiah uses the term קרור (27:15, 17, cp v. 8). Another important passage is Ezek. 46:16 ff., where there is indication of a law according to which 'the prince' is at liberty to alienate in perpetuity any portion of his inheritance to his sons; but if he give a gift of his inheritance to any other of his subjects, then the change of ownership holds only till 'the year of liberty' (שנת קרור), after which the alienated property returns to its original possessor, i.e. prince. Now since Jeremiah makes use of the same expression (קרור) with reference to the liberation of the slaves in the seventh year it is exceedingly probable that Ezekiel also by קרור means the seventh year.

This view of the case gives additional probability to the conjecture of Kuenen (*Hex.* § 6, n. 28 d) and Wellhausen that originally Lev. 25:8 ff. also had reference to the seventh year. For the law in its present form proves (cp Kue. *l.c.*) on careful examination to be a revision of an older form which probably belonged to H. Thus this last, besides the injunction about the year of fallow (Lev. 25:1-7), contained also a precept about the year of liberation (שנת קרור, Lev. 25:8 ff.), by which it understood the seventh year as Jeremiah had done. That in the year of jubilee in its present form we are dealing with a purely theoretical development of the sabbath idea which was incapable of being reduced to practice becomes evident from the simple reflection that in the event of such a year being observed there would occur two consecutive years (the 49th and the 50th) in which absolutely nothing could be reaped, and a third (the 51st) in which only some summer fruits could be obtained, sowing being prohibited in the fiftieth. This difficulty, which was perceived even by the author of Leviticus 25 himself (cp v. 22), has led many scholars to make the impossible assumption that the forty-ninth year is the year of jubilee (so, e.g., Ew. *Ant. Br.* 375, and Saalschütz, *Arch.* 2229, following older writers such as Scaliger, Petavius, and others). In order to meet the difficulty Riehm (*III B²*, 1751 ff.) regards the command about the land lying fallow as one that was originally foreign to the law of the year of jubilee and one that was never in force. This last character, however, belongs to the whole institution, not merely to this particular part of it. For the post-exilic period

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also we have evidence of the non-observance of the law. The Talmudists and Rabbins are unanimous that although the jubilee-years were reckoned they were not observed.

As regards the meaning of the name 'jubilee' (שנת היובל), or simply יובל, *ἐνιαυτός ἀφ'εσέως* or *ἀφ'εσέως, annus jubilei* or *jubilæus*, authorities are not agreed. According to Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 123), it means *ἐλευθερία*; but the use of the word יובל in Ex. 19:13 Josh. 6:5, makes it probable that the name is derived from the trumpet sound with which the jubilee was to be proclaimed; and it is not impossible that the old Jewish traditional view is right when it says that יובל means a ram—for which there is a probable confirmation in Phœnician—and then, by abbreviation for קרן יובל, a trumpet of ram's horn. See Dillmann on Ex. 19:13. שנת היובל would thus mean the year that is ushered in by the blowing of the ram's horn (Lev. 25:9).

For the earlier literature see Dillm. *Ex. u. Lev.* 603 Wiener, *AWB*, art. 'Jubeljahr'; and *PRE*, art. 'Sabbatjahr'. Recent authorities are Saalschütz, *Arch.* 2224 ff.; Bähr, *Symb.* 259 ff. 601 ff.; Ew., *Ant. of Isr.* 372 ff.; De Wette, *Arch.* 2229 ff.; Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* 2229 ff.; Wellh., *Prot.* 116 f. (95); Oehler, art. 'Sabbatjahr', in *PRE*; Riehm, *III B²*, art. 'Jubeljahr'; Benzinger *HA* 474 f. 941; Nowack, *HA* 2105 f. 941.

W.R.S.—1. U.

JUCAL (יֻכָּל), Jer. 38:1. See JEHUCAL.

JUDA, RV Judah, City of (Lk. 1:39). See JUTTAH ZACHARIAS, IO.

JUDA (יֻדָּא [Ti. VII]), 1. Mk. 6:3, RV JUDAS (q.v.).

2. (יֻדָּא [Ti. WH]) 1. k. 3:26, RV JODA.

3. 1. k. 3:30, RV JUDAS (q.v.).

4. 1. k. 3:33, RV JUDAH. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 f.

JUDÆA (יֻדְיָא [BNA, etc., cod. 87 V; Ti. VII]) יהודה in Ezra 12:45; יהודה in Ezra 10:1; in Dan. [6] and Dan. [Theod.]; in Macc. as well as in Ezra-Neh. we find both יֻדְיָא and יֻדָּא. The name of the region occupied by the reorganized Jewish community in the Persian, Greek, and Roman periods, but extended by 1. k. to the whole of W. Palestine (1. k. 4:44 [?] 23:5 Acts 2:9 10:37 etc.).

The limits of Judæa as a province varied at different periods. In the time of Jonathan the Maccabæe (143 B.C.) three tetrarchies of Samaria (Apharera [see EPHRAIM, ii.], LYDDA, and RAMATHAIM) were added to Judæa (1 Macc. 10:30 38 11:34); Judas himself had already expelled the Edomites from Hebron (1 Macc. 5:65). According to Josephus (*J.* iii. 3:5), Judæa extended from Anuath-Borka-os (Ἀνωαθον Βορκαϊος, nov. Berkit; *PEFQ.* '81, p. 48) in the N. to a village called Jordas (*Tell 'Arād?*) near Arabia on the S., and from Joppa on the W. to the Jordan on the E. The sea-coast as far as Ptolemais (Acre), with the exception of Jamnia and Joppa, belonged to Judæa, and according to Ptolemy (v. 16:9) some districts beyond Jordan. The latter statement, however, is not to be adduced in illustration of Mt. 19:1 ('the borders of Judæa beyond Jordan'), because here Mk. 10:1 (Ti. WH) contains the obviously correct reading, *καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, 'that is [first of all] the region beyond Jordan' (cp Mk. 11:1 'unto Jerusalem and unto Bethany'). It should be noticed, too, that Josephus mentions no trans-Jordanian toparchy. On the death of Herod, Judæa, with Samaria and Idumæa, fell to the lot of Archelaus, an ethnarch; but on Archelaus' deposition his territory was annexed to the Roman Province of Syria (see ISRAEL, § 89). In the fifth century Judæa became part of the division called *Palæstina Prima*.

Four of the eleven Judæan toparchies mentioned by Josephus and Eusebius are referred to in the Talmud, —Daroma, Geraritia, Gabaena, and Sarona.² Daroma, which corresponds to the biblical Negeb (see ONK. Di. 843), had for its centre Lod or Lydda, so that the name Daroma is often used in the Talmud instead of Lod. The Arabs limited the application to a plain near GAZA (q.v.)—the Daroma of the Crusaders. The meaning of the other names is clear.

The Judæan table-land is otherwise known as the 'hill-country of Judah'; but Judæa is not confined to

¹ A. v. H. Hastings' *PEFQ.* 2752 a.

² Neub. *Géogr. du Talm.* 62 ff.

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this high region; there are districts outside of it which can boast of more varied scenery and of hardly less historical interest.¹ There is first that wonderful depression which bounds Judaea on the E.—the lower Jordan valley and the Dead Sea, beyond which rises the precipitous wall of the mountains of Moab. The three roads into Judaea on this side start from the three oases, Jericho, 'Ain Fesha, and 'Ain Jidi.

Next, the southern border must be studied, not, however, here, but in dealing with that extensive and but lately explored region—the NEGEV (*q.v.*). Then, for the western boundary we have—ideally the Mediterranean—but really, except at intervals, the edge of the great plateau itself. The low hills of the Shēphelah [lowland] are separated from the compact range to the E. by a long series of valleys running S. from Ajalon. This is the western barrier of the hill-country. It is penetrated by a number of defiles, which provide excellent cover for defenders, and opportunity for ambushes and surprises. The importance of Beth-zur (cp BETU-ZUR, KIRJATH-SĒPUER) arises from the fact that it is the one fortress on the W. flank of Judaea, S. of Ajalon, which the physical conditions make possible. In conclusion, the last ten miles of the Judean plateau on the north form a frontier which was the most accessible side of the Judean territory, but was well protected by the fortresses of Benjamin. See further, JUDAH; JUDAH, HILL COUNTRY OF; BENJAMIN, JORDAN, NEGEV, SHEPHELAI, PALESTINE.

JUDAH (יְהוּדָה; יוֹדָא(ה) [BADEL]; Ass. *la-ia-du*). For the gentile see JEW.

1. Judah (Yēhūdāh), the eponym of the tribe of Judah, is represented as the fourth son of Jacob by

1. Name. Leah, born at Haran (Gen. 29.35). J explains the meaning thus, 'And she said, "Now will I praise Yahwē"; therefore she called his name Judah (Yēhūdāh)'; the saying in Gen. 49.8 starts from the same favourite *Volksetymologie*. We may presume, however, that the name (like Isaac, Jacob, and Israel) is a popular adaptation of some fuller form, perhaps Abihud or Ahihud (whence Ehud). It does not, so far as we know, occur in the Assyrian tablets. Tiele, indeed, thought we might read it in a letter of Rib-addi of Gebal² (*Am. Tab.* no. 8642); but Winckler reads here Jada.

One of the most striking characteristics of J is the interest which this writer, or school of writers, takes in

2. Legends in Genesis. That in J Judah takes the place assigned to his brother Reuben (closely connected with Judah, see § 3) in E in the Joseph-story, has been noticed elsewhere (see JOSEPH II., § 3). According to Gen. 38, Judah went to Adullam (?) and married the daughter of a Canaanite (?) named Shua (= Sheba); his three sons were called, Er, Onan, and Shelah. The first-born was married by Judah to Tamar (?); but Er and Onan were wicked, and were slain by Yahwē. As Tamar was not given to the third son Shelah, she found an expedient to become the mother of two sons, Peres (?) and Zerah, by Judah. The other legends relative to Judah (Judges, Samuel) will be most conveniently referred to in § 3. The genealogies of Judah in 1 Ch. 4.1-23 will not be considered here. There is indeed much to reward a critical examination of the puzzles which they contain; but to condense the results of the special articles in a really fruitful way would occupy too much space. See as specimens, BITULI, CHAKASHIM, HAZELEPONI, JABEZ, JASHUB-LEHEM, SHOBAL.

It is usually thought that by a special piece of good fortune we have in the legend of Gen. 38, just now described, a tradition respecting the early development of the tribe of Judah. 'Reading the passage ethnologically we learn

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that Judah had established itself on the W. side of the "Hill Country of Judah" in the district of Timnah and Adullam, that the tribe allied itself to the Canaanites, but did not flourish till it united with the tribe of Tamar, which dwelt more to the south.¹ According to Winckler,² however, the story records in legendary form the conquest of Baal-tamar, where was the sanctuary of the original tribe of Benjamin, by David, the leader of the Judahites. Baal-tamar, he thinks, was the place afterwards called, by a strange distortion of the name, Kirjath-jearim. This brings us face to face with more than one deep and difficult problem which this scholar has treated in a strikingly original manner (see KIRJATH-JEARIM, SAUL, TAMAR). We shall return to Gen. 38 later (§ 4. end); it is enough here to repeat that Tamar (תָּמָר) a word which in some other passages too has arisen through textual corruption) as a woman's name is most probably a corruption of some popular shortened form of Jerahme'el, just as 'Ir hat-tēfarim (E.V. 'the city of palm-trees') in Judg. 1.16 is probably a corruption of 'Ir Jerahme'el (see JERUHO, § 2). It was union with the Jerahmeelites (a tribe of Edomitish affinities) that gave vigour to the clan or tribe of Judah; a similar cause seems to be assigned for the expansion of the Jacob-tribe (see JACOB, § 3), and also for the growth of the Isaac-tribe, Abraham representing the Jerahmeelites of Rehoboth, Sarah the Israelites or perhaps Ishmaelites (see JACOB, § 6). In the earliest times indeed Judah, Jerahmeel, Caleb, Kaim (Kenites), and Simeon must have closely resembled each other, and probably we should add to the list Reuben, which (cp Gen. 49.12 1 Ch. 4.1 5) had clans closely connected with those of Judah. It was not therefore altogether unnatural for the editor of Judg. 1.1-5, to ascribe to Judah the conquest of Hebron³ or rather REHOBOTH [7.1] and of 'Debir' or rather Beth-zur (see KIRJATH-SĒPUER); in reality these were the achievements of CALEB [7.2], which did not become one with Judah till the time of David. (On Judg. 1.6 see KENITES.) All the tribes mentioned, including Judah, seem to have adhered for a long time to a nomadic or semi-nomadic mode of life; a large part of the Jerahmeelites remained nomads quite late (see AMALEK, HAM II., JERAHMEEL, SAUL). It may be remarked here that Reuben (Reubel?) see REUBEN) very possibly derives its name from Jerahme'el.

The leader who brought about, at least to a considerable extent, the union of these different clans (so far as they were in his neighbourhood at the time of his operations) all of which were outside the Israelitish territory, was David. The steps by which he reached his proud position at the head of a great inland Palestinian kingdom require renewed investigation. He was himself probably a Calebite of Bethuel or Beth-zur—i.e., 'Debir' or KIRJATH-SĒPUER [7.2]. His sister Abigail bears the same name as the former wife of Nabal, which probably is really a tribal name; this might suggest that David's family was aware of a connection with another family called Abigail (or Abihail) settled near Carmel (= Jerahmeel) and Jezreel (cp DAVID, § 1, n. 2, SAUL, § 4, and see below), though it is true that Abigail and Abihail are ultimately traceable to Jerahmeel. If so, like his sister, David strengthened the connection with Jezreel by marriage (see NABAL). In spite of all this neither Caleb nor Jerahmeel supplied the name of the great tribe produced by a combination of smaller tribes—but Judah. No doubt Judah had already been extending its influence (cp Gen. 38), so that David only recognised and acted upon accomplished facts. But it was at first only a small Judah that accepted David as its leader and prince (cp 1 S. 30.26-31, where note that the conquest of 'Hebron' or rather REHOBOTH is presupposed), nor can we say with documentary pre-

¹ See GASM. *HC* chap. 13.

² Winckler, *Theol. Studien*, 1900, pp. 261 f.

³ Cp Winckler, *op. cit.*

² *U. Z.* 104.

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cision how David became possessed of the territory between the original southern border of Benjamin and the northern limit of the Negeb (see NEGEB). We need not therefore hesitate to accept Winckler's very plausible view that the present narrative of David's adventures during his 'outlaw period' is based upon earlier traditions of a struggle on David's part for the possession of the later Judahite territory. Winckler's interpretation of the details will of course be liable to criticism, partly from the inherent difficulty of the historical problems, but chiefly from the fact that his textual criticism is not as thorough and methodical as could be wished.

According to Winckler the 'Cherethites' and 'Pelethites' are those semi-nomadic *gates* of the Negeb to which David by his origin belonged; their chief town was Ziklag, from which as a centre they went about making raids under David's leadership. This can hardly be accepted. Though temporarily on friendly terms with the 'Cherethites' and 'Pelethites' David (a searching textual criticism suggests) was afterwards at war with these tribes (*i.e.*, confederations of clans); at a later time again he made friends with them (see PELETHITES). Nor does the text we adopt favour the view that 'Ziklag' was the chief town either of the 'Cherethites' or of the 'Pelethites'. Winckler is also of opinion that in the present narrative of David's earlier career (which is admittedly of composite origin) there have been brought together two widely different legends, one of which gave Adullam (a place in the later Judahite territory) as David's original base of operations, and the other 'Ziklag' in the land of Musri (see MIZRAIM, § 26), to which region Achish (who is represented as having been for a time David's liege lord) must also have belonged. Of these two traditions the latter, Winckler thinks, is the original and sole authentic one. Independently, the present writer has arrived at similar but much more definite conclusions on certain points, and the same method which has enabled him to reach greater definiteness on these points has led him to conclusions on points of detail which seem adverse to other parts of Winckler's theory.

As we have said, David was probably not (as Winckler represents) a Musrite, but a Calebite; not 'Ziklag' (Halūšah), but 'Debir' (see above) was his home. We cannot put on one side the Bethlehem-tradition quite so readily as Winckler does. 'Beth-lehem' must spring from some more possible name; that name is found—it is Bethuel.

It may be left an open question, however, whether both Bethlehem and Bethuel (or Bethel) are not broken down forms of a primitive Beth-Jerahmeel. This would account for 'Ephrathite' in 1 S. 17.12, on which name (= Jerahmeelite) see RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.

Similarly, though 'Adullam' is certainly not David's true starting-point, the name did not spring from the brain of a tradition-monger; עֲדֻלָּם, 'Adullam,' may be a corruption of כַּרְמֶל, 'Carmel.' Carmel was in a region friendly to David's family; it is surely a plausible view, that David, if he was a native of 'Debir' (Kir-sepher), and closely allied with the clans of Jezreel and Carmel, took Carmel as his earliest base of operations. Now there is any inconsistency between this tradition and the 'Ziklag' tradition. Until David gave practical effect to his aspiration after the imperial throne of an expanded Israel there was no reason why he should not be on the most friendly terms with the chieftains of Musrite tribes like the 'Cherethites' and 'Pelethites.' There is a striking little narrative in 1 S. 22.3-5 which throws some light on this (and so indeed, rightly understood, does the story in Gen. 38). From the fort (not cave) of Carmel (not Adullam) David, we are told, took his father and mother to 'Mizpeh of Moab' (rather to Mizrephath of Musur, see ZAREPHATH), and confided them to the care of the king or, as we might say, chieftain (see KING). There his parents found a safe asylum, all the time that he was in the fort of Carmel. It should be noticed that Carmel is already a Judahite place. 'Abide not in Mizrephath' (read, not בְּמִצְרַת, but בְּמִצְרָת; 'depart, and get thee into the land of Judah,' says Gad the 'prophet' (see GAD II.). So David leaves Musur, and proceeds to the fort of Carmel ('Adullam'); see HARETH.

We must now return to Gen. 38, assuming here the corruptions of the text mentioned under TAMAR. A

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Judahite family settles at Carmel¹ (not Adullam). A fusion with the Maonites was attempted, but had less prosperous results than a Jerahmeelite alliance. The two clans which arose in consequence were called respectively Šarephath and Zerah. This seems to be a record of the friendly intercourse between David who at Carmel and the Musrites of Šarephath.

We conclude then that David made Carmel his base of operations for the conquest of territory for an enlarged tribe of Judah. He established progress.

5. David's progress. himself for a time in Keilah, but found it necessary to retire, first to the wilderness of Ziph, and then to that of En-kadesh (not En-gedi; see KADESH), where he was certainly in the land of Musri. From Kadesh we may presume that he made his way to REHOBOTH [g.v.], by favour of whose chieftain Achish, or perhaps rather Nahash (who, be it noted, worships Yahwe, 1 S. 29.6), he found new headquarters at Halūšah (see ZIKLAG). It was from this place that he obtained his great warrior Benaiah (see JERAZZEL) and raided those parts of the Negeb which did not belong to the Rehobothites and Zarephathites. Meantime the Zarephathites were doing great mischief to Saul's kingdom by their incursions (cp especially 1 S. 23.28 28.1 f.), and, if our treatment of the text is sound, Saul met his death bravely struggling with them on the ridge of hills near Carmel or Jerahmeel (see SAUL, § 4). It is possibly to the following period that David's acquisition of a chieftainship in the Carmelite district² is to be assigned; this helps to account for his elevation to a greater position at Hebron³ (the reading 'Hebron' may be safely accepted). This, however, was not agreeable to the Zarephathites, and a fierce conflict broke out between them and the new-made king. David, however, became the victor,⁴ 'Gob' and 'Gath' in 2 S. 21.15-22 being corrupt fragments of 'Rehoboth,'⁵ and 'Rephaim' and 'Baalperasim' in 2 S. 5.18 20 22 of Jerahme'elim and Baal-Šarephāthim respectively; see also Judg. 1.10. After this, the Rehobothites and the Šarephathites became David's faithful servants; in this character their names have come down to us as 'Cherethites' and 'Pelethites.' See PELETHITES, REHOBOTH, ZAREPHATH.

It required doubtless a harder struggle to overcome the resistance of Abner, the general of Ishbosheth (or rather perhaps Mahriel; see MEPIBOSHETH, § 1), whom Winckler, perhaps rightly, regards as having been in the first instance king of 'all Israel' (2 S. 29). The conquest of JERUSALEM [g.v., § 13 f.] was the necessary preliminary of this. Being taken by David himself from the Jebusites, it formed originally no part of the tribe of Judah; but its possession secured the continuance of the family of David on the throne of Judah, and in Josh. 15.63 (R_{JE}) it is represented as half-Judahite, half-Jehusite. On Solomon's supposed exclusion of Judah from the departmental division of his kingdom see SOLOMON, TAXATION, and cp Kittel on 1 K. 4.9 f.

The tribe of Judah is referred to twice in the NT (Heb. 7.14 Rev. 7.5); but the references require no comment.

The isolation of Judah is its most notable geographical

¹ Note that Timnah (v. 12) is mentioned in Josh. 15.55-57 in the same group with Maon, Carmel, and Ziph (which name underlies 'Cherib' in Gen. 38.5).

² He was probably 'prince of Abihail' (1 S. 25.3, crit. emend.). See NABAL.

³ The supposed reference to David as 'head of Caleb' after he had removed to Hebron can hardly be maintained (see NABAL). Tradition rightly describes him as a *melek* ('king,' 'chieftain').

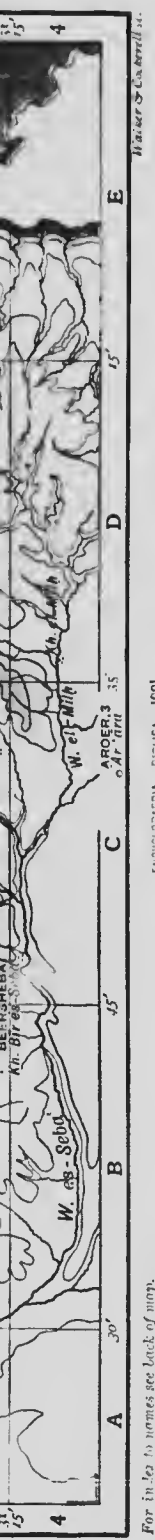
⁴ This may be implied too in the story of PEREZ-UZZAH and OBEID-EDOM the 'Gittite' (Rehobothite) in 2 S. 6. Perhaps too the 'Rabbath-bnē-Ammon' of 2 S. 12.26 f. should rather be 'Rehoboth-bnē-Jerahmeel' (cp REHOBOTH, and see *Crit. Bib.*).

⁵ In this connection it may be noted that in the earlier and much briefer story on which 1 S. 17 is probably based, 'Goliath of Gath' was probably 'Goliath of Rehoboth,' 'the valley of Elah' (גֵּלְיָת) was 'the valley of Jerahmeel,' and 'Bethlehem-judah' was 'Bethel-judah.'

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characteristic. Its boundaries are given in Josh. 15:1-12 (1st); but these of course have no relation to the pre-Davidic period.

6. Characteristics: geographical. The N. boundary coincides with the S. boundary of Benjamin; only it is given with greater fulness. On the E. the boundary is the Dead Sea; on the W. the Mediterranean; on the S. a line drawn from the southern tongue of the Dead Sea to the Nahal Mistann (rather Mistim; see EGYPT, BROOK OF), and passing by the ascent of Akribbim, Zin, Kadesh-barnea, and other places (consult HAZAR-ADDAR, HEZRON, KARKAR). The idealizing tendency of P comes out in his inclusion of Philistia within Judahite territory. There is an inconsistency with regard to Kirjath-jearim, which Judg. 18:12 and 1 Josh. 15:61 make Judahite, whilst Josh. 18:25 apparently assigns it to Benjamin (cp KIRJATH-JEARIM); also with regard to JERUSALEM [Z. V. § 13]. It should be noticed that in the earlier narratives we hear of LAHAI (Judg. 15:1) and ABUEAM (1 S. 22:5; see above), or rather Carmel, as belonging to Judah; we also read of a Negeb of Judah (1 S. 27:10; see NIGBO). The natural divisions of the territory are—the NIGBO, the SUPPHEIM, and the Wilderness of Judah (see DESERT, § 2 [3] and § 3 [3]). It is urgently necessary to get a clear idea of each of these without which the full significance of many OT passages will be missed. As to the names in Josh. 15:20-62 reference must also be made to special articles. Some progress has doubtless been made in settling the readings (which in MT are often incorrect), and consequently many current identifications have not improbably been criticised in the present work with effect; but much uncertainty still attaches to many of the details (see e.g. the names of places on the S. boundary).

Judah is not to be blamed for indifference to the great struggle celebrated in Judg. 5; a tribe of Judah did not at that time exist. In Dt. 33:7 (in the 'Blessing of Moses'), however, we meet with a prayer that Yahweh would bring Judah 'to his people,'—i.e., that the great schism might be healed, and Judah reincorporated into the people of Israel; it is the saying of a N. Israelite. The 'Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. 49:11) celebrates the fierceness and victorious might of Judah and at the same time its appreciation of the natural advantages of its land (Judah was a vine-country; cp Joel 1:7 ff., 3 [4] 18 2 Ch. 26:10, and HEZRON, § 3). Later history exhibits this tribe as tenacious, conservative, and even fanatical—characteristics perhaps not wholly unconnected with its Edomitish and N. Arabian affinities.

The two 'Blessings' just referred to are the only pre-exilic poetical passages in which the name Yehūdāh occurs; even in the exilic and post-exilic poetry it is very rare. Among the prophets it is Jeremiah who uses the term most frequently, though the abundance of interpolations in his book makes it difficult to estimate the exact numbers. The examination of the historical books leads to some interesting results. The phrase *Yehūdāh* occurs in Judg. 18 f. 10 2 S. 1:13 21:2 1 Ch. 12:26 2 Ch. 10:17 25:12 28:10 31:6 Neh. 11:23 13:16 Dan. 16; also in Jer. 7:30 32:30 32 [L. 433]. Joel 3 [1] 68:10 Ob. 12. But some of these occurrences are of small account, being due to glosses, and 2 S. 1:13 is strongly corrupt (see JASTIER, BOOK OF, § 2). The phrase *Yehūdāh* is not much commoner. *Yehūdāh* is, of course, frequent. According to Staerk,² it may be inferred from the use of 'Israel and Judah' in passages like 2 S. 3:10 11:11 and 1 K. 2:32 that there was a sense of the inner opposition between north and south before the separation of the kingdoms.

The above article on a subject of great difficulty sums up some of the chief results of special articles. The reader will, of

¹ On 15:10, which seems to interrupt the connection, see SHILOH.

² *Studien zur Relig. u. Sprachgesch. des Alten Test.* (1909), 90.

JUDAH, HILL-COUNTRY OF

course, consult the histories of Israel, not forgetting the most recent that of Winckler, to some of whose conclusions the above article gives an independent support.

¹ *Hebrew*, Neh. 11:10 and address the same as HODAYAN, 2

² A Levitical family, according to the MT of Ezra 2:36-37 and 1 Chr. 9:35 (1 Chr. 9:36). *Hebrew* in Neh. 12:4 (*ḥadai* 'H' A), some would read *ḥadai* (*ḥadai* 'H' A), 411 poss. *ḥadai* 'H' A, the original name was *ḥadai* (1 S. 25:22, *ḥadai* 'H' A). See 10:11 and 11:1, § 2 [1].

³ A Levite (the above clan individualised); Ezra 10:23 (*ḥadai* 'H' A), 1 Chr. 9:35 (*ḥadai* 'H' A), 411 poss. *ḥadai* 'H' A). See 10:11 and 11:1, § 2 [1].

⁴ A priest's son, Neh. 12:11 and 1 Chr. 9:35.

⁵ A priest's son, Neh. 12:11 and 1 Chr. 9:35.

JUDAH, HILL-COUNTRY OF (יְהוּדָה הַיְּבֵלָה, *Yehūdāh ha-Yibēlāh*, RV Josh. 15:20-21 2 Ch. 27:4, and virtually Josh. 15:21-22 Judg. 1:19 Jer. 32:34 33:14, or, of Judah (1 K. 1:5, *ḥadai* 'H' A, *ḥadai* 'H' A), is the special term for a well-defined region to the north of what was called the NIGBO (Z. V. § 1), some 25 miles long by 12 to 17 broad, and from 2000 to 3000 feet above the sea. Under the title of *Orna* it forms the north of Phny's Judean toparchies¹. It has for its centre the ancient city of Hebron, between which and the Negeb there is a fertile plateau, 9 miles by 3, which forms a strong and agreeable contrast to the Judean table-land in the north. It is of this table-land that travellers think when they speak of Judah as a stony desolate region. Apart from some breaks in the plateau, which enjoy a rich vegetation, such as Bethany, the Valley of Hinnom, 'Ain Karim, the Wady Artas (see COUDERT, § 3), the valleys near Bethlehem, and especially Hebron, the thinly covered limestone produces a very dreary effect; one cannot help pitying the few dwarf trees which wage a doubtful struggle for existence with the boulders around them.

Nevertheless the austerity of this region was not always nearly so unmitigated; it did but call out the art and energy of man to counteract it. By a trained historic imagination we can recall some of the vanished glory, the traces of which, indeed, are multitudinous. One may wander for many miles in perfect solitude in a country of sheep and goats. But the hills are crowned with ruins, and the sides of the hills are terraced, and by the fountains are fragments of walls and heaps of stones which indicate the ancient homes of men.

The greatest elevation in the hill-country of Judah is attained by the *Sirer el-bella'a* (3370 ft.), which terminates a mountain-ridge between Halhul and Hebron. The chief valleys are the Wady Halhul, which is joined by the valley of Hebron, and beginning N. of Hebron, runs first southward, then south-westward, and finally mites with the Wady el-Milh (coming from the east), forming the Wady es-Saba'. WNW. from Hebron begins the Wady el-Afranji, which runs NW. to join the Wady es-Sant at Ashdod. This is probably the 'valley (ḥadai) northward from Mareshah' (2 Ch. 11:10; see ZEPHATHAI) where Asa is said to have defeated the 'Cushite' invaders. Farther south is the broad and fruitful Wady es-Sur, which first of all runs north, then turns westward, and under the name of the Wady es-Sant (see ELAR, VALLEY OF) cuts through the Shephelah. At Shuwēkeh (Socoh) is the point of junction of the Wady es-Sur and the Wady en-Najil. This and other wadies issue in a remarkable basin about 30 miles long, which divides the mountains of Judah from the lower hills of the Shephelah. Towards the NW. this basin is drained by the broad and fertile Wady Sarar, which near the coast assumes the name Nahr Rubin (see JABREEL). Not far from Tekoa is the great Wady Arrub, where is the ruin called Berekat, in the name of which some find an echo of the Berachah of 1 Ch. 20:26 (see BERACHAH, VALLEY OF).

The Hebrew text of Josh. 15:20-21 reckons as belonging to this region thirty-eight cities, some of which can be identified with obvious certainty, such as Eshtemoah, Beth-Tappuah, Hebron, Maon, Carmel, Ziph, Juttah, Zanoah, Halhul, Beth-

¹ *YH 9:12* in the list of Jos. (2 S. 11:35). Engaddi is the corresponding name. Schick (*ZDPV* 29:23 (1909)) ventures to suppose a confusion between En-gedi and 'Ain Karim.

JUDAH, KINGDOM OF

zur. There are also, however, places which are omitted in Mt. but have an inalienable claim to be included in the list; and **Q**, after Josh. 15:20, actually gives eleven names which (see Dn.) must have belonged to the original list. All the cities mentioned here by **Q** lay, no doubt, immediately south of Jerusalem, among them are the well-known places Tekoa, Bethlehem, 'Ain Kārim (see HIRU-MACKEFEM) and Bittir (see BETHUR).

JUDAH, KINGDOM OF See ISRAEL, §§ 28-45.

JUDAH, THE PROVINCE OF (יהודה מדינתה), Ezra 5:3 RV, AV . . . JUDEA. See JUDEA.

JUDAH UPON [RV AT] JORDAN (יהודה הירדן), the eastern limit of the territory of Naphthali (Josh. 19:41; **Q**¹ simply ο ιορδανης; **Q**² ιορδα ο ι.), suggesting that a district in the N. by the Jordan belonged to Judah. Even, ntly the text is corrupt. Read ירדן, 'and (reaches) to the Jordan' (Gr. l.). This was written twice, and one of the 'Jordans' was wrongly changed into 'Judah.' For a similar case in the Gk. of Jn. 3:25 see JOHN THE BAPTIST, § 6.

Evold (Hb. 2:201) would read בנתי תירדן, '(reaches) to Chinneroth of Jordan,' and interpret this phrase on the analogy of the phrase 'all Chinneroth' in 1 K. 15:20 as meaning the W. shore of the Sea of Galilee (see CHINNEROTH). Another suggestion is to emend יהודה into ידן '(to) the side (of)'; cp Neub. Goger. 224. Neither is satisfactory. T. K. C.

JUDAS (ιουδας [ANVL]), the Gk. form of the Heb. JUDAH [q.v.].

1. Esd. 9:23 (ιωδας [BA]); see JUDAH, 4.
2. The third son of Mattathias, called ματθαῖος (1 Macc. 2:4), see MACCABEES I., § 4; called ιουδας [A in 1 Macc. 1:13].
3. Son of Chelphai, called ιουδας [A in 1 Macc. 13:8], a Jewish general under Jonathan (1 Macc. 11:70).
4. Son of Simon (1 Macc. 10:27). See MACCABEES I., § 6.
5. One, evidently holding a high position in Jerusalem, who took part in sending a letter to ARISTOBULES (q.v.) (2 Macc. 1:10). Though identified with the Essene (cp Jos. B. J. 3:5) he is more probably the same as no. 2.
6. Lk. 3:39, Mt. 12:7 (RV Judah); see JUDAH, 1.

7. Judas of James (ιωδας Ιακώβου [Ti VII]), one of the twelve apostles according to Lk. 6:16 and Acts 1:13, though not according to the lists in Mt. and Mk., where his place is taken by Thaddæus. He is, without doubt, the 'Judas not Iscariot' of the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 14:22), who asked Jesus the question: 'Lord, what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?' The expression 'Judas of James' is most naturally and usually understood as meaning 'son of James'; but it can be interpreted as meaning 'brother of James,' and this is the sense in which it has been taken by the author of the epistle of JUDE (q.v.).

Ecclesiastical tradition very early began its attempt to harmonise the four lists of the twelve apostles, and one of the results (since Origen) was the identification of 'Judas of James' with Thaddæus; in late Syrian legend he appears as Judas Thaddæus and is the apostle of Syria and Mesopotamia, ultimately suffering martyrdom by stoning at Berytus or Aradus. The similar Armenian legend claims him also for Armenia. In the Roman Breviary (Oct. 28), Thaddæus, qui et Judas Jacobi appellatur in Evangelio, unius ex Catholicis Epistolis scriptor is said to have evangelized Mesopotamia and afterwards to have accompanied Simon the Cananean into Persia where they crowned a successful ministry by suffering a glorious martyrdom together. It is worthy of particular notice, however, that the oldest Syrian (Edessene) legend, which goes back to the second (?) century, identifies Judas Jacobi with Thomas (see Eus. H. E. 1:13; 'After Jesus was ascended, Judas Thomas sent to him [Abgarus] Thaddæus the apostle, one of the Seventy').

8. Judas, Mk. 6:3, see CLORAS.

9. Judas Iscariot (ιουδας ο ισκαριωτης [Mt. 10:4], ιουδ. ισκ. [Mt. 26:14], ιουδ. ο κληνοντος ισκαρ. [Lk. 22:3], ιουδ. ισκαριωτ [Mk. 3:19, 14:10, Lk. 6:16], [β] ιουδ. σιμωνος ισκαριωτου [Jn. 6:71, 13:2], ιουδ. σιμωνος ισκαριωτης [Jn. 13:2], not 12:4, as TR], ιουδ. ο ισκ. [Jn. 12:4; cp 14:22, ιουδ. ο ισκαρ.], In Jn. 6:71 α gives απο ισκαριωτου; so D in Jn. 12:4, 13:2; but in 14:22 ο απο ισκαρ. In Mt. 10:4 26:14 Mk. 14:18 D gives σκαριωτης; in Lk. 22:3 ισκαριωδ; in Mk. 3:19 Lk. 6:16 Jn. 6:7 σκαριωτ.

Thrice in the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 6:71, 13:2, 26) Judas is called the son of Simon, which may well be a genuine tradition.

1. Name. a genuine tradition.

¹ Also ιουδας 1 Macc. 13:8 [A], and ιουδας 1 Macc. 1:13 [A], the latter a corruption in the Gk.

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As for the name 'Iscariot' (twice applied to the father of Judas, Jn. 6:71, 13:2), there is a well-supported reading in Jn. απο ισκαριωτου, which, according to Zahn and Nestle,¹ confirms the view that ισκαριωτ and ισκαριωτης proceed from the Hebrew designation קריית ישי, 'a man of Kerioth'; cp Ισκαριωτ, Jos.

Ant. vii. 61 ישי קריית, 2 S. 10:4 (שם יסרואל). We should, however, have expected απο ισκαριωτ; -ωτου suggests that the phrase in D is derived from ισκαριωτου. Not understanding ισκαριωτ, the scribe thought of ισκαριωτος (φωρις, 'a palm tree which bears dates resembling a walnut').² Apart from this, it is a plausible view that ισκαριωτης is derived from Ish-kerioth, 'a man of Kerioth'. Such formations of names continued to be used, as Dalman shows, in spite of the predominance of Aramaic. Most scholars consider Judas to have been a native of the Kerioth mentioned in Josh. 15:25; but קריית, קריית, in this passage means 'group of places' (see HAZOR, 4), and the spot of district intended did not belong to Judaea.³ Keim and Wellhausen therefore prefer the Kerioth (Kerioth) of Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 4, etc., which was a beautifully situated place N. of Kattar-Sartabeh (see ZARTHAN). Since, however, the evangelists themselves find the name so unintelligible, how much more natural is it to suspect that it may have been incorrectly transmitted (cp Boanerges, Kananabos (C. Bar-Jona)?). If so, we may not unreasonably conjecture that the true name is Ισκαριωτ, 'a man of Jericho'. It would readily be remembered that one of the disciples came from Jericho. Cp JERICO, § 7.

Of the early history of Judas nothing is told us. We know, however, that he was one of those whom the

Preacher of the Kingdom of Heaven drew to himself by the power of his will to be

his companions and assistants. 'And he

goes up into the mountain (εις τὸ ὄρος), and calls to him whom he himself would, and they went unto him

(Mk. 3:14); the οὗτος ἦσεν αὐτὸς assures us that every one of the persons named was specially chosen by Jesus.

Twelve are named; three lists of the twelve are given, and in each of the three Judas stands last (Mt. 10:4 Mk.

3:19 Lk. 6:16; see APOSTLE, § 1). Mt. and Mk. add

'who also betrayed him'; Lk. adds, 'who became traitor' (ὁς ἐγένετο προδοτής). In the lists of Mt. and

of Mk. the eleventh, and in that of Lk. the tenth, is Simon called ο καναναῖος ὁ ζηλωτής. Farrar has

offered the conjecture that this Simon was the father of Judas Iscariot, and it is certain that in Jn. (see § 1)

Judas Iscariot is called the son of Simon. It is not likely, however, that both father and son would belong

to the Twelve, and Simon was a very common name, whilst καναναῖος is very possibly a corruption of καναν

('a man of Cana'), which would make this Simon a Galilean. All that we can say is that Simon and

Judas were probably companions whenever the Twelve were sent out 'by two and two' (Mk. 6:7).

There is no list of the Twelve in the Fourth Gospel. In Jn. 6:71, however, we receive early notice that Judas

Iscariot was one of the Twelve, and that it was he who was destined to

deliver up Jesus (Jn. 6:71).

The notice (οὗτος γὰρ ἐμελλεν αὐτὸν παραδοῖναι, εἰς ὃν ἐπὶ τὸ δωδεκὰ) is suggested by a saying ascribed to Jesus (τ. 70): 'Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil (διδάσκαλος)?' It adds but little, however, to the historical weight of the Synoptic tradition, and the saying in τ. 70 appears to be inconsistent with the equal confidence in all the disciples shown by Jesus according to the Synoptic tradition—a confidence which is maintained unbroken till the last paschal meal.

The Fourth Evangelist further tells us (Jn. 12:4-6) that the destined traitor murmured at Mary's costly gift of

love at Bethany, when she took a pound of ΣΕΤΚΕΝΑΡΙΟΥ [q.v.] and anointed the feet of Jesus; he also mentions

as the secret cause of this murmuring of Judas that he 'was a thief, and having the box took away what was

put therein.'

So at least the traditional text must be interpreted (αὐτὸς κλεψῆς ἦν καὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον ἔχων τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβαστάζεν), but the phraseology is very awkward, and it is strange that this habit of pilfering should be mentioned unless it were

¹ Zahn, *E. nt.* 2:64; Nestle, *Philologica Sacra*, 14. Cp the controversy between Nestle and Chase, *Exp. T.* (914) 109-24, 253-5, Dec. '07; Jan., Feb., Mar. '08.

² Cp Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 141.

³ Wellh. *Phar. u. Sadd.* 152; Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* 2:225.

⁴ So BD¹⁶, etc.; αἰρετὸν καὶ (PK), AIX, a purely literal corruption, cp Jn. 13:20. The conjecture of Froelkamp (A) and Bakhuizen, *εἶρε*, is not satisfactory.

JUDAS

account for the smallness of the sum which (at least in the text of Mt. 26:15) tempted Judas to betray his master. It would seem that here there is a clear case of corruption, and that a very early editor of the text may have misinterpreted the corrupt passage before him. Very possibly we should read, *οτι λαλῶν ἡ μὴ τοῦ κοινῆς βαλλαντινῆς*, 'because he was a hired man, and not to carry the common purse' (comp. *βαλ.* as *δ.* Prov. 1:14). The statement about Judas is therefore worthy of more credit than it has sometimes received from advanced critics. It may be nearer to the oldest tradition than the vaguer statement of Mt. 26:14-15.

Weiss (*Leben Jesu*, 240) cannot account for the imputation of traitorous intentions to Judas in Jn. except on the theory that the apostle John had found out that he committed by the *προδότης* Judas, and Godet speaks of some one who has accused John of a personal hatred to Judas. The difficulties disappear if the reading proposed above is accepted.

According to Mt. 26:14-15 Mk. 14:10-11, after the anointing in Bethany 'one of the twelve called Judas Iscariot' (Mt.; nearly so Mk.) went to the chief priests and offered to betray Jesus to them, on receiving their promise of

4. The Betrayal.

'money' (*ἀργύριον*, Mk.) or 'thirty pieces of silver' (*τριάκοντα ἀργύρια*, Mt.). Judas sought for an opportunity to betray him. Lk. (22:3-6) altogether disconnects the transaction from the scene of the anointing. After noticing that every night Jesus camped out (*ἐκθεῖτο*) on the Mount of Olives (21:37), which prepares the way for the notable statement in 22:19, Lk. mentions that the passover was drawing near, and that the chief priests and scribes were seeking for a way to effect the destruction of Jesus. Then 'Satan entered into Judas, called Iscariot, of the number of the twelve'; the rest of the notice agrees with that of Mt. and Mk. Evidently the assumption that Satan had entered into Judas is a humane one: treason against the Holy One was too foul a crime for a disciple in his right mind to have committed. It should also be noticed that all the Synoptists (Mt. 17:22 Mk. 9:31 Lk. 9:44) mention that after Peter's confession of Jesus' Messiahship, Jesus spoke of his being 'delivered up into the hands of men.' Mt. says that the disciples were 'very sorry'; Mk. and Lk. that they 'understood not the saying.' We should never have guessed that did the apostles guess) that one of them was capable of committing treason.

Quite a different account is given in Jn. (13:18-21-30). Nothing is said of the visit of Judas to the chief priests

5. Account in Jn.

and of the promised payment of his treason, nor of his deliberate search for an opportunity to betray Jesus. It was at the Last Supper that the hateful idea occurred to Judas, and it was inspired by the devil (13:27). Jesus openly declared (13:18) that one of his chosen ones would 'lift up his heel' against him, to fulfil the old scripture (Ps. 41:9). Yet he gave one more special proof of love to the traitor, and it was after this that Satan took full possession of his captive. 'Therefore Jesus says to him, That thou doest, do quickly'; Judas went out, 'and it was night.' It is a modification of the Synoptic tradition that we have here, though Lk. has already suggested it by his reference to Satan. It was not to any common temptation that at last Judas fell victim; he was taken by storm. How, according to Jn., the original suggestion of treason (Jn. 13:2) was made plausible, there is no direct evidence to show. From Jn. 6:60-65, however, we infer that, according to the evangelist, Judas was one of those who entertained mispirited views of Messiahship. When the last hope

1 Both *κλεψτης* and *καὶ γλωσσος* are based upon a miswritten *χαλεπος*; *κομον* and *εχω* have come out of *κομον*, and *βαλλαντινῆς* out of *βαλλαντινῆς*. *γλωσσος* was suggested by Jn. 13:29. *βαλ.* is one of Lk.'s words.

2 Mt. assigns the niggardly question, 'To what purpose, etc., to the disciples; Mk. to 'some' (of the guests). Mt. is evidently right. In Lk. 7:35 ff. no mention is made of a murmuring against the lavishness of the gift of love. Certainly it would have spoiled Lk.'s narrative to have referred to this detail. Zahn (*Evangelium*, 2:517) thinks the view that there were two anointings not impossible. It is, at any rate, more in accordance with our experience elsewhere to suppose that two divergent forms of the same tradition were in circulation.

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that Jesus would make himself king of Israel by force had vanished, the evangelist possibly considered that to have which Judas must formerly have had for Jesus diminished, and that finally under Satanic influence it turned into its opposite. But Godet regards the Johannine picture as more truly historical than that given by the Synoptists on the ground that in the former the relations between Jesus and Judas form an organic part of the description of the *repast*, and are presented under the form of a series of historical shades and gradations. A very different view is taken by Keim, and a critical student cannot fail to admit the force of Keim's arguments.

What, then, is the Synoptic description of the *repast*? It is the Paschal Supper that Jesus and the Twelve

6. The paschal supper

are eating. Jesus has seen through Judas before this solemn evening, but has made no change in his demeanour toward him. Now, however, he announces the fact, 'One of you will betray me, even he that sits with me.' 'Is it I?' asks each man sorrowfully. 'It is one of the twelve, he that dips with me in the dish.' 'Good were it for that man if he had not been born' (Mk. 14:17-21; cp. Mt. 26:23-24 Lk. 22:21-23). The accounts do not entirely agree. It is only Mt. who expressly states that Judas the traitor also put the question, 'Is it I?' and the way in which the statement is introduced suggests that it is an addition to the earlier story (Mt. 26:23). Jn., as we have seen, diverges most widely from the simple form of the Synoptic narrative.

The account of the betrayal itself also is very variously given. All the Gospels agree that it was by an armed

7. Arrest of Jesus.

band that Jesus was arrested, and that Judas was its guide. Both the scene of the arrest, however, and the circumstances are different in the Synoptic Gospels and in Jn. respectively, and it is for our present purpose especially noteworthy that nothing is said in Jn. of the kiss with which according to the Synoptists Judas ventured to greet Jesus. Mk. and Lk. give the simplest narrative; Mt. (26:30) makes Jesus answer the traitor with 'Εραῖπε, ἐγὼ δὲ πᾶσι, 'Amice, ad quod venisti' (Vg.), an untranslatable phrase, while Lk. gives, 'Judas, betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss,' suggesting what is probably the true reading in Mt., *ἔροσπις*, 'Thou feignest,' 'Thou actest a part,' 'Thou art no friend of mine.' To Jn. the outward details of the act of Satanic treachery are indifferent.

The end of the traitor is told in Mt. 27:3-10 Acts 1:18-20. The discrepancies between the two accounts are remarkable, and the silence of Mk. and Jn. is also

8. Death of Judas.

noteworthy. Mt. states that Judas, on finding that Jesus was condemned, was struck with remorse, and brought back the thirty shekels to the chief priests, confessing that he had 'betrayed innocent blood.' Then he hurled the 'pieces of silver into the sanctuary (*εἰς τὸν ναόν*), and departed'; to this is added a further statement, complete in itself, 'and he went away and hanged himself' (*ἀπῆλυστο*)—where, we are not told. The chief priests, however, with characteristic scrupulosity, would not put the money into the sacred treasury (*κορβανᾶς*), but bought with it the potter's field to bury strangers in. This field

1 Commentary on St. John (57), 3:121.

2 Holtzmann's criticism that Lk.'s form of the speech of Jesus is rhetorical, does not go to the heart of the matter. The form may be rhetorical; but the idea is appropriate to the occasion. 'Friend, (do) that for which thou art come,' RV's rendering of *ἔγὼ οὐκ ἔχω* is most unnatural; Judas had done his work; the underlings of the chief priests had to do the rest. Yet most moderns agree with RV, and if anything had preceded which made such an apostrophe natural (e.g., 'and Judas said, "What shall I do?"'), it would be right to follow RV. AV's rendering, 'Friend, wherefore art thou come,' is much more natural, but it is ungrammatical. There must be an error in the text. *Εραῖπε* (an unsuitable word, whether we render 'Comrade' or 'Good Friend') should come after *ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔχω* (so D a c f s y r s c h l e i n). It is a corruption of a dittographed *οὐκ ἔχω*, D in fact gives *ερεπαῖ*. *Εἰς οὐκ ἔχω* can hardly have come out of any other word than *ὑποκρίναι*.

JUDAS

received the name, 'Field of blood,' and so a prophecy of Jeremiah (or rather Zechariah) was fulfilled.¹ Here we have Iscariot represented as a second Abithophel, who, so far as intention went, betrayed David to his enemy, and hanged himself (2 S. 17.23).

The account in Acts can be separated, with advantage to the sense, from the speech of Peter in which it occurs, and may perhaps be a later insertion. It is, however, at any rate of early date. It states that, so far from restoring the money, Judas 'acquired a field (*χωρον*, see FIELD 9) with his unrighteous reward; and falling headlong (on the field)² he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. Hence that field was called Akeldama, or 'The field of blood' (see AKELDAMA). So, it is added, the prophecies in Ps. 69.25 and 109.3 were fulfilled. Clearly here is a mere popular explanation of 'Akeldama,' and not less evidently here is the expression of the popular sense of justice as regards the end of the traitor.

A more elaborate and tasteless story is given by Papias (Fragm. III.1); it seems to be an independent version of the popular legend, reminding us partly of Acts 1.18, partly of the legend of the end of Antiochus Epiphanes in 2 Mac. 13.4 ff.

Returning to the two biblical accounts, we note that De Quincey (*Works*, II.21.25) endeavours to remove the discrepancies, but by purely arbitrary means. This is quite needless. Both the modes of death assigned to Judas were conventionally assigned to traitors and enemies of God, and more especially that given in Acts, to which there is a striking parallel in the story of the death of the traitor Nadan in the tale of Abikar. Mr. Rendel Harris suggests that the original reading in Acts 1.18 may have been, not *πρηγής γερόμενος*, but *πρηθής*, 'having swollen out'; the existing reading he accounts for by a tradition which identified Judas with a poisonous serpent, and he illustrates by 'upon thy belly shalt thou go' in Gen. 3.14. See 'Did Judas commit suicide?' *Amer. J. of Theol.*, July 1900.

The psychological attempts to explain the character of Judas so as to comprehend the crime ascribed to him are numerous. His despair has been regarded as a proof of original nobility of character (Hase); he has even been regarded as having sought the attainment of a good object by evil means (Paulus). Neander too was touched by the same generous anxiety for the misguided apostle.

If Jesus is the Messiah, so he considers Judas to have reasoned, 'it will not injure him to deliver him up to his enemies, for legions of angels will come to his rescue, where if he is not the Messiah, he deserves destruction.'

Thus the betrayal was merely a test, intended to clear up all doubts. Volkman thinks that 'in the heart of the zealot was kindled to draw Jesus to battle and to victory, the greeting, "O fearful to us, O Hail, Master," must have meant, "I greet thee, O king of Israel: now show thy power!"' (*Jesus Nazarenus* [182], 121). De Quincey considers that the object of Judas was—

'audacious in a high degree, but for that very reason not treacherous at all. His hope was that, when at length actually arrested by the Jewish authorities, Christ would no longer vacillate; he would be forced into giving the signal to the populace of Jerusalem, who would then rise unanimously, for the double purpose of placing Christ at the head of an insurrectionary movement, and of throwing off the Roman yoke.'

All these theories are entirely contrary to the evangelic narratives. If we accept the tradition that Judas betrayed his Master, we cannot separate it from the statement that he did it either out of Satanic wickedness or for money.

Are critical students, then, really bound to accept the tradition as historical?

¹ The passage, Mt. 27.9 f., which shows evidence of Christian modification, has probably come from a collection of Messianic passages of the OT prophets in use among the Christians. (This also accounts for *δαιτῶν προφητῶν*, Mt. 2.23, cp NAZARETH.) On Zech. 11.12 f., see GAS. *Twelve Prophets*, 2.475, and cp PORTER.

² But cp J. K. Harris (below). Papias: *ἐν ἰσχυρῇ φασὶ χωρὶς τελευτήσαντα*.

³ Cp Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 31.

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'The fact of the treason of Judas is so unexpected, so incredible, so terrible; it jeopardises so partially our faith not only in human felicity but also in the dignity

10. The story of Judas.

and greatness of Jesus, to his knowledge, his judgment, his keenness of vision, above all, the weight of his influence and that love of his which could melt even ice, and it is such a man for the softening of enemies, beginning with the venomous Celsus that we should have to greet it as the removal of a hundred pound weight from the heart of Christendom, if the treason of Judas could be proved to have had no existence.'²

The growth of the story of Judas can also be adequately explained. Supposing that the original tradition left the case with which the capture of Jesus was effected unaccounted for, Christian ingenuity would exert itself to find an explanation. Passages in the Psalms which spoke of the Righteous Man as treated with brutal insolence by his own familiar friend (Ps. 118.55-12.14) would suggest the originator of the outrage; the betrayer of Jesus must have been a faithless friend. And if an apostle, who could he have been but Judas Iscariot? For Iscariot was not a Galilean like the other apostles, he had a harsh, crabbed temper (*χαλκωτός*), and he carried the purse of the little company. The last circumstance suggested a reminiscence Zech. 11.12 f., a mysterious passage which seemed to become intelligible for the first time if applied to Jesus. This view is not altogether new; in its earlier forms has found little favour,³ but it may nevertheless be essentially true.

The objections to it are (1) that the story of Judas's treason has fixed itself firmly in our oldest documents, and (2) that Acts 1 we have an account of the appointment of Matthias the vacant apostleship. It cannot, however, be proved the Judas's treason formed part of the *oldest tradition*; it is separable from the surest traditions of the life of Jesus, and the appointment of Matthias may perfectly well have taken place even if Judas did not betray Jesus. The probability is that one *knew* how the emissaries of the Pharisees found Jesus easily, and that the story of Judas's treason was a very early attempt to imagine an explanation. Probably Judas did not appear from view. We know that all the disciples 'forsook Jesus and fled' (Mt. 26.56; Mk. 14.50); Judas probably returned to his home, and never again joined the Galilean disciples, whom he may have felt little sympathy. This view has the advantage over that still prevalent, because it does not force to think that Jesus treated Judas worse than Peter, for who he prayed when Satan 'had obtained him by asking, in order to sift him as wheat' (Lk. 22.31), or that the prayer *προσθεσὶ ἡμῶν* (Lk. 17.13) was unanswered in the case of Judas. The popular mythology gladly releases the traitor Judas from his once in the year (cp Matthew Arnold, *Saint Brandaan*), should perhaps stir the critical conscience to examine more fully the grounds of the received opinion.

A wild Gnostic fancy may be mentioned, as a singular specimen of early speculations about Jesus.

Epiphanius. Some Gnostics say that Judas delivered Jesus because he regarded him as a wicked man (*πονηρὸς*) who meant to destroy the good law. Others say that he gave Jesus up just because he was a good man. The rulers know that if Jesus were crucified, their ineffectual power would be brought to nought. They therefore made a mighty effort to deliver him up for the salvation of mankind, and deserves praise as an 'agent' in the events which have led to our salvation and enlightenment (*ἀλλοὶ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ αἱ, φασιν, ἀλλὰ ἀγνοοῦντες αὐτὸν διὰ παρέδωκεν κατὰ τὴν ἐπουρανίαν γνῶσιν. ἔγνωσαν γὰρ, φησιν, οἱ ἀρχόντες, ὅτι, ἐάν ὁ Χριστὸς παραδοθῇ σταυρῷ, κερτοῦται αὐτῶν ἡ ἀσπίς τοῦ νοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο, φησιν, γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ πάντα ἐκπύουσι, ὥστε παραδοθῆναι αὐτὸν, ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ποιῆσαι ἡμῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν. καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῶν τὸν ἔτανον, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθῇ ἡμῖν τοῦ σταυροῦ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς τοιαυτῆς υποτάξεως τῶν ἡ ἀποκαλύψει).*

10. Judas of Galilee (ΙΟΥΔΑΣ Ο ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΟΣ [WH]). In association with a Pharisee named Sadduk was leader of an agitation which arose in Judaea (on the death of Archelaus), when that part of Palestine in 67 A.D. was brought under Roman administration, and

¹ Orig. *c. Cels.* 2.11 f. Celsus, in the character of a Jew, scoffed at Jesus for being betrayed by one of those whom he called disciples—a proof that he was less able to attach followers to himself than every general or brigand-chief.

² Keim, *Jesus von Nazareth*, 3.242.

³ Proposed by Bruno Bauer (*Kritik der evangel. Gesch. der Synoptiker und des Johannes*, 31.421, 235 ff.) and again Volkmar (*Die Keimzeit Jesu*, 200 ff. 457), it has been revived by Keim (*Jesus von Naz.* 3.242 f.) and Brandt (*Die evangel. Gesch.*, 11.15).

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Sulpicius Quirinus, the governor of Syria instituted a census of the newly annexed district. In the early speech in Acts 17 it is rightly stated that he rose in the days of the enrolment (ἀπογραφῇ) — the only enrolment known to Lk. — which had already been mentioned in the Third Gospel (24.7; see QUINTESEN-
TINUS).

Josephus speaks of Judas at some length in *Ant.* 13.10.1, and also makes brief reference to him in *Ant.* 13.10.2, *Ant.* 13.10.3, *Ant.* 13.10.4, *Ant.* 13.10.5, *Ant.* 13.10.6, *Ant.* 13.10.7, *Ant.* 13.10.8, *Ant.* 13.10.9, *Ant.* 13.10.10, *Ant.* 13.10.11, *Ant.* 13.10.12, *Ant.* 13.10.13, *Ant.* 13.10.14, *Ant.* 13.10.15, *Ant.* 13.10.16, *Ant.* 13.10.17, *Ant.* 13.10.18, *Ant.* 13.10.19, *Ant.* 13.10.20, *Ant.* 13.10.21, *Ant.* 13.10.22, *Ant.* 13.10.23, *Ant.* 13.10.24, *Ant.* 13.10.25, *Ant.* 13.10.26, *Ant.* 13.10.27, *Ant.* 13.10.28, *Ant.* 13.10.29, *Ant.* 13.10.30, *Ant.* 13.10.31, *Ant.* 13.10.32, *Ant.* 13.10.33, *Ant.* 13.10.34, *Ant.* 13.10.35, *Ant.* 13.10.36, *Ant.* 13.10.37, *Ant.* 13.10.38, *Ant.* 13.10.39, *Ant.* 13.10.40, *Ant.* 13.10.41, *Ant.* 13.10.42, *Ant.* 13.10.43, *Ant.* 13.10.44, *Ant.* 13.10.45, *Ant.* 13.10.46, *Ant.* 13.10.47, *Ant.* 13.10.48, *Ant.* 13.10.49, *Ant.* 13.10.50, *Ant.* 13.10.51, *Ant.* 13.10.52, *Ant.* 13.10.53, *Ant.* 13.10.54, *Ant.* 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JUDE (EPISTLE)

lively concern about certain godly men (*ἀγαθούς*, v. 4)

2. Occasion. who had 'stolen in' (*παρεσβύσαν*), and who were 'turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Ruler and our Lord, Jesus Christ.' He regards their influence both in doctrine and in practice as a menace to the well-being of the church, and he not only sounds a note of warning against them, but also points out the punishment reserved for such as they.

Not only did they deny Christ and God as the only Ruler (*κύριον θεογονόν*), and thus act the part of 'liars' according to 1 Jn. 2.22 (cp Enoch 48.10), but they 'set at nought dominion' (*κυριότητα*), and railed at dignities (*δοξάς*, v. 8). They are licentious revellers, stains (*σπιλάδες*, v. 12) in the Christian love-feasts, and mockers at sacred things.

Although the examples of divine judgment relate to wrong conduct, these dangerous persons are not simply men of loose morals whose life is a peril to the church—according to Schweigger's opinion (*Vachap. Zeithaler*, 1518 f.) and Ritschl's ingenious argument acc. to WH), but also false teachers, as is evident from their 'denying,' from the reference to the divine judgment on those who 'believed not,' and from the exhortation to 'contend earnestly for the faith' (v. 3).

The data for a precise determination of their doctrines amidst the many so-called heresies of the early church are wanting, and expositors differ widely upon the matter. Renan stands alone in the opinion that the epistle was directed against Paul. Other scholars are divided as to whether it assails Jewish false teachers, hyper-Paulinians, Nicolaitans, Gnostics of the second century in general, or the Carpocratian Gnosticism of Alexandria in particular.

The character and practices of the persons in question resemble very closely those of the Gnostics as described by Epiphanius (*Her.* 26.11). We know that these denied that God was the 'only Ruler'—that is, the creator and governor of the world—and held very lax views as to the divinity of Christ (*Iren. Her.* 1.25 f.). Out of the dualism of their system sprang an indifference to all relations to the flesh; and hence such moral looseness as is described in the Epistle appeared in some quarters.

So close is the resemblance of the persons here censured to the Carpocratians who flourished in Alexandria toward the middle of the second century, that Clement believed Jude to have written prophetically of them (*Strom.* 3.2 f.). It is, accordingly, not improbable that the writer had them in mind as his contemporaries. His denunciations are quite applicable to a sect who had established upon him a 'cult of righteousness.' With the late date of the epistle which must be assumed from this point of view corresponds the author's apprehension of Christian 'faith' as a system of doctrine or a fixed confession (v. 3).

The writer uses apocryphal apocalyptic works such as the *Ascensio Moisi* in which Origen (*Pr. Princip.* 3.2) found the legend concerning Michael (see APOCALYPTIC).

3. Allusions. § 59, and the book of Enoch (6 and 10), from which he doubtless derived the story of the fallen angels substantially in the form in which he gives it. With reference to v. 14 see also Enoch 60 (cp APOCALYPTIC, § 19). No certain conclusion as to the date of the Epistle can, however, be drawn from the citation of these writings.

It has been argued that the author was an Alexandrian Jewish Christian from the fact that he attaches to the apocryphal books referred to, an equal authority with the OT—that is, regards them as belonging to the later additions to the canon.

The epistle was probably used by the writer of 2 Peter, though opinions are divided as to priority. It is not surprising that, on account of its brevity and the fact that it is not of doctrinal importance, to say nothing of its making no claim to apostolical authorship, it did not receive early recognition.

Jude is referred to by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3.2.11) as a 'catholic Epistle' written by Jude, 'frater filiorum Joseph ex Maria.' Origen (*Contra Gentes* 10.12, 27) mentions it as the work of Judas the brother of James; but except in the parts of his works which survive only in a Latin translation he does not

JUDGE

designate the author as an 'apostle.' Tertullian, on the other hand, calls the writer 'Jude the apostle' (*De cult. fem.* 13). The Muratorian fragment makes mention of it in a somewhat doubtful text as the work of Jude without designating him either an apostle or the brother of James. Eusebius (*HE* 3.25) places it among the *ἀντιλογόμενα*, and says that 'not many of the ancients have made mention of it.' Jerome (*De vir. ill.* 4) calls the author of the epistle 'the brother of James,' and attributes its rejection by many to its citation of Enoch. Epiphanius (*Her.* 76) speaks of its author as ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου καὶ κυρίου, but according to the Canon of Athanasius all the seven catholic epistles were written by 'apostles.' The wavering and uncertain character of all this 'testimony' is evident. The epistle is not included in the Peshitta, although Ephrem acknowledged it as apostolic. It is not mentioned by Justin, Theophilus, and Irenaeus. [The text of the Epistle of Jude, like that of 2 Peter, has more than probably suffered in transmission, as the variant readings sufficiently warn us. See Hort's remarks in *Notes on Select Passages*, NT 2.106. There are, no doubt, more discoveries to be made by a practised critic. Even Hort, for example, has not said all that might be said on the corruptions of v. 5. Probably we should read, not εἰδότες ἀναξ πάντας, but εἰδότες πάντας ὅτι ἰησοῦς ἀναξ πάντων καὶ τ. α. —the position of ἀναξ in accordance with *κ* and several Church Fathers and Versions; ἰησοῦς (a corruption acc. to WH), with AB minusc. Copt. Vg. etc., Lachm., Zahn (*Einf.* 2.28), Nestle (*Einf.* 261). On the relation of Jude to Jewish apocalyptic writers cp ENCHIRIDION, especially § 90, and for a list of coincidences cp Chase, art. 'Jude, Epistle of,' in Hastings' *DB* 2.801 f.]

Besides the well-known English and German Introductions the following works and articles may be consulted: Arnaud, *Recherches crit. sur l'Ép. de Jude* (51);

5. Literature. Keil, *Pet. u. Jud.* (53); Schott, *Pet. u. Jud.* (63); Spitta, *Der 2. Br. d. Pet. u. der Br. des Jud.* (85); Ritschl, *St. Kr.* (61); v. Soden in *HC* 3.6; Schenkel in *Bib. Lex.* 3.433 f. (71); Pfeiderer, *Erchristenthum* (87). O. C.

JUDEA (ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑ [Ald.]), in Judith 3.9, a false reading for ΔΟΤΑΕΑ (ΔΩΤΑΙΑC [BN], ΤΕΑC [A]). See DOTIHA.

Israēla is defined as situated over against the great strait (RV 'ridge') of Judea (ἡ τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὁ ὄρος; similarly Syr.); the Gr. translator read ὄρος, 'a saw,' instead of ὄρος, 'plain' (Reland). This same plain is referred to in 4.6 (om. M).

JUDGE. The words for 'judge' will reward investigation.

1. *שֹׁפֵט*, *šōpēṭ* (Phoen. *šep*, Lat. *refutes* [pl.]; Ass. *šāpātu*; *קרישׁ*, *qārīš*). See below (JUDGES, BOOK OF, § 1); also LAW AND JUSTICE, § 9 f.; GOVERNMENT, § 17; ISRAEL, § 8 f.; and CP COVENANT, § 4. Other words rendered 'judge' are:—

2. *דָּיָן*, *dayyān*, 1 S. 24.15 [16], Ps. 68.5 [6] (C), Ezra 7.251 (C1 Esd. 8.23, *קרישׁ* καὶ *δικαστᾶς*, EV 'judges and justices').

3. *שֹׁפֵט*, *šōpēṭ*, Ex. 21.22 [21], 32.31 Job 31.11 (all these passages are insecure; see Ges.-Buhl).

4. *עֲלִימ*, *ēlīm*, Ex. 21.6 22.8 [7], 28 [27], where AV 'the judges' (eng. of 22.8); 1 S. 2.25, where AV 'the judge' in all these cases RV 'God.' Other passages have been similarly interpreted; e.g., Judg. 5.8 (EV 'new gods'); Ps. 82.1 [2]. The explanation is old (cp Ex. 21.6, *τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ*; so Pesh.). Dillmann (*Ex.*, ad loc.) thinks that judges were called *ēlīm*, because they gave sentence at holy places but Samaritan Tg. and Pent., Jerome, and probably Vet. Lat. (Ex. 22.8 [7]), followed by Graf and Kuenen, think that out of the sanctuaries of Yahwē is meant, where the priests gave divinely sanctioned judgments. Eerdmans (*Th.T.*, '04, p. 283) and Marti (*Gesch.* 29) think that the household god is referred to as *ēlīm*; and this view is archeologically the most probable. On Ps. 82.1 see ANGELS, § 4.

5. *רֹאשׁ*, *rōš*, Prov. 27 RVmg. (AV 'Guide,' RV 'Chief'). In spite of Toy's defence, Bickell's objections to the passage appear to be valid. It is unmetrical, and does not fit in with what follows. It is probably an editor's attempt to make sense of a variant form of v. 6 which had become indistinct. The absence of any reference to Prov. 27 in ANT (2.1) is fully justified.

6. The *רֹאשׁ* of Dan. 8.2 f. (EV 'judges') is rendered in RVmg. 'chief soothsayer'; but it is 'probably the Pers. *endurazgar* "counsellor," a title which was still in use under the Sassanians (Nöld. *Tafel.* 402 n.), and the resemblance with *רֹאשׁ* [2.27] is therefore accidental' (Bevan, ad loc.; cp Marti's *Aram. Gr.* [Glossary]).

7. 8. In NT *κρίτης* (Mt. 5.25), *δικαστής* (Lk. 12.14, see Ti.). Perfectly synonymous (see *Θ*, 1 S. 24.15 [16]). T. K. C.

¹ Cp DEPOSIT, n. 2.

JUDGES (BOOK)

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Title and place in Canon (§ 1).	Redaction (§ 14).
Contents (§ 2).	Chronology (§ 15).
Sources (§ 3).	Ultimate sources (§ 17).
Analysis (§§ 4-13).	Historical value (§ 17).
Minor Judges (§ 9).	Text (§ 18).
	Literature (§ 19).

The title *Judges* is a translation of the Hebrew name of the book, **שִׁפְטֵי** (**קְרִיטִימֵי**, **הַטְּוֹנֵי קְרִיטִימֵי בִּיבְלֹיִם**; *Liber Judicum*), which is given to it because it contains the history of certain Israelite leaders and champions who in the book itself (e.g., 2:16-18) and elsewhere in the OT (2 S. 7:7-11; 2 K. 23:22; Eccles. 46:11, etc.) are called 'Judges' (*qaphetim*).

Those who gave the book this title probably thought of the Judges as divinely appointed rulers, forming a continuous succession, and wielding over all Israel an authority which differed from that of the kings who followed them chiefly in that it was not hereditary (see Judg. 10:2 f., 12:7 f., 11:13-15:20; 1 S. 4:18-7:15).³ The word *qaphet* sometimes occurs in synonymous parallelism with *melek*, 'king' (Hos. 7:7; Ps. 24:7); among the Phœnicians in an interregnum the supreme power was committed to a *basarches* (doubtless **בַּשַּׂרְחֵס**, *qaphet*);⁴ in Carthage and other Punic cities the *sufetes* were the chief magistrates, corresponding to the Roman consuls.

The verb **שָׁפַט**, however, means also 'vindicate,' and thus 'champion, deliverer,' synonymous with **גִּבּוֹר** (Judg. 2:16-18; 3:9 f.; cp. 1 S. 8:20; Neh. 9:27); and the title could therefore be interpreted, Book of the Deliverers of Israel (Ephr. Syrns).

In the Hebrew Canon, Judges is the second of the Former Prophets, standing between Joshua and Samuel; in **Ⲯ** (followed by Vg. and modern versions), Ruth, a story of the times of the judges (1:1), is appended to Judges and sometimes reckoned part of it.⁵

The Book begins with a brief account of the invasion of the interior of Western Palestine by the several tribes, their conquests and settlements, the names of the cities which remained in the hands of their old inhabitants (1); the disobedience of the Israelites in making peace with the Canaanites is rebuked by the Messenger of Yahwê (2:1-5). Ch. 2:6-10 takes up the narrative at the point which has been reached in Jos. 21:27; the verses are substantially identical with Jos. 21:28-31. This introduces a general description of the period of the judges as a recurring cycle of apostasy from the religion of Yahwê to Canaanite heathenism, divine judgment inflicted by the hand of the neighbouring peoples, and signal deliverance by a champion whom Yahwê raised up to save them from their enemies; closing with a catalogue of the nations of Palestine whom Yahwê, for the sins of Israel (or as a test of its loyalty), left unsubdued (2:11-3:6). The history of the several judges is presented in a scheme corresponding to 2:11-19.

This 3:7-11: 'The Israelites offended Yahwê . . . and he was incensed against Israel and sold them into the power of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Syria, . . . for eight years. Then the Israelites cried for help to Yahwê, and he raised them up a deliverer, Othniel ben-Kenaz. (Here follows the account of the judge's exploits.) And the land enjoyed security for forty years.'

With other names and numbers, and variations of phraseology, a similar setting is given to the stories of the succeeding judges.

Israel is oppressed by the Moabites; Ehud kills the king of Moab, Eglon, and sets his country free (3:12-30); Shamgar makes a slaughter among the Philistines (3:31); the Canaanites under their king, Jabin of Hazor, and his general Sisera, oppress Israel; at the instance of the prophetess Deborah, Barak raises the tribes, defeats Sisera, and delivers Israel (4); the victory is celebrated in a triumphal ode (5); the Midianites and their Bedawin allies harry and devastate the land; Gideon

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by a stratagem throw their camp into a panic, pursues, and destroys them (6-8); Abimelech, a son of Gideon, becomes king of Shechem; the Shechemites revolt and are punished; Abimelech is killed while besieging Thebez (9); Tola and Jair judge Israel (10:1-5); the Ammonites oppress the Israelites in Gilead; Jephthah conquers them (10:6-12:7); Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon judge Israel (12:8-15); the Philistines are the masters of Israel; Samson with many injuries upon them (13-16).

Chapters 17-21 contain two stories of the times of the judges. The first (17 f.) tells of the migration of the Danites and the establishment of the sanctuary at Dan; the second (19-21), of an outrage committed upon a traveller by the Benjaminites of Gibeon and of the sanguinary vengeance taken upon the tribe.

The preceding synopsis of its contents shows that the book in its present form consists of three parts:

1. 1:1-25, a brief history of the conquest and settlement of Canaan in some way paralleled to Josh.
2. 2:6-16:31, the history of Israel in Canaan from the death of Joshua to the death of Samson, set in the framework of a consistent religious interpretation and a continuous chronology.
3. 17-21, an appendix narrating other events of the same period, but containing the name of no judge and exhibiting no trace of the distinctive religious point of view observed in the preceding chapters.

A. *Deuteronomistic Book of Judges.*—Our inquiry must begin with the body of the book, 2:6-16:31.

The introduction (2:6-3:6) as a whole is unmistakably deuteronomistic.

The sweeping condemnation of the whole period—Israel forsook its own God, Yahwê, and worshipped the Baals and Ashtarot of Canaan—and the religious pragmatism which makes unfaithfulness to Yahwê the one unfailing cause of national calamity and return to him the signal for deliverance, are characteristic of the historiography of the end of the seventh century and in still more marked degree of the sixth century under the influence of Deuteronomy, the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the Exile itself.¹

The same pragmatism appears, as we have noted above, in the short particular introductions to the stories of the several judges (3:12-15; 4:1 f.; 13:1; more fully in 3:7-11; 6:1-10; 10:6-16), but not in chap. 1 nor in 17-21. Judg. 2:6-16:31 may therefore properly be called the Deuteronomistic Book of Judges.

The deuteronomistic element is confined, however, to the introduction and the setting of the stories; the stories themselves (except that of Othniel, 3:7-11) are not of deuteronomistic conception, and, except on the margins where they are joined to the pragmatic introductions and conclusions, show no signs of deuteronomistic redaction.

i. *Pre-deuteronomistic editor.*—As in Josh 1-12, the deuteronomistic author manifestly took his narrative material from an older written source without to any considerable extent recasting it.

In the history of Gideon (6-8) and Abimelech (9) it is plain that two accounts have been combined in the same way in which parallel narratives are so often united in the Pentateuch and Joshua. More or less convincing evidence of the composite character of the text is discovered in other stories also (Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Jephthah; see below, § 4 ff.). The history of the judges was, therefore, related in at least two older books.

These sources were united, not by the deuteronomistic author of Judg. 2:6-16:31, but by an earlier compiler,² as is evident from the following considerations:—

- First, in the seams of the composite narrative no trace of the distinctive deuteronomistic manner can be detected.
- Second, the union of the two strands in 9 and in 17 f. (19-21), which chapters were not included in the deuteronomistic Judges (see below, § 14), is entirely similar to that in 6-8.
- Third, in the introductions and conclusions of the stories there are indications of an underlying editorial schematism different from that of Rn.

iii. *His two sources.*—The pre-deuteronomistic history from which the deuteronomistic author took his material was itself made up of two main strands of narrative united by a redactor. The case is thus precisely similar to that in Josh. 1-12 (see JOSHUA, § 6); and since in Josh. we have found reason to believe that the two sources are the continuations respectively of

¹ See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 6.

² The opposite opinion is maintained by Kittel, almost alone.

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those which in the Pentateuch are distinguished by the symbols J and E, and that they were united by a pre-deuteronomistic redactor (R_J).¹ A presumption arises that this is true in Judges also, and this presumption has furnished the working hypothesis of recent criticism.

It is indeed true that the history of the period of the judges is not the necessary sequel of Josh. in the same way that the history of the conquest and settlement of Canaan is the necessary sequel of the promises to the patriarchs and the history of the exodus in J and E; it is conceivable that an historian should close a work with the occupation of the promised land, as P seems to have done.² This is hardly probable, however, in early historians, who commonly propose to bring the history down to their own time; and, antecedent probability aside, it can be shown that neither J nor E comes to an end in Joshua.³ In Josh. 24, E not only glances back over the preceding history (idolatry of the forefathers; God's deliverance), but by its earnest warnings of the consequences of falling away from Yahweh and worshipping other gods (19 f. 22) looks forward to the subsequent narration of such apostasy and its results, just as 1 S. 12 looks back over the period of the judges and forward over that of the kings. The suitable sequel of these verses in Josh. 24 is Judg. 2:13-20 f. (cp 7 = Josh. 24:31 D), which in turn lead over to the stories in Judg. 1-25, whose account of the conquest is preserved in fragmentary form in Judg. 1:1-25 (with parallels in Joshua), cannot have ended his history with this incomplete occupation of the land of promise: the very form of the chapter fairly presumes the intention to tell how in after times these cities came into the hands of the Israelites; and Judg. 2:23a, 3:2a, which are recognised by most recent critics as the continuation of J in Judg. 1, actually lead over to the relation of the wars which Israel had to wage with these nations in the period of the judges.

The affinity of parts of Judg. to E and J respectively has long been observed.

Stade found E, not only (with E. Meyer, *loc.*) in parts of 26-36, but also in 10:6-16, which is clearly dependent on Josh. 24;⁴ Böhm pointed out the striking resemblances to J in 6:11-24 and 13:2-24;⁵ Budde carried the analysis through the entire book.⁶ Winckler, Holzinger, and Moore have worked upon the same hypothesis.⁷

Other scholars, while not denying the existence of more than one source in Judges, think that there are not sufficient grounds for identifying these sources with the J and E of the Hexateuch.⁸ For this division of opinion a different definition of the problem and a different approach to it are in part responsible.

Kittel and those who occupy his position frame the question in some such way as this: Did the author who wrote the Yahwistic part of the primeval history and the patriarchal stories in Genesis also write, say, the stories of Samson, or the part of the story of Gideon ascribed by Budde and others to J? and they find the resemblance in style and diction insufficient to establish identity of authorship in this sense. But the unity of J in this sense is not affirmed by the critics on the other side. Believing that the writing of history began in Israel in the days of David or Solomon with the recent past, the events which led to the founding of the kingdom, and ascended thence to remoter times, they recognise that in the first comprehensive history of Israel from the earliest times to the days of the kingdom there were included not only materials of very diverse character, but materials which had been previously reduced to writing by different hands.⁹ The existence of different elements of this kind in J even in Genesis itself is generally recognised.

What the critics mean, who ascribe portions of Judges or Samuel to J is, not that these portions necessarily received their literary form from the same hand as the stories of the patriarchs or the narrative of the exodus, but that they formed part of the same comprehensive historical work in which the Yahwistic parts of Genesis and Exodus were included; and that they were written in general in the same age and surroundings, and in the same spirit.

¹ In using the word 'pre-deuteronomistic' to designate this redaction, it is not meant to imply that it was earlier than 621 B.C., but only that it preceded the deuteronomistic edition of Joshua and Judges.

² P, however, it is to be observed, is an archæology rather than a history.

³ First demonstrated by E. Meyer, *ZATW* 1144 f. (81).

⁴ *ZATW* 1340 f. (81).

⁵ *ZATW* 5251 f. (85).

⁶ *Ri. Sa.* (90). For an earlier attempt see Schrader in De Wette, *Eint.* (62).

⁷ See Budde, *Richter* (KHIC), xii. ff. (97).

⁸ Kue. *Oml.* (5) 1355 f.; *Ki. St. Kr.* 6544 f. (92); *Gesch.* 215 ff.; Frankenberg, *Comp. d. deut. Richterbücher* (95); *Ki. Eint.* 252-254, and in Hastings' *DB* 2911 ff. (99).

⁹ See *HISTORICAL LITERATURE*, § 1 f.

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It is manifest also that the problem should methodically be approached, not, as is generally done, from the analysis of Genesis, but from that of Josh. 1-12, where the nature of the sources is more nearly the same and their relation to the deuteronomistic element similar. When we come at it from this side, there appears to be no greater difficulty in the discrimination and identification of the sources in Judges than in Joshua, where J and E are generally recognised. There is general agreement that Judg. 1 gives us an account of the conquest, much abridged and glossed by later hands.

B. Additional chapters. —Ch. 17 f. and 19-21 contain no deuteronomistic element. In both, two strands of narrative seem to be combined; the character of the two versions and the nature of the composition make a reasonable presumption that the sources are the same as in the preceding chapters; in 19-21, the presence of a third element complicates the problem (see below § 13).

Chap. 1:1-25 is in the main from J, and contains an abridgment or epitome of the oldest account of the conquest.

1a (corresponding to Josh. 1:1a) was added by the last editor, making the only possible connection—though a false one—with the preceding book. The hand of the post-deuteronomistic editor is to be recognised also in 4:9.

4. Analysis, Chap. 1:1-25, (ascribing to Judah the conquests of Caleb, cp 20 f.) and in various minor glosses; 2:1 connects with 3b, the intercalating verses, containing the report administered by the Messenger of Yahweh to Israel for making peace with the Canaanites, are the addition of a redactor, probably R_P; the passage is a cento of reminiscences from the Pentateuch.

In 26-36, the Introduction to the Book of Judges is proper, the text is plainly not homogeneous; but repeated redaction has made the problem presented to criticism very difficult.

5. Chap. 26-31. 26-31. proper, the text is plainly not homogeneous; but repeated redaction has made the problem presented to criticism very difficult.

17: 6-10, which connect immediately with Josh. 24:27 and continue the history from that point (= Josh. 24:28-31), are from E; only 7 (= Josh. 24:31, cp 3) is from a deuteronomistic hand. The sequel to this appears to be 13:20 f., and perhaps 34:1. The introduction of the deuteronomistic author is contained in 11:14-19; but 17 and perhaps 16 also is a later addition (R_P). 17:2 and perhaps 23b (reading *Israel* instead of *Joshua*) is from J, which also 32a belongs, the original continuation of the account of the conquest in ch. 1; 31:3, and perhaps 4, are from deuteronomistic hand; 5 is probably wholly redactional (R_J); the provenience of 222 is not clear; the glosses in 31:26 a late.

Chap. 37-11 (Othniel) is deuteronomistic throughout, typical example of the historical scheme set forth.

6. Chap. 312-31. 211 ff. The story of Ehud has a deuteronomistic introduction (12-15); the concrete facts in which, such as the Moabite occupation of Jericho (13b), the sending of tribute (15b), etc., are of course derived from the original beginning of the narrative—and a deuteronomistic close (29 f.).

In the story itself are some doublets; most clearly in the account of the audience (19:20), perhaps also in that of the escape (28a:26b), and the Israelite attack on the Moabites (27 ff.). The attempt of Winckler to separate two strands in the narrative is not convincing.³ Perhaps the doublets should be regarded as evidence, not of the existence of a second source, but of the conflation of variants in the same source. The story (or the main narrative) comes from the oldest collection. Ch. 3 (Shan-gar) must have been introduced here by a very late hand at an earlier stage in the redaction it stood after 16:31, where it is still found in several recensions of B.⁴

The deuteronomistic introduction is easily recognised in 4:1-4; the corresponding close is divided between

7. Chaps. 4 and 5: Deborah and Barak. 423 f. and 531 b; materials from the story itself are incorporated, especially in 4:1 f., and traces of an older setting seem to be preserved. The main

¹ The verses might in themselves be deuteronomistic and a now ascribed by Budde to D₁, an earlier deuteronomistic redaction than 11 ff. (102).

² For different attempts to analyse this introduction, see Moore, *Judges* (95), and *SBOT*, 'Judges' (97), and Budde, *Ri. Sa.* (97).

³ *ATliche Unters.* 55 ff. (92).

⁴ See § 14.

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narrative relates a conflict with Sisera, his defeat and death; as in 5, Sisera appears in it as an independent and powerful prince. A pre-deuteronomistic redactor, for reasons which can only be uncertainly conjectured, connected this story with the account of an Israelite victory over Jabin, king of Hazor, superficially harmonising the two by making Sisera Jabin's general (27; 179 also is harmonistic).

The account of the war (2 of Zebulun and Naphtali) with Jabin, which is the basis of Josh. 11 1-7, also, seems to be derived from the same source as the victory of Judah and Simeon over Adonibezek (Judg. 15 7f., cp. Josh. 10, 10-11; 11 in that case it was probably quite brief. Contamination from the story of Jabin may be suspected in the mention of Kedesh of Naphtali as the home of Barak and the rendezvous of the tribes (11 17), and the locating of Jabin's tent in the same vicinity (11 17), far away from the field of battle in the Great Plain; but the premises of this story are so imperfectly preserved that we cannot be certain. The story of Sisera is not improbably from E; but there are no decisive grounds for the attribution. c. 179 is at least redactional; 5 is a late addition (RP).

Chap. 5 is a triumphal ode, celebrating the victory over Sisera. The title (1) was probably prefixed by the editor who introduced the poem into the historical context (cp. Ex. 15 1); 2b is D's standing formula; 2 is thought by some to be misplaced or editorial; to others 2f. appears to be an invitational; in the manner of the liturgical psalms, 2a is also questioned (see Budde *Ri.*). Whether the ode was included in one of the collections of old Hebrew poetry such as the Book of Jashar, and why it was found in one of the sources of Judges (?), are questions which can hardly be answered with any confidence. See further, DEBORATI, § 3.

The usual deuteronomistic introduction is found in 6 1-6, embodying material from JE, and glossed by later hands; the close in 8 28; 8 33-35 is a brief substitute for 9, which was not included in the deuteronomistic Judges.

8. Chaps. 6-8. 9. Gideon, Abimelech. The composite character of 6-8 was early recognised (Studer)—8 4f. cannot be the sequel of 7 22-8 3; but the problem in 6f. is extremely complicated, and a complete solution is scarcely to be expected. See GIDEON.

Judg. 6 8-10, the prophet's reproof, is akin to Josh. 24 18, 7 10 17f. 12; the resemblance may point to identity of source or to dependence, and the verses may be ascribed accordingly to E₂ or to a late editor; the fact that the speech is broken off may be urged for the former hypothesis (Budde). The call of Gideon, 11-24, is from J (Böhme and most recent critics); many glosses, probably by more than one hand, in 13 14 16 17b 18 20 21b anticipate Gideon's recognition of his visitor, and convert his hospitality into a sacrifice; it is not necessary to suppose contamination from a second source; 25-32 is cognate to 7-11, and presumably from the same source (E₂); late glosses in 28b 31aB 32b 33; 36-40 are with much probability ascribed to E; 34 is from J; 35a 72-8 is an addition attributed to R_{JE} (Moore, *SBOT*) or to a post-exilic hand (Budde); 6 35b is a still later exaggeration.

Chap. 7 9-15 is ascribed by Budde to E, by Moore and Holzinger to J. In the description of the night attack on the Midianite camp (16-22) two stratagems have been combined—a clear analysis is impossible. The horns are probably from E (cp. Josh. 6), the jars and torches then from J; Winckler with considerable probability surmises that the latter originally belonged to the account of the attack E. of the Jordan (8 11);² it would follow that 8 4f. was omitted by the redactor who fused the two versions in 7 16f. Chap. 7 24f. 8 1-3, form the conclusion of E's narrative (harmonistic gloss in 7 25b).

Chap. 8 4-21, with the exception of glosses and retouches in 16b 16, is from the oldest source (J); it presumes a personal grievance which is not mentioned in 6 1-8 3. Chap. 8 22f., the rejection of the kingdom, stands on the same plane with 18 8 10 17f. 12; the question whether we have to do with a late addition to E or with a deuteronomistic hand is of import chiefly for the history of the redaction. The setting up of the 'Ephod' at Ophrah (24-27a) is from J (glosses in 26), the comment thereupon (27b) deuteronomistic; 28 31-35 is R_D's close; 30-32 were inserted by R_E (cp. 11 2) when he restored 9 to its original place in the book.³

Chap. 9, Abimelech. The chapter exhibits no trace of deuteronomistic redaction; but it is plainly composite. Two accounts of the discomfiture of the Shechemites stand side by side in 34f. and 42f.; the antecedents of both may be traced in the earlier part of the chapter.

¹ Hardly to R_D (Frankenberg).

² So Holzinger and Budde; cp. Frankenberg.

³ See § 14.

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Both sources must have narrated how Abimelech became king; but 10 6 seems to be homogeneous. The story of Gail (20-40 141b) is, in the main, from J; Jotham's apologue (7-21) from E (10b-10a not improbably secondary); 22-25 E. (+R_{JE}), from which 42-45 also are derived; 40-45 are ascribed by Moore to E (cp. 41), by Budde to J (11-R_{JE}); 56f. may be from E or R_{JE}.

The brief notices of the 'minor judges' differ in both form and content from the stories in the midst of which they stand.

They speak neither of oppression nor of deliverance; the stereotyped formula is, After him NN judged Israel . . . years . . . And NN died and was buried in such and such a place. The years of rule (12, 22, 7, 10, 8) differ noticeably from the symmetrical numbers of R_D's chronology (14, 20, 80).

The names of several of these 'judges' are otherwise known as names of clans, and what is told of their numerous posterity, possessions, and matrimonial alliances seems to be the legendary reflection of clan history.

Many scholars therefore think that these notices were made up by a late redactor to round out the number of *twelve* judges.² In confirmation of this view it was pointed out that the sum of the years of their rule (70) is almost exactly that of the periods of oppression (71) in R_D's introductions to the stories of the judges; the post-exilic editor made the succession continuous, reckoning the years of foreign domination (in the intention of R_D, interregna) in the rule of the succeeding judge.³ The framework in which these names and numbers are set is an imitation of R_D. Others, observing that the formula of the minor judges occurs also at the close of the story of Jephthah (12 7, note also the *etx* years of his rule cp. 15 20 18 41 7 15), believe that the minor judges were contained in JE, and were taken thence without change by R_D; the set phrases of R_D are an amplification of those of his predecessor.⁴

The arguments from the number twelve and from the chronology are not conclusive, and even if it were certain that the minor judges were not contained in the deuteronomistic book, it would still be possible that R_D did not invent them, but simply restored them from JE; that the names are really those of clans is not proof of late origin, as we may see from Gen. 38, for example.

The introduction to the story of Jephthah, 10 6-16, is much longer than usual, and appears on close examination not to be homogeneous.

In 6-9 the set formulas of R_D have been expanded by subsequent editors (especially in 6aB 8b 9a); 10-16 is cognate with 6-10; it looks as if a redactor had combined an

10. Chap. 10 6-16. introduction to the Philistine oppression in 12 7; Jephthah. the days of Eli with that to the Ammonite oppression (cp. 7); 17f. belongs to the deuteronomistic introduction, the material being taken from the following story; the closing formulas are found in 11 33 12 7 (perhaps pre-deuteronomistic); in 11 7, we have editorial amplification.

In 10 17-12 7, the long dip, the representation to the king of Ammon, 11 12-28, is foreign to the main narrative; it has in reality nothing to do with the Ammonites; the argument is drawn entirely from the history of Israel's relations to Moab. The passage is therefore generally regarded as an editorial addition (? R_{JE}).

Holzinger, followed by Budde (*KHC*, *Richter*, 8. 32), conjectures that two stories (J and E) about Jephthah have been combined, much as are the two stories about Gideon in 6-8. An outlawed freebooter recalled from banishment by the Gileadites (11 1-10) in the main; 2 is a late interpolation; after seeking aid in vain from the tribes west of the Jordan (cp. 12 2), and 11 26), he marches against the Ammonites and defeats them; the Ephraimites who come against him seeking trouble are severely punished (12 1-6). In the other (E) he was represented as dwelling at Mizpah; the enemy is Moab (11 12f.), harmonised by R_{JE} by the substitution of the name Ammon; the victory is purchased by the vow which cost the life of the hero's daughter (11 30-40).⁵

In the story of Samson the brief deuteronomistic formulas are found in 13 15-20 16 31.

11. Chaps. 13. 16: Samson. The stories, which are not all of the same antiquity, were in all probability found in J; composition or contamination from E is not

¹ Budde suspects considerable contamination from the other source.

² Nöldeke, *ATliche Unters.* 190.

³ See We. *CH* 216 f., cp. 356; Stade, *ZATW* 1330 f. (81); Budde, *RE.Sa.* 114 f., *Fi.* 12 f. xvii f.; Cornill, *Fth.* 23-5.

⁴ Both Kuenen (*Cnd.* 1351 f., cp. 342, 354) and Kittel (*Hist.* 83 f.) regard the list of minor judges as pre-deuteronomistic.

⁵ See further, JEPHTHAH.

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demonstrable; in some cases a later Yahwistic variant has been united with the older story (Budde); in 14 an editor has made numerous changes, the tendency of which is to remove the offence of Samson's marriage into a Philistine family.¹

As has been noted above (§ 3, ii.), chaps. 17 *f.* exhibit no signs of deuteronomistic redaction. The repetitions

12. Chaps. 17 *f.* Migration of Danites.² which abound in the story have been ascribed to interpolation by an editor whose aim was to throw contempt on the famous sanctuary at Dan;³ more probably they are due to the union of two closely parallel versions.⁴

The main narrative is from J; the second version may be traced in 17.2-4.7* 11b 12a 13.4*, in one strand running through 18.7-10 15.31 (or 30). The hands of both R₁ and R₂ may be recognised; the former in harmonistic adjustments, the latter chiefly in archaological notes.

In chapters 19-21 there is a stratum which in spirit and language is akin to the youngest additions to the Hexateuch and to the historical midrash in Chron. To **13. Chaps. 19-21: Outrage at Gibeah.** the late stratum belong 20.1.2* 9.4* (remains of the older text in 14.19.29, considerable part of 36.41, 44a 47), 21.2-14 in the main, 16.19b 20a 22* 24. The older narrative was

itself composite, as appears most clearly in 19. The main source is J, contamination from a second version is to be recognised especially in 19.6-8.10* 13.15a; a complete separation of the two closely parallel and intimately welded accounts is not feasible. In 21 the rape of the Shilohite maidens (15.17-19a 21.23, excluding glosses in 22) comes from the oldest source; the remainder is not homogeneous; Budde finds (in 1.6-8 10a 12* 13.14* 24b) E's account of the expedition to Jabesh combined with the post-exilic version of the same; others ascribe the repetition and confusion to very late interpolation (especially in 4 *f.*), evidence of which is found in 20 also (11.18.23 *f.* 27 *f.* etc.). The midrash seems to have been united to JE by a redactor; see § 14.

Redaction—i. Pre-deuteronomistic (R₁).—As in Josh. 1-12, the deuteronomistic author of Judg. found J and

14. Redaction. E already united by an earlier redactor (R₂); there is no evidence that he had J or E separately. The earlier redaction was primarily harmonistic; it laboured with more or less skill to make one continuous narrative out of two. Its religious standpoint was that of the prophetic period; the moral and religious lessons of the history are emphasised, as they were also in the younger stratum of E; it is not improbable that the beginnings of a pragmatism akin to that of R₂ were found in R₁. The historical standpoint is that of a united nation, and it was natural that the redactor should see in the invasions of particular regions and the deliverances wrought by local champions the oppression and liberation of all Israel, thus also preparing the way for R₂.

ii. Deuteronomistic (R₂).—The aim of the deuteronomistic author, as has been observed above, was religious rather than historical; the experience of Israel in the days of the judges is used to enforce for his own generation the lesson that unfaithfulness to Yahweh is always punished by national calamity, but that repentance brings deliverance. This lesson is set forth in the introductions to the whole book, and to the history of the several judges; the redactor hardly touched the stories themselves. He freely omitted, however, what did not readily lend itself to his purpose; chaps. 1.9 (for which 8.33-35 is a substitute) 17 *f.* 19-21, and perhaps the end of Samson's career, 16 (note the close 15.20). Later deuteronomistic editors may have added some verses, especially in the longer introductions (26-36 61-10 106-13).⁵

It is not probable that the deuteronomistic Book of Judges ended with 16.31 (or 15.20); the Philistine oppression was not at an end with the death of Samson. We should expect the author to include the whole period of the judges down to the establishment of the kingdom, and,

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at least, he can hardly have failed to record the deliverance from the Philistines. Confirmation of this antecedent probability is found in 1 S. 1-12.

At the close of the life of Eli (1 S. 4.18) we read the formula: 'He judged Israel forty years,' precisely corresponding to Judg. 16.31 (cp 12.7 10.2 *f.* 12.9 11.14); Samuel also is represented as a great deliverer, under whom the Philistines suffered such a repulse 'that they were subdued and no more invaded the territory of Israel; the hand of Yahweh was against the Philistines as long as Samuel lived' (1 S. 7.13; cp Judg. 2.18 Josh. 1.5 Judg. 3.1 4.23 *f.* 8.29 11.33); of Samuel also it is said, 'He judged Israel as long as he lived' (1 S. 7.15).

We should expect also that the author of the deuteronomistic Judges would bring his book to a close by repeating and enforcing the religious lessons he had so much at heart, just as the deuteronomistic history of Moses closes with his solemn parting admonitions (Dt. 4.29 *f.*), and the deuteronomistic history of Joshua with similar exhortations from the leader of the conquest (Josh. 23). The farewell address of Samuel, the last of the judges, in 1 S. 12, with its historical retrospect and its solemn warnings for the future, so evidently marking the boundary between the history of the judges and the kings, is just such a close as we should look for from the author of Judg. 26-36 (or 21 *f.*). The alternative is to suppose that the passages cited from Samuel belong exclusively to a pre-deuteronomistic editor; which would compel us to suppose (with Budde) that the original conclusion of the deuteronomistic Judges was omitted by the post-exilic redaction (R₂).

iii. Post-exilic (R₂).—in Judg., as in Josh. 13 *f.*, it seems that JE was in the hands of the post-exilic redactor, who restored from it the chapters which R₂ omitted (1.9 17-21). The splitting of the deuteronomistic formula in 4.24 and 5.31b, suggests the possibility that 5 also was inserted by a post-exilic hand. The last redactor also introduced the midrashic version of the war on Benjamin in 19-21; many minor additions and changes in the text of other chapters are to be ascribed to this redactor or to still later editors and scribes. To R₂ many scholars attribute also the 'minor judges' (10.1-5 12.8-15); see above, § 9. It is generally agreed that Shamgar in 3.31 belongs to one of the latest stages of the redaction. The history of the text shows that the verse once stood after 16.31 (following Samson), where the Philistine slayer is in place, and was introduced by the usual formula of the minor judges. The character and form of the notice remind us strongly of the exploits of David's heroes (2 S. 23, cp especially Shammah ben Agee, 11 *f.*). Corruption of the name to Shamgar (56) led to the insertion of the verse before 4 *f.*¹ It is quite possible that the verse in its original form stood in JE after Samson.

In 1 K. 6:1 the deuteronomistic author makes the time from the Exodus to the founding of the temple in the 15. Chronology.² fourth year of Solomon 480 years. This is manifestly computed on the basis of twelve generations of forty years.³

The chronology of R₂ in Judg. belongs to the same system. Othniel's victory secured peace for 40 years; Ehud's, 80; Barak's, 40; Gideon's, 40; Samson judged Israel 20 years. By the side of these round numbers appear others which do not seem to be systematic; for the rule of the 'minor judges' (23, 22, 7, 10, 8), Jephthah (6), Abimelech (3), and for most of the periods of oppression (8, 18, 20, 7, 18, 40). The sum of all these numbers, together with the times of Moses (40), Joshua, Eli (40), Samuel, Saul, David (40), greatly exceeds 480, and various hypotheses have been proposed to bring the data into agreement. The most probable is that the years of foreign domination are not to be counted separately, but to be included in the rule of the judges, which are thus continuous. We thus obtain: Moses, 40; Joshua, 40; Othniel, 40; Ehud, 80; Barak, 40; Gideon, 40; Minor Judges with Jephthah, 76; Samson, 20; Eli, 40; Samuel, 40; Saul, 2; David, 40; Solomon (to the founding of the temple), 4; total 420 + 40 + 20 + 40 + 40 = 560 (or if with 5 we give only 20 years to Eli, 80) 580 years for

¹ See Stade, *ZATW* 4.250-256 (84); v. Doorninck, *Th. T.* 28.14.32 (94).

² Oort, *Th. T.* 1.285-294 (67); Halévy, *REJ* 21.207-217 (90).

³ Oort, *We.* (formerly), *Kue.*, and others.

⁴ Vaake, *Be.*, Bu., Moore; see now *We. CH* (2) 163 *f.* (90).

⁵ Budde (*REJ*) finds evidence of two deuteronomistic redactions.

¹ See Budde, *REJ* x; and Moore, *SBOT*, 'Judges,' on 16.31.

² See Nöldeke, *ATliche Unters.* 173 *f.*; Moore, *Judges*, *Introd.* § 7; Budde, *REJ* xvii *f.*; also Bousset, 'Das chronologische System d. biblischen Geschichtsbücher,' *ZATW* 20.126 *f.* (1900).

³ See *CHRONOLOGY*, § 5.

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Joshua, Samuel, and Saul. Substantially the same result is reached by those who reckon in the periods of oppression and exclude the 'minor judges' as a later addition (see § 9).

The oldest written history of the period of the judges drew its materials from the local traditions; the story of Ehud is connected with Gilgal; Gideon and Abimelech with Ophrah and Shechem; Jephthah with Mizpeh in Gilead; Deborah and Barak belong apparently to the tribes N. of the Great Plain (though Deborah may have been early appropriated by Ephraim). The subject of these traditions was naturally the daring deed by which an Israelite hero discomfited the enemy and delivered his countrymen; of the situation only enough was recalled to make the achievement the more glorious; there was no motive for preserving the memory of the misfortunes of the Israelites in war, or the way in which their neighbours got the upper hand of them. We may be sure that if the deuteronomistic author had found any such details in his sources he would have made the most of them.

Chaps. 13-16 are of a different character. They contain a life of Samson from the announcement of his birth to his death, and narrate, not one signal act of deliverance, but a series of exploits in which the hero, a man of gigantic strength, in his own cause, single-handed, inflicts many injuries upon the Philistines. The stories may reflect a historical situation, the Danite Hercules may have been a historical person; but it is evident that we have in these chapters not historical traditions, in the sense in which we may use those words of the stories of Ehud, Gideon, Abimelech, and others, but popular tales, in which, as usual, elements of widely diverse origin—in part, perhaps, mythical—have been united in the imagination of the people.¹ It is noteworthy, and not without historical significance, that these are the only stories in the book which come from the south.

Chapters 17 ff., which have for subject the migration of the Danites, the origin of the idol and the priesthood at Dan, are probably derived from the traditions of that sanctuary. Of the history of the war over Gibeath (chap. 19 ff.), we can only say that it seems to be from an Ephraimite source.

In estimating the historical value of the Book of Judges, we must bear in mind that the stories of the deliverers of Israel represent only certain glorious moments in the history of these centuries; of their manifold vicissitudes of fortune tradition has preserved but fragmentary memories, and of the long, slow process by which the nomadic Israelite tribes established themselves in Canaan and adopted the agriculture and arts of the older inhabitants, we learn only from the glimpses which the stories incidentally afford us.

The chronological scheme of R_D is late and systematic; we cannot be sure that the order in which the stories were arranged in JE was chronological. In the stories themselves a legendary admixture cannot be denied; this has been successively heightened by later authors and editors; the union of parallel accounts by R_{JG} has, in more than one case, wrought an intricate confusion which baffles the keenest analytic criticism.

When all this is recognised, however, it remains true that the picture which the book gives us of the social and religious conditions of the period which preceded the establishment of the kingdom is of the highest historical value. It is manifest that the traditions contained in it were fixed in writing before the momentous changes which the kingdom wrought had had time to make such a state of things as is represented in Judges intelligible or unsympathetic.

We fortunately possess one contemporary monument, the Song of Deborah;² and its description of the great

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struggle with the Canaanites confirms the impression that the picture of the times which the stories draw for us is as faithful as it is vivid.¹

The Hebrew text of Judges is unusually well preserved. Only in parts of the Song of Deborah does any considerable passage seem to be beyond critical remedy. In other difficult places unskilful redaction rather than faulty transmission, seems to be responsible for the obscurity.

There are two distinct, if not wholly independent, Greek translations of the book; one found in the great mass of manuscripts (A, etc.), and rendered by most of the secondary versions, of which Lagarde's edition may be taken as a fair representative; the other in B, a group of manuscripts, and the Sahidic version. The latter, which is the younger of the two, adheres closely to MT, and is consequently of relatively little value for the emendation of the text.²

A. Commentaries.—Sebastian Schmid, 1624; Jo. Clericus, 1702; G. L. Studer, *Richter*, 351; second (title) ed. 42; Bertheau, 43, 21 (AGI); C. F. Keil, 63, 1274, E.T., 78; P. Cassel, 65, 10787 (Lange's *Bibl. lex.*); E.T., 72; J. Bachmann, 65 (unfinished; chaps. 1-3); Hervey, 72 (Speaker's Commentary); E. Reuss, *La Bible*, 1, 77; *Das Alte Testament*, 1, 92; S. Oettli, 93 (AGK); G. F. Moore, 95 (Internat. Crit. Comm.); 98 (SBOT); translation and brief notes; K. Budde, 97 (KHC).

B. Criticism.—Noldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des AT*, 173-108 (60); Schrader, in *De Wette, *Lehrb.** 327-333; We. *CHB*, 213-238, pp. 353-357; v. Doornick, *Bijdrage tot de tekstkritiek van Richters*, 1, 10, 123-128 (79); E. Meyer, 'Kritik der Berichte über die Eroberung Palästinas', *ZATW* 1, 117-140 (81); H. Stade, 'Zur Entstehungsgesch. des vorred. Richterbuches', *ZATW* 1, 339-343 (81); J. C. Matthes, *JA*, 15593 ff. (81); W. Boehme, *ZATW* 5, 251-274 (85); K. Budde, *ZATW* 7, 93-106 (87); *Ri. Sa.*, 1-11 (60); Kuenen, *Und.* 1, 320-377; S. R. Driver, *JQR* 1, 258-270 (80). *Introd.* 97; R. Kittel, 'Die pentateuch. Urkunden in den BB Richter u. Samuel', *St. Kr.* 6, 447 ff. (92). *Hist.* 1; also in Kautzsch, *HS*, 94 (analysis in the margin); G. Kalkoff, *Zur Quellenkritik des Richterbuches*, 93 (Gymnas. Progr.); Frankenberg, *Die Composition des deuteronomischen Richterbuches*, 95; König in Hastings' *DB*, art. 'Judges' (96). See also the commentaries of Studer, Bertheau, Moore, and Budde (using valuable unpublished investigations of Holzinger) and the Polychrome Bible-analysis in colours.

G. F. M.

JUDGMENT, DAY OF (ἡμέρα κρίσεως), 2 Pet. 37. See ESCATOLOGY, §§ 34 ff.

JUDGMENT HALL (πραιτώριον), Jn. 18 28 33 199. Acts 23 35; RV 'palace,' RV^{mg} ΠΡΑΕΤΟΡΙΟΝ (q.v.).

JUDITH (הודית), § 76; fem. of יהודי, q.v.). 1. Daughter of Beeri the 'Hittite' (or rather 'Rehobothite,' see REHOBOTH), and one of the wives of Esau; Gen. 26 34 (P) (וודית [A/EL]). See BASEMATH. A Jewish clan as 'daughter' of a Rehobothite, is not likely. Perhaps 'Judith' is a corruption of Horith (הורית).

2. See below.

T. K. C.

JUDITH, THE BOOK OF (βιβλίον ἡδὴ, i.e., 'הודית'), one of the Books of the Apocrypha [§ 5.4]. has

1. Two versions come down to us in a shorter and a longer form, and the text of the latter in a variety of recensions.

The various texts belonging to the longer (the canonical) recension show much more pronounced differences than are found in those belonging to the other. Even Jerome speaks of the number and variety of the MSS of the Judith legend which had been seen by him.

The two forms of the story are quite different in tendency and in historical background. The contents, which though similar are not absolutely identical, are therefore summarised here separately, as comparison of the two forms of the story may enable us to arrive at sure conclusions as to the date and origin of the book.³

1 On the historical character of Judg. 1, see JOSHUA, §§ 13 15; also HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2.

2 On the text see Moore, *Judges*, xliii ff., and in addition to the authors there cited, Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus*, 95; cp Moore's critical edition of the text in SBOT He¹, 1900.

3 The line here taken renders it unnecessary to discuss other critical theories, which, resting on mere conjecture, were only provisionally useful. They are briefly referred to by König in his *Intd.* and discussed at length by Ball in his commentary. Ball himself refers Judith to the time of queen Salome.

¹ See SAMSON, § 2.

² See DEBORAH and POETICAL LITERATURE, § 3 (ii.).

JUDITH (BOOK)

The longer form of the story is as follows:—Arphaxad, king of Ecbatana, fortifies his city. Nabuchodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar), king of the Assyrians in Nineveh, makes war against him and summons the dwellers in all the lands between Persia and Memphis to his aid. They refuse. Vowing vengeance against them, he marches alone to battle with ARPHAXAD (2), and destroys him. After an interval he appoints Holofernes general over his army, and sends him against those nations which had refused their aid, with orders to spare none who should offer resistance, or should refuse to recognise and worship Nebuchadnezzar as a god.

Holofernes occupies all the places along the sea coast, and destroys all their gods so that 'all the nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and that all their tongues and their tribes should call upon him as god' (38). The 'children of Israel that dwell in Judea,' terrified at his approach, fortify their hills. Joakim the high priest charges the people of Bethulia and Betomesthaim to guard the passes to the hill-country, while all the inhabitants of Judea and Jerusalem betake themselves to fasting and prayer.

Achior, the leader of the children of Ammon, tells Holofernes who the Jews are and warns him not to attack them, for if there is no iniquity among them their Lord will defend them and their C^h be for them. Holofernes and his followers are incensed against Achior, and rebuke him, telling him that there is no God but Nabuchodonosor, who has decreed the utter destruction of the Jews. Achior will be destroyed with them. Having thus spoken Holofernes causes Achior to be cast down and left at the foot of the hill near Bethulia. He is rescued by the Jews, who, after the words of Holofernes have been reported to them, fall down and worship God, saying: 'O Lord God of heaven, behold their arrogance, and pity the low estate of our race, and look upon the face of those that are sanctified unto thee or, thy sanctuary (Syr.) this day' (49).

Holofernes lays siege to Bethulia and stops the water supply. The people lose heart and press Ozias and the rulers to give way; these promise to do so, if no help arise before five days have passed. Now in those days there lived a widow, named Judith, of rare piety and beauty. She fasted all the days of her widowhood save the eves of the Sabbath, and the Sabbaths, the eves of the new moons and the new moons, and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel. She blames Ozias and the rulers for thinking of submission, and points out to them that as they are now worshipping none other but the true God—and no one among them worships gods made with hands as had aforetime been the case—they may safely put their trust in God that he will not despise them nor any of their race. The rulers excuse themselves, and Judith promises to do for them something that shall go down to all generations. When left alone she falls on her face, and at the time when incense is being offered in the temple in Jerusalem she prays God to help her in her undertaking, recalling the deliverances wrought in the time of the Maccabæan revolt and on other occasions when God had signally discomfited the plans of their enemies for the destruction of the Jewish nation. She then decks herself bravely and goes to the camp of Holofernes accompanied by her maid, who carries a bottle of wine, a cruse of oil, a bag filled with parched corn and fine bread (and cheese [It. Syr. Vg.]). Arrived at the camp, she is brought before Holofernes, who asks her wherefore she has come.

She tells him that her nation cannot be punished, neither can the sword prevail against them, except they sin against their God, but that now they are about to eat all those things which God charged them by his laws that they should not eat, and that they will therefore be delivered into his hands. She will show him the way to the town, and will lead him until he comes to Jerusalem. Holofernes is highly pleased, and bids that his people should prepare for her of his own meats and that she should drink of his own wine. This she refuses; but in the morning she asks and receives permission to go forth into

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the valley of Bethulia for prayer; on three successive nights accordingly she goes forth and washes herself in a fountain by the camp.

On the fourth day Holofernes who wishes to 'deceive' Judith sends BAGOAS (q.v.) the eunuch to invite her to a banquet. She accepts. He drinks deeply and is left alone with her. Praying God for strength she snatches off, with his own scimitar, the head of Holofernes, and putting it into her bag of victuals, hastens to Bethulia. All the people run together on hearing her voice, and seeing the head of Holofernes, give praise to God, who has not taken away his mercy from Israel. The next morning they fall upon the besiegers, who, finding their leader dead, lose heart and flee in wild disorder.

The Jews spoil the camp for thirty days, and Judith after singing a song of praise and thanksgiving to God accompanies the victors to Jerusalem, where the rejoicings before the sanctuary continue for the space of three months. After a great and glorious life she dies at the age of one hundred and five years, and is buried in Bethulia in the cave of her husband Manasseh. 'And there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death' (1025). (Vg. adds: 'but the day of the festival of this victory is received by the Hebrews in the number of the holy days, and is observed by the Jews from that time unto the present day.')

The shorter form is as follows:—Seleucus besieged Jerusalem. The Israelites were fasting and praying.

3. Shorter story (B). Among them was a beautiful maiden Judith the daughter of Abitob. God inspired her with the thought that a miracle would be wrought through her. So she set out from Jerusalem with her maid and went to the camp of Seleucus, where she told the king that having feared that the town was sure to fall into his hands, she had come out first that she might find favour in his eyes. The king, struck by her beauty, desired to have her company. She declared herself willing to satisfy him, but as she was in her impurity, so she told him, she asked his permission to go out unmolested in the middle of the night to the fountain of water to make her ablutions. The king granted her request. At the banquet he drank much wine and was afterwards left alone with her. Taking his falchion she cut off his head and hastened with it to Jerusalem, passing unmolested through the camp. The Israelites seeing this unexpected deliverance rejoiced greatly, and going forth routed their enemies. They established this day as a day of feasting. It fell on the eighteenth day of Adar, and was observed as a day on which mourning and fasting were forbidden.

Of the two tales the shorter seems to retain the true original character most. There is nothing improbable in a story of the kind. The names are historical, and the besieged place is Jerusalem. The mention of the day on which the memory of the achievement was celebrated points to the fact that we have here a fragment of the Maccabæan calendar, which was abrogated officially in the middle of the third century of our era, but had fallen into desuetude long before. The narrative is probably the record of an occurrence during the wars of the Maccabees. There is not a single reference in it to ceremonial observances, nor any allusion to sin and its consequences for the political future of the nation through forfeiture of the grace and mercy of God by transgression, and by the worship of false gods. The reason for the visit to the fountain is made perfectly obvious, whilst in the other recension it is anything but clear.

The longer tale differs completely in style, tendency and conception. A simple incident in a war of antiquity

4. Date of B. and the heroism of a Jewish maiden are only the warp upon which a later writer has woven his richly embroidered tale. He has transformed it into a tale of comfort and encouragement. From the leading features of the story as epitomised above, it is evident that the author of the romance laid the greatest possible stress upon strict observance of all the religious ceremonial in vogue in his time. He manifests his strong belief that

Alexandra (79-70 B.C.), and G. Klein (*Actes du VIII^e congrès internat. des Orientalistes*, sect. sémit. 287-105, Leyden, '03), reviving a theory of Hitzig, to the period of the revolt of Bar-Cochba (132-135 A.D.).]

JUDITH (BOOK)

God is sure to grant his aid to those who have not sinned. He takes the greatest care to emphasise the ruin that is sure to follow upon any meddling with the tithes, or other sacred things, he abhors all ceremonial defilement, and dwells upon the efficacy of prayer; the prayer of the righteous and pure widow is sure to be heard, and her intercession saves the Jewish race. Judith scrupulously abstains from touching any of the food of the heathen. She fasts all the days of her widowhood, except on certain feast days and their eves.

All these details show that the author of the longer story was a Pharisee. One might feel inclined to think of him as one of the ASSIDEANS (q.v.) from the very great stress he lays on the regular ablution before prayer, which is nowhere else heard of.

A reminiscence of the old original survives in 129 where we read that 'She came in clean,' but in what respect is not mentioned. We are to understand that the whole rabbinical ceremonial law has been observed with great minuteness by Judith, in full agreement with the decisions arrived at in the controversy between the school of Shammai and that of Hillel. This is equally clear in the matter of food (wine, oil, and bread) and in that of the tithes which it is not lawful for any of the people so much as to touch with their hands (11 13).

These rigorous prescriptions point to the end of the first century B.C.

A further study of the additional elements in the longer version (A) may enable us to fix its date with still greater precision. The chief ruler of the nation is the high priest; no mention is made of a king. Nebuchadnezzar has killed Arphaxad.

It is easily seen that these names, borrowed from ancient history, stand for more modern ones, and have been chosen for the purpose of giving the book an air of antiquity, since otherwise it would defeat its own ends. Unless put forth as a tale of ancient deliverance it would miss the popular effect it was intended to have in times of danger and distress.

The book also mentions Achior, the chief of the house of Ammon, as friendly to the Jews (5 5 ff.). A great danger threatens the people.

They are uncertain of the issue, but are convinced that God will not deliver them into the hands of their enemies if only they do what is right and live piously. It appears that they are suffering from great drought or scarcity of water.

Taking these and other data (see, e.g., JEMNAAN) together, we shall find but one period which the author can have had before him—the time, namely, of the approach of Pompey to Jerusalem (B.C. 63).

Aristobolus II. had commenced a war against his brother Hyrcanus II. Scarcus (Holofernes), the Roman general in Syria, took the part of Aristobolus. Pompey, before coming to Palestine, had a war with Mithridates, whom he overthrew and slew, exactly as Nabuchodonosor smote Arphaxad. Aretas, king of the Nabataeans, assisted Hyrcanus at the instigation of Antipater the Idumean. When hostilities commenced between Hyrcanus and Aristobolus, a certain holy man, Onias by name (= Joakim), prayed that the great drought might cease (Jos. Ant. xiv. 21). Pompey, taking the side of Hyrcanus, deposed Aristobolus and appointed Hyrcanus high priest.

Here we find all the leading elements in the tale in correspondence with the historical events. BETHULIA (q.v.) is thus seen to be equivalent to בְּתוּלָה: the House of God, Jerusalem. This hypothesis is corroborated and strengthened if we compare the book with another product of exactly the same period, viz., the Psalms of Solomon, written shortly after this date, when Pompey had already met his death in Egypt.

The situation as viewed by the two authors is almost identical, and the Psalms furnish a number of parallels to the leading views expressed by the author of Judith. He too knows of a high priest only. He too lays preponderant stress on the observance of ceremonial law (38-40) and on prayer (24 etc.); the prayer of the righteous is heard (15 1). He too dwells on ceremonial pollution and its purification (22 f. 812 f. 1725-33); God blesses pious conduct (12 87) (see Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, xlviii f. 911). Besides, the tone which pervades the prayers of Judith and her last song finds its absolute counterpart in those Psalms. Both reflect the same period, viz., circa 50 B.C.

The ceremonial prescriptions mentioned in Judith render any earlier date impossible; and at any later date the book would have lost its value and importance, as being too transparent a fiction.

Winckler has given an analysis of the sources with new views on Holofernes and Judith (AF 2 206 ff.). He derives the name Judith from the Babylonian Ištar.

1 See Schürer, *Hist.* 1 212.

JUNIPER

According to Wilfrid (*Judaica*, 31 11900), the book was written in the quiet period between 157 and 153 B.C. The author is one of the ASSIDEANS (*basidim*) who welcomed Alcimus. He holds that it was not the Maccabees who rescued the Jewish people, but Vahwê alone and his instrument Judith. Ozias (= Jonathan) plays quite a secondary role. The name Holofernes is suggested by Odoarres, Arphaxad by Arphaxias, Bethulia by Bethadagan (see, however, HOLOFERNES, BETHULIA, BETH-BASID).

If the book was meant to be accepted as an old book, and if it was the work of a Pharisee or Assidean, it could only have been written in the language of the people—viz., either in Aramaic or (what is more probable) in Hebrew. Jerome mentions Hebrew MSS, and the addition which appears at the end of his translation only proves him to have had access to a text which stood in some relation to the more complete Hebrew text of what is now the short recension (B). In these alone do we find an allusion to the observance of the day as a festival.

1. Of the long recension (A) no old Hebrew text has, thus far, been critically edited. Jellinek has merely reprinted a later version *Hamdath ha-ganimim*, 2 f. 62b62c (Constantinople, 1747). *Sefer ha-midrash*, 2 12-22. A better text is one that has hitherto remained unnoticed (*Qsar ha-Kodesh*, 68-72; Leunberg [Amst.], 1710). A very old version, older at least than the twelfth century, if not of even much greater antiquity, has been discovered by Dr. Gaster in the Chronicle of Jerahmeel (see *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, 506). Both of these agree with Jerome and have the same ending. For other allusions to the story of Judith in Hebrew literature see Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Vortr.* 2 131, n. 4). The relation between these texts and that of Jerome requires further study.

The Greek versions have come down in three recensions, one of which forms the LXX text (best ed., O. F. Fritzsche, *Lit. Apoc. Vet. Test. Græc.*, 165-203). The second, more akin to the Lat. and Syr., is found in a MS (cod. 58 Holmes and Parsons), and a third in a group of MSS not very different from the latter. The Latin versions are: (a) *Scetus*, ed. Sabatier, *Bibl. sac. Lat. vers. antiq.* 1744-750 (1743), from five codices; (b) Jerome's *Vulgata*. The Syriac is given in Lagarde, *Lit. vet. Test. apoc. Syriac.*, 104-126 (61). For further bibliography (Gr., Lat., and Syr. versions, etc.) see Schürer, *GP* 2 599-603. See also W. AF 2 206 ff.

Commentaries.—The best thus far is that of O. F. Fritzsche in the *Exeg. Handb.* 2 111-211 (53). For other literature see Schürer (as above); E. T. 603, and C. J. Ball, *Speaker's Comm.: Apocrypha*, vol. 1, to whose lists add A. Schulz, *Commentaries*, 96, and Löhr in *Kau. Apok.* 2. Of the short recension (B) only the Hebrew text has come down to us; see 'The oldest text with introduction and translation' by M. Gaster in *JSBA*, '94, pp. 156-163; where further bibliography is given.

M. G.

JUEL (יוֹחַא [L.]). 1. 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 34 UEL. 2. (יוֹחַא [A], יוֹחַא [L.]), 1 Esd. 9 35 = Ezra 10 43; JOEL (14).

JULIA (יוֹחַיא [Ti. WH]), is saluted in Rom. 16 15 in conjunction with PHILOLOGUS (q.v.), who was doubtless her husband (cp ROMANS, §§ 4 10). She may have been a freedwoman of some member of the gens Julia; the name is, at all events, exceedingly common.

JULIUS (ιοῦλιος [Ti. WH]), the centurion of the Augustan band (see ARMY, § 10), who had charge of Paul when he was sent to Rome (Acts 27 13).

JUNIAS (so RV, but RV^{mg} and AV have *Junia*, assuming with Chrysostom and other ancient interpreters a feminine nominative for ΙΟΥΝΙΑ [Ti. WH]), which, however, more probably represents a nominative ΙΟΥΝΙΑC, an abbreviated form of Junianus) is mentioned in Rom. 16 7 along with Andronicus as being an apostle, as a kinsman and fellow-prisoner of Paul, and as having been 'in Christ' before him (cp ROMANS, §§ 4 10). It has been conjectured from the name that he may have been originally a slave; the word 'kinsman' seems to suggest that he was of Jewish birth.

See, further, ANDRONICUS. In the list of the seventy by Pseudo-Dorotheus (A) Junias figures as bishop of Apamea in Syria.

JUNIPER (יָבֵט, *yâthem*, 1 K. 19 4 f. Job 30 4 Ps. 120 4 f.) should be 'broom' (so Job 30 4 RV, 1 K. 19 4

1 [Cp Ball, 1 244.]

JUPITER

RVmg. Ps. 120. RVmg.), except, probably, in 1 K. 19.4¹

The Heb. word puzzled the LXX translators, who render by *φύρον* in 1 K. 19.4 and by *ἀρκευθίναις* in Ps. 120.4, while in Job 30.4 the translator shortens his text (Babington has *ἐύλων*). Pesh. has 'terebinth' in 1 K. 19, and 'oak' in Ps. 120. Aq. rendered 'juniper' (*ἀρκευθίναις*, *ραθαμιν*) in 1 K. and in the Psalm; this is also in Vg., which as usual follows Jewish tradition. Symm. has *σκεπς*, *ἐστούβισμένον*, *ἐύλων*, *ἀργύριν*.

In spite of the versions Ar. *ratam* certainly means 'broom' (cp Low, 366). The particular species is probably *Genista Ratam*, Forsk., which, according to Robinson (*RR* 1203), is 'the largest and most conspicuous shrub' in the deserts S. of Palestine.

a. 1 K. 19.4 can be explained by another quotation from the same source. 'Our Arabs always selected the place of encampment (if possible) in a spot where it grew, in order to be sheltered by it at night from the wind; and during the day, when they often went on in advance of the camels, we found them not unfrequently sitting or sleeping under a bush of Retem to protect them from the sun.'

b. Ps. 120.4 is a more doubtful passage. RV renders thus, 'What shall be given unto thee . . . thou deceitful tongue? Sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.' The mode of expression, however, is 'somewhat artificial, not to say affected' (Duhm). The tongue is itself an 'arrow'; how can 'arrows' be given to it, and how can arrows be united with 'coals'? Travellers tell us, no doubt, that 'coals of broom' emit an intense heat (see CoAI, § 2, col. 854). This illustrates the phrase, but not its figurative application in this context. Hupfeld has already seen that 'coals' (*קָהָל*) should be 'tents' (*קֹהֵל*). This at once gives a new aspect to the passage; but it creates a new riddle which only a more thorough investigation of the text can solve. Probably, for *קֹהֵל*, we should read *קֹהֵל*, and render *rv*, 4b (emended text) thus, 'Arrows of a warrior are the tongues of the people of the tents of Mizraim' (see MIZRAIM, § 216).

c. Job 30.4 RV, 'and the roots of the broom are their meat' (*קֹהֵל*), supposing that these roots were sometimes eaten by famine-stricken men. Many critics, however, find this supposition difficult, and propose to read *קֹהֵל* or *קֹהֵל* assuming that fires of *ratam* branches are referred to (so RVmg. 'to warm them'). Both *קֹהֵל* and *קֹהֵל* are unsatisfactory.² It must be *קֹהֵל*, 'purslain' (see PURSLAIN), that is referred to; *קֹהֵל* should be *קֹהֵל*; *קֹהֵל* is a collection of misread duplications and the last two words a glossatorial comment on the corrupt *קֹהֵל*. Light and sense are thus restored to an almost desperate passage. Read—

'Who pluck mallow and the leaves (*קֹהֵל*), G. Beer) of the *fat*,

Who gnaw the broom-plant and the purslain.'

Thus only two passages with *קֹהֵל* can be vindicated. But we need not doubt the word on this account. Cp RITMAN.

T. K. C.

JUPITER (Greek *Ζεύς Πατήρ* = Sanscr. *Djātus pitar*; from *√ΔιF* 'shining, seen in *dies*), the supreme deity of the Greeks, the conception of whom arose from the contemplation of the clear sky (cp *etolm*, *Greek Hist.*, *ET* 124 f.). In Acts 19.35, therefore, the words *τοῦ διωπετοῦ* ('the image which fell down from Jupiter,' AV; so also RV, with marg. 'heaven') should be rendered 'the image that fell from the bright sky.'

So Euripides rightly explains the same epithet in speaking of the image of the Tauric Artemis (*Iph. T.* 977, *διωπετος ἀγαλμα*; cp *v.* 1334, *οὐρανοῦ πέσμα*). [For parallels in Hebrew cp Gen. 19.24, 'brimstone and fire from Vahwē, from heaven' (*בְּאֵשׁ מִבְּרִית*); Mic. 5.7 [v.] 'a dew from Vahwē' (*בְּרִית מִבְּרִית*);

The title Olympian (*Ὀλύμπιος*) was in general use throughout Greece as marking the supremacy of Zeus, owing to the influence of the Homeric poems, in which the abode of the gods was localised upon the summit of Mt. Olympus (cp Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, i. iv.).

As the god of hospitality and the protector of strangers he was everywhere worshipped as Zeus Xenios. In

¹ Here, as *Θ* (*παθεν* [B], or *παυαθ* [A], or *παθαμεν* [L]) in *v.* 4 suggests, *קֹהֵל* conceals the name, or part of the name, of some locality; otherwise we do not know where Elijah halted. For *קֹהֵל* we should probably read *קֹהֵל* 'in the valley of Rehoboth' (Klo., however, *קֹהֵל*, 'Egypt'). See CHERITH. To take *ev* in *παθεν* [B] as a misplaced numeral would be unwise, since *Θ* passes over *קֹהֵל* in *v.* 5.

² The use of *ratam* branches for fuel would hardly be characteristic of the poorest class.

JUSTUS

168 B.C. Antiochus Epiphanes (see ANTIUCHUS) established the worship of the Olympian Zeus in Temple at Jerusalem (2 Macc. 6.2; on the Syriac equivalent of *Διὸς Ὀλύμπιον*, see col. 23 top, and Dan. 11.31 and 12.11 see col. 22), and that of Zeus Xenios on Mt. Gerizim. It was this Antiochus who resorted to the building of the greatest temple of Olympian Zeus that at Athens, fifteen columns of which still remain. Peisistratos had laid the foundations; but the completion of the work was reserved for Hadrian (130 A.D.).

The Jupiter of Lystra (Acts 14.12) is not the Greek Zeus, but the native Lycæonian deity identified by Greek-speaking section of the population with the supreme god of the Greek pantheon; but we have no right to draw inferences as to the character of the deity from such identification, for identity of name by no means implied identity in character (e.g. the Artemis of Ephesus was very different from the Artemis of Delos). This caution applies also to the use of the name Hermes in this passage of Acts. Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.* 57, n.) acutely remarks that 'true to the Oriental character, the Lycæonians regarded the active and energetic preacher (Paul) as the inferior, and the more silent and statuesque figure (Barnabas) as the leader and principal.' The idea of the deities manifested themselves on earth seems to have been prominent in central Asia Minor. C. (Metam. 862) relates the Phrygian legend of the entertainment unawares of Zeus and Hermes by the couple Kaucis and Philenon² (the legend was localised perhaps near Tyriaion, near Iconium; see Ramsay, *Church in R. Emp.* 58 n., and *Comm. on Gal.* 2.12) where he refers also to Phrygian inscriptions with words *τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον θεῶν*, 'the most manifest god'.

In Acts 14.13 (*τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως*, 'Jupiter which was before their city,' AV; 'whose temple was in the city,' RV), Codex Bezae adds *τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως* (or better *Ἰπποδάμους* as one word), 'of Zeus who is (as Zeus-before-the-city,' i.e., Zeus Propoleos. This is preferred by Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.* 51) compares an inscription from Claudopolis of Isauria, to the SE. of Lystra, recording a dedication *Διὶ Ἰπποδάμῳ*, 'to Zeus-before-the-Town,' dependent proof of the existence of the temple would probably be the first-fruits of excavation on the site of Lystra.

W. J. W.

JURISDICTION (ἐξουσία), Lk. 23.7 (cp 20.20). GOVERNMENT, § 30f.

JUSHAB-HESED (יְהוֹשָׁבָבֵד), 'kindness is required' § 23: *אֲרֹבָאֲכֹק* [B], *אֲרֹבָאֲכֹק* [A], *אֲרֹבָאֲכֹק* [L] a son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3.20f.). The name seems improbable; it follows Hasadiah, and is of a type which is unusual in Hebrew proper names.

יְהוֹשָׁבָבֵד suggests *יְהוֹשָׁבָבֵד*, of which 'Jushab' would be a corrupt fragment, and 'hesed' a fragment of a duplicate Hasadiah. Cp the corrupt names Giddalti, Romantizer (see HEMAN, TOB-ADDONIAH).

T. K. C.

JUSTICE (Administration of). See LAW AND JUSTICE.

JUSTUS (ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ), under the form *Iustā*, *Iustus* was a common name among the Jews. Josephus mentions three persons of the name, including a son of his own. Bar-Kappara, denouncing the practice of the Roman names, says, 'They did not call Reuben Roman, Judah Julianus, Benjamin Alexander, Joseph Justus. We need hardly suppose that he is attacking

¹ [In Acts 14.12 in its present form, two reasons for the prominence of Barnabas seem to be combined: (1) that he was of imposing stature (contrast Paul, *Acta Pauli et Theclae*); and (2) that he was not forward to speak, like Paul. For *κ.τ.λ.* ('because he was the chief speaker,' EV) may perhaps be an early addition (the Fleury palimpsest omits). On the subject of Acts 13.7 cp ACTS, § 10.—E.D.]

² Cp SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

³ [If conjectures are permissible should we not read, Valckenar, *ὁ θεὸς Ἰπποδάμῳ τοῦ Διὸς ἱεροῦ τοῦ ὄντος κ.τ.λ.*, 'the priest of the temple of Zeus which was' etc.?—E.D.]

⁴ *Ἰῶννῆν Ῥαββὶ*, 32. See Nestle, *Exp. T* 10, 527a.

Chajes, *Marquis-Studen* (199), 70.

ANTIOCHUS 2)
an Zeus in the
on the Syrian
3 top, and on
of Zeus Xenios
who resumed
lympian Zeus,
h still remain;
the completion
o A.D.).

not the Greek
identified by the
tion with the
ut we have no
ter of the cult
f name by no
g, the Artemis
he Artemis of
the use of the
ets. Ramsay
utely remarks
he Lycaonians
cher (Paul) as
atuesque figure

The idea that
earth seems to
Minor. Ovid
nd of the enter-
ies by the poor
end was local-
: see Ramsay,
on Gal. 225,
ptions with the
most manifest

πόλεως, 'Jupiter,
emple was before
Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως
is who is (called)
his is preferable;
an inscription of
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W. J. W.
(cp 202c). See

ness is required,
ΙΩΚΑΒΕΕ [L]).
the name seems
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Jushab' would be
t of a duplicated
Romanti-zer, etc.
T. K. C.

See LAW AND

rm Justā, Justi,
Josephus men-
ding a son of his
practice of taking
Reuben Rufus,
Joseph Justus.⁴
s attacking the

o reasons for the
d: (1) that he was
uli et Thecla, 31.
like Paul. 'Επειδὴ
(V) may perhaps be
(s). On the source

we not read, with
δύτος κ.τ.Α., 'and
ic. ?—ED.]

Α. T 10, 527a (99):

JUSTUS

Alexander and Rufus of Mk 1521, and the Joseph-
Justus of Acts 123, but the coincidence of the names is
remarkable.

1. Joseph Barsabas, 'surnamed Justus,' Acts 123; see BAR-
SABAS, § 2.

2. Jesus, Justus, a Jewish Christian who, unlike most who
were 'of the circumcision,' was a convert to Paul, Col. 411.
Theophylact identifies him with 3 below. According to a late
tradition he became bishop of Eleutheropolis.

3. Titus Justus, see below.

JUSTUS (ΑΒΔ*, etc.), or (RV) **TITUS JUSTUS**
(NE) or Titius Justus (ΤΙΤΙΟC ΙΟΥCΤΟC [Ti. WH], B*.
Vg., Memph., Arm.), a proselyte (ΠΡΟCΕΛΥΤΗC ΤΟΝ
ΘΕΟΝ), whose house adjoined the synagogue, and who
received the apostle Paul at a critical period during his
first visit to Corinth (Acts 187). As Ramsay points out,¹
he was evidently one of the *coloni* of the colony Corinth;
the admission of a Roman citizen would be a great help to
a Christian missionary. When the Christians left the
synagogue, the house of Justus provided a convenient
meeting-place. The exact name of Paul's friend, how-
ever, is disputed. Tregelles inclined to 'Justus' (AV*);
Ti., WH, and Blass adopt 'Titus Justus' (RV). The
decision may perhaps be given by Paul himself, who,
as Weissacker notes, (in the present text) makes
no reference to his Corinthian entertainer. Probably
not one of the forms given above, to which may
be added the bare Titus (Iesh., Theb.), is correct.

KAB (כב), 2 K. 625 RV, AV CAB (q.v.).

KABZEEL (כבזעל, '[whom] God collects'), a city
of Judah on the border of Edom, the native town of
BENAIAH (r).

Josh. 1521 (כבזעל [B], καβζεελ [A], καβζεελ [L]); 2 S.
2320 (καβζεελ [B*], καβζεελ [B*], γαβασαη [L]);
1 Ch. 1122 (καβασαη [B], βαασαη [B*], καβζεελ [L]).

In Neh. 1125 the name appears as JEKABZEEL.
כבזעל; om. BN* A, καβζεελ [N* A* M* L]. Most probably
it is a corruption of Jehallese'el (כבזעל). Hallese'el
(כבזעל)—i.e. the important town elsewhere miscalled
Ziklag, on the site of Halasa, SW. of Beersheba, towards
Ruheibeh (Rehoboth). David's close connection, prob-
ably by birth and certainly by fortunes, with the Negeb,
and the fact that Benaiah was the commander of the
Cherethites (Rehobothites) and Pelethites (Zarephathites),
strongly favours this view. See JUDAH.

It must be admitted that Jekabzeel, Kabzeel are in themselves
likely forms; the present writer has therefore been reluctant to
resort to emendation. Winckler's treatment of the Kērethi and
Pēlethi (GI ii. 184 ff.), however, so nearly approaches that
proposed in this and other articles (especially PELETHITES,
REHOBOTH, ZAREPHATH), and adds so much force to the
argument for deriving David's bodyguard from the Negeb (see
NEGEB), that it would be misplaced hesitation to withhold this
conjecture, which is in fact not very much less probable than
the restoration of Halusah for Ziklag. See ZIKLAG, and cp
HAZELEPHONI.

T. K. C.

KADESH (קדש, 'holy,' § 98; קדש [BAL]).

1. Also called **Kadesh-Barnea** (קדש ברנע, peculiar
to D (K) and P, κ. βαρνη [BAFL], once κ. του β. Nuni,
344 [BAFL], on the Targ. קר for Kadesh
see JERAMHEEL, § 4), one of the most
important places in the history of Israel previous to
the 'conquest,' is now identified with *Ain-Kadis*,
50 m. S. of Beersheba. From its situation it is plain
that it must always have been a central spot, and Trum-
bull, with whom Guhe (ZDP¹ 18 182 ff.) in all essentials
agrees, has shown that the Biblical references to Kadesh
are best satisfied by identifying it with *Ain Kadis* (see

1 St. Paul the Traveller, 256.

KADESH

Probably the true name is Tertius Justus, 'Titius' being
a corruption of 'Tertius.' The Roman Christian who
had received Paul during his first visit to Corinth was
of course still his intimate friend during his second visit,
and as such was proud to discharge the important
duties of a secretary. 'I, Tertius, who write this
epistle . . . (Rom. 1622).

T. K. C.

JUTTAH (יטא; Josh. 2116; TANY [B], om. A,
IETTA [L]; II 14), or **Jutah** (יטא; Josh. 1555 RV;
ITAN [B], IETTA [AL]), a place in the hill-country of
Judah, a Levitical city according to the Priestly Writer.

By mistake (notice the number in r, 60) Jutah is omitted in
M¹ of 1 Ch. 6591441; it is restored by Be, and Ki., who
have not noticed, however, that *Yut* (arrat, tota) had preceded
them.

Faselius and Jerome describe Jutah as a large
village, 18 K. m. to the S. of Eleutheropolis (Onom.
26649; 13310). This exactly agrees with the distance
to the SE. from Beit Jibrin of the modern *Yutah*,
which lies very high on the S. slopes of a mountain,
54 m. S. by W. from Hebron (Rob. BK 2628; Guérin,
Judee, 3205; PEFF 11310).

Rehland, Robinson, Renan, and Smeid have identified it with
the city referred to in Lk. 139 (αἱ πόλεις ἰουδα [Ti. WH]), but
'Judah' there seems to be parallel to 'the hill-country' (cp r.
65), so that no particular city is specified, and, as Guérin points
out (Judee, 180), the attested Greek form of Jutah has a *τ* not a
δ. See also Schick, ZDP¹ 221 ff. (99). On the transition
from the Hebrew to the Arabic form, see Kampffmeyer, ZDPV
16421.

T. K. C.

K

NEGEB, and [on the confusion between Kadesh and
Petra] SELA). In the OT it appears as the frontier-
city of Edom (Nu. 2016), and in P and Ezek. as
part of the southernmost border of Palestine (Nu. 344
Ezek. 4719 [καδμ B] 4828). The surro-
ling district is once called 'the desert of Kadesh' (Is. 298), and was
perhaps identical with that of Beersheba (Gen. 2114).²
Its name, however, is given by P as PARAN (Nu.
1326), and by another writer of the same age as Sin
(EV ZIN).³ It is by no means improbable that the
district coincided with the N. Arabian *Musri* mentioned
in Assyrian inscriptions, see MIZRAIM, § 2 b.

The significance of the name Kadesh fully accords
with all we know of the whole district. In the old

2. Sanctity. patriarchal legends the district of Kadesh
(see BERED, BEER-LAHAI-ROI, SHUR),
enters into the stories of ABRAHAM, HAGAR, and
ISHMAEL,⁴ its prominence being no doubt derived from
its association with the early life of Israel after the
Exodus, the old accounts (JE) of which make Kadesh
the goal on leaving Egypt, and the centre of the forty
years' wanderings; see WANDERINGS, §§ 3 ff. The
events related of Meribath-Kadesh (see MASSAH AND
MERIBAH), and the evidence of the name 'Well of
Judgment' as applied to Kadesh (קדש יז, Gen. 147; cp
Nu. 3336 [L]), suggest that Kadesh was renowned both

1 It is doubtful whether AL omit; βαθθηρ [A], βαθουρ [L]
may represent this name or possibly Bethaur, cp βεθουρ (Ald.
and 121 HP ad loc.).

2 According to Eusebius the 'desert of Kadesh' extends to
Petra, and includes Hazazon-Tamar, Hornah, and evra (see
ZIN); but the statement requires criticism.

3 Cp the variation in Nu. 3336 where after 'Zin' BPAF reads
'and they departed from Zin, and came to the wilderness of
Paran, which is Kadesh'; B has the interesting reading 'to
the Well of Judgment, which is Kadesh.'

4 The instances where 'Mizraim' in these narratives refers to
the N. Arabian Musri are to be specially noted (see MIZRAIM,
§ 2 b).

5 According to W. (GI 233) 'En-mishpat' is localised in Gen.
147 by an arbitrary conjecture, and the Kadesh originally meant
by the gloss was Kadesh-Naphthali (see SODOM). Possibly, how-
ever, 'En-mishpat' is a scribe's error for 'Ir-misephath,' i.e. Ir
Sarefat, 'the city of Zarephath' (Che.). See SODOM, ZARE-
PHATH, and cp MISKEPHOTH-NAIM.

KADESH

for a theophany (cp also Gen. 16:7 ff.) and for some divinely given decision or legislation.¹ These, unfortunately, are not directly mentioned; but it is not impossible that they may be found buried away under a mass of redactional matter in Ex. 33 f.,² the antiquity of the main part of which chapters is generally admitted; see Exodus i., § 6.

The covenant in Ex. 31 is admittedly older than either the Decalogue, or the code in 20 ff.; and the 3. 'Exodus' theophany (33:18 ff. 34:5) in which Yahweh reveals his name and manifests his presence is not only superfluous after the preceding history of the Exodus given by J, but is in a marked degree cruder and more anthropomorphic than the similar theophany in Ex. 3 f. (see esp. 33:20-23).³ The conjecture that Kadesh was the scene of what might appear to be the first manifestation of Yahweh to Moses, explains the words of Hobab in Nu. 10:30 ('I will depart to my own land and to my kindred') which, on the usual assumption that the scene is laid in Horeb, hard by Hobab's home (Ex. 3:1), are somewhat unnatural. Moreover, this new importance of Kadesh makes it probable that it is to be connected with a specific tradition, certain traces of which are to be found imbedded in JE's account of the wanderings. It has been shown elsewhere that the details of the journey from Egypt to Sinai are borrowed from a later stage of the wanderings (EXODUS i., §§ 5 ff.). Traces of a similar tradition following the departure from Kadesh may perhaps be discovered in Nu. 21:1-3, where the wanderers have proceeded N. to HORMAH (q.v.), and the continuation of the march (in the same direction) finds them in Beer (21:16-18a, i.e. Beersheba) to the N. of Hormah, or Beer-lahai-roi?⁴ The rest of this narrative is not directly recoverable; its historical value will depend upon the view taken of the origin of the tribe of JUDAH (q.v.).

Accepting Schiele's view that the 'city of palm trees' (Judg. 1:10) is to be located in the extreme S. of Judah (cp the name TAMAR)—its identification with Jericho being due to mistaken glosses—we may be justified in emending the unknown קדש (qadsh) 'way of Atharim', Nu. 21:1, on the road to Hormah, into קדש (qadsh) 'the city of palm trees'.⁵ To the journeying referred to above, which started from Kadesh, we may possibly assign the capture and occupation of Hebron and the surrounding districts (see HEBRON, § 1, JERAHMEEL, § 2). It may be conjectured further that the journey from Kadesh northwards to Judah is a 'levitical' tradition. In support of this it may be noticed that tradition seems to associate the 'Levites' with Kadesh (see LEVITES), and a close inspection of their name-lists makes it highly probable that previous to their diffusion throughout Israel they had come from the south. The same evidences show that 'Levite' is no ethnic, but a class-name (Hommel perhaps correctly connects with the S. Arab. *ladib*, 'temple-servant', *AHP* 278 f.) applied to special members of several closely related clans and families. See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (v.).

In view of this relation between Kadesh and Judah, it may be noticed that tradition sends David himself to the wilderness of Paran (1 S. 25:1, see PARAN), perhaps his original home, and that, as Prof. Cheyne suggests, 'En-gedi' (עֵן גֵּדִי), in 1 S. 23:29-24:1, as well as in Josh. 15:62, 2 Ch. 20:2, should, under the circumstances, probably be emended to קדש (qadsh), cp En-nishpat (§ 2 above); see also *AJS*, 1900, p. 177 n. [See further JERICHO, JUDAH, § 5, NIGEB, PARAN, SODOM, ZAKKAPHATH.]

2. Kadesh, on the left bank of the Orontes. The most southern city of the Hittites, situated on an eminence about 5 m. from the lake called in the middle ages Buheiret el-Kades.⁶ Representations of it are given on

¹ See also JEALOUSY, TRIAL OF, § 1. The hudding of Aaron's rod in token of the pre-eminence of the Levites is placed at Kadesh by P in Nu. 16 f. Cp LEVITES.

² The necessity for any renewal of the covenant (as these chapters have been at times explained) disappears when it is realised that the story of the calf-worship belongs to Eg.

³ Verse 20 can scarcely be explained after such passages as 24:10 f., etc.

⁴ The wilderness in קדש (qadsh) 10 is that of Arnon in קדש (qadsh) 13. Verse 18 follows immediately upon v. 15.

⁵ Or, better still, into קדש (qadsh) 'the way of the mountain-land of the Amorite' (Che.). Kadesh was in fact close to the Amorite mountain region (Dr. 1:20).

⁶ See Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 140 ff. 391 ff.; WMM *Ar. u. Eur.* 212 ff.

KANAH

the walls of the Ramesseum at Thebes, and the hero deeds of Rameses II, before the city form the subject of a well-known epic.¹ No reference to it occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions; apparently it had been destroyed by the Syrians of Damascus. According to some critics it is mentioned in the OT, in the account of David numbering of the people, 2 S. 21:6 (see TAHTI, תַּחֲתֵי). If this view were correct, it would show that the Hittites still held Kadesh in the time of David. It has also been found by critical conjecture in Judg. 4:13 (see HARSHEIT), and in Judg. 5:21 f., underlying the corrupt text of which we may probably detect something like this:—

Then fought the Kishonim;
Kishon—its mighty ones were stunned.
The Kishonim dyed the torrent Kishon,
The Hadrakkim dyed it like wool.²

The form Gadashana may have belonged properly to the people of Kadesh; it occurs in a corrupt form in the epic of Pentaur and in the treaty between Rameses and the Hittites.³ The men of Kadesh (the place residence of Sisera, Judg. 4) and of Hadrach fought the army of Sisera against the Israelites. For another Kishon, see BEZAANANNIM, KISHON. Cp SISERA. (1) S. A. C., (2) T. K. C.

KADMIEL (קַדְמִיֵּל), 'God is in front,' as leader of the קַדְמִיֵּל (qadmil) [BNA], קַדְ [L], a Levitical name mentioned with JESHAUA (7) in the great post-exilic list (Ezra ii., §§ 9, 13d), Ezra 2:40 = Neh. 7:43 (קַדְמִיֵּל [BNA], קַדְמִיֵּל [L]) = 1 Esd. 5:26 (AV קַדְמִיֵּל, קַדְמִיֵּל [BNA], קַדְמִיֵּל [A]); also among those officiating in the constitution of the 'congregation' (see EZRA ii. 12 and 13 f.), Neh. 9:4 f. (see BANI, 3); also among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10:9 [10].

See also Ezra 8:9 (on which see EZRA), and Neh. 12:24, the last-cited passage, 'the son of Kadmīel' should be 'Bani' (or Bani) Kadmīel' (see BINNUI, 2). The name should perhaps be read in 1 Ch. 27:17 for KEMUEL (3); see GENEALOGIES § 7 (i.). Both names may come from Jerahme'el (Che.).

KADMONITES (קַדְמוֹנִיִּים)—i.e., 'men of the east' (קַדְמוֹנִיִּים [sic D], קַדְמוֹנִיִּים [L]). Inhabitants of the Syrian desert, like the b'ne Kedem (see E. CHILDREN OF THE), Gen. 15:19 f., R. Cp KEDEM (קַדְמוֹנִיִּים), a 'son' of Ishmael.

Not improbably, however, 'Kadmonite' is a corruption of Jerahmeelite (cp REKEM). This suits their position next to Kenizites, and, if correct, favours the view that the 'Hittites' of Palestine are the 'Rehobothites' (a textual corruption REHOBOTH).

KAIN (קַיִן), Nu. 21:22 RV; RV^{mg} and AV, Kenite(s). See AMALEK, § 6 f.; CAIN, § 5; KENITE.

KALLAI (קַלַּי), קַלַּלְאִי [N^o ang. inf.], BN^o A קַלַּלְמֵי [L], a priest in Joiakim's time (see EZRA ii. 66 11), Neh. 12:20. Cp SALLAI.

KAMON (קַמּוֹן), Judg. 10:5 RV; AV CAMON.

KANAH (קַנָּה), קַנְהָא [B], קַנָּה [A], קַנָּה [L], a place on the boundary of Asher (Josh. 19:11). At first sight it appears as if Kanah should be Zidon, but the description probably means only from the former place the border stretches northwards to Zidon; and that no places requiring to be mentioned

¹ See Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 393, n. 1.

² See Che. *JQR* 10:536 (98). קַדְמִיֵּל and קַדְמִיֵּל are transposed.

³ See Che. *JQR* 10:536 (98). קַדְמִיֵּל is a scribe's attempt to make sense of קַדְמִיֵּל (qadmil). The above is a modification of K. very acute restoration in *JQR* 10:552 f. (98). Ruben קַדְמִיֵּל, 'men of Kadesh,' in *l.* 3 above, but misses the point of lines 1 and 2. He detected קַדְמִיֵּל, 'the Hadrakkite' in קַדְמִיֵּל, 'like wool' (Ass. *nabīstā*, 'like red-coloured'). Del. Ass. *Hittite* 4456; cp ASSUR-BANI-PAL, § 6, n. 2, in 17 קַדְמִיֵּל (rather קַדְמִיֵּל) he explained from the Ass. inscription meaning 'dyed it' (qadsh, suff. of 3rd sing. masc.). The poem written by some one who had Babylonian culture. No קַדְמִיֵּל, perhaps 'a bowl of bronze' (qadsh qadsh qadsh). See *Ar. u. Eur.* 335, cp 94 104 (cited by Ruben).

KANAH

this part of the border occur to the writer (so Dt.). Kanah may therefore be the modern village of *Kand*, 7 m. SE. of Tyre.

Kanah was identified by Eus. and Jer. (chs) with *CANA* or *GALILEE*.

KANAH (קָנָה, 'reeks'), the name of a torrent and wady (קָנָה, AV 'river,' RV 'brook') mentioned in the definition of the borders of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh. 16:17-19). The same form *Kanu* appears as that of a principality in the Am. Tab. 451.

Other readings are, *ἐνι χειμάρρα, ἐνι φάραγγα ἀρραβ* [B], *ἐνι χειμάρρα κανα, ἐνι φάραγγα κανα* [A], *ἐνι χειμάρρα κανα, ἐνι φάραγγα ἐνι αὐτὰ κατὰ φάραγγα ἀρραβ* [L], *ἐνι αὐτὴν ἀρραβ* [M].

The border of Ephraim 'goes out from Tappuah westward to the torrent Kanah, and ends at the sea' (16:18), while that of Manasseh 'descends to the torrent Kanah, southward of the torrent' (17:9). Similarity of sound at once suggests that the torrent Kanah may be the *Wady Kanah*, SW. of Shechem, which, passing into the W. Ishkar, joins the *Amud*, and so reaches the sea. There is indeed one phonetic difficulty (*K* is distinct from *Q*); but on the whole this theory (which has been adopted by Conder) suits the other topographical indications best. On the other hand, apart from these indications, a plausible case is made out by Gûérin for the *Nahr el-Fâlik*, a little to the N. of Arsuf, the Rochettelle beside which the English crusaders under Richard I. arrived on 6th September 1191. 'It is bordered,' Gûérin says, 'and even filled with a forest of reeds of different kinds,' and he goes on to identify this river with the *Nahr el-Kasab* ('stream of reeds') of the Moslem historian Bahâ ed-Din. The latter river, however, is rather that now known as the *Nahr el-Mefjir*, which reaches the sea about 13 m. N. of the *Nahr el-Fâlik*, and therefore cannot be the torrent Kanah. And even the *Nahr el-Fâlik* can be identified with the torrent Kanah only if En-tappuah is placed where Gûérin places it, to the NE. of Shechem.

KAREAH (קָרְיָה, 'bald,' § 66; cp *KORAH*), father of JOHANAN (q.v., q); Jer. 40:8 ff. 41:1 ff. 42:18 43:24 f. (קָרְיָה [BNAQ]); also 2 K. 25:23 (AV *KAREAH*; קָרְיָה [BA], קָרְיָה [L]).

For another possible Kareah, restored in Judg. 10:1 by Holenberg, see Moore's note *ad loc.* Cp ISSACHAR, col. 2793, n. 4.

KA (קָרְיָה [BA]), in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned only by G (Josh. 15:59). It is no doubt the modern *Ain Kârim*, W. of Jerusalem, identified elsewhere with *Enon* (see SALAM), BETH-CAR, BETU-HACEREM. Its ancient name ('Vineyard') was well justified.

KARIATHIARIUS (καριαθιαριος [A]), 1 Esd. 5:19 RV, AV KIRIATHIARIUS.

KARKAA, or (RV) **Karka** (קָרְקָה, with art. and the locative ending; *τὴν κατὰ δρυμας κάρκην* [BA]), apparently a place on the S. border of Judah (Josh. 15:3). According to Wetzstein (Del. Gen. 4:586) the Makrah-plateau is meant (see NEGER). The fact, however, that the passage (Nu. 34:4) says nothing of 'the Karka,' and the oddness of the expression (קָרְקָה means 'ground,' 'pavement,' 'bottom') provokes criticism. For a probable emendation see LAZAR-ADDAR, JERUSALEM, § 4.

KARKOR (קָרְקֹר; קָרְקָה [A], -p [BL]), the place to which Zebah and Zalmunna had fled from Gideon, and where they were surprised by him (Judg. 8:10 f.). It is the *Karkar*, S. of Hamath, mentioned by Shalmanser II. (AB 1173). See GIDEON, § 2, and cp Niebuhr, *Studien*, 120.

KARTAH (קָרְתָּה), given as a levitical city in Zebulun, Josh. 21:34, but according to most only a variant of KATATHI (q.v.). Kartah, however, may be another form of KARTAN (q.v.). *Q* reads קָרְתָּה—i.e., Kadesh (קָדֵשׁ [A], קָרְתָּה [L]).

KEDESH

KARTAN (קָרְתָּה), a city in Naphtali (Josh. 21:32 f., *ῥεῖμα ὕδατος* [B], *ῥε* [BNAQ]) *τὴν ποταμὸν* [A] *τὴν* *καρθάν* [L], called Kiriathaim in 1 Ch 6:76 [A]. It has been overlooked that both names may be and probably are corruptions of קָרְתָּה, i.e., the ancient city of CHITTIATHI [q.v.], perhaps the later Chorazin (see GENNESARETH). The name Kartan does not occur in the list of Naphtalite cities in Josh. 19:12-18, where Chinnereth is found. See KARTATH. I. K. C.

KATTATH (קָטָת; קָטָתָא [B], קָטָתָא [A], KOT, [L]), a town in Zebulun (Josh. 19:15).

A Talmudic statement (Talm. J. *Mez.* 11) identifies it with the later Ketuth, which is probably the modern *Katunah*, W. of the Merjath-Amir. This identification, however, does not meet the requirements of the list in Joshua. Kattath should be near Shimon (*Shimoniyah*). Judg. 1:1 suggests that Kattath = Kithoth (q.v.). I. K. C.

KEDAR (קֶדָר, קָדָר [BNAQ]), a son of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13 1 Ch. 1:29), appears as a representative Eastern people, Jer. 2:10 (opposed to Chittim), as flock-owning, Is. 60:7 (Nebathoth) Ezek. 27:21 (קֶדָר), and tent-dwelling, Jer. 49:28 (cp 2:29), hence its קֶדָרִים, Is. 42:11, are probably encampments; the tents of Kedar are used in figures, Ps. 120:6 with Meshech) Cant. 1:5. Only in Is. 21:6 f. (see ISAIAH, § 8 [7]); a fragment of doubtful date) are the men of Kedar spoken of as warriors, here, too, the tribe of Dedan, in contrast to Gen. 10:7 and 25:3, is reckoned as part of Kedar. In later times the name seems to have been used so as to include all the wild tribes of the desert, who were naturally disliked by the peace-loving Judaeans, and thus Kedar quite usurped the place of Ishmael. See further ISHMAEL, § 4 (2).

KEDEMAH (קֶדְמָה, 'east'; קֶדְמָה [BA]), an Ishmaelite tribal name, Gen. 25:15 [P] (קֶדְמָה [D], קֶדְמָה [L]), 1 Ch. 1:31 (קֶדְמָה [A]). Possibly a corruption. Cp KADMONITES.

To compare the *Kdm* or *Kdma* of the story of Saneath with Maspero (*PSBA* 18:102, 106), is rash, for *Kdm*, whether the wandering Egyptian betakes himself, is clearly a general term for the region in the SE. or E. of the Dead Sea. I. K. C.

KEDEMOTH (קֶדְמוֹת), a town which gave its name to the wilderness whence Israel sent messengers to Sihon, king of Heshbon (Dt. 2:26 קֶדְמוֹת [BAFL]). It was probably situated on the upper Arnon at the northern extremity of the wilderness, a more westerly position being unsuitable since Israel did not enter Moab (cp Nu. 21:13, Dr. *Deut.*, *ad loc.*).

The account of the sending of the messengers in Nu. 21:21 f. finds a close parallel in the embassy to Edom, Nu. 20:14 f., where the scene is laid at Kadesh. Are the two accounts derived from one (S) and P are easily confused)? Elsewhere Kademoth is found only in P, as a city given to the Benjaminites (Josh. 18:18, *ῥεῖμα ὕδατος* [B], *ῥεῖμα ὕδατος* [A], *κατὰ* [L]), and as a levitical city (Josh. 21:37, *ῥεῖμα ὕδατος* [B], *ῥεῖμα ὕδατος* [A], *κατὰ* [L]) = 1 Ch. 6:79 [64], *κατὰ* [B], *κατὰ* [B], *κατὰ* [L]. It has been conjecturally identified with Umim-ressa, whose ruins prove it to have been at one time a place of some importance (cp *Isa.* 17:7). See JANAZ.

S. A. C.

KEDESH (קָדֵשׁ; for meaning cp KADESH).

1. *קָדֵשׁ* [B], *קָדֵשׁ* [AL]), a city on the extreme southern border of Judah (Josh. 15:23). It is perhaps the same as Kadesh-barnea (see WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OP), which will otherwise have been omitted from the list. Dillmann, however, identifies it with the *Kādās* of Mukaddasi, one day S. of Hebron. Hebron, Kādās, and Zoar were, in Mukaddasi's time, stations on the S. caravan-route. Wetzstein (Del. Gen. 4:574 f.) wrongly identified Kādās with Kadesh-Barnea.

2. *קָדֵשׁ* [BL], *קָדֵשׁ* [A] in 1 Ch. 6:72 [57], a levitical city in Issachar. The parallel passage in Josh. 21:28 (cp Josh. 19:20) has Kishion; the name Kishion (if the view taken in Kishion is correct) accounts for both forms. Conder identifies this Kadesh with *Tell Abu Kneis*, near Lejjun (*PEEM* 2:9), and a critical conjecture of Wellhausen's depends on its existence (see DELBORGH, § 2).

3. *קָדֵשׁ* [B], *קָדֵשׁ* [AVL]), an ancient sanctuary which preserved its rights of asylum even under the Priestly Code: it is the Kīdī, Kīdī-ša, Kīdī-šī, Gīdī-šī, Gīdī-šī of Am. Tab.

1 See also CHADIASAI.

KEDESHIAH

(see *A²B 540*^o [Index]; and cp Pap. Anast. I. 101; *A²B 1100*; *At. u. Eur.* 213 n.).

1. It is usually called simply 'Kadesh' (Josh. 12.23 'the king of Kadesh', 19.37 adverb [L], Judg. 4.6 adverb [A], adverb [L], 4.10 adverb [L], 4.11 adverb [L], 6.13 ²⁹adverb [RAL], 1. Macc. 11.45 adverb [AL] 7.1), but occasionally also **Kadesh Naphtali** (Judg. 4.6 adverb [L], Tob. 1.2 ²⁹adverb [LR], ²⁹adverb [A]), or **Kadesh in Galilee** (Josh. 21.32 adverb [L], 1. Ch. 6.51 [75] adverb [L] ²⁹adverb [L], and once 'Kadesh in Galilee, in the hill-country of Naphtali' (Josh. 20.7). On the geographical definition in Josh. 4.11, see **HEZEAHANIM**.

It was the home of Barak (see DENORAH, § 2), and apparently the rallying-place from which the war of liberation was fought. Lying as it did on the northern frontier of Palestine (cp TATHIM-TOBSHU), it had to bear the brunt of the first incursion of the Assyrians, and with other neighbouring places (see ABEL-BETH-MAACAN, etc.) it was in 734 B.C. captured by Tiglath-pileser, its inhabitants being carried away to Assyria (2 K. 15:29). It is twice mentioned (1 Mac. 11:61-73) in connection with the defeat of Jonathan the Maccabee near Hazor, and Josephus, who calls it *καδασα*, *κεδασα*, *κεδισα*, *κεδασα*, *κεδισα*, describes it as 'between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee' (*Ant.* xii. 56), as 'belonging to the Tyrians' (*H* ii. 181), or as 'a populous and well-fortified inland village of the Tyrians' (*H* iv. 23) which was the scene of various warlike incidents in his own time. EUSEB. (*OS* 27155) describes *κεδισος* as situated 20 m. from Tyre, near Pnaces. In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela visited Kedesh, and found there the tomb of Barak and several Jewish saints (*Early Travels in Pal.* 80).

2. Situation. Kedesh still retains its ancient name (*Kades*). J. L. Porter (Kitto, *Bib. Cycl.* 1. v.) well describes it: 'High up among the mountains of Naphtali is a little green plain, embosomed in wooded hill-tops. On its western side is a rounded tell, on which the modern village stands. From the tell a low, narrow ridge projects into the plain, with flat top and steep sides covered with rank vegetation. Both ridge and tell are strewn with ruins. In the plain, at the northern base of the ridge, round a little fountain, lie the most interesting remains of Kedesh. A number of sarcophagi serve the purpose of water-troughs. Near these are the ruins of two beautiful buildings, but whether mausoleums, temples or synagogues, it is difficult to determine. Between them is a very remarkable group of sarcophagi standing on a massive platform of solid masonry. These are doubtless the tombs of which Benjamin of Tudela and Brocard speak (chap. 7 173); and they show that down to a comparatively late period the Jews still regarded Kedesh as a sanctuary. The plain beside Kedesh and the surrounding hills is thickly covered with terebinth and oak forests, among which the writer saw at several places the black tents of a nomad tribe which frequents this region

See Rob. *RR* 3357-369; Stanley, *S and P* 332, 282; *Lectur*
on Jewish Church, 317; Baed. *Pal.*⁽³⁾ 298; Huhl, *Pal.* 215f.

KEDESHAH (קֶדֶשָּׁה), RV^{ms.} Gen. 38 22 Dt. 23 17. Also **KADESH** (קָדֵשׁ) RV^{ms.} Dt. 23 17. See **CLEAVE**, § 4. Col. 837, DOG, § 3 (end) **HIGH PLACES**, § 1. **IDOLATRY**, § 6, and cp **ASHTORETH**, **RITUAL**, **SACRIFICE**.

KEHELATHAH (קֶהֱלָתָה, μακελλὰθ [B], -ελλὰ [AF], -αδ [L]; Nu. 33²² f.). See WANDERING WILDERNESS OF.

KEILAH (קֵילָה; ΚΕΙΛΑ [BNA], ΚΕΙΛΑ [L]: b. ΚΕΙΛΑΜ in Josh. [B], ΚΑΙΛΑ in Neh. 3:17 [N]), one of the towns 'in the Shēphēlāh' of Judah (Josh. 15:35). It was an important place in the fifteenth century B.C. being several times mentioned as Kilti in the Amorite tablets. David found a temporary shelter within 'gates and bars' (1 S. 23: 5f.). After the Exile gave its name to an administrative district mentioned after Beth-zur (Neh. 3:17 f.). The Chronicler, after 1 Esdras, introduces the 'father of Keilah' (whom he connects with the clan called the GARMITE) into genealogy in conjunction with Eshtemoa (1 Ch. 4:19).

KEMUEL

Eusebius and Jerome (OS 270.11 109.19) identify Keilah with the village of Kela, situated 8 (the Greek text by an error has 17) m. from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Helzon, which is no doubt the modern *Beit Kahl*, about 4 m. NNE. of Halhal. This place, however, is situated on a steep mountain, where there is no arable land, and so cannot be the Keilah of 1 S. 25. There is also a ruined village called *K'hl* (cp the *Kila* of Jos. *Ant.* vi. 131), 7 m. E. of Beit Jibrin and about 7 m. NE. of Halhal, which is not quite so deep in the mountains as Beit Kahl and is identified with Keilah by Guérin (*Judee*, § 351). The only objection to it is drawn from Josh. 15.44, where Keilah stands almost at the end of a long list of 'cities' in the Shephelah. Dillmann and Mühlau consider this so serious that they are led to reject this identification. It is to be noted, however, that not far from *K'hl* we find Beit Nasib, which must be the ancient Neziib, and Mareshah (*Me'ash*) is already pretty far to the E. Evidently the Shephelah is to be distinguished from the maritime plain which it adjoined (GASN *HC* 202). This is one of the cases in which travel appears to throw great light on the old Hebrew narratives. The terraced sides of the hill of *K'hl* are even to-day covered with corn, and their luxuriance must have been greater still when the terraces were cared for. No wonder that the Philistine raiders (or, as we should perhaps read, 'the Beletithes'—i.e., the Zarephathites; see ZAREPHATH) swarmed up the Wady es-Sûr to rob the threshing floors. The citizens of Keilah were powerless to drive them away, and were even poor-spirited enough to plan the surrender of David, their deliverer, to Saul. Athiophelet (*Ahiaphelet*?) may perhaps have been the man who facilitated David's escape. See GILLOU, DAVID, § 4. JUDAH.

It is doubtful whether the 'springs of water,' etc., of Josh. 15:10 Judg. 1:13 are really proper names (see GILGATH-MAIM). Since the names cannot be translated as Hebrew, they are supposed to be pre-Israelitish. More probably the text is corrupt. The passage contains a statement that the land of the Achaah can be barren (יָבֵשׁ), Keilah granted to the Gittites (גִּתִּים), and Beth-Tappuah to the Danites (דָּנִים). Probably lay between these two places, which were subject to it (see *Che. Crit. Bib.*).

'Golath' (sing.) is attested by Pesh., by γολαθμα of Euseb. (O.S. 245 34), *Golathamaim* of Jer (*ib.* 127 27), and Ⓢ in Josh γωλαθμαιοι . . . γωλαθ την κάτω [A], γωλαθμαιοι . . . γωλαθμαιοι την άνω κ. την γωλαθμαιοι τ.κ. [I]; την βοθηθαινε . . . γωλαθ . . . γωλαθλαν τ.κ. [H].¹

ΚΕΛΤΙΑΙΗ (כֶּלְטַיָּה, § 33, cp ΚΟΛΑΤΙΑΗ [8 readings]) is mentioned, with the note 'the same is Keltia', among the Levites in list of those with foreign wives (see ΕΞΑ 1, § 5 end).
Ελτα 1023 (κωλεια αὐτὸς κωλειν [B^m*], κωλα αὐτὸς κωλιτα [A], κωλια αὐτὸς κωλιτα [m¹vid], κωλιας αὐτὸς κωλιτα [L,D] 1 Exd. 923, 'Colius who was called CALITAS' (κυνος οὗτος καλεῖται [B], κυνιος οὗ. ὅστιν καλitas [A], κωλιας οὗτος καλitas [L]). See ΚΕΛΙΤΑ.

KELITA (כְּלִיטָה, 'dwarf?'; ΚΑΛΛΙΤΑΣ [L]).
 Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i, § 7). Neh.
 10:11 [κατα Β], καθαρ [μ], καλιτα [μ, α], [VAD], mentioned
 also in MT among the exponents of the law (see EZRA ii
 § 11 f.; cpi. § 8, ii. § 1615, § 1511 c) Neh. 8:7; BMA om.
 = Ezd. 9:28, CALITAS (καλιτας [BA]). In Ezra 10:23 Kelita
 (= Calitas, i. Ezd. 9:22) is identified with KELAIAU.

KEMUEL (כֶּמֶל; KAMUYHA [BAFL]).
 1. Son of Nahor by Milcah, and father of Aram (Gen. 22:21, 22; J), a statement at variance with that in 10:27 f. (P), and in its most improbable. It is content with pointing out that Aram seems to have a narrower reference here. Gen. 22:21, however, is corrupt and should run, 'Uz his firstborn and Ahibuz, and Jerahmeel, and Abram.' See JERAHMEEL, § 4, and note that Ahibuz (see AHI, 1) and Michael (a corruption of 'Jerahmeel' are brought into connection with Salech (miswritten 'Milca' in Gen. 22:20), and with 'Gilead in Baslian' (= Salhad; 3 MILCAN, SALEACH) in 1 Ch. 5:11 ff. Observe, too, that Ahibuz is a Reubenite name (Nu. 16:1), and that Reuben was a tribe of the Jordanic tribe.

2. 'Prince' of the tribe of Ephraim, temp. Moses; Nu. 34 [P].

1. ¹ $\epsilon\omega\alpha$ of Josh. omits the first name. In Judg. $\epsilon\omega\alpha$ has λ
ρωσιν ὕδατος (thus associating $\eta\lambda\iota$ with $\pi\eta\lambda\iota$) followed by λ
ρωσιν μετεώρων καὶ λ. (τὴν λ. [A]) ταπεινῶν.

¹ *Et* of Josh. omits the first name. In Jude. *ΘΗΛ* has *λ*
ρωσιν ὕδατος (thus associating *θλ* with *πλ*) followed by *λ*
ρωσιν μετεώρων καὶ λ. (τὴν λ. [A]) ταπεινῶν.

KENAN

1. Father of Hashabiah who was over the tribe of Iss. (temp. David); 1 Ch. 27:17 (סמאריא [H], סמ [L], סמא [Pesh.]). See KADMIET (end). T. K. C.

KENAN (כִּנָּן), 1 Ch. 1:1, also Gen. 5:9, RV, AV CAINAN

KENATH (כִּנָּת), KANATH [A], in Ch. KANATH [H], KANATH [AL], in Nu. KANATH [H], KANATH [L]. A place on the other side of the Jordan, also called NUNAN (q.v.) after the clan so named (Nu. 32:42). In 1 Ch. 2:23 it is stated that 'Geshur and Aram took the Havoth-Jair with Kenath and its dependencies' from the Israelites. Eusebius and Jerome (OS 269:13 109:1) identify Kenath with Canatha (καναθα), which is described by them as a still existing 'village' of Arabia in Trachonitis, not far from Bostra, and probably this place is meant when the Talmud includes Kenath among the frontier cities of Palestine.²

In Jos. B/1. 19:2 Kenath is reckoned to Coele Syria, while Plin. (H/V 5.1873) reckons it to the Decapolis (q.v., § 2). For its history, see Schurer (I/1 235/97).

Canatha is the modern *Kanathat*, on the W. slope of the Jebel Harun, 4063 ft. above the sea level, and 16 or 17 m. NNE. from Bostra on the Roman road to Damascus. The ruins are among the most important in Eastern Palestine (see plan in Baed. *Palest.* 1941). From the point of view adopted in JATH. JERUSALEM, NOBIL, there is no hindrance to identifying this interesting spot with the biblical Kenath.³ See, however, G. F. Moore on Judg. 8:11.

T. K. C.

KENAZ (כִּנָּז), **KENEZ** (כִּנֶּז) [BADEL], the original pronunciation being probably Kiniz) figures in the genealogy of the Edomites as a clan belonging to them—Gen. 36:13 (**KENEZ** [D])=1 Ch. 1:36 (**KENEZ** [A]) 15:42 (**KENEZ** [L])=1 Ch. 1:51. On the other hand the Judean hero Caleb, who is said to have obtained possession of Hebron the capital of Judah but in reality is the personification of a family originally distinct from the Judeans (see 1 S. 30:14 Josh. 15:13, and cp. 1 S. 25:3), appears as a **Kenizite** (RV, AV **Kenizite**; כִּנִּזִּי, δ κενεζαῖος [BAL]; Nu. 32:12 δ διακεχυρισμῶνος [BAL], Josh. 14:614). Moreover, Caleb's mythical son-in-law OTNIEL (q.v.) is a son of Kenaz: Josh. 15:17 (= Judg. 1:13 **kenex** [A]) Judg. 3:9 11 1 Ch. 4:13. Again, in 1 Ch. 4:13 Kenaz is apparently a grandson of Caleb. From all this we may conclude either that Kenaz was originally an independent tribe, of which one portion became incorporated with the Edomites and another portion with the neighbouring Judeans, or else that a part of the old Edomite tribe Kenaz settled among the Judeans at a very early period. In any case it is tolerably clear that Kenaz and Caleb were at first strangers in Judah, afterwards became close allies, and finally were absorbed in the surrounding population. Such changes have been by no means rare (see EDOM, § 3).

In Gen. 15:19-21 an attempt is made to enumerate the various peoples who inhabited Palestine before the Israelite invasion; that the Kinizzites are included in the list serves to show that their foreign origin had not yet been forgotten. Cp. CALLEB, § 2. T. N.

KENITES (כִּנִּיזִי, or כִּנִּי [TALOT or O-OC [BAL]]); Gen. 15:19 (δ κενεζαῖος [D], κενεζ. [L]), Nu. 24:21 (δ κενεζαῖος [A], κενεζ. [L]), 1 S. 15:62 (δ κενεζ. [A]) should perhaps be כִּנִּיזִי (δ κενεζαῖος [BAL]); כִּנִּיזִי Judg. 1:16, should be כִּנִּיזִי (δ κενεζαῖος) followed by כִּנִּיזִי (see JATHRO); pl. כִּנִּיזִי, 1 Ch. 2:55 (δ κενεζαῖος). Also כִּנִּי, Nu. 24:22, and perhaps 1 S. 15:62 (We., crit. emend.).

A nomadic tribe, allied to the Kenizzites (Gen. 15:19)

¹ The treatment of this passage by Bertheau, *Chron.* (2) 73, is very unsatisfactory.

² Neubauer, *Géogr.* 20.

³ See Friedrich, Du. Stuck, Stadel (*Gesch.* 149 f.), Smend in Riehm (*HWB*), GASm. (*HG* 560, n. 3: 579, n. 3). On the other side see Séjourné, *Rev. bibl.*, '98, p. 604 ff.

KENITES

and to Amalek—1 S. 15:6, and per-
sonified as Kain (cp. AIN § 4). They entered Canaan (more strictly, the Negeb) with the men of Judah (see JATHRO, § 2). In all probability they have left a trace of their name in KANAN (q.v.).

See Judg. 1:16, where M¹ wrongly states that the Kenites 'went and dwelt among the people, as if the Israelitish people were not'—an impossible view doubtless. An important group of the MSS of M¹ (Moore, S¹) with the Sahidic version, adds 'Kenites', probably, therefore, we should read 'among the Kenites'. See also Nu. 24:21, where the Kenites appear close proximity to the Amalekites (Jerahmeelites).

Against the supposed connection of the Kenites and the Midianites, see Moore, *Judges*, 14, note. It may be noted, however, that in the opinion of the present writer (Muller), in Ex. 24:14, 31, 38, should most probably be כִּנִּיזִי, and כִּנִּיזִי in Nu. 24:21 should probably be כִּנִּיזִי, in other words, if Kain was at once a Kenite and a Midianite (cp. MIZRAIM, § 2).

Residing between the Judahite and the Jerahmeelite portions of the Negeb, the Kenites are equally in touch with the one Judah and with the Jerahmeelites (see NABATH). It is strange, therefore, to find them, in Judg. 4:11, in the N. of Canaan; cp. however, Judg. 12:15 (?), and observe that Musiri (the region of Kadesh?) is cursed in Judg. 5:23 (read, not כִּנִּיזִי, but כִּנִּיזִי; see MIZRAIM) for not helping the Israelites. W. M. Müller's explanation of 'Heber the Kenite' (δ κενεζαῖος, 1. our) is plausible, but no more. We must at any rate admit that the narrative as it stands assumes that Heber was not a town-dweller, but a nomad (see HEBER, 1).

Another explanation is that of Sayce, that the Kenites were a tribe of wandering smiths, who were chiefly in the S. of Palestine, but might be led by their art into northern regions (against this view, repeated in Hastings' *DB* 234, see AMALEK, § 7).

Saul's relation to the Kenites is interesting. He recognises the old bond between them and Israel, and therefore is not offended at their relation to the Jerahmeelites; but he wishes them to remove from that section of the Jerahmeelites which was hostile to Israel (see SAUL). From 1 Ch. 2:55 (see HEMATH) it appears that either a section of the Kenites or the Kenite tribe as a whole also bore the name of RECHABITES (q.v.); if we should not rather read 'Heberites'.² It is at any rate possible that 'Jonadab' should be read instead of 'Hobab' (q.v.) as the name of the ancestor of the Kenites whose connection with Moses is asserted by a trustworthy tradition (Judg. 1:16, cp. Nu. 10:29). In Nu. 24:21 a Hebrew poet (q.v.) on the name of 'Kenite' (Kain) which he connects with כִּי, 'nest',

Apparently he anticipates their destruction by the Assyrians, for in v. 22 (RV) he continues,

Nevertheless, Kain shall be wasted,
Until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.

The marg. of RV, however, warns us that the text is grammatically obscure. Besides, Assyria had nobler prey to clutch than the Kenites. Hence the couplet needs some emendation.³

It was pointed out above that in the Song of Deborah the Midianites, with whom the Kenites were closely linked, are 'cursed' for not coming to the help of Yahwe's worshippers the Israelites (Judg. 5:23). This confirms a view which has long been considered critically probable that the Kenites and the Israelites were conscious of the identity of their early religion, and that the Kenites were indirectly at least the teachers of the Israelites. So, before Stadel, Tiele maintained (*Vergel. Gesch.* 559 [72]; cp. Che. *EB* 790 [76]).⁴ The progress of critical study of the documents since 1872 has in fact added considerably to the probability of this

¹ כִּנִּיזִי (Budde, Moore, Driver [*TBS* 93]); כִּנִּי fell out owing to כִּי which follows.

² According to Meyer (*Ent.* 117) we have in 1 Ch. 2:55 the remains of a genealogy of Kain (the Kenites) similar to the preceding genealogy of Caleb. On a connection between Salma and the Kenites see SALMA, 2.

³ Che. *Exp.* 7:10 390 (June, '90); Hommel (*AHT* 246).

⁴ Robertson (*Early Rel. of Is.* 233) represents Ghillany as the authority for this opinion; but the view ascribed by Robertson to Ghillany is decidedly less sober than that of Tiele and his followers.

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view, which has been lately reasserted by Buddle (*Ref. of Isr. to the Bible*, 21). See ISRAEL, § 3f., AMALEK, § 6.

KERAS (κῆρας [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:29 RV=Neh. 7:47=Ezra 2:44, KEROS.

KERCHIEFS (כִּרְכִּיפוֹת, Ezek. 13:13-21 EV); see DRESS, § 8, col. 1141.

KEREN-HAPPUCH (כֶּרֶן הַפִּיחַ), the name of one of Job's daughters (Job 42:14; ἀμαλθ[ε]ιας κερὰς [BN^{vid}C], adnot. εὐθυμῶνος γῆρα [P^{vid}id.ug.], ἀμαλθιας κ. [N^o], ἀμαλθιας κ. [A], CORNUTHIA [Vg.]).

Can one of Job's ideal daughters really be named 'Box of eye-paint'? Or can we attach the least importance to *Q*? Cant. 7:10 25 suggests an emendation. Read probably כֶּרֶן תְּפִיחִים, Keren-tappūhim, 'scent of apples.' *Q* may have read כֶּרֶן תְּפִיחִים. Cp JEMIMA, and see *Crit. Bib.*

T. K. C.

KERIOTH. 1. A Moubite city (קִרְיֹת, Jer. 48:24 קאריωθ [BAQ]; Jer. 48:41 אκκαριωθ [BN], קאריωθ [A], קאריωθ [Q]; Am. 2:2 AV KIRIOTH, ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ [BAQ], ΤΗΣ ΚΑΡΙΩΘ [Q^{ms}]), also mentioned in Mesh.'s inscription, line 13 (קרת), as a sanctuary of Chemosh. Identified by Seetzen with Kuraiyat, at the W. end of Mt. Maroth ('Attarus). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* 269:10-108:7) call this place קαριαθ = Cornitha, and place it 10 R. m. from Medeba, but identify it wrongly with KIRIATHAIM [2:1, 1]. See Noldeke (*Inscr. Med.*, 25). Others (cp Driver on Am. 2) think that AR-MOAB and Keriath were two names for the same city. More plausibly Buhl (*Pal.* 270) identifies Keriath with Kir of Moab (i.e., *Kerak*); indeed, if Kir-heres (undeniably = Kir of Moab) was really named Kiriath-hadashath (see KIR-HERES) this appears a still more probable view. Cp KIRIATH-HUZOTH.

2. A city of Judah (Josh. 15:25, RV Kerioth-bezron, קִרְיֹת, often, but wrongly, supposed to be the birthplace of JUDAS ISCARIOT. See HAZOR, 4).

T. K. C.

KEROS (קֶרֶס, קֶרֶס; κορες [L]), a family of NEPHUSIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II, § 9), Ezra 2:44 (καρῆς [B], καρῆας [A]), Neh. 7:47 (κέρπα [B], -ς [BA]) = 1 Esd. 5:29, KERAS, RV KIRAS (καρῆας [BA]).

KESITAH (קֶסִיתָה), a word recorded in RV^{mg.} of Gen. 33:19 [Josh. 21:32, Job 42:11; EV 'piece of money,' G Onk. Vg. render 'lamb,' 'a lamb' (Tg. Jon. 'pearls'). It has been suggested that ἐκατόν ἀμῶν in G of Gen. 33:19 was originally ἐλ. μῶν (100 minar). But since G gives ἀμῶνδω in Josh. 24:2, and ἀμῶνδω in Job 42:11, Schleusner (*Lex. in Vet. Test.* 1191) feels obliged to reject the hypothesis. Nevertheless it appears that G is nearer the truth than the critics who adhere to MT. In Gen. 31:41 G's δέκα ἀμῶνδω corresponds to מִנָּה; surely G read מִנָּה, 'minar.' Possibly, too, in Gen. 33:19 μῶν stood in the original G as the equivalent of מִנָּה. Looking closely at 33:19 we can divine that the text originally ran, בְּיַד בְּנֵי הָאָמֹר, 'at the hand of the sons of Hamor for a mina of Carchemish,' and so too in 23:15, where Abraham's purchase of Machpelah is described, we should read מִנָּה בְּרָבְקִישׁ, 'four Carchemish minar,' and in 7:16 the same once more with the addition of קֶרֶן '(in) gold.'

In 31:19 שֶׁם אֲבִי וְשֶׁם אֲבִי אֲבִי are both mistreadings of בְּרָבְקִישׁ and in 23:16 שֶׁל בְּנֵי עֵבֶר are, all of them, attempts to make sense of delocated fragments of בְּרָבְקִישׁ; בְּרָבְקִישׁ comes from חֶרֶן.

The same emendation is to be made in Josh. 24:1 (harmonised in the received text with Gen. 33:19). Probably also in Job 42:11 אֲרָם וְרָב אֲרָם has taken the place of מִנָּה בְּרָבְקִישׁ, 'one Carchemish

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mina of gold.' Duhai truly remarks that a little piece of money and a nose-ring or ear-ring from each of Job's friends would not do much to restore his fortune. Yet the context (see 7:12) is most intelligible if we suppose that they did each make a considerable present; the ring (נֶזֶם) can well be spared!

Note that 2 Ch. 9:16 gives כֶּסֶף (real כֶּסֶף) where 1 K. 10:17 has כֶּסֶף. This supplies an analogy for the emendation of כֶּסֶף in Gen. 33:19 into קֶסֶף. We are thus relieved from the necessity of connecting קֶסֶף with Ar. *Kisf*, 'a balance,' which is unknown in N. Semitic, and forcing a sense out of עֵבֶר קֶסֶף.

On the commercial importance of the *maneh* of Carchemish, see CARCHEMISH, § 2, and cp SHEKEL.

T. K. C.

KETAB (κῆταβ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:30 RV, AV CETAB (q.v.).

KETTLE (קִדְרִי), 1 S. 2:14; elsewhere 'basket,' 'caldron,' 'pot.' See COOKING UTENSILS, § 5 (i.).

KETURAH (קֶטֶרָה), as if 'incense'; ΧΕΤΤΟΥΡΑ [BADELJ], Abraham's second wife (Gen. 25:14 1 Ch. 1:32 f.).

She is, in J, the ancestress of no fewer than sixteen Arabian tribes (six directly and ten at one or two removes), on which see the special articles. A tribe called *Keturah* which dwelt near Mecca, with the tribe Jurhum, is mentioned by Ibn Koteibah (see Ritter, *Erzkunde*, 1219 ff.). Glaser (*Skizze*, 2450) maintains that the Keturah tribes are the remains of the old Minaeu people (see MECENIM, and cp Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 42).

F. B.

KEY (כֶּסֶת), Is. 22:22 Judg. 3:25. See DOOR.

KEZIA, RV Keziah (קֶצִיָּה), § 71 'cassia'

KACIAN [BNC], KACC: [A]), the name of one of Job's daughters (Job 42:14 f.).

See CASSIA, 2, and cp KEREN-HAPPUCH (the emended form of the name is strictly parallel to Keziah).

KEZIZ, VALLEY OF (עֶקֶב קֶצִיָּה), Josh. 18:21 AV RV ENIK-KEZIZ (q.v.).

KIBROTH-HATTA'AVAH (קִבְרוֹת הַתְּאֵוָה; EV^{mg.} 'the graves of lust'; ἀνθηματα [THE] ἐπιθυμια [BAI], *ANETHMATA CONUPISCENTIAE*), a stage in the wilderness wanderings, for the name of which a etiological legend was provided (see QUATH), Nu. 11:34 f. 33:16 f. Dt. 9:22. It has already been noticed that Taberah (Nu. 11:3) does not occur in the list of stations in Nu. 33, and Dillaum rightly holds that the account of Taberah in E's narrative corresponded to the account of Kibroth-hatta'avah in J's. We must, however, go further. Taberah (תַּבְּרָה) and Hattavah (הַתְּאֵוָה) presumably represent the same word in the original story and the real name of the locality referred to was probably Kibroth-tab'erah—i.e., Graves of Taberah. Taberah (of which Hattavah will be a corruption) is probably the name of a hill or mountain, and the graves are probably Israelitish earthen or stone circles, which either had, or were supposed to have, a sepulchral purpose. In the Desert of the Tih such primitive stone monuments abound on the hill-sides.

They are sometimes called *naraduths*, and the current story that they were built by the Israelites as a protection against plague of mosquitoes (E. H. Palmer). See NEWB, § WANDERINGS.

T. K. C.

KIBZAIM (כִּבְצַיִם), cp. if the reading is correct [KARZEL, KARZEL, and on the form see NATH, § 107; ΚΑΒΖΑΙΜ [A], -CEW [L], B om.), a levitical city in the territory of Ephraim, Josh. 21:24 = 1 C. 6:6 [51], JOKMEAM.

1 Such a connection would suggest קֶסֶף, *kisf*, which Ball actually substitutes for קֶסֶף.

2 [In the Midr. *Rev. Rabba* (51) Keturah is identified with Hagar; so too the Targums (Jon. and Jer.) which explain the name 'bound one' (Aram. קֶסֶר = קֶסֶר). Cp *cr. Quast. in Gen.* 25:1.]

1 Comparing 2 Ch. 9:16 (on text, see top of next col.).

KID

KID (כִּיד, etc.), Gen. 38 17 etc. See GOAT, § 1.

KIDNEYS (כִּלְיֹת). See REINS. On 'kidney fat of wheat,' Dt. 32 14, or 'fat of wheat,' Ps. 81 19 (17), 147 14, see FISH, § 1 A.

KIDRON, THE BROOK, once in AV CEDRON (Jn. 18 4); RVmg: 'of the Cedars' (קִדְרֹן; לֵב) (κεδρωνες [rōne]).

κεδρων [BAI]; in Jer. 31 40: κεδρων [BAI]; A. κεδρων [BAI]; Vg. *torrens Cedron* (but *consillis* in 2 K. 18 6).

NT, Jn. 18 4: ἡ κεδρων, τὸν κεδρων (8^e BCLY, Treg., WH), τὸν κεδρων (AΔ; Vg. τὸν κεδρων [D Tsch.]; 4 edd. a. b. c.; Theb., Menoph.; Lachm., Lightf., Weiss). Probably τὸν κεδρων is the correct reading; being misunderstood, it would easily be corrected into τὸν κεδρον or τὸν κεδρων.

Gesenius derives from קִדְרֹן, 'black, turtle' (cp. Job 41). But קִדְרֹן and קִדְרֹן are certainly in apposition: 'the ravine which is called Kidron.' The 'ravine' would not be a probable correction here.

1. Etymology. Hort ('Notes on Select Revisions,' 1884, 269) suggests 'ravine of the dark [trees], taking קִדְרֹן as an archaic (Canaanite) plural of קִדְרֹן. He even suggests a קִדְרֹן may be of Phœnician origin, comparing קִדְרֹן in Buxtorf, 1976, and adds (cp. Plummer, *St. John*, 31), that 'patches of cedar-forest may have survived from prehistoric times in sheltered spots.' This is most improbable. Even in a ravine which is quite dry in summer we do not expect to hear of cedars; the cedars on the Mount of Olives (*Edenith*, 44) give no support to the theory. The form too is perfectly good Hebrew; it describes that which belongs to or is connected with קִדְרֹן (whatever קִדְרֹן may be). More probably קִדְרֹן is a phonetic variation of קִדְרֹן, 'a spot with enclosures for cattle'; cp. GIDRAN, 1, where it is suggested that קִדְרֹן in 1 Mac. corresponds to the קִדְרֹן of Josh. 15 36 and to the modern Kattā. It will be noticed that there is at one point of the Kidron valley (where it joins the valley of Hinnom) a level tract now devoted to the cultivation of fruit and vegetables. Here we can imagine that in remote times there were enclosures for cattle. May not Kedar (קִדְרֹן Ass. *Kidrā*) have a similar origin?

The remarkable depression on the E. of Jerusalem (see JERUSALEM, § 31) is referred to in 2 S. 15 23; 1 K. 2 37; 15 23; 2 S. 23 4 12; Jer. 31 4; 2 Ch. 15 6; 23 16; 30 14, and twice in the short title *Serap*.

2. Biblical references. 'the ravine,' 2 Ch. 33 14; Neh. 2 15.

Josephus twice calls it ἡ φάραγξ κεδρων (*Ant.* ix. 73 *Bf* v. 61); in *Bf* v. 23 he refers to its great depth.

In 2 K. 23 4 Jer. 31 40 (Kt.) we hear, according to the ordinary view, of the 'fields' (קִדְרֹן; אֵין סאֵלְמָנוֹן, אֵין סאֵלְמָנוֹן, in Jer. 31 40 follows Kt.) of Kidron, which might refer to the fertile tract in the S. of the valley (see below), where of old was the 'King's garden' (Neh. 3 15). But the word קִדְרֹן being most probably corrupt elsewhere (see GRAP, 1), it seems better to read קִדְרֹן (δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τὸν κεδρωνος κεδρων) - i.e., furnaces for making lime, or for smelting (Kt.). 'The fields of Kidron,' is, in fact, hardly a sufficiently clear phrase to have been used, especially in this context.

It is in the touching account of David's flight that we are first introduced to the 'Brook Kidron'; and we hear of it for the last time in a still more pathetic NT narrative. King David 'stood (read קִדְרֹן with We., H. P. Smith, and most critics) by the ravine Kidron, while all the people passed over before him' (2 S. 15 23); and Jesus 'went forth with his disciples over the ravine (RVmg.) Kidron, where was a garden' (Jn. 18 1; but see § 3). The other references to Kidron (except those in the topographical passages, 2 Ch. 33 14; Neh. 2 15) occur in accounts of the destruction of idolatrous objects at the mouth of Hinnom (see history of Asa, Hezekiah, Josiah), and 1 K. 2 37, where Shimei, that violent partisan of Saul's house, is forbidden by Solomon (as the text now stands) to cross Kidron. 'This is one of the many cases where commentators have been satisfied with a plausible but not quite satisfactory explanation, instead of questioning the correctness of the text. It is said, e.g., by Benzinger, that Kidron is mentioned because Solomon thinks it most probable that Shimei would seek to cross the eastern boundary of the city on a visit to his home at Bahurim. But something more would certainly have been added to make this clear, and, just before, the phrase used is perfectly vague, אֵין סאֵלְמָנוֹן.

KIDRON, THE BROOK

'any whither.' The true reading is surely קִדְרֹן, 'by any road'.

The designation 'Valley of Jehoshaphat' dates back to the fourth century A.D. It also appears in OS 273-9 111 14. It is based on Joel 3 [4] 2 12, but the expression קִדְרֹן (which means a deep but broad valley, like those of Rophaim and Elah, see VAL, 1), is sufficient proof that the interpretation of that difficult passage (see JEHOSEPHAT, VALLEY of) is erroneous. The constant term for the Kidron valley in the OT is קִדְרֹן, a wady or ravine. Popular tradition, however, takes no account of such minor matters. It is the greatest boon that a dying Jew can ask to be buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat - i.e., of Kidron, because he believes that this ravine will be the scene of the great judgment. The whole of the left bank of the Kidron, from the Haram, far up the W. side of the Mount of Olives, is covered with the white tombstones of the Jews; the burial place of the Moslems is on the E. side of the mount. At the resurrection, the valley is expected to receive an expansion by the moving farther apart of the opposite sides.

The Valley of Kidron is now called *Wady Sitti Maryam*, or Wady of the Lady Mary. It contains the bed of a streamlet; but during the

3. Topography. whole summer and most of the winter, it is perfectly dry; in fact, no water runs in it except when heavy rains are falling on the mountains round Jerusalem.

On the broad summit of the mountain ridge of Judaea, a mile and a quarter NW. of Jerusalem, is a slight depression; this is the head of the wady, which runs on for about half a mile towards the city. It then bends eastward, and in another half mile is crossed by the great northern road coming down from the hill Scopus. On the E. side of the road, and the S. bank of the wady, are the celebrated 'Tombs of the Kings.' The channel is here about half a mile due N. of the city gate. It continues in the same course about a quarter of a mile farther, and then, turning S., opens into a wide basin containing cultivated fields and olives. Here it is crossed diagonally by the road from Jerusalem to Anathoth. As it advances southward, the right bank, forming the side of the hill Bezetha, becomes higher and steeper, with occasional precipices of rock, on which may be seen a few fragments of the ancient city wall; while, on the left, the base of Olivet projects, gently narrowing the valley. Opposite St. Stephen's gate the depth is fully 100 feet, and the breadth not more than 400 feet. The olive trees in the bottom are so thickly clustered as to form a shady grove; and their massive trunks and gnarled boughs give evidence of great age. This spot is shut out from the city, from the view of public roads, and from the notice and interruptions of wayfarers. If Gethsemane was really in the wady, it would be better to place it here than on the more public traditional site some distance farther down. From Mk. 11 2, however, compared with 2. 26, we should rather suppose that it was somewhere on the W. slope of the Mount of Olives. (See Keim, *Jesus von Naz.* 300, but cp. Weiss, note on John 18 1, and see GETHSEMANE, § 2.) But we must not linger on this disputed point. A zigzag path descends the steep bank from St. Stephen's gate, crosses the bed of the valley by an artificial ridge, and then divides. One branch leads direct over the top of Olivet (cp. 2 S. 15 23). See OLIVES, MOUNT OF. Another branch runs round the southern shoulder of the hill to Bethany, and has a deep and sacred interest, for it is the road of Jesus Christ's last entry (Mt. 21 1 ff. Lk. 19 37). Below the bridge the wady becomes still narrower, and

1. Bisek after אֵין indicates a doubtful text. קִדְרֹן was first of all corrupted into קִדְרֹן; then קִדְרֹן easily became קִדְרֹן. The last part of the corruption belongs to Kt., who suggests אֵין סאֵלְמָנוֹן, 'any one of all the roads'—a needlessly elaborate phrase.

KIDRON

here traces of a torrent bed first begin to appear. Three hundred yards farther down, the hills on each side rise precipitously from the torrent bed, which is spanned by a single arch. On the left bank is a singular group of tombs, comprising those of Absalom, Jehoshaphat, and St. James (now so called); whilst on the right, 150 feet overhead, towers the south-eastern angle of the temple wall. The ravine runs on, narrow and rocky, for 500 yards more; there, on its right bank, in a cave, is the fountain of the Virgin; and higher up on the left, perched on the side of the naked cliffs, the ancient village of Siloam. A short distance farther down, the valley of the Tyropæon falls in from the right, descending in terraced slopes, fresh and green, from the waters of the Pool of Siloam. The ravine of Kidron here expands, affording a level tract for cultivation (see above), which extends down to the mouth of Hinnom, and is about 200 yards wide. A short distance below the junction of Hinnom and the Kidron is the fountain of Bir Eyyûb, 'the Well of Job' (see EN-ROGEL). The length of the valley from its head to En-rogel is 2½ m., and here the historic Kidron may be said to terminate.

The Kidron Valley was first described accurately by Robinson; but in recent years fresh points of interest have come to light. Such, for instance, are the true bed of the Kidron (38½ ft. below the present channel), and the great rock-cut aqueduct in the Kidron-valley, south of Bir Eyyûb, both found in '68-'69 by Sir C. Warren (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, 135 ff. 256 ff.).

See JERUSALEM, §§ 3 ff. 37 and cp Porter's art. in Kitto's *Bibl. Cycl.* from which some descriptive passages of the above have been adapted.

T. K. C.

KIDRON (κεδρων [ANV]) 1 Macc. 15 39 41, RV. See GEDEROTH.

KILAN (κ[ε]ιλαν [BA]), 1 Esd. 515, RV, AV CEILAN.

KINAH (כִּנָּה; יכא"ח [B], κ[ε]ϊνα [AL]), a Judahite city on the border of Edom (Josh. 15 22†). The name appears in 1 Ch. 4 12 in the corrupt form TEHINNAH. See KENITES, NEGBE, § 2 (b) n.

KING (מֶלֶךְ, βασιλεως). The term *melek* 'king' has a somewhat wide range of meaning. We find it in the description of the old condition of things in Canaan, when many of the cities were in the enjoyment of relative independence under 'kings' or princes of their own (see, e.g., Gen. 14 22 Josh. 10 11 Judg. 5 19). Winckler has pointed out that in Tiglath-pileser's time the Syrian 'kingdoms' were more like German *Graf-schaften* (AOF 1 19); we might also compare the petty Syrian kings with the Indian rajas or the Italian dukes of the Middle Ages. This remark may illustrate Is. 10 8, where the king of Assyria ironically asks, 'Are not my generals (מְלָכִים) altogether kings (מְלָכִים),' perhaps alluding partly to the fact that many petty vassal kings served under his orders at the head of their respective contingents. As late as the Book of Job we find מֶלֶךְ used in the limited sense of 'chieftain' (Job 19 25, but hardly 15 24 [σπαρτηγός] which seems to be corrupt). From the etymology of the term (Ass. and Aram., 'to counsel, decree') we may infer that the king was originally the most gifted and powerful member of a council of chiefs or elders (cp Mic. 4 4 'king' || 'counsellor'). The term preferred by the Babylonians and Assyrians was *šarru* (= Heb. מֶלֶךְ), which is used both for the divine 'king of the gods,' and for the 'great king' of Assyria (or Babylon), see PRINCE, 3. Possibly this term (šarāru 'to be radiant,' like a star) was chosen in preference to *maliku* or *malku* (= Heb. מַלְכִּי, Ar. *malikun*) to indicate pre-eminence among kings, though *maliku* is explained in the syllabaries by *šarru*. It is worth noticing that 'princes (מְלָכִים) of Midian' in Judg. 7 25 and 8 1, corresponds to 'kings (מְלָכִים) of Midian' in Judg. 8 1 (cp GIDEON). On the history of Hebrew royalty see

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ABIMELECH; GOVERNMENT, §§ 16-22; ISRAEL, §§ 13-44; TAXATION; and on the religious use of מֶלֶךְ see MOLECH, MESSIAH.

It is unfortunately doubtful whether the poetical phrase מֶלֶךְ הַיָּדָו, E.V. 'king of terrors,' in Job 18 14 is correct. The supposed biblical parallels will hardly bear pressing, the text being very uncertain. On Ps. 49 17 see Che. Ps. (2); on Rev. 9 11 see LOCUSTS, § 3.

T. K. C.

KINGDOM OF GOD. See ESCHATOLOGY, Index (col. 1389), s.v. 'kingdom'; MESSIAH.

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General structure (§ 1).
Redactions, etc. (§ 2 f.).
Chronology (§ 4).
Religious principle (§ 5 a).
Later insertions (§ 5 b).

Divisions (§ 6 f.).
Prophetic narrative (§ 8).
Judean narrative (§ 9).
Literature (§ 11).

The books of Kings, which form the last part of the

series of OT histories known as the Earlier Prophets, were originally reckoned as a single book (cp CANON, § 13).

1. General structure. Modern Hebrew Bibles follow the bipartition which we have derived from 2, where they are called the third and the fourth books of kingdoms (בְּסֻדֵּי הַמְּלָכִים), the first and the second being our books of Samuel.

The division into two books is not felicitous. Even the old Hebrew separation between Kings and Samuel must not be taken to mean that the history from the birth of Samuel to the Exile was treated by two distinct authors in independent volumes. We cannot speak of the author of Kings or of Samuel, but only of an editor or successive editors whose main work was to arrange in a continuous form extracts or abstracts from earlier books. The introduction of a chronological scheme and a series of editorial comments and additions, chiefly designed to enforce the religious meaning of the history, gives to the book of Kings as we now read it a kind of unity; but beneath this we can still distinguish a variety of documents, which, though sometimes mutilated in the process of piecing them together, retain sufficient individuality of style and colour to prove their original independence. Of these documents one of the best defined is the vivid and exact picture of David's court at Jerusalem (2 S. 9-20), of which the first two chapters of 1 K. are manifestly an integral part.¹ As it would be unreasonable to suppose that the editor of the history of David closed his work abruptly before the death of the king, breaking off in the middle of a valuable memoir which lay before him, this observation leads us to conclude that the books of Samuel and of Kings are not independent histories. They have at least one source in common, and a single editorial hand was at work on both. The division, however, which marks the commencement of Solomon's reign the beginning of a new book is certainly ancient; it must be older than the insertion of the appendix 2 S. 21-24, which not only breaks the continuity of the original history of David's court.

From a historical point of view the division is very convenient. The subject of the book of Samuel is the creation of a united Israel by Samuel, Saul, and David. Under Solomon the creative impulse has already died away; the kingship is divorced from the sympathies of the nation; and the way is prepared for the formation of the two kingdoms of Ephraim and Judah, the fortunes of which, down to their extinction by the great empire of the East, form the main subject of the book of Kings.

It is probable, however, that the editor who made the division had another reason for disconnecting Solomon from David and treating his reign as a new departure. The most notable feature in the extant redaction of the book is the strong interest shown in the deuter-

2. Successive redactions. The most notable feature in the extant redaction of the book is the strong interest shown in the deuter-

¹ See the arguments in detail, We. CH² 260. The vers. 1 K. 2 1-12 27 have no connection with the rest of the chapters and are due to a later hand. [But cp Ba. Ps. 26: 1 K. 13 f.]

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nomie 'Law of Moses,' and especially in the centralization of worship in the temple on Zion as prescribed in Deuteronomy and enforced by Josiah. This interest was unknown to ancient Israel, and is quite foreign to the older memoirs incorporated in the book; amidst the great variety in style and manner which marks the several parts of the history the interest in question is expressed always in the same stereotyped phrases and unvarying style; in brief, it belongs to the editorial comments, not to the original sources of the history. To the deuteronomistic editor, then, the foundation of the temple, which is treated as the central event of Solomon's reign, is a religious epoch of prime importance (see especially his remarks in 1 K. 32 f.), and on this ground alone he would naturally make Solomon's reign commence a new book—the history of Israel under the one true sanctuary.¹ [Burney (Hastings' DB 2859 f.) gives a careful list of deuteronomic phrases and expressions wholly or nearly peculiar to the editor of Kings.]

When we say in general that the book of Kings was thrown into its present form by a deuteronomistic redactor we do not affirm that he was the first who digested the sources of the history into a continuous work. Indeed the selection of materials, especially in the earlier parts of the narrative, has been thought to point to an opposite conclusion. Nor, on the other hand, must we ascribe absolute finality to his work. He gave the book a definite shape and character; but the recognized methods of Hebrew literature left it open to additions and modifications by later hands. Even the redaction in the spirit of Deuteronomy seems itself to have had more than one stage, as Ewald and other critics recognize. The book was not closed till far on in the Exile, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar and Jehoiachin (2 K. 2527 f.). The fact that it closes with the pardon, not with the death, of Jehoiachin is very well explained by Meyer (*Entst.* 78) as being due to the narrator's looking upon the king's elevation as the first step towards the realization of the Messianic hopes; and the fall of the kingdom of Judah is presupposed in such passages as 1 K. 844 51 91-9 2 K. 1719 f. [217-15 2215-20] 2236 f. These passages, however, are mere interjected remarks, which seem to be added to adapt the context to the situation of the Jews in captivity. The main redaction, though subsequent to the reformation of Josiah, which supplied the standard applied to all previous kings ('the high places were not removed'), does not point to the time of the captivity. Thus, for example, the words 'unto this day' in 2 K. 822 147 166 are part of the 'epitome' composed by the main redactor (see below, § 7), and imply that he wrote before the destruction of the Judean state.

Even the second redaction (see § 2) did not absolutely fix a single authoritative recension of the book, as appears in detail from a comparison of G with the Hebrew text.

The LXX—i.e., G^{BL} (G^A follows MT closely, and is perhaps based upon Origen's recension [so Silberman, ZATW 131 f. 141 f.])—of Kings is not a corrupt reproduction of the Hebrew *receptus*; it represents another recension. Neither recension can claim absolute superiority. The defects of G lie on the surface, and are greatly aggravated by the condition of the Greek text, which has suffered much in transmission, and particularly has in many places been corrected after the later Greek versions that express the Hebrew *receptus* of the second century of our era. Still G not only preserves many good readings in detail, but also throws much

light on the long-continued process of redaction (at the hand of successive editors or copyists) of which the extant Hebrew of Kings is the outcome. Even the false readings of the Greek are instructive, for both recensions were exposed to corrupting influences of precisely the same kind. The following examples will serve to illustrate the treatment through which the book has passed.

1. Minor detached notices such as we should put in foot-notes or appendices are inserted so as to disturb the natural context.

Thus 1 K. 427 [57] must be taken continuously with 419, and so G^{BL} (inserting between them 71, 17) actually reads. In like manner G^{BL} omits 1 K. 611-14, which breaks the context of the description of the temple. Again, in G^{BL}, 1 K. 926 follows on 71, 14, so that Solomon's dealings with Hiram are recorded continuously. The notices intervening in 77, 15-25 (in a very unnatural order) belong to a class of floating notes about Solomon and his kingdom which seem to have got stranded almost by chance at different points in the two recensions.

2. There are direct or indirect indications of transpositions and insertions on a larger scale.

Thus in G^{BL} the history of Naboth (1 K. 21) precedes chap. 20, and in fact chaps. 20 and 22 are parts of one narrative, obviously quite distinct from the history of Elijah. Again, the story of Ahijah's sickness and Ahijah's prophecy is not found in G^{BL} at 1 K. 14120 1 at 1224 appears another version of the same narrative, in which there is no reference to a previous promise to Jeroboam through Ahijah, and the prophet is introduced as a new character. This version (1224), which places the prophecy of the destruction of Jeroboam's house between his return from Egypt and his elevation to the throne, is no doubt a mere legend; but it goes to prove that there was once a version of the history of Jeroboam in which 1120-28 had no place. In truth, after 1120-28 there must once have stood some account of a rebellion in which Jeroboam 'lifted up his hand' against king Solomon. To such an account (not to the incident of Ahijah and the cloak related in 77, 29-30), 71, 40 is the natural sequel. Thus all that is related of Ahijah falls under suspicion of being foreign to the original history. Compare JEROBOAM 1. It is noteworthy that in a passage peculiar to G^{BL} [in the ed. of Swete 1 K. 1224 a-2] the incident of the tearing of the cloak is related of Shemaiah and placed at the convention at Shechem, showing how much fluctuation there was in the tradition. In 2 K. 1322 G^{BL} has an addition which affects both history and geography (see ANTHEK, § 3 a, HAZAEL), on the conquests of Hazael. According to Kittel (*Adm.* p. vi) such passages have been inserted by later editors from older sources which were still accessible to them in their completeness.

These instances show that there was a certain want of definiteness about the redaction. The mass of disjointed materials, not always free from inconsistencies, which lay before the editor in separate documents or in excerpts already partially arranged by an earlier hand, could not have been reduced to real unity without critical sifting, and an entire recasting of the narrative, in a way foreign to the ideas and literary habits of the Hebrews. The unity which the editor aimed at was limited to chronological continuity in the events recorded, and a certain uniformity in the treatment of the religious meaning of the narrative. Even this could not be perfectly attained in the circumstances, and the links of the history were not firmly enough riveted to prevent disarrangement or rearrangement of details by later scribes.

The continued efforts of successive redactors can be traced in the chronology of the book. The chronological

method of the narrative appears most clearly in the history after Solomon, where the events of each king's reign are thrown into a kind of stereotyped framework of this type:—

¹ In the twentieth year of Jeroboam, king of Israel, Asa began to reign over Judah, and reigned in Jerusalem forty-one years.
... In the third year of Asa, king of Judah, Baasha began to reign over Israel, and he reigned in Tirzah twenty-four years.

The history moves between Judah and Israel according to the date of each accession; as soon as a new king has been introduced everything that happened in his reign is discussed, and wound up by another stereotyped formula as to the death and burial of the sovereign; and to this mechanical arrangement the natural connection of events is often sacrificed. In this scheme the elaborate synchronisms between contemporary monarchs

¹ In G^A etc., it is added from the version of Aquila.

¹ With this it agrees that the later appendix 2 S. 21-24 does not seem to have passed under the hand of the deuteronomistic redaction. See We. CH² 302.

² [The following passages also may safely be assigned to the second—i.e. to the exilic or post-exilic—deuteronomist (= D₂): 1 K. 3 315 54 [18] f. 61 1106 10 18 12 f. 2 K. 17 7-17 29-34 24 2-12 15-25; perhaps too all those chronological notices which aim at establishing a synchronism between the kings of Judah and those of Israel.]

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of the N. and S. give an aspect of great precision to the chronology.

In reality, however, the data for Judah and Israel do not agree [260 years of the kings of Judah correspond to 241 years, 7 months, 7 days, of the kings of Israel], and Wellhausen, following Ewald, has shown that the synchronisms were not in the sources, but were calculated from the list of the years of each reign (*JDT* 605/175). Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 6. It appears further that these years of reign are not derived from historical tradition, but are in part due to conjectural subdivision of a cycle 480 (twelve generations of forty years) assigned in 1 K. iii to the period from the 'exodus' to the foundation of the temple, and (according to the Judean list of kings) to the period from the founding of the temple to the end of the captivity (536 B.C.). In the early part of the Judean history the first dates and accessions are connected with the temple, and apparently derived from temple records. Of these the most important is the twenty-third year of Joash, which the chronological scheme makes the one hundred and sixty-first year of the temple, trisecting the four hundred and eighty years cycle. Other one hundred and sixty years bring us to the death of Hezekiah, and the last third of the cycle begins with the accession of Manasseh, whose sins are treated as the decisive cause of the Exile. Within these limits a few dates were given by the sources; the rest, as can easily be shown, were filled in with reference to a unit of forty years.² Again, the duration of the kingdom of Israel, according to the northern lists, was two hundred and forty completed years—viz., eighty years before the first expedition of He hadad, eighty years of Syrian wars, forty of prosperity under the victorious Jeroboam II, whose first year belongs to the period of war, and forty years of decline. The trisections in each case and the round numbers of 480 and 240 point strongly to a systematization of the chronology on the basis of a small number of given dates, and the proof that it is so is completed when we learn from the exactly kept lists of Assyrian chronology that the siege of Samaria fell in 722, whereas the system dates the captivity from 737 (535+480-37=241). Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 11.

The key to the chronology is 1 K. 61 which, as Wellhausen has shown, was not found in the original G, and contains internal evidence of post-Babylonian date. In fact the system as a whole is necessarily later than 535 B.C., the fixed point from which it counts back.

Another aspect in the redaction may be called theological. Its characteristic is the application to

5a. Religious principle.

phases. Thus, as we have already seen, the redactor in I K. 3 regards worship in high places as sinful after the building of the temple, though he knows that the best kings before Hezekiah made no attempt to suppress these shrines. So, too, his unfavourable judgment on the whole religion of the northern kingdom was manifestly not shared by Elijah and Elisha, nor by the original narrator of the history of those prophets. This feature in the redaction displays itself, not only in occasional comments or homiletical excursions, but also in that part of the narrative in which all ancient historians allowed themselves free scope for the development of their fictions—the speeches placed in the mouths of actors in the history. Here also there is textual evidence that the theological element is somewhat loosely attached to the earlier narrative, and underwent successive additions.

We have seen that **QBL** omits 1 K. 6:11-14, and that both prophecies of Ahijah belong to the least certain part of the textual tradition. So, too, an indication that the long prayer of Solomon (1 K. 8:14-53), the deuteronomistic colour of which is recognized by all critics, did not stand in the oldest account of the dedication of the temple is preserved in the fact that the ancient fragment, *v.* 12 *f.*, which in the Hebrew text is imperfect, appears in **QBL** after *v.* 53 in completer form and with a refer-

¹ Compare Krey's investigations in *ZWT*, '77, p. 404f.

² See the details in an article by WRS [J. Phil., vol. x, no. 20 (p. 30) Stade, *GT* 118 ff.; Kaupphausen (*ZfM* 3197 ff. 12), and *Chron. der hebr. Könige*, 83]; and König ('Heitr. z. bibl. Chron.' in *ZfM*, 83, Heft 6, 8, 9, 12) are more conservative. Rühl ('Chron. der Könige von Israel u. Juda' in *Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswissensch.*, xii, 145 ff. [94]) adduces weighty reasons for the view that we have here not the so-called Babylonian method (so We.; cp *CHRONOLOGY*, § 6), but the reckoning according to which the last year of each king was counted also as the first of his successor; in this way the above-mentioned inconsistencies are to an important extent diminished. Cp further, T. Lehmann, 'Quelques dates importantes de chronologie du 2^e temple' in *RFM*, 123, July-Sept. p. 27; Goldschmidt, 'zur Chronologie der Königsbücher' (*ZDMG*, 1900, p. 17 ff.).

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ence to the book of Jasher as its source (βιβλίον τῆς ᾠδῆς = הישר = הישר: cp JASHER, BOOK OF, § 1). The reductional insertion displaced it in one reading and led to its mutilation in the other. The older part (even post-exilic) ritual and law. The Levites conformity with later. *r*. 4 in contrast to the priests, in a way unknown to the pre-exilic history, are not named in *Q*14, and the post-exilic 'congregation' (עדה) at *r*. 5 is also wanting. The processes illustrated by these examples were doubtless at work in many places where external evidence fails us, and may often be detected by a careful use of internal evidence alone. See especially Wellhausen's detailed analysis (*CH* 269 ff.).

The insertions due to later editors and copyists are many and not all of the same kind.

For insertions made subsequently to the deuteronomic redaction see I K. 446 13 (from תָּחַת to לוֹ), 65 (the words כְּבִיב רֵבִית (כְּפִים אֲחֵרִים ב'), 724 (אֶתְּמַלֵּךְ לְרִמּוֹן onwards), 47-50 81 (from אֶתְּמַלֵּךְ

5b. Later insertions.

(from ירבעם onwards). Add to these 922 11 24 (דברד ירעם), 12 3a 12 (דברד ירעם), 17 21-24 27c (דברד ירעם onwards), 32-18 33/4 1431 (from ירעם to ירעם), 15 5b (דברד ירעם onwards), 6 (cp 1430) 1614 14, 11 (11) (דברד ירעם, cp 1410), 17b (read : ירעם ירעם), 1819 (דברד ירעם), 1819 (דברד ירעם), 22 40b, 31-32a 199b-110a (to ירעם), 21 23 25f, 222ab (cp Mi 2), 31 (ירעם ירעם), cp 2012a, 35 (from ירעם onwards), 38 2 K. 19-17 17b-20 10b 110 1217 (f), 17 34b-40 21 3 26 22b-5a 5 6 f. (beginning at ירעם), 23a (beginning at ירעם), 7 6b 14-16 18 2413f (ירעם onwards).

[illegible]

Of quite another sort and sometimes of great historic value are a series of notices and parallel accounts, derived from other sources, and worked into the principal narrative to the best of the editor's ability. To this class belong — 1 K. 9:23-2 K. 11:13-140 18:14-16 19:10-35 (a parallel to 18:13 17:19-9a which, as Stade has recognized, is artificially united to the preceding narrative by 19:06).

To gain an exacter idea of the main redaction of Kings and of the nature of the original sources, we may

6. Divisions :

6. Divisions: 1 K. 3-11.

which belongs to the criticism of SAMUEL (*q.v.*, ii. § 6).
(2) Solomon, 1 K. 3-11; (3) the kingdoms of Ephraim
and Judah.

(2) The main source of this section, as we learn from 1 K. 11.41, was a book called *Acts of Solomon*. This work can hardly have been a regular chronicle, for the history founded on it contains no continuous narrative. All that is related of Solomon's reign is grouped round the description of the royal buildings, particularly of the temple, and the account of the dedication of the house (chaps. 6-9g); and the greater part of the latter account is either due to the redactor or largely rewritten. The whole section is descriptive rather than narrative, and the accurate details might have been arrived at by actual observation of the temple at a date long subsequent to Solomon. In fact, they are not all due to a single hand. Thus we can still reconstruct a shorter text of 6.17-20 which says only that 'the house before the oracle was forty cubits long, and the oracle in the midst of the house within where the ark of Yahwê's covenant was to be placed was twenty cubits in length, in breadth, and in height; and he overlaid it with gold and made an altar of cedar [the table of shewbread] before the oracle and overlaid it with gold.' The original author used the *BOOK OF JASHAR* (q.v. § 3) for the account of the dedication, and had access to some exact particulars as to dates, the artist Hiram, and so forth, which may have been contained in the temple records. The immediate environment of this section, if we set aside the floating elements in chap. 9 already referred to, is occupied with Solomon's dealings with King Hiram, who aided him

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in his architectural schemes and in the commercial enterprises which procured the funds for such costly works (chap. 5 [515-32] and chap. 911/7). On each side of this context lies a complex of various narratives and notices illustrating Solomon's wisdom and greatness, but also, in chap. 11, his weakness and the incipient decay of his kingdom. It is evident that the rise of the adversaries who, according to 1128, troubled Solomon through all his reign cannot originally have been related as the punishment of the sins of his old age. The pragmatism as usual belongs to the redactor (114). We have seen that there was once another version of the history of Jeroboam. On 1 K. 111-8, cp further Solomon, § 8, and see the commentaries of Benzinger and Kittel.

(3) For the history of the divided kingdom the redactor, as we have seen, follows a fixed scheme determined by the order of accessions, and gives a short epitome of the chief facts about each king, with an estimate of his religious character, which for the schismatic north is always unfavourable. The epitome, as the religious standpoint shows, belongs to the same hand throughout—i.e., to D; but so much of it as relates to Judah is plainly based on good written sources, which from the nature of the particulars recorded may be identified with the book of Royal Chronicles referred to under each reign, which seems to have been a digest of official notices. [A reference to the 'Book of the History of the Kings of Judah' (or, Israel) is wanting only in the cases of Ahaziah, of Jehoahaz, of Jehoiachin, and of Zedekiah among the kings of Judah, and in that of Joram and Hoshea among those of Israel. Both the Judahite and the Israelite work (unless with Reuss we are to suppose a single work, cited by different titles) were evidently compilations of private origin, prepared shortly before the exile on the basis of older chronicles and special treatises.]

If the chronicle named for the kings of Israel actually lay before the editor he at least did not make such excerpts from it as we find in the Judean history, for the epitome for Ephraim is very bare of concrete details. Besides the epitome and the short excerpts from the Judean chronicles which go with it, the history includes a variety of longer narratives, which alike in their subject-matter and in their treatment are plainly distinct from the somewhat dry bones of the properly historical records. The northern narratives are all distinguished in a greater or less degree by the prominence assigned to prophets. In the southern kingdom we hear less of the prophets, with the great exception of Isaiah; but the temple occupies a very prominent place.

The narrative of the man of God from Judah (1 K. 13) is indubitably of Judean origin. Its attitude to the altar at Bethel—the golden calf does not appear as the ground of offence—is diverse not only from that of Elijah and Elisha, but even from that of Hosea.¹ The other narratives that deal with the history of Ephraim are all by northern authors (see, for example, 1 K. 19; 2 K. 96), and have their centre in the events of the Syrian wars and in the persons of Elijah and Elisha. They are not all, however, of one origin, as appears most clearly by comparing the account of the death of Naboth in the history of Elijah, 1 K. 21, and in the history of Elisha and Jehu, 2 K. 9. In the latter narrative Naboth's 'field' lies a little way from Jezreel, in the former it is close to Ahab's palace (? in Samaria, see v. 18 and variants of G in v. 1), and is described as

¹ The expression 'cities of Samaria' (v. 32) appears elsewhere only after the deportation of Ephraim (2 K. 172), and seems to have come in here from 2 K. 2319. Even in this passage the last clause of v. 18, which alone refers to details of the history of 1 K. 13, is clearly erroneous; the old prophet did not come from Samaria. [The passage must be of late origin (see Knaben, *Crit.* 2 § 25, n. 4); it seems not unconnected with the history of Amos; see Amos, § 3.]

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a vineyard. The 'burden' quoted by Jehu is not in the words of 1 K. 21, and mentions the additional fact that Naboth's sons were killed.¹ In other words, the history of Jehu presupposes events recorded in the extant accounts of Elijah, but not those accounts themselves. Moreover, the narrative in 2 K. seems to be the more accurate; it contains precise details lacking in the other.

Now it is plain that 1 K. 21 belongs to the same history of Elijah with chaps. 17-19. The figure of the prophet is displayed in the same weird grandeur, and his words (with the omission of the addition already noted in v. 20b 21) have the same original and impressive force. This history, a work of the highest literary art, has come down to us as a fragment. For in 1 K. 1918 Elijah is commanded to take the desert route to Damascus—i.e., the route E. of the Jordan. He could not, therefore, reach Abel-meholah in the Jordan valley, near Bethshean, when he 'departed thence' (v. 19), if 'thence' means from Horeb. The journey to Damascus, the anointing of Hazael and Jehu, must once have intervened; but they have been omitted because another account ascribed these acts to Elisha (2 K. 87f. 91). Cp SHAPHAT. Now there is no question that we possess an accurate historical account of the anointing of Jehu. Elisha, long in opposition to the reigning dynasty (2 K. 310), and always keeping alive the remembrance of the murder of Naboth and his sons (632), waited his moment to effect a revolution. It is true that the prime impulse in this revolution came from Elijah; but, when the history in 1 K. represents Elijah as personally commissioned to inaugurate it by anointing Jehu and Hazael as well as Elisha, we see that the author's design is to gather up the whole contest between Yahweh and Baal in an ideal picture of Elijah and his work. No doubt this record is of younger date than the more photographic picture of the accession of Jehu, though prior to the rise of the new prophecy under Amos and Hosea.² [For the later criticism of the Elijah-narratives, see ELIJAH, § 4, also *Kl. Abn.* 159-162, appendix on chaps. 17-19 21.]

The episode of Elijah and Ahaziah, 2 K. 1, is certainly by a different hand, as is seen even from the new feature of revelation through an angel; and the ascension of Elijah, 2 K. 2, is related as the introduction to the prophetic work of Elisha.

The narratives about Elisha are not all by one hand; for example, 41-7 is separated from the immediately subsequent history by a sharply marked grammatical peculiarity (the suffix 2); moreover, the order is not chronological, for 624 cannot be the sequel to 623; and in general those narratives in which the prophet appears as on friendly terms with the king, and possessed of influence at court (e.g., 413 69 621 compared with 1314), plainly belong to the time of Jehu's dynasty, though they are related before the fall of the house of Omri. In this disorder we can distinguish portions of an historical narrative which speaks of Elisha in connection with events of public interest, without making him the central figure, and a series of anecdotes of properly biographical character. The historical narrative embraced 2 K. 3624-720 91-1028—in fact, the whole account of the reign of Joram and the revolution under Jehu; and, as 2 K. 3 has much affinity to the history of Ahab and Jehoshaphat in 1 K. 22, we may add the earlier history of the Syrian wars (1 K. 20 22) to the series. The evidence of style is hardly sufficient to assign all

¹ The standing phrases common to 1 K. 2120b 21 2 K. 97-101 belong to the redaction, as is plain in the latter case from 93.

² Some expressions that point to a later date are certainly added by another hand—e.g., the last part of 1818. In old Israel, up to the time of Hosea, the Baalim (pl.) are the golden calves, which have no place in this context. A late insertion also is the definition of time by the stated oblation in the temple at Jerusalem, 1823 27. At v. 6 this is lacking in G; at v. 23 the insertion of B reveals the motive for the interpolation—viz., to assimilate Elijah's sacrifice to the legal service.

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these chapters to a single hand (for example, כרר is a single chariot in the history of Jehu, but in 1 K. 20 a collective, the single chariot being כרכר); but they are all full of fresh detail and vivid description, and their sympathy with the prophets of the opposition, Micah and Elisha, and with the king of Judah, who takes the prophets' part, does not exclude a genuine interest in Ahab and Joram, who are painted in very human colours, and excite our pity and respect. To the historian these chapters are the most valuable part of the northern history.

In the more biographical narratives about Elisha we may distinguish one circle connected with Gilgal, Jericho, and the Jordan valley to which Abel-meholah belongs (41-77 33-44; chap. 5 7 61-7). Here Elisha appears as the head of the prophetic guilds, having his fixed residence at Gilgal. Another circle, which presupposes the accession of the house of Jehu, places him at Dothan or Carmel, and represents him as a personage of almost superhuman dignity. Here there is an obvious parallelism with the history of Elijah, especially with his ascension (compare 2 K. 617 with 211, 1314 with 212); and it is to this group of narratives that the ascension of Elijah forms the introduction.

Of the Judean narratives there is none to rival the northern histories in picturesque and popular power. The history of Joash, 2 K. 11 f., of Ahaz's innovations, 1610 f., and of Josiah's reformation, 223-2325, have their common centre in the temple on Zion, and may with great probability be referred to a single source. The details suggest that this source was based on official documents. Besides these we have a full history of Hezekiah and Sennacherib and of Hezekiah's sickness, 1813-2019, repeated in a somewhat varying text in Is. 38-39 (cp ISAIAH i. 8 6. 9. § 15). The history of Amaziah and Joash in 2 K. 14 8-14 with the characteristic parable from vegetable life, may possibly be of northern origin.¹

When we survey these narratives as a whole we receive an increased impression of the merely mechanical character of the redaction by which they are united. Though editors have added something of their own in almost every chapter, generally from the standpoint of religious pragmatism, there is not the least attempt to work the materials into a history in our sense of the word; and in particular the northern and southern histories are practically independent, being merely pieced together in a sort of mosaic in consonance with the chronological system, which we have seen to be really later than the main redaction. It is very possible that the order of the pieces was considerably readjusted by the author of the chronology; of this indeed G still shows traces. With all its imperfections, however, as judged from a modern standpoint, the redaction has the great merit of preserving the older narratives in their original colour, and bringing us much nearer to the actual life of the old kingdom than any history written throughout from the standpoint of the exile could possibly have done.

Since Ewald's *History*, vols. 1 and 3, and Kuenen's *Oud.* (2) 1 332 f., the most thorough and original investigation of the structure of the book is that in Wellhausen's fourth (not in the fifth and sixth) edition of *Bleek's Einl.* (75) (reprinted in *CH* (2) 266-302), with which the corresponding section of his *Proleg.* (275 ff.) must, however, be compared. Cp also Kittel, *Hist.* 249 ff. 207 ff.; Driver, *Introd.* (2) 135-203; König, *Einl.* 203 ff. (93); Holdheim, *Das Buch der Könige* (99). On the *text-criticism* cp especially Stade, *ZATW*, '83, p. 121 f. (on 1 K. 57), '85, p. 275 f. (on 2 K. 10-14), and '86, p. 160 f. (on 2 K. 15-21); Klostermann, *Sam. u. Kb.* (87); F. C. Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the translation of Aquila from a Cairo MS* (97); and *Crit. Bib.* Among commentaries, see those of Thémis (49; (2), '73), C. F. Keil ('64; (2), '76; ET, '72);

¹ Note, in 7. 11, 'in Beth-shemesh which (belongs) to Judah.' Cp the similar phrase in 1 K. 19 3.

KINSHIP

Bähr in Lange's *Bibelwerk* ('68; ET, '77); Rawlinson in the *Speaker's Comm.*, Reuss in *La Bible*, vol. 1; Lamy ('86-'87); Farrar (*Expositor's Bible*, '93-'94); Benzinger, *Kittel* ('99); Kittel in Nowack's *HK* (1900). See also C. F. Burney, art. 'Kings' in Hastings' *DB* 2. W. R. S.—E. K.

KING'S GARDEN (הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגֵּן, O ΚΗΠΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ), 2 K. 25 4 Jer. 39 4 (G om.) 52 7 Neh. 31 (ΘΗΜΑ ΤΗ ΚΟΥΡΑ Τ. Β.). A plantation between the two walls of Jerusalem, close to the pool of Shiloah; see KING'S POOL.

KING'S POOL (בְּרִכַּת הַמֶּלֶךְ, [H] ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΘΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ), Neh. 214, possibly the same as the pool of Siloam; it may have been so called on account of its proximity to the KING'S GARDEN. Cp POOL.

KING'S VALE (RV), or **King's Dale** (AV), (מֶלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ), Gen. 1417 ([TO] ΠΕΔΙΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ADL. 2 S. 1818 (ΤΗ ΚΟΙΛΑΔΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [BAL]); cp Jos. *Ant.* vii. 103. See SHAVEH [VALE OF]; MELCHIZEDEK, § 3; ABSALOM, col. 31.

KINSHIP. The bond by which the social and political units of the Hebrews—their clans and their tribes—were held together in the olden times. In the historical period was neither more nor less than a genuine and operative feeling of kinship (see GOVERNMENT, § 2 ff.). Hebrew theorists like Arab genealogists, understood this kinship in the same sense as we understand it,—as due to derivation from a common ancestor; a tribe consisted entirely of blood relations (see GENEALOGIES i. § 2).

At the very outset this theory requires at least some modification; for even in historical times physical descent was not the only way in which blood relationship could be constituted. Adoption was equally effective. So also was the method of blood covenant. Not individuals only, but whole clans could in this way enter into a lasting union and become fused into a single community. The various ceremonies observed in making such a covenant (cp COVENANT, § 3, and Robertson Smith's excellent exposition in *Ant.* 47. 261 f., *Rel. Sem.* (2) 314 f.) have all one meaning: they were originally intended to create a physical and literal community of blood, or, in accordance with later ideas, they were intended, at least symbolically, to represent the creation of such a bond. This shows itself with unmistakable clearness when, for example, two men actually open their veins and mix their blood, or when the protected smears with his blood the temple of his protector; but it is still discernible, though in a more disguised form, in the rule of hospitality which even now the person of the guest who has eaten with a host remains inviolable for at least a certain time—the time, to wit, during which the meal of which they have together partaken is supposed to be sustaining them. In the Hebrew domain compare the covenant described in Ex. 24, where the people and the altar of Yahwe are sprinkled with the same blood.

There is another point in which the old Semitic conceptions of blood relationship differ from those of modern times; there was no gradation of degrees by which relations are removed from the common ancestor; in the Semitic field relationship is absolute: a man either belongs to a given family circle, or he does not. Relationship is participation in the common blood which flows with equal fullness in the veins of every member of that circle; on this rest all the rights and obligations between the individual and his clansmen. There can therefore be no such thing as aristocracy of birth in our sense of the expression. Within the gens none are high-born, none low-born; there is no blue blood. This is clearly shown in the law of blood revenge (WRS *Kin* 22 f., elsewhere). The duty falls on every member of the clan to which the murdered person belonged, and the

KINSHIP

vengeance seeks every member alike of the murderer's clan.

This said, it must not be denied that a feeling of relationship in our closer sense of the word also began to show itself from a comparatively early period. Indeed, the Hebrews from the earliest times to which our historical records carry us may be said to have been distinguished by the energy of their 'family' feeling. As the limits of society extended, the primitive conception of blood-kinship described above would naturally grow weaker; that of *near* kinship in our sense of the word can retain its vigour and efficiency only within the narrower circle. Within the larger federation of tribes (the people or nation of Israel) the feeling was never very strong; bloody wars between individual tribes were not unknown, and it was long before the sense of oneness had thoroughly pervaded all portions of the body politic. In the end it was not by the conception of blood kinship but by the political organisation of the monarchy that this sense was called into being and maintained.

The question as to what constituted national kinship was answered by the genealogists. Each individual tribe was held to be derived from an ancestor whose descendants bore his name as their tribal name; the mutual relations of the tribe and the various clans comprising it were determined by the relationship of the ancestor of each clan to the patriarch from whom all alike claimed descent. In other words, the formation and development of tribes were held to have taken place under the dominion of the patriarchal system (GENEALOGIES i., § 2). Moreover, it is an actual fact that so far as our knowledge goes the patriarchal system was prevalent among the Hebrews from the earliest historical times. The head of the family is the man; the woman passes over to the clan and tribe of her husband, who is master both of herself and of her children (FAMILY, § 3 ff.; MARRIAGE, § 4 ff.). Kinship, tribe-connection, inheritance, are determined by the man.

Robertson Smith (*Kinship, passim*), however, has incontrovertibly shown that among the Semites as well as many other widely separated peoples

4. Matriarchy. matriarchy must at one time have prevailed. This expression, as distinguished from patriarchy, is meant not the dominion of the woman in the household, but rather that arrangement of family- and clan-relations in accordance with which the relation of the children to the mother was regarded as by far the more important, that to the father being of quite subordinate moment. It is the mother who determines the kinship. The children belong to the mother's clan, not to the father's. The wife is not under the power of the husband, but under the guardianship of her male relations. The head of the family is not the father but the maternal uncle, who has supreme authority over the mother and her children. Inheritance is not from father to son, but from brother to brother, from (maternal) uncle to nephew.

The existence of this matriarchy among the Semites is shown (among other proofs) by the existence of ancient words, common to various branches of the Semitic family, denoting relationship derived from the mother. In like manner there are feminine tribal names, and tribal heroines pointing to the same inference. With the Arabs down even to the days of Mohammed a kind of marriage (see below) was still kept up which entirely belonged to the matriarchal system.

For details as to matriarchy among the Semites in general the discussions of Robertson Smith,¹ Wellhausen,² and Wilken³ must be referred to. What specially interests us here is the fact that in the OT also traces of the existence of this institution among the Hebrews can still be found. Even if these were not absolutely

¹ *Ut supra*.

² 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern' in *Gött. gel. Nachr.* 421 ff. (1854).

³ 'Het Matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren' in *Ooster. Monatsschrift f. d. Orient*, 1884.

KINSHIP

convincing in themselves, they would become so after the demonstration of the existence of the institution among the Arabs and other Semitic peoples. Alongside of the masculine tribal names we have a series of feminine ones:—Hagar, Keturah, Leah, Rachel, Bilhah, Zilpah. Stade conjectures that at one time there was a genealogical system according to which the tribes were all of them wives of Jacob (*GI* 146). Such feminine names at all events cannot be regarded as mere poetical adornments of the legends to which they belong; they must originally have been integral parts of the genealogical system.

Marriages of brother and sister, that is to say between children of different mothers, had nothing offensive to the moral sense of the older period (see MARRIAGE, § 21; it is a relic of the times when relationship was determined not by the blood of the father but by that of the mother, and when accordingly community of descent on the mother's side was the only bar to marriage. This explains also the possibility of the custom according to which the son could marry the stepmother, the father the daughter-in-law (see MARRIAGE, § 2). Notwithstanding the express prohibition of such unions they seem to have been not unknown down to a time as late as that of Ezekiel, although, on the other hand, marriages between maternal relations, between father and stepdaughter, father and daughter, mother and son were from the first regarded with horror (cp Gen. 19.30 ff.); in D express prohibition is not deemed necessary.

How deeply rooted was the view that relationship was constituted through the mother is shown by passages

6. Meaning of 'brother.' such as Gen. 42.38 43.29 44.20 27 ff. Judg. 8.19 9.3, where the designation of brother in the full sense of the word is reserved for sons of the same mother; as also by such narratives as that of Judg. 9.2 ff., where Abimelech is regarded by his mother's relations, the Shechemites, as one of themselves, and his maternal uncles are his natural allies. The prevalence of the same view is seen also in the practice of adoption by the mother (not the father) (Gen. 30.3), in the right of inheritance through the mother, as implied in Gen. 21.10 ('the son of this handmaid shall not inherit with my son'), in the right of the mother to give the name as shown in the older sources of the Pentateuch, though in P it is always the father who does so. In Eliezer's negotiations for Rebekah it is not her father Bethuel ('and Bethuel,' Gen. 21.50, is a late-redactional insertion) but her brother who is her guardian and carries on the transaction.

Another characteristic feature of matriarchal marriage is that it is not the woman who enters the man's tribe

7. Tribal relations. but the man who enters the woman's; she continues to belong to her own tribe. This also can be shown to have been the case in the Hebrew domain. Too much stress indeed must not be laid on the expression *וַיָּבֹא אֶל הָאִשָּׁה*, 'to go in unto,' the usual phrase in Hebrew and Arabic for the consummation of a marriage; but it is certain that among the Hebrews, as with the Arabs, the woman always figures in particularly close connection with the tent, and frequently as its mistress. In such cases as Gen. 24.67, indeed, we may be in the presence only of a custom which, in the case of wealthy people, allowed each wife (as with a rich sheikh at present) to have a separate tent. The narrative of Judg. 4.17 ff. (cp 5.24 ff.), however, is clear enough; it is Jael who owns the tent, who receives the fugitive into it, and who accords to him its protection. This is in exact accord with the present facts of Arab women as regards fugitives seeking protection. The story of Eliezer's wooing of Rebekah also assumes the possibility that the girl may not consent to leave her home, but may insist that her future husband should marry into her own tribe and

KINSHIP

clan (Gen. 21:5). Similarly Jacob fears lest Laban should refuse to let his daughters go, but should insist—in accordance with his undoubted right—on their staying at home; hence his secret flight (Gen. 31:31). The phrase, 'shall leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife,' in Gen. 2:24 may be an old saying dating from remote times when the husband went to the house (tent) of the wife, and joined her clan. Still the passage may be merely the narrator's remark, and even if it be an old proverb, we cannot be sure that it really carries us so far back in antiquity.

Another instance of a matriarchal marriage requires notice: that of Samson (Judg. 14). The case is

8. 'Beena'-marriage.

thoroughly exceptional; it is exogamy, but reversing the relations. The husband is the alien, and visits his wife, who remains in her own home, and it is in the house of her relations that the marriage feast is held. Samson himself indeed does not become a Philistine; but neither does his wife become Israelite; the intention is that they shall meet only from time to time. Para¹ is not wanting in pre-Islamic Arab history; as al-Buhārī said, such marriages were nothing out of the common up to the period immediately preceding that of Mohammed. The important point lies here:—the wife continues to belong to her own tribe, and the children, naturally, so belong also. It is thus the mother's blood that is the determining factor. This kind of marriage, it is plain, could originally have arisen only under the influence of matriarchal institutions.

From the facts adduced Robertson Smith draws the conclusion that this kind of marriage—which (after J. F. M'Lennan) he proposes to call *beena*-marriage (from the Singhalese)—had been the form universally prevalent among the Semites in the period before the separation of the tribes. After the separation, the Hebrews from the same starting-point arrived at monandrous baal-marriage (cp MARRIAGE, § 2) long before the Arabs did.

Such an inference, however, would be too sweeping. Robertson Smith himself regarded it as not improbable that patriarchy can be carried back to primitive Semitic times (*Kin.* 178); and Wellhausen (*op. cit.* 479) has proved it.

The existence of such old Semitic words as *ham* for wife's father-in-law (see HANU, NAMES WITH) and *kalla* for the daughter-in-law is, with other cases that might be adduced, conclusive. Wellhausen calls special attention to the fact that in the word '*amm*, Arab., Heb., Syr., and Sab., unite the senses of 'people' and 'relations on the father's side' (see AMMI, NAMES WITH). 'Whatever the time and place of origin of this mode of speech, the father's relations must also have been the political ones when it arose.'

Robertson Smith's concession, it is true, is limited to polyandrous baal-marriage—a form of patriarchal marriage which is well attested for the old Arabians (Strab. xvi. 425; cp WRS *Kin.* 133*f.*, We. *op. cit.* 460*f.*). In this description of marriage a group of brothers or nearly related men had the wife in common; the children belonged to the tribe of the fathers. Smith finds a trace of this form of polyandry still surviving in the levirate marriage of the Hebrews (see MARRIAGE, § 7*f.*). The duty of inheriting the wife is originally a right, which, as Smith thinks, must have had its origin in an original community of possession. Wellhausen (*op. cit.* 461) remarks further that the beginning of the law on the subject in D (Dt. 25:5 'if brethren dwell together') finds no explanation in the present context, but would fit in well with the explanation suggested by Smith. Hebrew levirate marriage, however, admits of sufficient explanation from the simple fact that in Hebrew baal-marriage wives in general are property that can be inherited. The right of inheriting became a duty in this one special case as soon as the first son of such a marriage

KIR-HERES

came to be regarded as son of the deceased husband, and this last finds its explanation in the Hebrew view of the evils of childlessness (cp MARRIAGE, § 5*f.*).

Obviously the form of marriage just described must be older than monandrous baal-marriage; indeed then

11. Earliest practice.

is not in the nature of things any reason for regarding it as more recent than even the earliest form of matriarchal marriage. Baal-polyandry was originally in any case marriage by capture. As such it is hardly likely to have been a development of a form of marriage in which the husband married as an alien into the tribe of the wife. It may therefore be best to abandon all attempt to make out a genetic connection or evolutionary relation between the various kinds of marriage, and to concede that marriage by capture as well as matriarchal polyandry (which, strictly speaking, cannot be distinguished from absolute promiscuity) may date from the most remote times. One tribe might count kin from the mother, being endogamous, or else marrying its young women to men of alien tribe only when the men consented to join the tribe of the wife and the children remained with the mother. Another tribe counted kin from the father and therefore sought for its wives, so far as these could not be found within the tribe, by capture of such welcome additions from other tribes.

For literature, see FAMILY, § 15.

L. B.

KIR (קִּיר; κῆρη etc., see below; *CYRINE*; *عم*) is mentioned in Am. 9:7 (ἐκ βοθροῦ [BAQ]) as the primitive home of the Aramaeans, and warriors from Kir are introduced in the description of an Assyrian army threatening Jerusalem in Is. 22:6 (om. BSAQ¹; *parietem*; *١٥٥*).

The name also appears in Am. 1:5 (ἐν κήρῳ [BAQ], i.e., קִּיר = קִּיר; *κῆρη* [Aq.]; 2 K. 16:9 (om. B; *κῆρη* [A and Aq.], *τὴν πόλιν* [L]), where it may possibly have been introduced from Am. 1:5, which contains a prophecy of the deportations of the Aramaeans to Kir.

Winckler (*AF* 2254*f.*) has given reason to think that 'Kir' should rather be 'Kor' (קִּיר), and identified with the Karians mentioned by Arrian (iii. 8:5) with the Sittakenians; see also *SBOT*, 'Isa.' (Heb.), 197, and cp KOA. This people seems to have dwelt in the land of Jatbur, the plain between the Tigris and the mountains towards Elam (cp Sargon's Khorsabad inscr., B. 153, 5). For other views see Furrer, *PL* 354, who thinks of *Cyrrhætica*, between the Orontes and the Euphrates (refuted by Schr. *HWT* 845), and Halévy, *RE* 116*f.*, who prefers S. Babylonia.

KIRAMA (κίραμας [B], κίραμα [A], 1 Esd. 5:20 RV = Ezra 2:26, RAMAI).

KIR-HERES (קִּיר הָרֶשֶׁת, Is. 16:11, AV *Kir-hareseth*; Jer. 48:31, 36, *Kir-hareseth* [קִּיר הָרֶשֶׁת], see col. 2677, n. 2) 2 K. 3:25, AV *Kir-haraseth*;

1. OT *References* of Moab (קִּיר מוֹאָב; Is. 15:1*f.*).

The name is generally supposed to mean 'city of the sun' (שֶׁ for שֶׁ); see NAMES, § 95. When, however, we consider (1) that this explanation is unknown to the ancients; (2) that Kir is nowhere supposed to mean 'city' except in the compound names Kir-heres, Kir-hareseth, and Kir-Moab; (3) that הָרֶשֶׁת, 'sun,' nowhere has a fem. ending; and (4) that in Is. 16:7 S and Aq. indicate *d*, not *r*, in the second part of the name, the question arises whether we should not emend the text and read קִירֵּת הָרֶשֶׁת, 'new city' (cp HADASHAH).

Vg. gives *murus fictilis* (Jer.), *murus cocti lateris* (Is. 16), and *murus Moab* (Is. 15); S, τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Μοαβίτιδος in Is. 15; δεσφ¹ (S de sc[ri]ptis) [BSAQ¹] in Is. 16:7; τεῖχος δ (om. B.) ἐνεκρίστας [BSAQ¹] ib. v. 11; κειράδες [κείραρες, κείραρες,

¹ Aq., τοῖς ὄστρον; Sym., τεῖχος τῷ ὄστρον; see Field, Swete, 'Deseth, quod Aquila transtulit parietem, Symmachus murum' (*OS* 116:18 251:76). Apparently the only reference to Kir in *Onom.*

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KIRIATH (קִרְיָת), Josh. 18:28 RV. See KIRIATH,
KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 1 (a).

KIRIATH-ARIM (קִרְיַת עֲרִים), Ezra 2:25 RV (AV, Kiriath-Arim). Neh. 7:29 KIRJATH-ARIM (AV).

KIRIATH BAAL (קִרְיַת בַּעַל) RV, AV KIRJATH-
BAAL. Josh. 15:6-1814. See KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 1.

KIRIATH-HUZOTH (קִרְיַת הָחֵצֶת), Nu. 22, AV
KIRJATH-HUZOTH.

KIRIATHIARIUS, RV KARIATHIARIUS (1 Esd. 5
14†, KAPTAΘEΛAPEIOC [B], KAPIΘHΘAPIOC [A], -PEIM
[L.]) = Neh. 7.29 KIEJVTH-JE ARIM.

KIRIATH-JEARIM (קִרְיַת-יְעָרִים), Neh. 7:29 RV,
AV KIRJATH-JEARIM.

KIRIOTH (כִּרְיֹת), Am. 22, RV KIRIOTH (*q r*).
KIRIATH

KIRJATH, RV KIRJATH (כִּרְיָת), an imperfect place-name in Josh. 18:28. Di. reads כִּרְיָת־יֵאִיִּם, Kirjath-jeanim (אֵרַיִם [B], καὶ πόλις [αδ] [u] [M] Di. but see *ibid.*).

KIRJATHAIM, RV KIRIATHAIM (כִּרְיָתַיִם), 'two cities,' or 'place of a city'; on form of name see **NAMLS**, § 107; ΚΑΡΙΑΘΑΙΜ [BA] (H. L.).

1. A town on the Moabite plateau mentioned in Nu. 32 17 (*kaparathau* [B]), *-athau* [L]) and Josh. 13.10, as having lain within the former dominions of Sihon, and as having been assigned by Moses to Reuben. Mesha, in his inscription (l. 10), calls it *קִרְיָת*, and says that he 'built' or fortified it; it is represented as Moabite also in Jer. 48 (*Jer.* 48: *kaparathau* [N^o], *kaparathau* [N^o + G], *קִרְיָת* [N]) and by Ezekiel (Ezek. 25.9, *πόλις παλαιάσας* [BAQ]). In OS (108 27, 26) it is described as a Christian village called *Κιριάθη* or *Καπαθή* 10 R. m. W. of Madaba. This is no doubt the modern Kuraiyât, but whether *Κιριάθη* is not rather *KERTATH* (l. 27) is disputed. *Kiriatham* gave its name to Shaveh-kirjatham or the 'plum of Kiriatham' (Gen. 14.5). See MOAB.

2. See KAKTAN.

KIRJATH-ARBA (קִרְיַת אַרְבָּה), RV KIRIATH-ARBA, Josh. 14¹⁵ etc., an earlier name of **HEBRON** (q.v., § 1).

According to Winckler (*GT* ii. 39), *Kirjath-arba* means 'city of the four Arba'; some god is intended whose name was written with the cuneiform sign for 'four' (analogously Beer-dieba = 'god of the four Shela'). Long before him, Tonkinus had proposed the same (*Life of Abraham*). Winckler brings these names into connection with the lunar myth of Abraham and Jacob (*GT* 2. 35). The original *Kirjath-arba*, according to him, was not Hebron, but at or near *Kirjath-*te**, in the far north (*41*, 40). If, however, רֶהוֹבֹת in Gen. 22. 14 is an error for רְהוֹבוֹת in Gen. 23.2 may be an error (cf. P) for רְהוֹבוֹת. It was probably Rehoboth that was the 'city of four' (see REHOBOTH), at least if רְהוֹבֹת, 'four', is correct and is not really a corruption of רְהוֹבוֹת, 'REHOBOTH'.

KIRJATH-HUZOTH, RV KIRIATH-HUZOTH (קִרְיַת הָעֲזָתָה; πόλις ἐπαγγελῶν [BAFL].—i.e., Keriath Huzoth, 'cities of villages'), the place to which Balak took Balaam first of all on his arrival in Moab, according to the Yahwist (J), and where this writer probably made him deliver his first prophecy, Nu. 22³⁹ (with which v. 40 [E] plainly conflicts).

The name ('city of streets' or of 'bazaars'), if correctly read in MT, indicates a place of importance. Very possibly the Yahvist means the city called in Am. 22 Jer. 48²⁴ 41 Kerieth. Note that Amos speaks of the 'palaces' of Kerieth. The Elohist has instead 'the city of Moab, at the farthest border' (2. 36).

KIRJATH-JEARIM (קִרְיַת-יְעָרִים, 'city of dense forest'?—καριαθαρ[ε]μον [B.M.]), a city of Judah, in the Gibeonite group (Josh. 9:17).

¹ In the list of towns in Palestine against which Šošenk (Shishak) warred, occurs the name *Kadm*. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 186 n. 3) would emend this to *Kartm* (ק and ק being as easily interchanged in Eg. as in Heb.), and identify with the Moabite Kirjathaim.

KIRJATH-JEARIM

The earliest record of the name (if we suppose it to have been correctly transmitted) is probably Jedge, 1812. See also Jer-

1. Names.

1. Names, [BL], π.μ. [APL] 1914 f. (v. 14 παρθενιας [BL], 1 Ch. 25o 32o f. (v. 53) παρθενια [BL], παρθενιας [A], om. L) 135 *παρθενιας* [BRAL], 1 Ch. 14 Ezra 22o . . . [KIRJATH-ARIM] [RV KIRJATH-ARIM, παρθενιας [BL] should be 'Kirjath-jearim'; Neh. 7o9 [παρθενιας [BL] Kirjath-Baal (עִיר־בַּאֵל) παρθενιας [BAI.], and Baalah, with the explanation, 'that is, Kirjath-jearim,' occur in Josh. 18:14; Josh. 15:90; 1 Ch. 13o (αἱ πόλιν δαυιδ, BNA). Baalah alone in Josh. 15:10 (here and in v. 9, αἱ has 'Baal' except in v. 10 αἱ πόλιν δαυιδ). 'Baale-Judah,' without explanation, occurs in S. 6:2 (on αἱ see below); but Dozy, Kuenen, We, Dr., Kt. read 'Baal.'; Kto. Hu. 'Baalah'.

Evidently the earliest name of the place included the divine name Baal; but how came the same place to be afterwards called Kirjath-jearim? It is not a superfluous inquiry. The most obvious explanation—viz., that, in the course of religions progress, 'Baal' came to be discredited as a divine name—is insufficient. We should have expected some better divine name to be substituted for 'Baal,' not the reconstruction of the place-name on an entirely different plan. Moreover, we do not find that Baal was entirely removed from the southern place-names (Baalath, Josh. 15.29; Bealoth, Josh. 15.24, both in P). The first step towards a solution of the problem is to show (a) that the original name of the place was Baal- or Baalath- (hag) gibeath—i.e., 'Baal of the hill,'—and (b) that the full name under which the Deity was worshipped in this Gileath ('hill') may have been Baal-yarib ('Baal contends').

(d) In S. 7 (EV) the ark is said to have been brought into 'the house of Abinadab in the hill' (קִרְיַת־אֲבִינָדָב); cp the same phrase in a S. 63 RV (AV RVmk. have 'in' in Gibeah). It looks as if, in the original writing, קִרְיַת, 'Gibeah', was the name of the town where Abinadab resided; but the 'in' in the RV's 'in the hill' refers to 'the hill on which the town was built' (H. P. Smollett), is surely improbable. Near the latter of these passages (2 S. 62) is has the strange rendering אֶרֶץ טוֹב אֲפֻרְטִים לֹבֵא בִּן יִרְמְיָהוּ ἀγαθῆς [τῶν βοῶν]; two readings are combined, viz., יִרְמְיָהוּ and יִרְיָהוּ, the latter of which is mis-rendered, and really means to 'haalath of the hill'. Probably the latter reading is the original one (see Klo. on 2 S. 62); observe the Paské after קָק, which warns us that the text is doubtful. Nor must we overlook the close of the list of the cities of Judah in Josh. 15.28, which runs thus in AV, 'and Jebai, which is in Jerusalem, Gibeath, (and) Kirjath' (RV 'Gibeath'). The current reading is that Kirjath means 'Gibeath of Saul', but that 'Kirjath' is an error for 'Gibeath-jearim'. But it is more in accordance with the analogy of textual errors elsewhere to suppose that 'Kirjath' is an editor's correction of Gibeath, and that the original reading was 'Gibeath-jearim', though 'jearim' itself may turn out to be incorrect.

(b) We have reached the conclusion that an early name for the place afterwards called (at any rate by scribes) Kirjath-jearim was 'Baal of the hill'. Analogy entitles us to assume that the local Baal had a fuller title describing his chief attribute; cp Baal-hanan, El-iashub, etc. The second part of this title ought to underlie the second part of the name Kirjath-jearim, for of course such a name as Baal-jearim (Baal of the woods) would be contrary to analogy. We can hardly doubt what that second part was; it was either jarim (*yārim*) or (more probably) jarib (*yārib*). *b* and *m* are interchangeable; cp *יָרִיב* (Hos. 5.13 *yārib*) for the Heb. *יָרִיב*, *yārib*. 'Baal contends' was the name; cp *יְהוֹיָרִיב*, Jehojarib, and *יָרִיב לַבַּיִת*, 'Let the Baal contend with him', Judg. 8.32. Our further conclusion is that Kirjath-jearim is a late distortion of an older name, Gibeath-baal-yarib, which was current side by side with Baal hag-gibeah. It is hardly necessary to suppose that Har-jearim (Josh. 15.10) is a distortion of Har-baal-jarib; but this is of course a possible view.

According to Winckler (*GI* 2104), 'Kirjath-jearim,' or 'city of forests,' is 'nothing but a half-suggesting, half-concealing reproduction' of the name Baal-Tamar (*Judg.* 20 33), which name (of mythological origin) was, he thinks, converted into Baal(e)-judah (2 S. 6 2) in the time of David, when this locality ceased to be Benjaminite, and became Judahite. See, however, *JUDAH*, § 3, Tamar.

In identifying the place which we may conventionally call Kirjath-jearim, we must be careful not to lay equal

2. Identifica-

2. Identifications. stress on all the biblical data. We must not, for instance, be too confident that Kiriath-earim and Beth-shemesh

¹ הַנִּבְכָּה was corrupted into הַנִּבְכָּה, the ך having dropped out; this became indistinct, and was misread הַנִּבְכָּה, to which ך was prefixed by conjecture.

KIRJATH-JEARIM

were near one another. The description of Jos. (*Ant.* vi. 1. 1. 15c), *γελῶνα πᾶντα τῆς βῆθης κώμης* (Nabē: τοῖς βῆθαιραῖς), appears to be suggested by the narrative in *S O 3 f*, as it now stands, and cannot be treated as authoritative; Josephus was not writing a handbook of geography. Nor is it at all necessary that the site of Kirjath-jearim should be in a wooded or bushy neighbourhood, *jearim* being probably only an artificial distortion of 'jarib.' The clearest and most certain of all the data is the statement in Josh. 9. 17, that the dependent city of the Gibeonites were Chephurah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim. Now GIBURON, CHEPHURAH, and BEEROTH (*qq.v.*) are securely identified, and Kirjath-jearim must not be placed too far off from the other members of the group. If in addition to this we require a city on the border of Judah and Benjamin, there is, it would seem, only one site which is available, and that is *el-Kārya* or *Kāryet el-Enab*¹ (city of grapes). Eusebius places *καριαθ-ισαριμ* at the ninth milestone from Jerusalem towards Dispolis or Lydda. This suits the position of Kāryet el-Enab, which is about three hours from Lydda. The high authority of Robinson supports this view. The nearness of the mountain Neby Samwil (see MIZPEH), which Eusebius expressly states (*OS*² 278.66; cp 138.13) to be near Kirjath-jearim, is no slight confirmation. The village of el-Kārya is but a poor one; there is a Latin church of great interest dedicated originally to St. Jeremiah, owing to a mistaken identification of the place with Anathoth. Prof. G. A. Smith (*HG* 225 f.) speaks with somewhat more hesitation than the present writer thinks necessary. For the rival site (*A'ā*, 'Erma) near Bēt 'Aṭab, the principal argument is its greater nearness to Beth-shemesh ('Erma is about 4 miles E. of 'Ain Shems). This, however, is hardly an argument for critics to use (see *ARK*, § 5), and, on the other hand, Kh. 'Erma is too near Zorah and Eshtul to suit the narrative in Judg. 18. 11,² and also in the wrong direction (S. of Keslá). Moreover, for el-Kārya it may be urged (but without laying much stress upon it) that this village marks the point of departure of the rough bushy country* (*qq. see* FOREST, 3); hence the later name, 'city of dense copse,' was not an inappropriate one. That it fits the position of Kirjath-jearim on the N. border of Judah and Benjamin, is also beyond refutation, though different views as to the line of demarcation are no doubt tenable.

The following is Conder's description of the new site at Kh. 'Erud.

The surrounding hills are more thickly clothed, even at the present day, with dense copse, than is any part of the district in which the town can be sought. The ruin is situate on the southern brink of the great valley which broadens into the valley of Surek, and it is about four miles E. of the site of Beth-shemesh, thus agreeing with the words of Josephus.¹ According to Conder the boundary line W. of Erma can be drawn in a satisfactory manner (see *PEFQ*, '79, p. 98 f., and cp Henderson, '78, p. 106 f.).

⁹⁴ Cp H. A. Poels, *Le sanctuaire de Kirjath-jearim* (Louvain, '94). Kirjath-jearim and Gibeon are here thought to have been on opposite sides of the same hill; their common sanctuary being on the summit of the hill.

When Kirjath-jearim became an Israelitish city is uncertain. It must, however, have been at least partly

3. Biblical references. inhabited by Judahites in the time of David (2 S. 6:2 ff.; cp ARK, § 5). In later times it produced a prophet in the style of Jeremiah, who fell a victim to Jehoiakim's tyranny

A. The above

¹ The latter name is said to occur first in the fifteenth century. A still more modern name is Abū Gōsh (from a sheikh so called, who lived at the beginning of this century, and left a name of

fear). In support of this identification cp Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, ii. (190).

² Cp. MAHANEH-DAN.

There are ~~roads~~ on every side almost, and some very impracticable ones N. and SW. of it' (Thomson, *LR*, ed.

'04, p. 666). 'Aujourd'hui encore on est frappé de l'aspect différent des deux versants; à ce point précis de maigres taillis commencent, qui ne demanderaient qu'à grandir' (Lagrange, *Revue biblique*, '04, p. 140).

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 A. Smith
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KIRJATH-SANNAH

(Jer 26:24; see URIJAH). One can imagine that the name of the city (was it Kirjath-jarib, 'city of the [divine] adversary'?) was not without its influence on Urijah's sensitive mind. Another apparent reference is a purely imaginary one. Though Wellhausen and Dahm render, in Ps. 132:6—

We have heard that it is in Ephrathah,
 In the field of Jaar we found it,—

and explain the 'Field of Jaar' as 'the country district near Kirjath-jearim' (We.), or as a synonym for that place-name (Du.), a close examination of the text shows that this interpretation is improbab. (see Che. *Ps.* 132). It is true, however, that a recollection of the story of the fortunes of the ark, and of a passage in Chronicles (1 Ch. 2:55), according to which that town was founded by descendants of Ephrathah, the wife of Caleb, enabled a late editor to draw a semblance of meaning from an indistinctly written and corrupt passage. On the obscure notice of Kirjath-jearim in 1 Ch. 2:55 f., see SHOBAL.

T. K. C.

KIRJATH-SANNAH (קִרְיַת סֶנָּה; πολις γράμ-
 ματων [BAL.]; פֶּסֶל־סֶנָּה; CARLITHSANNI),
 called also Debir (Josh. 15:49), is a most problematical
 name.

There is no satisfactory explanation of the name קִרְיַת, and no apparent reason why an old Canaanite name distinct from Kirjath-sepher should be mentioned in the list. Since קִרְיַת precedes it is natural to suppose that קִרְיַת is a scribal error for קֶסֶר, and that we should restore KIRJATH-SEPHUR (cp *Q. Pesh.*).

Sayce explains 'city of instruction,' and identifies it with Bit'sini, said to be mentioned on the Amarna tablets (Sayce, *RP* 573, *Crit. Mon.* 54 n.), and situated W. of Gath. W., however, gives bit(?)-sa-a-ni, and leaves it untranslated. See EPHRAIM, § 7, n. 4.

T. K. C.

KIRJATH-SEPHER (קִרְיַת סֶפֶר), as if 'house of
 books'; πολις [γρμ] γραμματων [BAL.] Josh. 15:15 f.; *καριαθ-*
σῶφας, πολις γραμματων [B.], πολ. γρ. [AL.], Judg. 1:11; also called
 KIRJATH-SANNAH (קִרְיַת סֶנָּה; πολις γραμματων [BAL.]), Josh.
 15:49, and DEBIR (דְּבִיר [Judg. 1:1 Ch.], דְּבִיר, *δᾱβειρ* [BAL.]), Josh.
 15:49.

A place in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned
 between Danuah and Anab (Josh. 15:49), formerly in-
 habited by Anakim (Josh. 11:20), and the seat of a king
 (Josh. 10:39 12:13). In Josh. 15:17 and Judg. 1:11 its
 conquest is ascribed to OTHNIEL [q. v.], in Josh. 10:38 f.
 to Joshua. P includes it among the cities of refuge
 (Josh. 21:15 1 Ch. 6:58).

It has often been assumed (e.g., by Quatremère, 1842) that the
 name implies the presence of a library of some kind in the place
 (cp the Babylonian city Sippara [?]). According to Sayce, it
 was 'the literary centre of the Canaanites in the S. of Palestine,'
 whilst Debir, i.e., 'the sanctuary,' was 'the temple wherein its
 library was established' (*Pap. Pal.* 220 f.). As Sayce himself,
 however, following Max Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 174), records, the
 form attested by the Papyrus Anastasi I. is *Ḥaj-jū-pa-ḡa*,
 perhaps = קִרְיַת־סֶפֶר, i.e., 'House of the scribe.' That the
 Canaanitish archives were centralized at Debir is most im-
 probable. If this were the case, Debir must have been the
 religious capital of Canaan; but of this we have no evidence
 whatever. Its name may be wrongly vocalized, 'sanctuary' is
 not a probable name for a city. Kirjath-sepher may be an
 alteration of some half-Hebrew name, such as *Kirjath sephur*,
 'enclosed city' (cp ERECH).

Various identifications have been proposed, but only
 one has much plausibility. First proposed by Knobel
 (note on Josh. 15:13 49), it has been warmly advocated
 by Conder (*PEFQ.* 75, p. 53), who says that the modern
 ed-Doheryeh (or rather ed-Dāhariyeh), a village four
 or five hours SW. of Hebron, is the only site which
 fulfils all the biblical requirements. The objections
 are three in number. (1) Petrie (according to Sayce,

1 According to a popular etymology, see Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.*
 168 n. 1; Del. *Par.* 210.

2 Moore (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, Oct. '90, p. 1xx) proposed
 קִרְיַת־סֶפֶר, 'frontier-town,' but he has now withdrawn this
 (*Judg.* 27). Geographically, such a name would have been very
 suitable.

3 Ass. *suphuru* = 'an enclosure with walls.'

KISH

n Hastings *DBI* 1972) found no traces at ed-Dāhariyeh
 of anything older than the Roman period. (2) The
 equivalence of the names Dāhariyeh and Debir (as if
 the back side) supposed by Knobel and Conder is
 tenuous in the extreme. (3) The passage (Judg. 1:11-13
 Josh. 15:13 49) on which most reliance is placed, because
 it may seem to point to the beautiful springs about
 7 miles N. of ed-Dāhariyeh (see ACHSAH), is partly
 corrupt. See KETHAH.

The question now presents itself whether not only
 Kirjath-sepher but also Debir may not be incorrect.
 Place names are liable to suffer both by corruption and
 by abbreviation. May not קִרְיַת, Debir, be a corruption
 of קֶסֶר 'Tabor' and thus, like the same word in Judg.
 8:18 (cp also 1 Th. 1:24 in Judg. 9:50), be a corruption of
 Beth-sur? That such an important city as 'Debir,'
 that is, Kirjath-sepher, must have been, should be no-
 where referred to in subsequent history, is scarcely
 credible. We know that it was situated in a dry spot,
 and that it was not far from Hebron. This description
 applies to the famous city of BETH-ZUR [q. v.] which
 occupies an impregnable position on a Tell 4½ m. N.
 from Hebron. It is also in favour of Beth-zur that it
 stands between Kethah and Beth-tappuah, the two
 places which (if the suggestion made under KETHAH
 is correct) Caleb presented to his daughter-in-law
 Achsah. That Kirjath-sepher is the true name of
 the city so-called is difficult to believe. It is possible,
 however, that Debir, or perhaps rather Beth-zur, had
 an additional descriptive title, Kirjath-sephur, 'enclosed
 city.' It is no objection to this theory that the names
 Debir and Beth-zur both occur in the list in Josh. 15;
 such double mentions occur elsewhere in P's geographical
 lists. See also JAM Z.

The Anab of Josh. 15:49 now becomes most uncertain.
 W. M. Müller's suggestion of 'Amāleh, SW. of Lydda, the
 Betanite of the *Onom.*, deserves consideration. T. K. C.

KISH (קִישׁ, 'lord, husband' 22 cp KISHON, KUSHA-
 IAH; κῆς [BAL.]).

1. b. Abiel, a Benjamite of the clan of Becher (1 S.
 10:21, crit. emend., see BECHER, MATRI, and cp BEN-
 JAMIN, § 9, ii. [B]), the father of Saul (1 S. 9:1, etc.),
 in 1 Ch. 9:36 N reads *קיש*; Acts 13:21, AV Cts). In
 MT of 2 S. 21:14 his home is placed at ZELA, but the
 text is plainly corrupt. The clan of Becher (the Bierites)
 appear to have lived at Gibeah of Benjamin (see
 GIBEAH 1, 2). Kish's brother, Ner, the father of Abner
 (1 S. 11:50 f., but see NER) is strangely represented in
 1 Ch. 8:33 (= 9:10) as his father, but the text is in dis-
 order; 'Ner' should probably be 'Nadab' = Abinadab,
 which appears to be a second name of the father of
 Kish, a rival of 'Abiel' or 'Abielial' (see NER).
 The names may have been already mutilated and cor-
 rupt in the (late) document upon which the Chronicler
 is dependent. We meet with Saul's father again in
 the fictitious genealogy of the Benjamite Mordecai,
 Esth. 2:5 (Ἀφῆσαιος [BNA.]) 112 (Ctsai, RV KISEUS;
 id. BNA. 108). See GENERALOGIES 1, § 6; MORDECAI;
 and cp ESTHER, § 1, end.

2. The occurrence of the name in Levitical genealogies is of
 no historical interest. Kish b. Mahli represents an important
 subdivision of the Merarite Levites (1 Ch. 23:21 f. 24:29); Kish b.
 Abdi is the father of the famous Merarite ETHAN (1 Ch. 6:44
 12:9); see also KUSHAIAN, and the same designation attaches to

1 The phonetic interchange of ק and ת is not unexampled; cp
 the variant readings קר and תר in Ezek. 22:4, אחר and אחר in
 Is. 60:17.

2 [The interpretation suggested follows *RS* 170, n. 4, and
 W. *AF* 62, n. 1. The name is probably the same as the old
 Ar. divine name *Ka'is* (Nab. קִישׁ, קִישׁ), which is found in
 Ar. proper names, either alone (cp We. *Heid.* 67, also Sin.
 10:25) or in compounds (e.g., the well-known Inrau'kai). It
 is plausible to connect the name with the first element of the
 Ass. compound *Ku-u-si-u-da* on a contract tablet (Peiser,
ZATW 17 148 f. 197), perhaps also with the Edomite *Kais*, 500
 (see EDOM, § 12). Peiser (*loc.*) identifies קִישׁ (קִישׁ) with the
 second element in Elkos (see ELKOSHUP). S. A. C.]

3 That Abiel (1 S. 9:1) is an alteration of Abihaal is pointed
 out by Marq. (*Fund.* 15), who refers to the fragmentary name
 'Baal' in 1 Ch. 8:30 (9:3). Cp BELLADA, ELIADA.

KISHI

a prominent Mosaic of the time of Hazeleth. Evidently the names Kish and Absh are derived to 1 Th. 8 po (p. p). We need not correct Absh into the form Absh, as the latter may already have found the corrupt form Absh, whence Absh, in his document (see above).

KISHI (𐎧𐎶𐎵), 1 Ch. 614 [29]. see KISH. 2. KUSH
ANAL.

KISHION (קִישִׁיּוֹן, cp קִישִׁי, and see KISHUN, end, KELEWON [B], KEELON, KILWON [A], KEELON [L]), a Levitical city in the territory of Issachar (Josh. 19: 21a [where AV 'Kishon']). The parallel passage 1 Ch. 6: 57 [72] has KEDESH (קִדְשָׁה), which most critics (e.g., Kittel) treat as a corruption of Kishion.

The true reading, however, in Josh. and Ch. must surely be קִיָּאָן. Whether this Kīdān is an echo of Gadaīna, which is the name of the principality mentioned in Am. I. 6, 7, and therefore of the Kīstina of the Palestinian name-list of Hothmes III, I may be left open.

Mahlan identifies Kishon (Kidšun with Tell Keisan, 6 m. SE. of Acre. Kishon being in Issachar, we shall do better to adopt Conder's identification of Kedesh (Kidšun) with Tell Abū Kūlās (see KEDESH, 2).

KISHON (כִּישׁוֹן, כִּישׁוֹן [BSARTI.], a torrent famous as the scene of the overthrow of the Canaanite coalition under Sisera (Judg. 4: 7-11;² cp Ps. 83: 9), AV **Kison**; KICCŌ (A), and also of the destruction of the prophets of Baal by Elijah (1 K. 18: 40). It is also called the 'waters of Megiddo' (Judg. 5: 10).

The Kishon (mod. *el Mukatta'*, 'cut') flows through the plain of Jezreel, nearly due NW between Samaria and Galilee, and enters the Mediterranean in the lower extremity of the bay of Akko, on the E. of Haifa. It is fed by the waters coming from Carmel, Gilboa, Hermon, and Tabor. Its exact source is uncertain; according to some it rises on the W. side of Mt. Tabor (cp Jer. 48²¹ 110.22, who speaks of its being near Tabor), whilst others prefer to place it near Jemm (see EVANGELIUM).

The battle in which Sisera was defeated must have taken place in the winter. In summer the Kishon is a diminutive and insignificant stream, but in winter it overflows, and floods the surrounding country, turning it into a morass. The fate of Sisera's army finds a parallel in the battle between the French and Turks near Tabor on April 16th, 1799, when many of the latter were drowned while attempting to pass the morass in their flight (cp Burck. *Sur.* 339).

The district of the Kishon in olden times enjoyed an especial reputation for sanctity. North of it flowed the rivers Ac (Nahr Ibrahim) and Belus (Nahr Na'mān), both famous for their sacred character; and Mt. Carmel itself was a sacred mountain. Hence, just as the above-mentioned rivers are named after gods, it is very probably that the Kishon may derive its name, not from its

¹ These two names are identified by W. M. Müller, Sayce, and Flinders Petrie (*Hist. of Eg.* 2:23).

* In Judg. 5:21 the phrase 'the torrent Kishon' is followed immediately by the difficult words קִישׁוֹן מִיָּדָה. According to an improbable, but well-supported, ancient view, it was the name of a torrent flowing from the Kishon (קִישׁוֹן *kaishōn*, *kaishōn* = 'Thick', perhaps thinking of Keshish in Esauhar, cp 'waters of Megiddo', p. 19; so Klo. *Gesch.* 123, adopts קִישׁוֹן, i.e., the planet-gods viewed as givers of rain; *καὶσίου* [11]; *torrens Cadumini* [Vg.], cp Pesh. and Ar.; *καὶσίου* [Ap.], see Field, *loc. cit.* Among modern explanations may be mentioned (1) 'stream of the E.V.V. Bachmon' (cp *ἔσθω* *ēstōw*, and the paraphrase of Targ.) (2) 'Onward-shining stream' (Cooke, *Hist. and Song of Deborah*, 43; Ew., 'stream of boldness in attack'—a primitive per-sonification); (3) 'stream of encounters' (Briggs, Köhler, after Abulw.); (4) 'stream of the holy (i.e., divine ones)' (Klost., Manj., cp. Symm. *αἰώνων* *aiōnōn*). For a fifth view, for which *καὶσίου* may also be referred to, see KADESH, 2. Of these (1), (3), and (5) may be classed as historical, the plain of the Kishon having been a great battlefield, from the time of Tholmes III. onwards, whilst (2) and (4) are geographical. The *ἔσθω* *ēstōw* in a *ῥοή* *rhōē* is due to the circum-stance of *this* battle, in the one case to the swollen condition of the torrent, in the other to the bloodshed which dyed the waters.

KNIFE

bending course (Ar. *k.ṭar*), but from the old god (Kish) (Ar. *k.ṭar*). So WRS *Ar. Sem.*^{1b} 170. 11, see K(10), 11.

2. (John. 21 *ss*), RV Kismos (7:1).

KISS (PWS), φιλέω, καταφιλέω φιλημα
see SALUTATIONS.

KITE. (178. *ḫayth*; perhaps onomatopoeic up in *Lev. and Job*; *Lev.* γυψ), *Lev* 11_{14b} 19, 14₁₃; and 11₂₂ 7f, where AV renders by VULTURE, RV always FALCON (22).

2. (♂♂, *d.f.hk*; ♀♀, *y.gw*; Lev. 11:14), AV Vulture.
The Red Kite, *Myiura lescuri*, is common in Palestine in winter but during the summer it finds place to the Black Kite, *M. migratoria* (*M. alca*), which returns from the S., this species is less harmful to poultry, etc., lives more on garbage and fish and is a welcome guest. *M. agrifrons*, the Egyptian Kite, a common, but S. abundantly; as does *Falconus carinatus*, the black-winged kite, a singularly beautiful bird which strays from Africa.

5. (77, *day.th*; 807 *day.th*; 10. 1413 Is. 515†), *VULTURE*, *VIRTUES*. See above (2). A. L. S.

KITHLISH, RV CHITHLISH (כִּיתְלִישׁ: מאדאח [BA], καθαλειε [L.]), apparently a place in the lowland of Judah (Josh 15.45).

Probably the name is a corruption of **gosh**, LANMAS (y.e. which precedes. The geographical lists of P are sometimes expanded by the insertion of variants or corruptions.

KITRON (כִּיתְרוֹן; אֶמְקֵאֵן [BL], גֶּב. [A]), an unidentified place in the nominal territory of Zebulun tributary to Israel (Judg. 1:31). From a comparison with Josh 19:15, it appears that KATHATH (rather perhaps KATHATH) was the same place as Kitron. See KATHATH. A Talmudic doctor (*Gloss. lat.*) identifies Kitron with Zippori (i.e., Sephoris) (the modern Saffuriyya?), and the same view is followed by M. M. Black, but the latter name gives no adequate reason for rejecting this view, which may be correct. At any rate there is no finer site than Sephoris in the neighbourhood marked out by the context (see *Rob. BA* 3:201; *Isid.* [21:27]).

KITTIM אֲכָרָה, excc; in Gen. and Chron.; le-
 cally Ctt. 117, 1272, so usually, but כְּתִיב in Jer. 24
 Bab. MSS and Kt. Palest. of Is. 23.12, and in Bab. MSS
 Exod. 27.6, in which last the Palestinian reading is כְּתִיב;
 reads כְּתִיב, Exod. 27.10[11]; but כְּתִיב, 26[1] Q[1] Jer. 22
 [Bab.] Ch. 17.14[1], 18.1 [ABV]; in Jer. 22.18[1] כְּתִיב;
 Gen. 14.14[1] Ch. 14.19[1]; Arab. Gen. 14.14[1] Ch.
 14.19[1] p[er] exp[re]ssion with various terminations l;
 23.12 [עַלְמָא, Al., Dan. 11.3 [Theod. BACQ? Q? prefixes אֲ
 תִיב, for 87 see below], Num. 2 + 1 Macc. 85. The Phoe-
 nian is כְּתִיב (כְּתִיב).

One of the sons of Javan (Gen. 10.4 + Ch. 17). All in six other passages – none of them very early (11 is 23.12 see GEOGRAPHY, § 14). In Ezek. 27.6 we find **כִּיּוֹן** = *i.e.*, Cyprus and other islands of the Mediterranean, among the traders of Tyre. The identification with Cyprus in all these is satisfactory (see CYPRUS). The name Kittim is usually derived from the Phœnicia city *Kition* (Larnaka), on the SE. shore of the island. According to Max Müller, however (*As. u. Eur.* 345) it is a loan-word, originally = *Ghatties*, *Khatties* = *Hittites*. From this the city Kittition is supposed to have derived its name; this implies that Kitt(ion) was not a Phœnician city.

There is a strange reference to Kintin in Nu. 24.24 (not very early; see BALAANI, § 6). In Jer. 2.6 קִינִינִי is used for the western regions in general (opposed to Kedar the East), and קִינִינִי in Dan. 11.30 (see Bevan) has a specific reference to the Romans (Ὁ και ηγεσται ῥωμαῖοι [87]), as in 1 Mac. 11 (A. CHERM, RV KINTIM) 8.5 (AV CINTIM) it is explicitly used off. 2 Macedonians.

KNEADING-TROUGH (מִשְׁרֵת; *mis'areth*; *mis'raṭ*)
 מִשְׁרֵת, *pan'?*; Ex. 8:3 [728] 12:34, also Dt. 28:5, 17† RV; *phóra* in Ex. [for 8:3 [728] see Fiel], *ἐγκατά(ε)χυμα* [BA] *katál. [L] in Dt.*. See BREAD, 8; COOKING, UTENSILS, 8.

KNEELING (772: ΓΟΝΥΠΕΤΩ). See SALUTATIONS.

KNIFE. Five words are rendered 'knife' in EV:
1. מַחֲכֶה, *ma'akkeleth* (μάχαιρα [ADL], ῥομφαία [B]), but in Pro

References

1. הנהגת דאטה הקבלות

KORAH, REVOLT OF

only do we find that the evidence of the levi. al names points to a S. Palestinian origin, and that a close relationship subsisted between Edom, Judah, and other tribes and clans of the S., but it is important to note that the levitizing of the clan of Korah, and its enrolment in the great levitical division of Kehath, represent later stages in the history of the clan (see GENEALOGIES i., §§ 5 [cp n.], 7 [ib. v]).¹ See art. below.

KORAH, REVOLT OF. In the preceding article it has been seen that the Korahites, as known in the history of Israel, were either Edomites incorporated with Judah or a division of the Levites. This double use of the name has an important bearing on the story of Korah's rebellion as told in Nu. 16 f., which is the subject of the present article.

This story comes, at least in the main, from the school of the priestly writer (P), though, as has been shown in a previous article (see

1. Present text. DATHAN AND ABIRAM), the account of Korah's rebellion against the priestly prerogative of the Levites has been mixed up with an older and quite independent account of the resistance made by Dathan and Abiram to the civil authority of Moses. Here, however, an important question arises. P is not an inventive or original writer so far as historical incidents are concerned. Legislation is the sphere in which he finds himself at home, and with regard to narrative he is usually content to borrow and modify the material supplied by his predecessors. It is not therefore unreasonable to ask whether P did not adapt the story of Korah's revolt from some older source, and whether any fragments of the story in this primitive form remain in Nu. 16. Bacon (*Triple Tradition of Exodus*, 190), developing a hint of Dillmann's, has contended with no small ingenuity but hardly with success that we have before us the fragments of such a narrative by the Yahwist.

He attributes to him a few words in 16:1-3, the whole of 13-15 27:6-31 33:4, so producing the simple story that when Korah the Edomite and On the Philistine would fain intrude into the sanctuary, Moses withstood them, and the earth swallowed them up. Apart from other equally decisive arguments, it cannot be regarded as certain or even probable that PELETH (9:21) has any connection with the Philistines.

We may now give the substance of the priestly narrative in its original form. It is contained in 16:1a 26-27a 18-24 27a 32b 35 41-50 [17 6-15] 17

2. P's original form. Korah at the head of 250 princes of the congregation protested against the exclusive rights of the Levitical tribe as represented by Moses and Aaron, and declared that the whole congregation was holy. It is quite possible that Korah, in the intention of the priestly writer, belonged to the tribe of Judah, and it is certain that his confederates were by no means exclusively Levites. They were 'princes of the congregation' as a whole, and in 27:3 (P) it is clearly implied that, e.g., Manassites might be found in his company. Moses invites them to establish their claim by taking their censers and offering incense at the sanctuary. This they do: the people are warned to withdraw from the tabernacle,² and the rebels are consumed by fire from Yahwē. Next day the people murmur because the 'people of Yahwē' (not, observe, 'our brethren the Levites') have been destroyed. But for the intercession of Moses, and the fact that Aaron stands with his censor 'between the living and the dead,' Israel would have been swept away by the divine wrath. Even as it is, 14,700 perish by the plague. Afterwards rods inscribed with the names of princes representing each tribe are laid in the sanctuary. The rod inscribed with the name of Aaron, and that alone, buds and bears ripe almonds.

¹ By the Korahites of 1 Ch. 12:6 it is uncertain whether the Chronicler is referring to Levites or to Edomites who had become incorporated in the tribe of Judah; cp DAVID, § 11 [a li.].

² The word קָדַשׁ is never used in prose of a human habitation, and, in 70: 24 27, the original reading seems to have been 'the tabernacle of Yahwē.' See Dr. *Introd.* 61.

KUSHAN

The account which we have ex from the priestly legislator, as is style. True, it doe

3. Later account. ourite and character legislation,—viz., th

between the priests, the sons Levites. But of course the priest the general distinction between rank on the one hand and the la the priestly legislator is content of the levitical tribe as a whole whether of the same school was not Moved, perhaps, by the rememb levitical guild known as 'sons various alterations in the text and [17:1-5]. In this second stratum a Levite, and not only so, his Levites, and their sin consists in act as priests. The censers of their own lives' are by divine plates and used as a covering for to be a perpetual memorial that Aaron's seed may dare to offer i very late passage—for it must hav one who had read 16 and 17 as the Hebrew text—we are told that th not perish with their father and l felt that he had to explain the e the Kohathite guild in the temple.

The NT mentions Korah only where Korah is the type of Gnost nought dominion, and rail at dign 2 Tim. 2:16 f. had Korah in vie derived from Num. 16:5 26 in 6.

The division of documents advocated Kue. *Th. T.* 12:139, and *Her.* § 6 n. 37 hausen now adheres. It is also adopte hesitation), by Baudissin (*Priesterthum* 65. Nor does the view of Dillmann except with regard to the point men article DATHAN AND ABIRAM.

KORE (כֹּרֵה; כֹּרֶה [BA]). K keeper, or guild of doorkeepers, assigned to the Korahites (see GEN

The name is given to the father of Sl [B], כֹּרֶה [A], or Meshelemiah (1 Ch. 2 Ch. 31:14 Kore (כֹּרֶה [1.]) appears as but the latter may be nothing more (כֹּרֶה; cp 6B), who was actually as and doorkeepers; see GENEALOGIES i.,

KORE, THE SONS OF (כֹּרֵה; [AL]. . . . קֹרֶה [B]). 1 Ch. 26: THE KORAHITES. See KORAH i.

KOZ (כֹּז), Ezra 2:61 Neh. HAKKOZ.

KULON (κοῦλον [BA]). -AM hill country of Judah mentioned by An identification with Kulōnych, N EMMAT'S, 2), is inadmissible, since from 'colonia' (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 166

KUSHALAH (כִּשְׁלָה, § 27; h Peiser [ZATW 17 34 f. (97)], explain Edomite divine name Kaus, and Gotthe but is there a parallel for such a name Ethan, a Merarite; 1 Ch. 15:17 (4 readings of 8 presuppose כִּשְׁלָה [K] which agrees the other form of the nam 6:44 [26], κῆσαι [B], -σαι [A], κούσαι The form Kishi, which Gray (*HPN* 20 to Gottheil, an abbreviated form ('שִׁי

¹ For another suggested etymology

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- the remembrance that there was a son as 'sons of Korah,' he made the text and added 76-11 16f. 36-40 and *siratim* Korah is unmistakably only so, his whole company are consists in a sacrilegious claim to censures of these 'sinners against by divine command beaten into covering for the altar. They are avaricious that no one who is not of the tribe to offer incense. In 269-11, it must have been added by some and 17 as they stand in our present text that the 'sons of Korah' did not father and his hand. The author explain the continued existence of the temple,

- Korah only once, viz. in Jude 11
 pe of Gnostic heretics who 'set at
 rail at dignities.' The author of
 orah in view; at least v. 19 is
 s 26 in G.

- ents advocated in this article is that of
lex. §§ 6 n. 37, 16 n. 12, to which Well-
is also adopted by Kittel (with a little
(*Priesterthum*), and by Dr., *Introd.*⁽⁶⁾
of Dillmann differ materially here,
point mentioned at the end of the
RAM. W E A

- or [B.V.], *koṛe* [L.]. A door-
 keepers, of the b'ne Asaph,
 (see GENEALOGIES i., § 7, ii.).
 the father of Shallum (1 Ch. 9:19, *καρρηβ*
selemiah (1 Ch. 26:1, *καρρη* [A]). In
 (1) appears as the son of Imnah (ימנא),
 nothing more than a slip for Heman
 is actually associated with Korahites
 GENEALOGIES i., § 7, iii. c.

- OF (בְּנֵי הַקֹּהֵן) : כֹּהֵן וְכֹהֵן כֹּהֵן
 1 Ch. 26¹⁹, RV THE SONS OF
 THE KORAH I.
 26¹ Neh. 3⁴² 76³ AV, RV

- [BA], -AM [L]), a city in the mentioned by 6 only (Josh. 15:59). Zūlōniyeh, NW. of Jerusalem (see possible, since this name is derived n), *Pal.* 166).

- ן, § 27; hardly 'Yahwē's bow'; (97), explains 'Kus is Valhve': cp 18, and (Gottheil, *JRL* 17:100-202 (98), such a name in the OT),¹ father of Ch. 15 17 (קִישָׁיון [BRAT]). The name קִישָׁיון (קִישָׁיון? Ki. *SBOT*), with one of the name, viz. KISHU ('שָׁן 1 Ch. 15 [A], *κουσεί* [I.], i.e., perhaps קִישָׁיון). *SBOT* (H² 297) prefers, is, according to form ('שָׁן, i.e. קִישָׁיון). See KISHU.

- ed etymology, see
- NAMES**
- , § 27 D.

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GAD	H. W. Hogg.	JESUS	The late Prof.
GALATIA	W. J. Woodhouse and Prof. P. W. Schmiedel.	JOB	Prof. T. K.
	Prof. P. W. Schmiedel.	JOEL	The late Prof.
GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.		Smith and
GALILEE, and SEA OF	W. J. Woodhouse.	JOHN (SON OF ZEBEDEE)	Prof. Schmied
GALLIO	Prof. O. C. Whitehouse.	JONAH	Prof. T. K.
GARDEN	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.	JOSEPH	Prof. T. K.
GATH, GAZA	Prof. Nöldeke.	JOSHUA, BOOK OF	Prof. G. F. M.
GEBAL	S. A. Cook.	JUBILEE	The late Prof.
GENEALOGIES (Old Testament)	Prof. Baron von Soden.		and Dr. I.
" (New Testament)	Prof. G. F. Moore.	JUDAH	Prof. T. K.
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	Rev. Dr. E. A. Abbott and Prof. P. W. Schmiedel.		Smith and
GOSHEN		KINSHIP	Kautzsch.
GOSPELS		KIRJATH-JEARIM	Dr. I. Benzinger
		KORAH, REVOLT OF	Prof. T. K.
			Rev. W. E. A.

ARTICLES IN S

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 The late Prof. W. R. Smith
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